The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Syllabus

BI-NATIONALISM IN ISRAEL/PALESTINE: KEY CONCEPTS - 56542

Last update 16-09-2013

HU Credits: 2

Degree/Cycle: 1st degree (Bachelor)

Responsible Department: Political Science

Academic year: 0

Semester: 1st Semester

Teaching Languages: English

Campus: Mt. Scopus

Course/Module Coordinator: Bashir Bashir

Coordinator Email: bashbashir@gmail.com

Coordinator Office Hours: Monday 3-4, Room 3308- Social Sciences

Teaching Staff:
Dr. Bashir Bashir

Course/Module description:
The “logic of partition” and the “statist interpretation” of the right to national self-determination- according to which partitioning the land between Jews and Arabs in two separate states is the most desired and effective way to meet the demands of the conflicting parties- have dominated the hitherto unsuccessful attempts to settle the Israeli Palestinian conflict. This course seeks to explore the potential contribution of contemporary debates in political theory to identifying new ways to settle the Israeli Palestinian conflict. More precisely, the course seeks to examine the impact of rethinking key concepts such as the right to national self-determination; sovereignty; nation-state; restorative justice; politics of reconciliation; and federalism on envisioning and developing alternatives to partitioning the land in Israel/Palestine.

Course/Module aims:
1- The course aims to expose students to new approaches and "out of the box" thinking on the question of Israel/Palestine.
2- Familiarize the students with various and competing alternatives to partition in Israel/Palestine.

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:
1- identify the precise meanings of political notions underling the growing discourse on alternatives to partition in Israel/Palestine.
2- critically compare and assess the various proposals which seek to go beyond partition to settle the question of Israel/Palestine

Attendance requirements(%):
100

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Each class is divided into two parts. The first part presents an overview of the most recent meanings and uses in political theory of the core concept of the specific week. The second part aspires to engage the students to apply these meanings in the case of Israel/Palestine and assess their coherence and feasibility.

Course/Module Content:

1-Introduction: the Rationale and Aims of the Course

2- Civic v. Ethno-cultural Nationalism

3- Nation-Building; Group Rights and Corresponding Strategies (Assimilation; Integration; Tolerance; Accommodation)

4- The Right to National Self-Determination: Statist Interpretation v. Federalism

5- The National Cultural Autonomy Model Revisited

7- Binationalism

8- Citizenship: Reopening the Frontiers

9- Liberal Democracy: One State in Israel/ Palestine

10- Consociational democracy

11- The Politics of Reconciliation in Israel/ Palestine

12- Constitutional Design for Divided Societies

13- Where Now for Palestine/ Israel: Summary and Exchange

Required Reading:

1-Introduction: the Rationale and Aims of the Course
No required readings for the first class

2- Civic v. Ethno-cultural Nationalism
Required readings:
Gans, Chaim (2003) The Limist of Nationalism (Cambridge University Press), Chapter 1.

Seymour, M. Couture, J., and Nielsen, K. (1998), 'Introduction: Questioning the Ethnic/ Civic Dichotomy', in J. Couture, K. Nielsen, and M. Seymour (eds.), Rethinking Nationalism (Calgary, Alberat, Canada: University of Calgary Press),pp. 1-61.

Ozkirimli, Umut (2000) Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction (New York: Palgrave).

Khalidi, Rashid (1997) Palestinian Identity (Columbia University Press) Chapt., pp.

177-209

Gans, Chaim (2008), A Just Zionism: On the Morality of the Jewish People (Oxford University Press).

Arie Dubnov & Hanan Harif (29TH April, 2012), 'Zionisms: Roads not Taken on the Journey to the Jewish State' , Maarav. http://www.maarav.org.il/english/2012/04/zionisms-roads-not-taken-on-the-journey-to-the-jewish-state-arie-dubnov-hanan-harif/ (accessed 18.3.13)

3- Nation-Building; Group Rights and Corresponding Strategies (Assimilation; Integration; Tolerance; Accommodation)
Required readings:
Kymlicka, Will (1995), Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights (Oxford: Clarendon), pp. 23-24.

