



## *Syllabus*

# *Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the Diaspora: History Society Politics - 56575*

*Last update 03-09-2017*

*HU Credits:* 2

*Responsible Department:* political science

*Academic year:* 0

*Semester:* 1st Semester

*Teaching Languages:* Hebrew

*Campus:* Mt. Scopus

*Course/Module Coordinator:* Maya Rosenfeld

*Coordinator Email:* [maya.rosenfeld@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:maya.rosenfeld@mail.huji.ac.il)

*Coordinator Office Hours:* Wednesdays 13:00-14:00

*Teaching Staff:*

Dr. Maya Rosenfeld

*Course/Module description:*

---

*This course traces the social and political history of the Palestinians since the 1948 war. The impact of four key factors is examined in detail: 1) Palestinian displacement, refugee existence and UN intervention on behalf of Palestine refugees 2) regime policies of the Arab "host" countries vis a vis the Palestinian refugees 3) Israel's prolonged military occupation over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and 4) the emergence and development of the Palestinian national movement.*

*Accordingly, the course is roughly divided into four parts: starting with the commencement of the Palestinian refugee problem in the aftermath of the 1948 War, the first part analyzes the seventy year old intervention of the international community, in particular that of the United Nations Works and Relief Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), on behalf of Palestine refugees and underscores the major consequences of this intervention for four generations of refugees. The second part discusses the considerably divergent legal, social, economic and political statuses of Palestinian refugees in three Arab "host" countries, Lebanon, Jordan and Kuwait (up till the expulsion of Palestinians from this country in 1991), each of which represents a different regime type. It then underscores the impact of variant regime policies on the social structure and social history of Palestinian refugee communities.*

*The third part of the course reviews the prolonged Israeli occupation over the West Bank and Gaza as a system of military, economic and political control. It examines the cumulative impact of the occupation regime on socio-economic conditions in the West Bank and Gaza in general, and on specific sectors and segments of Palestinian society in particular, over the course of more than four decades. The fourth part traces the stages of development of the Palestinian national movement in the Diaspora and Palestine since 1948, with a focus on the post 1967 emergence of the PLO and with special emphasis on the occupied territories-based branch of the national movement, the first Intifada, and its long-term consequences. The concluding discussion will provide a concise overview of the major trends of development within the Palestinian national movement since the Oslo Accords and establishment of the PNA in 1994, including a brief examination of the second Intifada, the rise of Hamas and the major divide that currently dominates Palestinian political life.*

#### Course/Module aims:

*The aim is to expose the students to central issues in the social and political history of the Palestinians since the 1948 war and to provide them with systematic knowledge and deep understanding of these topics.*

---

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

- a) To elaborate on the major factors that affected the social history of the Palestinians since the 1948 war.
- b) To review the origins of the Palestinian refugee problem and to analyze the development of international intervention on behalf of Palestine refugees
- c) To provide an overview on the situation of Palestinian refugees in the Arab "host countries".
- d) To point at central stages in the development of the Palestinian national movement since 1948 and discuss the main features of each stage.
- e) To describe the central systemic components of the Israel's military occupation over the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- d) To assess the long term impact of Israel's military occupation on Palestinian economy, society and politics

Attendance requirements(%):

Attendance is required.

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Lectures

Course/Module Content:

Introduction (most of the first meeting): Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Israel, and the Diaspora since 1948: Basic historical, demographic, social and political data.

Refugeeness, dispersal, life in exile: major aspects (approximately four meetings, including the first meeting):

- a. Palestinians and Jews under the British Mandate
- b. The UNSCOP Report and the UN Partition Plan
- c. The 1948 War: the immediate implications for the Palestinians.
- d. The international community, the UN, UNRWA and the Palestinian refugees from a perspective of six decades.
- e. The acquisition of education and the transformation of the social profile of second and third generations of Palestinian refugees.
- f. Palestinian "human resources" in the Middle Eastern economy: migration of the professionally educated to the Gulf.
- g. The legal-political-social status of Palestinian refugees in three Arab "host" countries: citizens in Jordan, foreigners in Lebanon, migrant laborers in Kuwait.
- f. Trends in the politicization of Palestinian communities up to the 1967 War: Between Arab and Palestinian nationalism.

