



**PEACE BUILDING IN DIVIDED SOCIETIES:
THE CASE OF ISRAEL AND PALESTINE
SIS 516.001 Fall 2007
Wednesday 5:30-8:00PM**

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Course Objectives and Description:

This course focuses on different peacebuilding approaches and strategies utilized in the context of deep-rooted conflicts and divided societies. Therefore, it aims to: (1) identify and understand the characteristics of deep-rooted conflicts and the nature of ethnic relations in divided societies; (2) examine various theoretical frameworks which underlie certain peacebuilding strategies and approaches; (3) understand the complexity and challenges involved in implementing peacebuilding strategies in the context of deep-rooted conflicts.

In light of these objectives, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict—known as one of the most deep-rooted and complex conflicts in the world—will be critically reviewed and examined. Multiple dimensions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as the relationship between Palestinians and Jews within Israel will be investigated. Therefore, historical, cultural, social, and religious factors involved in this conflict will be reviewed.

In addition, this course investigates numerous challenges faced by Israeli and Palestinian peacemakers in various historical phases of the conflict along with the different peacebuilding approaches and strategies they have employed, including the initiation of dialogue, launching peace organizations and mass protest movements, monitoring of human rights abuses, educating for democracy and curriculum development, carrying out conflict resolution training, encouraging intercultural and inter-religious encounters, and conducting formal negotiations. Moreover, this course will identify and list the profiles of peacemakers in divided societies, hence, examining the social, religious, and other features of Palestinian and Israeli peace activists. The course will evaluate the impact and role of national and grassroots movements in promoting peace and negotiation, instead of focusing solely on that of the political elite in perpetuating or settling the conflict.

Thus, the course will focus on protest and peace movements that aim to change the status quo. Scholars and activists have continuously expressed doubts in regard to the extent to which a peace movement, regardless of whether it is based on the resources or the magnitude of mass mobilization, can really bring political and social change to societies. The course examines this issue in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian peace movements. It will evaluate the impact of the main social and political movements (Israeli peace movement, Palestinian peace activists and the Intifada) in launching recent peace initiatives in the Middle East. In order to understand the complexity of these movements, the course will first explore some basic elements of the conflict, such as: (a) the national and religious roots

of the Arab-Jewish conflict; (b) the current issues under negotiation; (c) the alternative solutions proposed; and (d) the social and political obstacles for the implementation of a negotiated settlement. In this context, students will discuss the dilemmas and obstacles awaiting activists who work for peace, through these movements.

Examples from other deep-rooted conflicts such as Cyprus, Northern Ireland, and South Africa will be included. However, the main case study will be the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Course requirements and expectations:

The final grade will be based on:

- 20% Book review of a peacemaker (biography)
- 40% Research paper
- 30% Summaries
- 10% Participation

Class Participation: Students are expected to attend all classes and take an active role in the class discussions, as well as in the presentation of materials and assignments. Each student is expected to have an e-mail account, in order to subscribe to two networks that provide information on current events in the region.

Reading summaries: you are expected to hand in a two-page (single-spaced) summary of the weekly readings for at least 10 classes. The summary should not be descriptive (do not describe each article). You should highlight points that you find interesting in the readings, compare articles, and express your opinion (evaluate what you read).

Book review: Each student is expected to thoroughly review a biography of an Israeli or Palestinian who had/has a role in the conflict or peace process. Through the biography, you should clarify the relationship and attitude that the reviewed person had/has with the various efforts of peacebuilding. Also identify the impact which this person had/has on the course of the conflict. The paper is due in class on **October 4, 2007**.

Research paper is due on **December 14, 2007**. Each student is expected to conduct a research paper using primary or secondary sources (archival, empirical data, etc.). The paper topic can be any case study (Israeli Palestinian peace organization or project) or question that deals with peacebuilding in divided society (information on paper format and length will be distributed during the semester).