Kymlicka, Will (2001), 'The New Debate over Minority Rights', Politics in the Vernacular (Oxford University Press), pp. 17-48.

Kymlicka, Will (2002), 'Multiculturalism', Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction (Oxford University Press- 2nd Edition), pp. 327-376.

McGarry, J., O'Leary, B., and Simeon, R. (2008) 'Integration or Accommodation: The Enduring Debate in Conflict Regulation', in S. Choudhry (ed.) Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation (Oxford University Press), pp. 41-90.

Harles, John (1997), 'Integration before assimilation: Immigration, multiculturalism and the Canadian Polity', Canadian Journal of Political Science, 30(4): 711-736.

4- The Right to National Self-Determination: Statist Interpretation v. Federalism
Required readings:
Young, Iris (2005) 'Self-Determination as Non-Domination: Ideals Applied to Palestine/ Israel', Ethnicities, 5(2), 139-159.

Young, Iris (2006), 'Two Concepts of Sel-Determination', in Global Challenges: War, Self-Determination and Responsbility for Justice (Polity Press), pp.39-57.
Joe Cleary (2002), 'Ireland, Palestine and the antinomies of self-determination in the 'badland of modernity'', in Literature, Partition and the Nation State: Culture and Conflict in Ireland, Israel and Palestine (Cambridge University Press), pp.15-50.

Gans, Chaim (2008), 'A Jewish State: Self-determination and Hegemony', in G., Chaim, A Just Zionism: On the Morality of the Jewish People, pp. 53-80.

5- The National Cultural Autonomy Model Revisited
Required readings:

Nimni, Ephraim (2005), 'Introduction: The National Cultural Autonomy Model Revisited', in E. Nimni (ed.) National Cultural Autonomy and Its Contemporary Critics (Routledge), pp.1-14.

Renner, Karl (1899), 'Sate and Nation', in E. Nimni (ed.) National Cultural Autonomy and Its Contemporary Critics (Routledge, 2005), pp.15-47.

6- Sovereignty Reconsidered:
Required readings:

Mossberg, Mathias (2010), 'One Land, Two States? Parallel States as an Example of "Out of the Box" Thinking on Israel/Palestine', Journal of Palestine Studies , 39(2): pp.40-45.

שנהב, יהודה, "מהו צבעה של התיאוריה הביקורתית? מחשבות על ריבונות פוסט-וסטפלית". גיל אייל (עורך) ארבעה הרצאות על תיאוריה ביקורתית (מכון ון ליר בירושלים: הקיבוץ המאוחד, 2012), עמ. 25-49.

Philpott, Dan, "Sovereignty", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2010 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2010/entries/sovereignty/

Grinberg, Lev (2010), 'The Israeli-Palestinian Union: The "1-2-7 States" Vision of the Future', Journal of Palestine Studies, 39 (2): pp.46-53.

Linklater, Andrew (1996), 'Citizenship and Sovereignty in Post-Westphalian State', European Journal of International Relations, 2(1): 77-103.

7- Binationalism:
Required readings:

Said, Edward (2001), 'The Only Alternative,' Al-Ahram Weekly Online, 1-7 March, No. 523.

Raz-Krakotzkin, Amnon (2011), 'Jewish Peoplehood, "Jewish Politics," and Political Responsibility: Arendt on Zionism and Partitions', College Literature 38(1): 57-74.

Raz-Krakotzkin, Amnon (2001), 'Binationalism and Jewish Identity: Hannah Arendt and the Question of Palestine', in Steven E. Achheim (ed.) Hannah Arendt in Jerusalem (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 165- 180

8- Citizenship: Reopening the Frontiers
Required readings:

Shafir, Gershon and Peled, Yoav (2002), Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), particulary chapt. 1,4,6,7,12.

