

**PSC/MES/REL/JSP 300**  
**Religion and Politics in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**  
Fall 2009  
Syracuse University  
Professor Miriam F. Elman

Eggers Hall 018  
Monday and Wednesday, 12:45-2:05

Professor Elman's Office Hours: Mondays 9:00-11:00  
Office: 400G Eggers Hall (PARCC)  
Tel: 315-443-7404  
Email: [melman@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:melman@maxwell.syr.edu)

**Course Description**

- How much does religion matter in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?
- Is religion at the root of the conflict and preventing conflict resolution?
- Can religion be a force for peace between Israelis and Palestinians?

Political scientists tend to approach the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the perspectives of rational choice and strategic calculation. Although these approaches have merit, they do not pay much attention to the role of religion and are consequently partial at best in accounting for a conflict with significant religious and cultural dimensions. By contrast to most traditional work in Political Science, this course aims to approach the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from an interdisciplinary perspective that will consider the intersection of religion and politics.

Part I of the course will provide several introductory classes on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We will (briefly) examine Jewish Israeli and Arab Palestinian narratives of the conflict and will review the conflict's past and contemporary phases from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the present. This part of the course is geared toward familiarizing students with the basic contours of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Part II of the course will consider the linkages between religion, the state, and society in Israel/Palestine and Jewish, Muslim, and Christian religious attachments to the Holy Land. This part of the course takes a "first cut" at whether the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should best be viewed as a religious and/or political conflict. Readings will explore the relationship between Zionism and Judaism, and the contentious debate over the nature of the Israeli/Jewish state.

Part III of the course will examine various controversies and debates that intersect religious and political dimensions of the conflict. These include the role of religious Zionism in the conflict and the future of Israel's settlement project; the impact of *Hamas* and the "Islamization" of the Palestinian national movement since the late 1980s; and the likelihood that peace can be achieved given conflict over religious holy sites, especially in Jerusalem. This part of the course is focused on considering the origins and nature of religiously motivated violence in Israel and Palestine, and on the ways in which religion has formed and informed the politics of resistance.

Here we will explore religious justifications for violence and the ways in which different communities use religious texts and teachings to underpin different approaches toward Israel/Palestine. We will examine religion and politics in Palestine, including, for example, the extent to which Hamas can be considered a religious political party. With regard to Israel, we will compare secular nationalist settlement with settlement that is based on the notion of 'sacred land'. In particular, we will consider the origins and consequences of religious messianism in Israel, a school of thought which has dominated the Israeli settler movement since the 1970s and the formation of the *Gush Emunim* (the Bloc of the Faithful).

Part IV of the course will consider the future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including next steps in the peace process and the ways in which religion may become a 'force for peace'. Here we will examine how a religious perspective might support and promote conflict resolution, and we will discuss whether the future of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process requires actors to move beyond the political.

### **Prerequisites**

There are no prerequisites for the course, and students are not expected to have a strong background in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, it is **highly recommended** that students who are unfamiliar with the basic contours of the conflict read one or both of the following books during the first few weeks of the semester (the books can be purchased at the SU bookstore):

- T.G. Fraser, *The Arab Israeli-Conflict* (Palgrave, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2008)
- Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (Oxford University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2007)

In order to maximize the chances to doing well in the course, students who lack a basic familiarity with the conflict will need to make a special effort to keep up with the introductory readings and discussions in the first weeks of class.

### **Required Readings**

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2008)

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military* (California University Press, 2001)

The required books are available for purchase at the SU bookstore. A single copy of each book will also be placed in Library Reserves.

In addition to these 2 books, there is a coursepack of required readings. The coursepack can be purchased from University Readers (<http://www.universityreaders.com>). The coursepack is available to students as a convenience, and complies with current copyright restrictions. Students may choose not to purchase the coursepack. In this case, students can access the reader through Library Reserves. One copy of the reader will be placed on Reserves at the start of the semester. Most (but not all) of the required readings can also be found online through accessing the library's E-journals.

