The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

The Jewish-Palestinian Vertigo: The Impact of the Conflict on the Israeli and Palestinian Societies

Baruch Kimmerling
Hebrew University
Department of Sociology

The encounter between the Jewish immigrant-settler society and native Arabs of Palestine had enormous impact on the historical and social development of both people. The local Arab society (that later defined themselves as Palestinians) and that fragment of the Jewish people that immigrated to Zion and felt as homecoming after 2,000 years of exile both had strong sense of belongings to the land and regarded it as their exclusive land. Both felt existentially threaten by the political aims and desires of the other people. Retrospectively, the relations between both people appear to be an inevitable zero-sum total conflict, of "either we or they". However, the dynamics of the relations was much more complex, and the aim of this course is to examine in a systematic way the major developments and impacts of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict within some comparative and theoretical context (free from ideological bias).

The course presentation will not be chronological, but thematic and will be conducted using the dialogic technique, namely the students will be required as homework to prepare professional contrasting texts dealing with specific issue and to discuses them critically in the classroom.

Reader:

Calvin Goldscheider, *Cultures in Conflict: The Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Westport: Greenwood Press. 2002.

1. A Comparative Theoretical Framework

The Jewish-Zionist/Palestinian relations are inundated by all directly and indirectly involved parties by immense emotions, stereotypes and propagandistic materials, many times wrapped by authoritative-academic covers. It is also guarded by strong vested interests. In order to avoid as much as possible such pitfalls, it is essential to analyze this issue within a comparative theoretical framework, such were the various relations between the local and immigrant people in North and South Americas, North and South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Neither of these case studies are similar with the Zionist nation building process in Palestine and Israel and the local-native peoples responses to them, however it should be very instructive and challenging to examine our case study from this perspective.

Baruch Kimmerling, "A Model for Analysis of Reciprocal Relations Between the

Jewish and Arab Communities in Mandatory Palestine," *Plural Societies*, Vol.14. Nos. 3/4, 1983, pp. 45-68.

Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States: Britain and Ireland and Algeria, Israel and West Bank-Gaza*. London: Cornell University Press, 1993, pp. 26-56.

2. A Historical Background I:

The pogroms of 1881 in East European triggered a major Jewish wave of emigration, but only a small portion of it saw the Holy Land as their target of destination, mainly religious sentiments. This was the first encounter between Jewish immigrants and the local Arab population under the rule of the Ottoman Muslim Empire. Despite the non-political character of this, retrospectively counted as the first wave of immigration, it aroused several of basic characters of the relations between these two xenophobic and exclusivist communities during their formative period.

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1991, pp. 67-120.

Optional:

Bashir Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabl Nablus, 1700-1900. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 1-8, 21-52.*

3. Land and Demography – Two Resources in the Game

Baruch Kimmerling, *Zionism and Territory: The Socioterritorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics.* Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies, 1983, pp. 66-90.

Justin McCarthy, *The population of Palestine: Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and Mandate*. New York: Colombia University Press, 1990.

Optional:

Palestine Royal Commission: *Report*. London: HMSO, Cmd. 5479, pp. 130-135, 218-250, 279-307, 1937.

4. Creation of Two Rival National Movements

Baruch Kimmerling, "Process of Formation of Palestinian Collective Identities: The Ottoman and Colonial Periods," *Middle Eastern Studies*, April 2000, 36, 2, pp. 48-81.

Giedon Shimoni, *The Zionist ideology*, Hanover, N. H.: Brandies University Press, 1995, Conclusions.

Optional:
Rashid. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. Chapters 2-3.

5. A Historical Background II:

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994, pp. 269-398.

6. The Politicide of the Palestinian People and the Establishment of the Israeli State

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History.* Cambridge. MA: Harvard University Press, 2003, Chapter Five.

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Culture and Military in Israel.* Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, Chapter Two.

7. A Refugee-Camps Society and the Revival of the Palestinian Nationalism

Rosmary Sayigh, *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries. London: Zed Books, 1984, pp. 10-25.*

Helena Cobban, *The Palestinian Liberation Organization: People, Power and Politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp.21-35.

Optional:

Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement 1949-1993*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 71-94..

8. 1967-2002: Occupation as a Social System

Naseer H. Aruri, *Occupation, Israel Over Palestine*. Zeed Books, 1984.

Sara M. Roy, *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development.* Washington DC: Institute for Palestinian Studies, 1995.

Optional:

Maya Rosenfeld, *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in A Refugee Camp*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004 (forthcoming), Chapters 2-3.

9. The Blooming and the Deterioration of the Jewish-Israeli Society

Baruch Kimmerling, "Making Conflict a Routine: The Cumulative Effects of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Upon Israeli Society," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1983, pp. 13-45.

Nadim. Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State. New Haven: Yale University Press , 1997, Chapter 12.*

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Interrupted System: Israeli Civilians in War and Routine Times*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1985, Chapter Two.

An Attempt of Reconciliation: Oslo Agreements and their Failure

Arieh Stav (ed.) *Israel and a Palestinian State: A Zero Sum Game?* Tel Aviv: Zmora-Bitan Publishers for the Ariel Center for Policy Research, 2001 (Selected Chapters).

Baruch Kimmerling, "The Power-Oriented Settlement: Bargaining between Israelis and Palestinians," in *The PLO and Israel: From The Road to the Oslo Agreement and Back?"* M. Ma'oz and A. Sela (eds.). New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997, pp. 223-251.