Kymlicka, Will (2002), 'Citizenship Theory', Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction (Oxford University Press- 2nd Edition), pp. 284-326.

Jamal, Amal (2007), 'Nationalizing States and the Construction of 'Hollow Citizenship': Israel and its Palestinian Citizens', Ethnopolitics 6(4): pp. 471-493.

9- Liberal Democracy: One State in Israel/ Palestine:
Required readings:
Tilley, Virginia (2006), 'The Secular Solution: Debating Israel-Palestine', New Left Review 38: pp. 37-57.

Tilley, Virginia (2003), 'The One State Solution', London Review of Books, November 6.
http://www.lrb.co.uk/v25/n21/virginia-tilley/the-one-state-solution

Declaration of the Movement for One Democratic State in Palestine:
http://onedemocraticstate.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/HCDeclaration.pdf

Behar, Moshe (2011), 'One-State, Two-States, Bi-national State: Mandated Imagination in A Regional Void', Middle East Studies Oneline Journal, Issue 5, Volume 2.
http://www.middle-east-studies.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Behar-Mandated1.pdf

Kelly, Paul (2005), 'What is Liberalism', in P. Kelly, Liberalism (Cambridge: Polity Press), pp. 1-16.

10- Consociational democracy
Required readings:
Lijphart, A. (1982) 'Consociation: The Model and Its Applications in Divided Societies', in D. Read (ed.) Political Co-operation in Divided Societies: A Series of Papers relevant to the Conflict in Northern Irland (Dublin: Gill and Mcmillian).

O'Leary, Brendan (1999), 'The 1999 British-Irish Agreement: Power Sharing Plus', Scottish Affairs, 26: 15-37.

McGarry J., and O'Leary, B. (2004) 'Consociational Theroy and Northern Ireland', in Essays on the Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

יואב פלד (1993) , "זרים באוטופיה: מעמדם האזרחי של הפלסטינים בישראל", תיאוריה וביקורת. 3: 21-35.
11- The Politics of Reconciliation in Israel/ Palestine
Required readings:
Bashir Bashir and Will Kymlicka (2008), 'Introduction: Struggles for Inclusion and Reconciliation in Modern Democracies', in W. Kymlicka and B. Bashir, The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies (Oxford University Press), chapter 1: pp. 1-24.

Rouhana, Nadim (2008), Reconciling History with Equal Citizenship in Israel: Democracy and the Politics of Historical Denial', in Will Kymlicka and Bashir, The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies (Oxford University Press), chapter 4, pp. 102-138.

Rouhana, Nadim (2004), 'Group Identity and Power Asymmetry in Reconciliation Processes: The Israeli-Palestinian Case', Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology 10(1): 33-52.

Pettigrove, Glen and Parsons, Nigel (2010), 'Palestinian Political Forgiveness: Agency, Permissibility, and Prospects', Social Theory and Practice, 36(4): 661-688.

12- Constitutional Design for Divided Societies
Required readings:
Lijphart, Arend (2004) 'Constitutional Design for Divided Societies', Journal of Democracy, 15(2): 96-109.

Choudhry, Sujit (2008) 'Bridging Comparative Politics and Comparative Constitutional Law: Constitutional Design in Divided Societies', in S. Choudhry (ed.) Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation (Oxford University Press), pp. 3-40.

Jabareen, Yousef T (2007), 'An Equal Constitution for All? On a Constitution and Collective Rights for Arab Citizens in Israel', (Haifa: Mossawa Center, The Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel.
http://www.mossawacenter.org/files/files/File/An%20Equal%20Constitution%20For%20All.pdf.