**If you choose not to purchase the coursepack, it is recommended that you bring hard copies of the readings to class, as we refer to them often. When it is your turn to be class co-leader (see below), you should definitely bring hard copies of those readings to class.**

### Course Goals

As an upper-division course, this class is both writing and reading intensive. It requires that students be prepared to read and discuss a number of scholarly "readings" per week. This is in addition to various handouts that will be distributed in class. You are expected to do the required reading and to come prepared to discuss it in class.

### Written assignments

- 1 midterm exam essay
- 1 final exam essay
- 2 summary essays on the required readings

These written assignments will encourage you to critically assess published material related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; to think independently and form your own views about the nature of this protracted conflict; and to write about the conflict in ways that reflect its multi-faceted nature. You should expect to submit for grading approximately 30-35 pages of material for the course.

### Midterm Exam—due on October 26

Turn in the exam at the start of class. If you cannot make it to class, you must submit the paper by 12:30pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers. I prefer not to receive papers via email, unless there is an emergency situation that prevents a student from being on campus on the due date. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery. (In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!).

Late papers will be marked down.

**(roughly 10-12 pages long; 12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins)**

Answer **one essay question** based on the material from Weeks 1 through 8.

Students will receive the essay questions on October 5.

The essay should draw on all the relevant materials presented in the course (including the required readings; handouts; and films). In the essay, lengthy summaries of the readings should be avoided. You will not be required to draw on material outside of the required course readings. However, appropriate citation and footnoting is expected.

Final Exam—due on December 16

Turn in the exam by 4:30pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers. I prefer not to receive papers via email, unless there is an emergency situation that prevents a student from being on campus on the due date. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery. (In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!).

Late papers will be marked down.

**(roughly 10-12 pages long; 12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins)**

Same format as the midterm exam, with questions will be based on the material from Weeks 9 through 15.

Students will receive the essay questions on November 23.

The essay should draw on all the relevant materials presented in the course (including the required readings; handouts; and films). In the essay, lengthy summaries of the readings should be avoided. Repetition and overlap between the Midterm and Final Exams should be kept to a minimum. You will not be required to draw on material outside of the required course readings. However, appropriate citation and footnoting is expected.

Reading Essay #1—due on October 19

Turn in the reading essay at the start of class. If you cannot make it to class, you must submit the paper by 12:30pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers. I prefer not to receive papers via email, unless there is an emergency situation that prevents a student from being on campus on the due date. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery. (In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!).

Late papers will be marked down.

**(roughly 5-7 pages long; 12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins)**

Focus the essay on any week's readings from Week 4 through Week 7. In the essay, compare and contrast the readings for the week you select; highlight the main arguments and findings; and provide your own view of the claims made and evidence provided. Avoid submitting papers that are mere summaries of the readings. The essay should make and develop a clear argument. You may use the weekly discussion questions (see below) as a guide for considering a thesis topic for the essay. Formal citation is not required, but when referencing specific pages in the readings be sure to include page numbers!

Reading Essay #2—due on November 30

Turn in the reading essay at the start of class. If you cannot make it to class, you must submit the paper by 12:30pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers. I prefer not to receive papers via email, unless there is an emergency situation that prevents a student from being on campus on the due date. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery. (In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!).

Late papers will be marked down.

**(roughly 5-7 pages long; 12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins)**

Same format as Reading Essay #1 but you should focus the essay on any week's readings from Week 8 through Week 13.

Research Paper—due on December 16 (do not submit midterm or final exams)

**Students may opt to write a research paper in lieu of the midterm and final exams.**

Turn in the paper by 4:30pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery. Under no circumstances can this assignment be submitted via email. (In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!). Late papers will be marked down.

This assignment is designed for students who are familiar with, and enjoy, writing term papers; have a strong background in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and/or are heading to graduate school and need a writing sample to submit with their application. Students opting to do a research paper should select a topic early in the semester, related to the material covered in the course.