---

*Palestinian Society in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under Israel's Military Occupation (between three and four meetings)*

- a. The 67 War, Arab defeat and the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by Israel: some direct implications for the Palestinians.*
- b. The Israeli occupation as a system of military, political and economic control: a review of the mechanisms.*
- c. The Israeli land grab and settlement policy and the transformation of the West Bank topography.*
- d. The political economy of military occupation: selective opening of the Israeli labor market to Palestinian laborers and de- development in the Palestinian territories.*
- e. Palestinian day laborers in the Israeli labor market: a four decade perspective.*
- f. Theories of under-development and dependency: are they applicative to the case of the occupied Palestinian territories?*
- g. The acquisition of education under Israeli occupation: assessing the impact of military intervention, surveillance and control.*
- h. Higher education under occupation and the development of the Palestinian universities as national institutions.*
- i. Obstacles to social mobility of the highly educated under occupation.*

*The development of the Palestinian national movement in the Diaspora and in the occupied territories from the 1967 War to the Oslo Accords (approximately three meetings)*

- a. From the banner of Arab unity to particular Palestinian nationalism: the rise of Palestinian guerilla organizations in the wake of the Arab defeat in the 1967 War.*
- b. The institutional development of the Palestinian national movement: the reorganization of the PLO (1968-9) and its ascendance to the stance of unifying organization representative of Palestinian national aspirations.*
- c. The consolidation of the infrastructure of the Palestinian National movement in Lebanon (1969-1982) and its aftermath.*
- d. The shift in the PLO's political strategy and the implications: the acceptance of the "Ten Points Program" by the Palestinian National Council (PNC) in June 1974 and the embracement of the "Two State Solution" by the PNC in November 1988 as major milestones.*
- e. From clandestine cells to popular committees: the course of development of the Palestinian national movement in the occupied territories between 1967 and 1987.*
- f. The first Intifada: a popular, unarmed Palestinian uprising against the Israeli military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.*
- g. The international community and the first Intifada: the convening of the Madrid Conference in the shadow of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Gulf War.*

*From Oslo to the Second Intifada and beyond (brief overview, between one and two meetings)*

- 
- a) The signing of the Declaration of Principles (DoP), "Oslo I" and "Oslo II", the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), and the persistence of Israeli military control over the Palestinian territory.
- b) Major institutional and political developments under the PNA.
- c) The second Intifada and beyond: the failure of the Camp David Summit (July 2000); Israeli policy since October 2000; assessing the patterns of intervention by the international community since October 2000 and their consequences.
- d) The Hamas Fatah Divide and recent attempts at reconciliation

Required Reading:

*Bibliography*

Please note that most of the items in the bibliography are not specified as required reading.

Abed, George ed. (1988) *The Palestinian Economy: Studies in Development Under Prolonged Occupation* (London: Routledge).

Aronson Geoffrey (1996) *Settlements and the Israel-Palestinian Negotiations: An Overview* (Washington, DC: Institute of Palestine Studies).

Aruri Naseer, and Samih Farsoun (1980) "Palestinian Communities and Arab Host Countries," in *The Sociology of the Palestinians*, ed. Elia Zureik and Khalil Nakhleh (London: Croom-Helm): 112-146.

Aruri, Naseer ed. (2001) *Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return* (London: Pluto Press).

Baumgarten, Helga (2005) "The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4, pp. 25-48

Benvenisti, Meron (1984) *The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel Policies* (Washington and London: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research).

Benvenisti, Meron (1987) *West Bank Data Project 1987 Report: demographic, economic, legal, social and political developments in the West Bank* (Jerusalem: the Jerusalem Post).

Brand, Laurie (1988) *Palestinians in the Arab World* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Brynen, Rex (1991) *Sanctuary and Survival: The PLO in Lebanon* (Boulder & San Francisco: Westview Press).

Brynen, Rex (2000) *A Very Political Economy* (Washington: United States Institute of

---

Peace).

Buehrig, Edward (1971) *The UN and the Palestinian Refugees: A Study in Nonterritorial Administration* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press).

Cobban, Helena (1984) *The PLO: People, Power and Politics* (London: Cambridge University Press).

Dakak, I. (1983) "Back to Square One," In Scholch Alexander, ed. *Palestinians over the Green Line* (London: Ithaca Press)

Farsoun, Samih with Christina Zacharia (1997) *Palestine and the Palestinians* (Boulder: Westview Press).

Freedman, Robert O. ed. (1991) *The Intifada* (Miami: Florida International University Press).