Required Readings:

1. Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. Dialogue, Conflict Resolution, and Change: Arab-Jewish Encounters in Israel. SUNY Press, 1999.
2. Bar-On Mordechai. In Pursuit of Peace: A History of the Israeli Peace Movement. Washington, DC: USIP, 1996.
3. Lederach, J. Paul. Building Peace : Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington D.C: USIP, 1997.
4. Yehezkel Landau. Healing the Holy Land: Interreligious Peacebuilding in Israel/Palestine. Washington, DC : United States Institute of Peace, 2003 (Available Online-Free)
5. Simona Sharoni. Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. New York: Syracuse. 1995.
6. Usher Graham. Dispatches from Palestine: the rise and fall of the Oslo peace process. London; Sterling, Va. : Pluto Press, 1999.
7. Reading Pack on Reserve at the Library (Available at Clark 209, too).
8. Kaufman, Edy, Walid Salem, Juliette Verhoeven (Eds). *Bridging the Divide: Peacebuilding in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2006.

Recommended Readings:

1. Benvenisti, Meron. *Intimate Enemies: Jews and Arabs in A Shared Land*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
2. Fernea, Elizabeth and Mary Evelyne Hocking (eds.). *Israeli and Palestinians: The Struggle for Peace*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.
3. Gordon and Gordon, (ed). *Israel/Palestine: The Quest For Dialogue*, New York: Orbis, 1991
4. Weiner, Y. (ed). *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence* , New York: Continuum 1998

Course Outline:

Week 1, August 29.

Introductions

- Background, expectations, syllabus, readings, etc.
- Assigning up the case studies
- Theoretical and historical frameworks

Required Readings:

1. Lederach Chapters 1 and 2 (In: Lederach. *Building Peace*)
2. David Hamburg. Preventing Contemporary Intergroup Violence (In: Weiner. *Handbook of Coexistence*). (27-40).

Week 2, Sept. 5

Theoretical Framework

- What are the unique characteristics of divided societies and deep-rooted conflicts?
- What are the strengths and limitations of the >transformative peace building approach=?

Required Readings

1. The Dynamics and Process of Conflict (Chapter 5. Lederach)
2. The Peace-building and Reconciliation Framework (Chapter 3,4,6 Lederach)

Recommended Readings:

1. Scarry, Elaine. The Difficulty of Imagining Other Persons. (In: Weiner. *Handbook of Coexistence*). (40-63).
2. Toscano, Robert. The Face of the Other: Ethics and Intergroup Conflict. (In: Weiner. *Handbook of Coexistence*). (63-82)

Week 3, Sept. 12

An Overview: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

- What are the major historical events in this conflict?

Required Readings:

1. Avraham Zilkha. *History of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. (Fernea: Ch- 1 Reserve)
2. M. Muslih. *A History of Israeli Palestinian Conflict*. (Fernea: Ch. 2) (Reserve).
3. Walid Salem and Edy Kaufman. "Palestinian-Israeli Peacebuilding: A Historical Perspective." (Chapter 1 in *Bridging the Divide*)
4. Chronology and maps (Carter)

Recommended Readings:

1. Bar-On. Chapters 1 and 2. (In: *Pursuit of Peace*)
2. Beinun, J. *New History, New Politics*. (Fernea and Hocking, pp. 80-87)

3. Smith, Charles D. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (2006)
4. Shlaim, Avi. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (2001)
5. Morris, Benny. *Righteous Victims* (2001)
6. Harms & Ferry, *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (2005), sections 2 and 3.

Week 4, Sept. 19. Causes, Parties, and Issues: A Right Wing Perspective

- Who are the major players or actors in the conflict?
- What are the issues?

Required Readings:

1. Mark Tessler, "The Political Right in Israel," (JPS, Vol. XV, 1986) (Reserve)
2. Ian Lustick, "The Worldview of Jewish Fundamentalism," In For the Land and the Lord, New York: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1988. (Reserve)
3. Alistair Crooke and Beverly Edwards, "Elusive Ingredient: Hamas and the Peace Process" in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 2004 (4), 39-52.
4. Usher Graham 1999. Chapter 22: The Meaning of Sheikh Yassin.
5. Dershowitz, Alan. *The Case for Israel* (2003). Introduction, Ch. 26
6. Hage, Ghassan. "Comes a Time We Are All Enthusiasm: Understanding Palestinian Suicide Bombers in Times of Exiphobia." *Public Culture* 15.1 (Winter 2003), 65-89.