For example, you might choose to further investigate any one of the syllabus topics. This would involve reading between 7-10 additional sources on the topic. For instance, you might select to further analyze Hamas; the Israeli settler movement; Christian Zionism; or the nature of Israel's democracy. Alternatively, you could select to do a different topic related to the general themes covered in the class—religion and the state in Israel/Palestine; religion and violence in Israel/Palestine; and religion and peace in Israel/Palestine. For example, you might focus on a different 'holy city' (such as Bethlehem, Hebron, or Nablus/Shechem) or on secular vs. religious peace advocacy groups.

Using a wide variety of outside sources, you should examine the issue from diverse viewpoints; discuss controversies in the literature; and offer your own argument and opinion regarding the topic selected. You must also relate the discussion to the material we have covered in class—do not try to submit a paper prepared for another course, and do not try to use this assignment to get out of doing the assigned reading!

**The research paper should be roughly 20-25 pages long (12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins). The paper must draw on material from outside of the course readings. In addition to proper citation and footnoting, at the end of the paper you must provide copies of the cover pages of books and journal articles that you used.**

### Class Participation

Although there will be frequent lectures on the material, this course will be run as a seminar with student-driven discussion. The course will center on discussion of the weekly readings, occasional films, and frequent handouts. Grading for class participation will include points given for the discussion leader assignment and in-class discussion.

Discussions on the required readings will be guided by a set of questions prepared by students.

#### Discussion leaders:

In addition to participating regularly in class discussions, 3 to 4 students will serve as discussion leaders for various topics on the syllabus. Discussion leaders should have read ALL the material for the week they are assigned, and should be prepared to move our conversation forward.

Each discussion leader for a given week should email the Professor with **one question** that he/she would like the class to discuss. The question must be emailed by 9:00pm on Sunday evening. All students will receive the list of questions in class, and these will also be uploaded onto the course blackboard.

You should try to submit a good, thought provoking question for our discussion. The best questions will be those that identify flaws in the reading; that refer back to other readings; or that compel us to compare and contrast readings for a given week. Be innovative and creative! Students should be prepared to answer their own questions in class. Note too that we are often likely to go “off list” to address questions that I and/or other scholars have raised about the material covered. As discussion leader, a careful reading of all of the required materials will put you in good shape to contribute effectively to class discussions.

(Note: although specific dates are designated for each week/topic, you should view these dates as a rough guideline for when you are likely to be discussion leader. It is possible that we may get to your topic a week or so after its listing in the syllabus)

In-Class discussion:

It is expected that students will have read MOST of the materials assigned for each week. Please do not attempt to “wing it” during class discussions, as this will be painfully obvious.

There are multiple means of participating and earning participation credit.

Students can receive participation credit by speaking up in class and by submitting short (no more than half page) hand-written comments on the class discussion.

To receive participation credit for a given class, these written comments must be submitted at the end of that class period. Emails, or comments turned in at a later class, will not be counted.

By far the best way of achieving the maximum points for participation is to engage wisely and often in the classroom discussions and debates.

Students who miss class are responsible for the material covered, including any instructions and information relating to course assignments. Power point outlines of lectures will be posted on the course blackboard. However, it is not feasible to post handouts online. Students who miss more than a one class should check in with the Professor during office hours to pick up any handouts they may have missed.

Students who are regularly absent from class should bear in mind that they will be missing a considerable amount of material needed to pass the course.

**Grading: Total Points 100**

Midterm Exam:	30 points
Final Exam:	30 points
Reading Essay #1:	15 points
Reading Essay #2:	15 points
Class Participation:	10 points

Point Scale:

95-100	A
90-95	A-
85-90	B+
80-85	B
75-80	B-
70-75	C+
65-70	C
60-65	C-
Below 60	D or Fail

Note: I will use the grade point scale as a rough guide for final grades. I often assign a final grade that is higher than the accumulated points when a student exhibits marked improvement in his/her written work; maintains an excellent attendance record; shows remarkable engagement with the material and the course; and/or attends multiple extra credit events (see below). However, the grade point scale is useful in alerting you to the amount of time and effort you should place on various course assignments.