Frisch, Hillel (1990) "From Armed Struggle Over State Borders to Political Mobilization and Intifada within It." *Plural Societies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 and 3.

Giacaman George and Dag Jorund Lonning, eds. (1998) *After Oslo: New Realities, Old Problems*. (London: Pluto Press).

Gerner, Deborah (1989) "Israeli Restrictions on the Palestinian Universities in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza," *Journal of Arab Affairs* 8, 1.

Gordon, Neve (2008) *Israel's Occupation* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press).

Gorkin, Michael and Rafiq Othman (1996) *Three Mothers, Three Daughters* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).

Graham-Brown, Sarah (1984) *Education, Repression and Liberation: Palestinians* (London: World University Press).

Gresh, Alain (1985) *The PLO: The Struggle Within* (London: Zed Books).

Groth, Allon (1995) *The PLO's Road to Peace: Processes of Decision-Making* (London: Royal United Institute for Defense Studies).

Hammami, Rema, (1990) "Women, the Hijab and the Intifada," *Middle East Report* 20, nos. 3-4, May-August 1990

Hammami, Rema (1997) *Labor and Economy: Gender and Segmentation in Palestinian Economic Life (Palestinian Women: A Status Report, No. 4)* (Birzeit, West

---

Bank: Women's Studies Program, Birzeit University).

Heiberg, Marianne and Geir Ovensen eds. (1993) *Palestinian Society: A Survey of Living Conditions* (Oslo: FAFO Report).

Hilal, Jamil (1976) "Class Transformation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip," *MERIP Reports* 53 (December).

Hilal, Jamil (1993) "PLO Institutions: the Challenge Ahead," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23, 1.

Hilal, Jamil (2006) *Hamas's Rise as Charted in the Polls 1994-2005*, *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, 3: 6-19.

Hilal, Jamil (2010) "The Polarization of the Palestinian Political Field," *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 39, No. 3 (Spring 2010), pp. 24-39.

Hiltermann, Joost (1991) *Behind the Intifada* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).

Hunter, Robert F (1991) *The Palestinian Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

International Labor Office (1993) *Report of the Director General on the Situation of Workers of the Occupied Territories* (Appendix 2) (Geneva: ILO).

Johnson, Penny (1988) "Palestinian Universities under Occupation," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 16, 3.

Jerusalem Media and Communication Center (1997) *Signed, Sealed, Delivered: Israeli Settlements and the Peace Process* (East Jerusalem: JMCC).

Jerusalem Media and Communication Center (1994) *Water: The Red Line* (East Jerusalem: JMCC).

Michael Keating, Anne Le More and Robert Lowe, editors (2005) *Aid Diplomacy and Facts on the Ground: The Case of Palestine* (London: Chatham House).

Khalidi, Rashid (2006) *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (New York: Beacon Press).

Khalili, Laleh (2005) "A Landscape of Uncertainty: Palestinians in Lebanon," *Middle East Report* 236 (Fall 2005).

Kimmerling, Baruch, and Joel Migdal (2003) *The Palestinian People: A History* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press).

---

Klein, Menachem (2007) " Hamas in Power," *Middle East Journal* 61, 3: 442-59.

Klein, Menachem (2010) *The Shift: Israel-Palestine: From Border Struggles to Ethnic Conflict* (London: Hurst & Co.).

Lockman, Z. and J. Beinlin eds. (1989) *Intifada (A MERIP Book)* Toronto: *Between the Lines*).

Muslih, Muhammad (1993) "Palestinian Civil Society" *Middle East Journal* 47, 2.

Muslih, Muhammad (1990) "Towards Coexistence: An Analysis of the Resolutions of the Palestine National Council" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4.

Muslih, Muhammad (1988) *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Peteet, Julie (2005) *Landscape of Hope and Despair* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Peteet, Julie (1996) "From Refugees to Minority: Palestinians in Post-War Lebanon," *Middle East Report* 200 (July-Sept.1996).

Peteet, Julie (1991) *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Rigby, Andrew (1989) *The Intifada: The Struggle over Education* (Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs).

Robinson, Glenn (1997) *Building a Palestinian State* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

Rosenfeld Maya (2010) "From Emergency Relief Assistance to Human Development and Back: UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees, 1950-2009," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28 (2-3): 286-317.