Recommended Readings:

1. Founding Charter of Hamas (1988), available online.
2. Ehud Sprinzak, "What is the Radical Right? A Political and Cultural Profile", in *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Chapter 1
3. Bar-On. Chapters 4. (In: Pursuit of Peace)
4. Benvenisti, M.. City of Strife/Chapter 1. (10-51) (In: Intimate Enemies)

Week 5, Sept. 26. Peace Building on the Political Elite Level: The Top-Down Approach

- What are the current developments and future prospect for peace and conflict?
- What are the major current obstacles in the peace process?
- What were the obstacles in pre-Oslo period?
- How was the conflict perceived by peacemakers in the pre-settlement period?
- What are major developments that followed the settlement?
- What were the challenges that brought the collapse of the settlement?

Required Readings:

1. Bar-On. From Sealed Rooms to Madrid/chapter 13, 271-291(in: Pursuit of Peace).
2. Usher, Graham: 1999: Part t. 1. Oslo One - Gaza/Jericho First September 1993 to September 1995. Chapters:
 1. Why Gaza Says Yes, Mostly.
 2. What Kind of Nation? The Rise of Hamas in the Occupied Territories.
 3. An Israeli Peace: an Interview with Ilan Pappé.
 4. Palestine: the Economic Fist in the Political Glove.
 5. Jabaliya and the Meaning of Return
3. Agha, Hussein and Malley, Robert; Morris, Benny; Ross, Dennis. "Camp David: The

Tragedy of Errors,” series of articles and responses published in *The New York Review of Books* (August 9, 2001; September 20, 2001; June 13, 2002) (reserve).

4. Kaufman, Salem, and Verhoeven, *Bridging the Divide*. Ch. 5: “Israeli-Palestinian Track II Diplomacy” (Klein & Malki)

Recommended Readings:

1. Golan, Galia. *Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals from Oslo to Disengagement* (2007). Ch. 1-3, 9, 10, 14

Week 6, Oct. 3

Peace building through protest and peace movements

*** Book review is due in class (the biography of a peacemaker).**

- What role do protest and peace movements play in peace building?
- How and why do they emerge?
- Who are the leaders of such movements?

Required Readings:

1. Bar-On. Chapter 5, 6, 7, 93-157 (In : Pursuit of Peace)
2. Hermann, Tamar. “Civil Society and NGOs Building Peace in Israel.” (Ch. 2 in *Bridging the Divide*)
3. Hassassian, Manuel. “Civil Society and NGOs Building Peace in Palestine.” (Ch. 3 in *Bridging the Divide*)

Recommended Readings:

1. Bar-On Chapter 3. Professors for Peace (In: Pursuit of Peace)

Week 7, Oct. 10

Decline of Peace Movements: Overcoming the Challenge

- How do ethnic differences impact the internal dynamics of peace building groups?
- What are the challenges in keeping a unified peace building movement?

Required Readings:

1. Bar-On. Chapters 8. and 9, 157-199 (In: In Pursuit of Peace)
2. Graham Usher: Part. 3. Oslo - Decline and Fall May 1996 to December 1998.
Chapters: 14. Pictures of War.
 15. Madness in Ramallah.
 16. Hizbollah, Syria and the Lebanese Elections.
 17. 'All Killers': Luxor, the Gama'a and Egypt's Prisons.
 18. Fatah, Hamas and the Crisis of Oslo: Interviews with Marwan Barghouti and Ibrahim Ghoshah.
 19. Making Peace: an Interview with Yossi Beilin.
3. Maoz, Ifat. “Peacebuilding in Violent Conflict,” in *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 2004 17(3), 563-574 (reserve).
4. Svirsky, Gila. “The Israeli Peace Movement Since the Al-Aqsa Intifada.” *The New Intifada*. Ed. Roane Carey. London: Verso, 2001. 321-332.

Recommended Readings

1. Robinon, Glenn E. "The Peace of the Powerful." *The New Intifada*. Ed. Roane Carey. London: Verso, 2001. 111-124.
2. Shulman, David. *Dark Hope: Working for Peace in Israel and Palestine*. (2007). Introduction.