### **Attendance**

As an advanced undergraduate course, it is important that students attend class regularly. **Students will be allowed to miss no more than 4 classes without cause** (cause includes documented illness, intramurals, or emergencies beyond the student's control). Students should be aware that if they miss more than 4 classes—for whatever reason—they are unlikely to do very well in the course.

Students who faithfully attend the classes each week, and who productively contribute to the classroom discussions, will earn extra points toward their final course grade (this can amount to an extra ½ and, in exceptional cases, a full grade).

### **Extra Credit**

Students can earn extra credit by attending campus events related to the course, and which are sponsored by the Middle Eastern Studies Program or by other academic units on campus. I will determine which campus events are relevant to the course and whether they have been vetted and endorsed by SU academic programs. Students will be notified ahead of time regarding such extra credit opportunities. **Extra credit for attendance at these events will be given (1-2 points per event depending on the amount of time involved).**

In addition, students who have received a **C or less on both of the first 2 assignments** (midterm and first reading essay) may choose to boost their grade by submitting an extra credit written assignment. For extra credit, students should choose a topic on the syllabus and read the recommended reading for it. In an essay no longer than 10 pages, compare and contrast the central arguments and/or findings of these recommended readings with the required readings for that week.

(Note: students planning to complete the extra credit assignment should meet with the Professor during office hours to ensure that their essay will merit added points to their grade).

**The extra credit written assignment can count up to 10 additional points, or more in exceptional cases**

**Due date for extra credit assignment: December 16**

### **Classroom Etiquette**

This course touches on controversial topics and material. The course is set up to encourage a dialogue about contentious political, religious, and cultural issues.

Although students do not have to agree with everything they see, hear, or read (or agree with each other) as a group we do need to respect the scholarship and materials presented, and the opinions of fellow classmates. Various viewpoints and perspectives will be highlighted during the course; that is, the course is neither pro-Israeli, pro-Palestinian, pro-Jewish, pro-Christian, or pro-Muslim. Rather, the course attempts to accurately and fairly represent the beliefs and viewpoints of all sides.

All opinions will be considered, except for those that are based on false information. Please bear in mind that class disruptions and/or personal attacks will not be tolerated. Students who disrupt the class, who “hog” the floor with rants or diatribes, or who fail to display appropriate classroom etiquette will be asked to withdraw from the course.

**Note: students are expected to be engaged in the topic and in the material for the week. Surfing the web, text messaging, reading the newspaper, sleeping, or chatting with friends will not be tolerated. Students who fail to act respectfully will be asked to leave the classroom.**

### **Cheating**

Cheating on any of the assignments for the course will not be tolerated. The Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the Policy and know that it is their responsibility to learn about general academic expectations with regard to proper citation of sources in written work. The Policy also governs the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments as well as the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verifications of participation in class activities. Serious sanctions can result from academic dishonesty of any sort. For more information, see the Academic Integrity Office at <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>

### **Incompletes, Make-Ups, and Students with Special Needs**

An incomplete will only be given in exceptional circumstances (a documented illness or other documented circumstance beyond the student’s control). Students will only be given an incomplete if they have been doing passing work during the semester. Make-ups will be given only in exceptional circumstances and only when the student can provide documentation of an illness or some other serious cause for failing to turn in an assignment at the scheduled time.