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

Rosenfeld, Maya (2002) "Power Structure, Agency, And Family in a Palestinian Refugee Camp," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 34

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



---

Roy, Sara (2011) *Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamist Social Sector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Rubenberg, Cheryl (2001) *Palestinian Women: Patriarchy and Resistance in the West Bank* (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers).

Rubenberg, Cheryl (1989) "Twenty Years of Israeli Economic policies in the West Bank and Gaza: Prologue to the Intifada," *Journal of Arab Affairs*, Vol. 8, No.1.

Rubenberg, Cheryl (1983) *The Palestine Liberation Organization* (Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute of Arab Studies).

Sabatello, Eitan (1984) "The Missing Age Group: Demography," in *The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israeli Policies*, Meron Benvenisti (Washington and London: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research).

Sayigh, Rosemary (1979) *Palestinians: from Peasants to Revolutionaries* (London: Zed Press).

Sayigh, Rosemary (1994) *Too Many Enemies* (London: Zed Press).

Sayigh, Rosemary (1998) "Dis/solving the "Refugee Problem"," *Middle East Report* 207 (Summer 1998).

Sayigh, Yusef (1988) "Dispossession and Pauperization: the Palestinian Economy under Occupation," in *The Palestinian Economy: Studies of Development Under Prolonged Occupation*, George Abed ed. (London: Routledge).

Schiff, Benjamin (1995) *Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to Palestinians* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press).

Shehadeh, Raja (1993) *The Law of the Land* (Jerusalem: PASSIA).

Sullivan, Anthony (1988) *Universities under Occupation* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press).

Sullivan, Anthony (1994) "Palestinian Universities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip," *The Muslim World* 84, 1-2.

Tamari, Salim (1980) "The Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza: the Sociology of Dependency," in *The Sociology of the Palestinians*, Khalil Nakhleh and Elia Zureik eds. (London: Croom Helm).

Tamari, Salim (1981) "Building Other People's Homes: the Palestinian Peasant Household and Work in Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 11,1.

---

Tamari, Salim (1988) "What the Uprising Means," *Middle East Report*, May-June 1988.

Tamari, Salim (1991) "The Palestinian Movement in Transition: Historical Reversals and the Uprising," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 20, 2.

Tamari, Salim (1990) "The Uprising's Dilemma," *Middle East Report*, May-August 1990.

Tamari, Salim (1999) "Palestinian Social Transformations: The Emergence of Civil Society," *Civil Society* 8, 86.

Tamari, Salim (1996) *Palestinian Refugee Negotiations: From Madrid to Oslo II*. (Washington DC: The Institute of Palestine Studies).

Tamari, Salim (1995) "Fading Flags: The Crises of Palestinian Legitimacy," *Middle East Report* 194/195.

Taraki, Lisa ed. (2006) *Living Palestine: Family Survival, Resistance and Mobility under Occupation* (New York: Syracuse University Press).

Taraki, Lisa (1990) "The Development of Political Consciousness Among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 1967-87," in Nassar and Heacock editors, *Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads* (New York: Birzeit University & Praeger Publishers).

Usher, Graham (1995) *Palestine in Crisis*, (London: Pluto Press).

Zureik, Elia (1996) *Palestinian Refugees and the Peace Process* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies).

פריטים בעברית:

אבו איאד (1979) ללא מולדת – שיחות עם אריק רולו (תל-אביב: מפרש).

אזולאי, אריאלה ועדי אופיר (2008) משטר זה שאינו אחד: כיבוש ודמוקרטיה בין הים לנהר (1967-) (תל אביב: רסלינג)

אלדר, שלומי (2005) עזה כמוות (תל אביב: ידיעות אחרונות, ספרי חמד)

אלדר, שלומי (2012) להכיר את חמאס (ירושלים: כתר).

אלדר, עקיבא ועדית זרטל (2005) אדוני הארץ: המתנחלים ומדינת ישראל 1967-2004 (תל אביב: דביר).

אפרת, אלישע (2002) גיאוגרפיה של כיבוש (תל אביב: כרמל).

בצלם: מרכז המידע הישראלי לזכויות האדם בשטחים – פרסומים נבחרים מהשנים 1989-2013

---

ברדה, יעל (2012) הביורוקרטיה של הכיבוש: משטר היתרי התנועה בגדה המערבית 2000-2006 (מכון ון ליר והקיבוץ המאוחד).