13- Where Now for Palestine/ Israel: Summary and Exchange
Required readings:

נא לעיין בכתב העת המרחב הציבורי קיץ 2012 גיליון 6 "מדינה אחת בין הים התיכון לנהר הירדן- חלומות באספמיה או מציאות מתהווה?"
Bashir, Bashir (2012), 'Alternatives to Partition: A New Grammar in Israel/Palestine', This Week in Palestine, 173: 4-8.
http://www.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?id&eq;3803&ed&eq;210&edid&eq;210

Kelman, Herbert (2011), 'A One-Country/ Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', Middle East Policy, 18(1): 27-41.
http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/hckelman/files/one_country_two_state_solution.pdf

Additional Reading Material:
1-Introduction: the Rationale and Aims of the Course

No additional readings

2- Civic v. Ethno-cultural Nationalism
Additional readings:
Gellner, E., (1983) Nations and Nationalism (Oxford: Blackwell).

Smith, A. D., (1991) National Identity (Harmondsworth: Penguin).

Miller, David (1997) On Nationality (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Said, Edward (1992), The Question of Palestine (Vintage Books).

יהודה שנהב, במלכודת הקו הירוק: מסה פוליטית יהודית. תל-אביב: עם עובד, 2010.

3- Nation-Building; Group Rights and Corresponding Strategies (Assimilation; Integration; Tolerance; Accommodation)
Additional readings:
Yonah, Yossi, (2005) 'Israel As a Multicultural Democracy: Challenges and Obstacles',
Israel Affairs 11(1):95-116.

Karayanni, M. M. (2007). 'Multiculture Me No More! On Multicultural Qualifications and the Palestinian-Arab Minority of Israel', Diogenes, 54(3): 39-58.

Galeotti, A. E. (1993), 'Citizenship and Equality: The Place for Toleration', Political Theory 21, 585–605.

Forst, R. (2004), 'The Limits of Toleration', Constellations 11:3, 312-325.

4- The Right to National Self-Determination: Statist Interpretation v. Federalism
Additional readings:
Miller, David (1993) 'In Defence of Nationality', Journal of Applied Philosophy, 10(1):3-16.

Miller, David (2000) 'National Self-Determination and Global Justice', in Citizenship and National Identity (Cambridge: Polity Press), Chapter 10: pp.161-179.

Margalit, Avishai, & Joseph Raz (1990) 'National Self-Determination', Journal of Philosophy 31: 439-461.

Kymlicka, Will (2001), 'Minority Nationalism and Multination Federation', Politics in the Vernacular (Oxford University Press), pp. 91-119.

Freeman, Michael (1996) 'Democracy and Dynamite: The Peoples' Right to Self-Determination', Political Studies: 746-761

Buchanan, Allen, (2004) Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-determination: Moral Foundations for International Law (New York: Oxford University Press), Part 3.

5- The National Cultural Autonomy Model Revisited
Additional readings:
McGarry, J. and Moore, M. (2005), 'Karl Renner, Power Sharing and Non-territorial Autonomy', in E. Nimni (ed.) National Cultural Autonomy and Its Contemporary Critics (Routledge), pp.74-94.

Kymlicka, W. (2005), 'Renner and the Accommodation of Sub-state Nationalisms', in E. Nimni (ed.) National Cultural Autonomy and Its Contemporary Critics (Routledge), pp.137-149.

Keating, Michael (2001), Plurinational Democracy: Stateless Nations in a Post-Sovereignty Era (Oxford University Press), chapters 1, 5, 6.

6- Sovereignty Reconsidered:
Additional readings:
Mossberg, Mathias and LeVine, Mark (2010), 'The Solution for Israelis and Palestinians: a Parallel State Structure', The Christian Science Monitor, April 8,.

MacCormick, Neil (1999)Questioning Sovereignty: Law, State and Nation in European Commonwealth (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Camilleri, J., and J. Falk (1992), The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World (Aldershot: Edward Elgar).

Bodin, Jean (1992), On Sovereignty: Four Chapters from 'The Six Books of the Commonwealth' (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press).

Hoffman, John (1998), Sovereignty (Buckingham: Open University Press).

7- Binationalism:
Additional readings:
Herman, Tamar (2005), 'The Bi-National Idea in Israel/ Palestine: Past and Present', Nations and Nationalism 11(3):381-401.