Students who are in need of disability-related academic accommodations must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS), 804 University Avenue, Room 309 (315-443-4498). Students with authorized disability-related accommodations should provide a current Accommodation Authorization Letter from ODS to me for review. Please note, however, that accommodations are not provided retroactively; therefore, planning for accommodations as early as possible is necessary. For more information, see the Office of Disability Resources at <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>

### **Course Outline**

#### Part I: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: an Overview

**Week 1, August 31/September 2**  
**Syllabus Review and Facts and Stats**

(no readings)

**Week 2, September 9**  
**Facts and Stats, continued**

(no readings)

**Week 3, September 14/September 16**  
**The Jewish Israeli and Arab Palestinian Narratives**

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (skim)

**Week 4, September 23**  
**The Collapse of Oslo: Explaining the Demise of the Peace Process in the 1990s**

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 6

Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn 2001): 31-46

**Recommended:**

Louis Kriesberg, "The Relevance of Reconciliation Actions in the Breakdown of Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations, 2000" *Peace and Change*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (October 2002): 546-571

Jerome Slater, "What Went Wrong? The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 116, No. 2 (2001): 171-199

### **Week 5, September 30**

#### **The Contemporary Phase of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 7

Efraim Inbar, "The Rise and Demise of the Two-State Paradigm," *Orbis* (Spring 2009): 265-283

Miriam Fendius Elman, "Back to the Future? Revisiting Israel's 2009 Elections" 5 pages at <http://middle-eastern-studies.syr.edu/Dime.htm>

#### Recommended:

Ian S. Lustick, "Abandoning the Iron Wall: Israel and 'The Middle Eastern Muck'," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Fall 2008): 30-56

## Part II: Religion and/or Politics in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

### **Week 6, October 5, October 7**

#### **Reading the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Religious versus Political Dimensions**

Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness*, pp. 1-55

Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler, *Bringing Religion Into International Relations* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), chapter 7, pp. 137-162

#### Recommended:

Miriam Fendius Elman, "Does Democracy Tame the Radicals? Lessons from Israel's Jewish Religious Political Parties" *Asian Security*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January-April 2008): 21 pages

### **Week 7, October 12, October 14**

#### **Jewish, Muslim, and Christian Attachments to Israel and Palestine**

Yitzhak Reiter, Marlen Eordegian, and Marwan Abu Khalaf, "Jerusalem's Religious Significance," *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (June 2001): 12-19

Judith Butler, "The Charge of Antisemitism: Jews, Israel, and the Risks of Public Critique," in Laurence J. Silberstein, ed., *Postzionism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), pp. 369-386

Stephen Zunes, "The Influence of the Christian Right in US Middle East Policy," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer 2005): 73-78

Charley J. Levine, "John Hagee," *Hadassab Magazine* (October 2007): 32-34

Recommended:

Donald Wagner, "Reagan and Begin, Bibi and Jerry: the Theopolitical Alliance of the Likud Party with the American Christian 'Right'," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Fall 1998): 33-51

Motti Inbari, "Religious Zionism and the Temple Mount Dilemma—Key Trends," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2008): 29-47

**Week 8, October 19, October 21**

**Zionism and Judaism: Can Israel Be Both Jewish and Democratic?**

Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness*, pp. 173-207

Alan Dowty, "Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Fall 1999): 1-15

Steven V. Mazie, *Israel's Higher Law: Religion and Liberal Democracy in the Jewish State* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006), chapter 9, pp. 235-252

Nachman Ben-Yehuda, "The Way to a Halachic State: Theocratic Political Extremism in Israel," in Michael Berkowitz, ed., *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 99-127

Leora E. Frucht, "In Israel, Baby Steps," *Hadassab Magazine* (October 2006): 52-58

Recommended:

Dov Waxman and Ilan Peleg, "Neither Ethnocracy Nor Bi-nationalism: In Search of the Middle Ground," *Israel Studies Forum*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Winter 2008): 55-73

Sammy Smooha, "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1997): 198-241

### Part III: Key Debates and Controversies

#### **Week 9, October 26, October 28**

#### **Israel's Religious Zionists and the Settler Movement (Part I)**

Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness*, pp. 89-129

Samuel Peleg, "They Shoot Prime Ministers too, Don't They? Religious Violence in Israel: Premises, Dynamics, and Prospects," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1997): 227-247