גזית, שלמה (1999) פתאים במלכודת: 30 שנות מדיניות ישראל בשטחים (תל אביב: זמורה ביתן מוציאים לאור).

גלבר, גד ואשר ששר, עורכים (1992) בעין הסכסוך: האינתיפאדה (תל אביב: הקיבוץ המאוחד)

הרכבי, יהושפט, עורך (1975) החלטות המועצות הלאומיות הפלסטיניות (בתוך ערב וישראל, קובץ תרגומים מערבית מס' 3-4) (תל אביב: עם עובד ומכון טרומן באוניברסיטה העברית).

ח'לידי, רשיד (2010) כלוב הברזל (ירושלים: מכון ון ליר והקיבוץ המאוחד).

טוויל, רימונדה (1979) מעצר בית: סיפורה של אישה פלשתינאית (ירושלים: אדם)

כהן, אמנון (1980) מפלגות בגדה המערבית בתקופת השלטון הירדני (ירושלים: מגנס).

כנפאני, ע'סאן גברים בשמש (תל אביב: מפרש)

משעל, שאול וראובן אהרוני (1989) אבנים זה לא הכל (תל אביב: הקיבוץ המאוחד)

משעל, שאול ואברהם סלע (2006) זמן חמאס אלימות ופשרה מהדורה מורחבת (תל אביב: ידיעות אחרונות)

סבירסקי, שלמה (עורך) (1992) האינתיפאדה: מבט מבפנים (תל-אביב: מפרש)

עמותת קו לעובד □ דפי מידע 1992-1999

קימרלינג ברוך ויואל מגדל (1999) פלסטינים: עם בהיווצרותו (ירושלים: כתר).

קליין, מנחם (2006) יוזמת ז'נבה מבט מבפנים (ירושלים: כרמל).

רזנפלד, מאיה (1997) אורח החיים, חלוקת העבודה ותפקידים חברתיים של משפחות פליטים פלסטינים: המקרה של מחנה דהיישה (עבודת דוקטורט) (ירושלים: האוניברסיטה העברית).

שחאדה, רג'א (2004) זרים בבית: התבגרות בפלסטין הכבושה (תל אביב: ידיעות אחרונות, ספרי חמד).

שחאדה, רג'א (2008) טיולים בפלסטין: רשימות על נוף הולך ונעלם (תל אביב: עם עובד).

שחאדה, רג'א (2005) כשהדרור הפסיק לשיר (תל אביב: ידיעות אחרונות וספרי עליית הגג).

שחאדה, רג'א (1982) הדרך השלישית (תל אביב: אדם).

---

שטיינברג, מתי (2008) עומדים לגורלם: התודעה הלאומית הפלסטינית 1967-2007 (תל אביב: משכל, ידיעות אחרונות).

שלו, אריה (1990) האינתיפאדה: הסיבות, המאפיינים וההשלכות (תל אביב: פפירוס).

שמש, משה (2012) התחייה הלאומית הפלסטינית: בצל משבר מנהיגות, מהמופתי עד שקירי, 1937-1967 (אוניברסיטת בן גוריון בנגב)

אתרים חשובים באינטרנט (להורדת פרסומים מרכזיים):

לסטטיסטיקה הפלסטינית המרכזית הלשכה אתר [www.pcbs.gov.ps](http://www.pcbs.gov.ps)

United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East אתר [www.unrwa.org](http://www.unrwa.org)

בשטחים האדם לזכויות הישראלי המידע מרכז: בצלם אתר [www.btselem.org](http://www.btselem.org)

OCHA Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the Occupied Palestinian Territory אתר [www.ochaopt.org](http://www.ochaopt.org)

עזה ורצועת המערבית לגדה העולמי הבנק אתר [www.worldbank.org/ps](http://www.worldbank.org/ps)

כתב עת מרכזי: *Studies Palestine of Journal*

#### Additional Reading Material:

*The above bibliography includes many items which are not required reading.*

*The required readings will be specified each week on the course site (Moodle).*

#### *Course/Module evaluation:*

*End of year written/oral examination 0 %*

*Presentation 0 %*

*Participation in Tutorials 0 %*

*Project work 80 %*

*Assignments 20 %*

*Reports 0 %*

*Research project 0 %*

*Quizzes 0 %*

*Other 0 %*

#### Additional information:

*Students should access the course site (moodle) on a regular basis. The site is updated each week.*