Aschheim, Steven E. (2007), 'Bildung in Palestine: Zionism, Binationalism, and the Strains of German-Jewish Humanism', in S.E. Aschheim, Beyond the Border: The German-Jewish Legacy Abroad (Princeton University Press), pp. 6-44.

Benvenisti, Meron (2009), 'The Fashion of Binationalism', Haaretz, April 30.
Check his article here as well: http://www.haaretz.com/hasite/spages/1144160.html

Ghanem, As'ad (2002), 'The Bi-national Idea in Palestine and Israel: Historical Roots and Contemporary Debate', The Holy Land Studies Journal, 1(1): pp.61-84.

עדי גורדון (עורך), "ברית שלום" והציונות הדו-לאומית. ירושלים: כרמל, 2008.

8- Citizenship: Reopening the Frontiers
Additional readings:
Miller, David (2000) Citizenship and National Identity (Oxford: Polity Press), chapters 4 (notice that chapter 3 deals with three notions of citizenship: liberal, libertarian and republican).

Peled, Yoav (2007), 'Citizenship Betrayed: Israel's Emerging Immigration and Citi¬zenship Regime', Theoretical Inquiries in Law 8 (2): pp. 333–358.

Held, David (1999), 'The Transformation of Political Community: Rethinking Democracy in the Context of globalization;, in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon (eds.), Democracy's Edges (Cambridge University Press),pp. 84-111.

Kymlicka, Will (2001), 'Citizenship in an Era of Globalization: Commentary on Held', Politics in the Vernacular (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 317-326.

9- Liberal Democracy: One State in Israel/ Palestine:
Additional readings:
Gray, John (2000) Two Faces of Liberalism (Cambridge: Polity Press), chapter 1.

Abunimah, Ali. (2006) One Country: A Bold Proposal to End Israeli-Palestinian Impasse. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Tilley, Virginia (2005), The One State Solution: A Breakthrough for Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Deadlock (University of Michigan Press).

10- Consociational democracy
Additional readings:
Lijphart, Arend (1977), Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press).

See 'Federalism and Consociationalism', special issue of Publius, the Journal of Federalism, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring 1985).

Smooha, Sammy (2002), 'The Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Democratic and Jewish State', Nations and Nationalism, 8(4): pp. 475-503.

11- The Politics of Reconciliation in Israel/ Palestine
Additional readings:
McCarthy, Thomas (2002), 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung in the USA: On the Politics of Memory of Slavery', Political Theory 30(5): pp. 623-648; and 'Coming to Terms with Our Past, Part II: On the Morality and Politics of Reparations for Slavery', Political Theory 32:6 (2004), pp. 750-772.

Bashir, Bashir (2012) 'Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation' Res Publica, 18(2): 127-143.

Verdega, E. (2009) Unchopping a Tree: Reconciliation in the Aftermath of Political Violence, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Muldoon, Paul (2003) 'Reconciliation and Political Legitimacy: The Old Australia and the New South Africa,' Australian Journal of Politics and History, 49(2): pp.182-196.

12- Constitutional Design for Divided Societies
Additional readings:
Gross, Aeyal M. (2005), 'The Constitution, Reconciliation, and Transitional Justice: Lessons from South Africa and Israel', Stanford Journal of International Law, 40(Winter): pp.47-105.

Horowitz, Donald(1991), A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society (University of California Press), chapters 6+7.

13- Where Now for Palestine/ Israel: Summary and Exchange
No additional readings

Course/Module evaluation:
End of year written/oral examination 100 %
Presentation 0 %
Participation in Tutorials 0 %
Project work 0 %
Assignments 0 %
Reports 0 %
Research project 0 %
Quizzes 0 %
Other 0 %

Additional information:
The method of assessment and evaluation in this course is a take home exam at the end of the teaching sessions. There is no Mo'ad B in this course.

The list of required readings is subject to changes