#### Recommended:

Oded Haklai, "Religious-Nationalist Mobilization and State Penetration: Lessons from Jewish Settlers' Activism in Israel and the West Bank," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 6 (June 2007): 713-739

#### **Week 10, November 2, November 4**

#### **Israel's Religious Zionists and the Settler Movement (Part II)**

Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assassination* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), chapter 8, pp. 244-285, 338-341

Samantha M. Shapiro, "The Unsettlers," *The New York Times Magazine* (February 16, 2003): 42-48

#### Recommended:

Laurence S. Hanauer, "The Path to Redemption: Fundamentalist Judaism, Territory, and Jewish Settler Violence in the West Bank," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 18 (1995): 245-270

#### **Week 11, November 9, November 11**

#### **Hamas: Terrorist Organization or Religious Political Party? (Part I)**

Mia Bloom, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 119, No. 1 (2004): 61-88

Sherifa Zuhur, Ali Abunimah, Haim Malka, and Shibley Telhami, "Hamas and the Two-State Solution: Villain, Victim or Missing Ingredient?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2008): 1-30

Recommended:

Are Knudsen, "Crescent and Sword: the Hamas Enigma," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 8 (December 2005): 1373-1388

Mahjoob Zweiri, "The Hamas Victory: Shifting Sands or Major Earthquake?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (2006): 675-687

**Week 12, November 16, November 18** **Hamas: Terrorist Organization or Religious Political Party? (Part II)**

Shaul Mishal, "The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: a Network Perspective," *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Summer 2003): 569-589

Meir Litvak, "The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: the Case of Hamas," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (January 1998): 148-163

Recommended:

Khaled Hroub, "The 'New Hamas' Through Its New Documents," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Summer 2006): 6-27

Menachem Klein, "Hamas in Power," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Summer 2007): 442-459

**Week 13, November 23****Religious Holy Sites and Political Conflict: the Case of Jerusalem**

-----, "Jerusalem: 40 Years Later (Roundtable Discussion)," *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2007): 73-87

Recommended:

Menachem Klein, "Jerusalem as an Israeli Problem—a Review of Forty Years of Israeli Rule Over Arab Jerusalem," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2008): 54-72

Cecilia Albin, "Securing the Peace of Jerusalem: On the Politics of Unifying and Dividing," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23 (1997): 117-142

## Part IV: Conclusions: the Future of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

### **Week 14, November 30, December 2**

#### **Next Steps: Toward Resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapters 8 and 9

Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: the Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), chapter 26, pp. 759-779

Jeremy Pressman, "The Best Hope—Still?" *Boston Review* (July/August 2009), 7 pages at <http://www.bostonreview.net/BR34.4/pressman.php>

#### Recommended:

William B. Quandt, Ali Abuminah, Asad Ghanem, and Alon Ben-Meir, "Can the Two-State Solution Be Salvaged?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 2009): 1-27

### **Week 15, December 7, December 9**

#### **Can Religion Be a Force for Peace?**

#### **Fostering a Dialogue in the Israeli-Palestinian Community**

Yhezkiel Landau, "Healing the Holy Land: Inter-religious Peace-building in Israel/Palestine," *Peaceworks*, United Institute of Peace, August 2003, pp. 9-43, 47-48, 51-52

Mohammed Abu-Nimer, "Religion, Dialogue, and Non-violent Actions in Palestinian-Israeli Conflict," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Spring 2004): 491-511

#### Recommended:

Marc Gopin, *Holy War, Holy Peace: How Religion Can Bring Peace to the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), select chapter

David Smock, ed., *Interfaith Dialogue and Peacebuilding* (Washington DC: US Institute of Peace, 2002), select chapter

### **Week 16, December 14**

#### **Conclusions**

(no readings)