Week 8, Oct. 17. Protest Among Dominated Groups as a Tool for Peace Building

- How do dominated groups convey their initiatives for peace?
- What were the Intifada=s impacts on the Israeli society and the peace movement?
- What was the role of nonviolent strategies in the Intifada?
- Who are the >protest movement= leaders?

Required Readings:

1. Sharoni. Chapter: 5 and 7 Palestinian Women and the Intifada;
Israeli Jewish Women and the Intifada
2. Bar-On. Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising, 1987-88. (In: In Pursuit of Peace, Chapter 11, 219-249).
3. Andoni, Ghassan. "A Comparative Study of Intifada 1987 and Intifada 2000." *The New Intifada*. Ed. Roane Carey. London: Verso, 2001. 209-218.
4. Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. "Nonviolent Action in Israel and Palestine: A Growing Force." (Ch. 6 in *Bridging the Divide*)

Recommended Readings:

1. Sharp, G. Nonviolence Action in Acute Interethnic Conflicts.(In: Weiner, Handbook of Coexistence).
2. Dajani, Souad. "Nonviolent Resistance in the Occupied Territories: A Critical Reevaluation." *Nonviolent Social Movements*. Ed. Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz, & Sarah Beth Asher. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. 52-74.

Week 9, October 24: Women's Peace & Protest Movements: Strong Actors in Peace Building

- What allows women to be such strong actors in peace building?
- What are the obstacles which block effective participation in women=s peace organizations?

Required Readings:

1. Sharoni, Chapter 4. Palestinian Women's Resistance: History, Context and Strategies
2. Sharoni, Chapter 6. Israeli Women's Struggle: History, Context and Strategies
3. Sharoni, Chapter 8 : The Politics of Alliance Between Palestinian and Israeli Women.

Recommended Readings:

1. Sharoni. Chapter 3. Nationalism, Gender, and Israeli Palestinian Conflict
2. Sharoni, Simona. "The Myth of Gender Equality and the Limits of Women's Political Dissent in Israel." *Middle East Report* No. 207 (Summer, 1998), pp. 24-28.

3. Helman, Sara, and Tamar Rapoport. "Women in Black: Challenging Israel's Gender and Socio-Political Orders." *The British Journal of Sociology* 48.4 (Dec. 1997): 681-700.

Week 10, Oct. 31. Peace Building Through Dialogue

- What are the principles of dialogue?
- How to conduct dialogue groups?
- How do religious principles influence dialogue?

Required Readings:

1. Gordon and Gordon, Introduction 1-17 and Conclusion:116-125 (Intro in course packet, conclusion on Reserve)
2. Bar-On. The Israeli- Palestinian-Dialogue. (In Pursuit of Peace, Chapter 10.
3. Yehezkel Landau. Healing the Holy Land : Interreligious Peacebuilding in Israel/Palestine. Washington, DC : United States Institute of Peace, 2003
4. Smock, David. *Interfaith Dialogue and Peacebuilding* (2002), Ch. 1 (Abu-Nimer) and Ch. 2 (Gopin)

Recommended Readings:

1. Volkan, V. The Tree Model: Psychopolitical Dialogue and the Promotion of Coexistence. (In: Weiner, Handbook of Coexistence).
2. Lerner, Michael. *Healing Israel/Palestine* (2003), Introduction, Chapters 6 & 7.
3. Guinn, David. *Protecting Jerusalem's Holy Sites: A Strategy for Negotiating a Sacred Peace* (2006), Introduction.

Week 11, Nov. 7 Dialogue and Power in Peace Building: A Palestinian Perspective and an Israeli perspective

- How do power relations influence the perception, willingness, and outcome of dialogue?
- What are the obstacles to and pitfalls of dialogue?

Required Readings:

1. Aloni,S., "The Quest for Human Rights and The Need for Dialogue: Two Sovereign Peoples," (Gordon and Gordon, pp.21-29) (Reserve)
2. Ashrawi, H., Principles, A Politics, and Pronouns: Evolution of the Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue," (Gordon and Gordon, pp. 103-116). (Reserve)
3. Ateek, S., "The Basic principles of Dialogue in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Respect, Honesty, Sincerity, Humility," (Gordon and Gordon, pp. 59-75) (Packet)
3. Abdel Shafi, H., "Integrity and Dialogue: My Reasons for Skepticism," (Gordon and Gordon pp. 149-160) (Reserve)
4. Dajani, Mohammed and Gershon Baskin. "Israeli-Palestinian Joint Activities: Problematic Endeavor, but Necessary Challenge." (Ch. 4 in *Bridging the Divide*)

Recommended Readings:

1. Hussaini, "The Prospect for Dialogue: Accepting the PLO," (Gordon and Gordon, pp. 29-39) (Reserve & Course Packet)

Week 12, Nov. 14 Peace Building Tools for Minority- Majority Relations

- Historical and political overview of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel

- Contact Hypothesis: Strengths and limitations
- Theories of encounter and inter-group relations
- Techniques of encounters

Required Readings:

1. Abu-Nimer. Chapter 1, 3, 4 (In: Dialogue, Conflict Resolution, and Change)
2. Amir, Yehuda, A Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations.@ (Handbook)
3. Wallach, John, Michael Wallach, James Lukoski. *The Enemy Has a Face: The Seeds of Peace Experience*. Washington, DC: USIP, 2000. (Chapters 2 and 3: “Living Together: Breaking the Stereotypes” and “Coexistence Sessions: Owning Up and Reaching Out”)

Recommended Readings:

1. Bard, Mitchell. Variety of Coexistence Efforts in Israel: Lessons For the USA. (In: Weiner, E. Handbook of Coexistence, 468 - 490).
2. Walzer, Michael. Education, Democratic Citizenship and Multiculturalism. (In: Weiner, E. Handbook of Coexistence, 153 - 161).

Week 13, Nov. 28: *Reconciliation and Coexistence Tools of Peace Building: Models of Coexistence Work Between Arabs and Jews In Israel:*

Required Readings:

1. Abu-Nimer. Arab-Jewish Encounter Programs: Political Change or Control? In: Dialogue, Conflict Resolution, and Change, Chapter 10).
2. Bar, H. and Eady, E. Education to Cope with Conflict: Encounters between Jews and Palestinian Citizens of Israel. (In: Weiner, E. Handbook of Coexistence, 514 - 535).
3. Sonnenschein, Halabi, and Friedman, Israeli-Palestinian Workshops: Legitimation of Palestinian Identity and Changes in Power Relationships. (In: Weiner, E. Handbook of Coexistence, 600-615).
4. Hertz-Lazarowitz, R. Kupermintz, H. and J. Lang. Arab-Jewish Student Encounter: Beit Hagefen Coexistence Programs. (In: Weiner, E. Handbook of Coexistence, 565-585).
5. Dichter, Shalom and Khaled Abu-Asba. “Two Peoples, One Civil Society.” (Ch. 7 in *Bridging the Divide*)

Recommended Readings:

1. Abu-Nimer. The Arab-Jewish Coexistence Programs. (In: Dialogue, Conflict Resolution and Change, Chapter 4. 37-53).
2. Feureverger, G. Oasis of Peace: A Community of Moral Education in Israel. (In: Weiner, E. Handbook of Coexistence, 490-514).
3. Payes, Shany. *Palestinian NGOs in Israel: The Politics of Civil Society*. Introduction, Chapters 2 and 5.

Week 14, Dec. 4

Peace Building through Conflict Resolution Techniques

*** Research paper outline is due in class for presentation**

- What are the contribution of conflict resolution techniques to peace building?
- What are the limitations?
- How do the dominant and dominated groups perceive such techniques?

Required Readings:

1. Kaufman, Salem, and Verhoeven. "Looking Back, Looking Forward: Toward Transforming the Conflict." (Ch. 8 in *Bridging the Divide*)

Recommended Readings:

1. Jay Rothman. Dialogue in Conflict: Past and Future. (Weiner, Handbook)

Course Evaluation and Conclusion