

## COMM 158

### THE ISRAELI / PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: DISCOURSES AND DEBATE\*

Fall, 2021

Mondays / Wednesdays 5:00 – 6:20

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Office Hours: Open



The Matrix of Control: Israel Soldiers Checking Documents and controlling movements of Palestinians at the Huwara Checkpoint near Nablus, Palestine (2007). *Photo by Gary Fields*

### Course Description

The conflict between the state of Israel and the people in and outside of Israel known as Palestinians is arguably the most intractable conflict in the world today. At the core of this conflict lie contrasting visions about the identity of the territory in the region, and competing ideas about who rightfully belongs to the land. Such differences about territorial belonging have created divergent narratives about the causes of the conflict, and intense debates regarding its perpetrators and victims. At issue in these debates are different interpretations of both past and present, and different understandings of responsibility for the conflict.

This course is a critical engagement with these debates, and how these competing discourses reflect different representations of the conflict. At the same time, this course seeks to provide students with a rigorous immersion into the nature of *argument* and issues of “objectivity” and “point of view.” It is intended to give voice to a range of perspectives on this conflict, many of which are unpopular or too often silenced, while challenging students to understand the structure of the arguments at the core of one of the most impassioned issues of our time.

## Course Format

Sadly, due to the continuing impacts of COVID, the course will assume an online format. In principle, the class will have one 80-minute non-synchronous lecture each week that will be posted to Canvas prior to the scheduled course time on Tuesdays. Thursday sessions of the class will be synchronous discussion sessions consisting of material from the Tuesday lecture and readings for the week. Owing to the politically-charged nature of course content, it is mandatory that participants in the class engage with the course material, with the instructor, and with each other in a respectful manner. Those unable to comply with this requirement, or those who have come to the class to promote a political agenda related to the conflict, should consider options other than this course.

## Course Requirements

Again, due to COVID, the requirements for the class are going to be modest. Participants are expected to view the lectures and complete the readings for each week. **Readings without a URL on the syllabus will be available either from the UCSD Library Electronic Course Reserves for COMM 158, or they will be posted to the Canvas site.** There are 3 required writing assignments and a final paper. The first assignment is a paragraph; the second, 1-2 pages; the third is 2-3 pages and the final paper is 4-5 pages.

Grades will be based for the most part on these written assignments with the final paper accounting for 50%; the third paper is 25%; second paper is 15% and the first paper is 10%. Normally, class participation would account for 20-25% of the course grade but even in normal times, this element is only counted to help the grade. Never is there a deduction in the grade for lack of class participation. In other words, if you are an active participant in the Thursday discussions, it can raise your grade but it will never deduct from the grade of your written work.

Sessions for the course will be organized as follows:

## WEEKLY SCHEDULE

### Week 1 Prelude to Conflict

#### Divergent Narratives

**Bronner, Ethan** (2009). "The Bullets in my In-Box." *New York Times*. January 25, 2009  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/weekinreview/25bronner.html?pagewanted=print>

**Barghouti, Mariam** (2017). "How Mainstream Media Gets Palestine Wrong." *Al Jazeera*.  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/mainstream-media-palestine-wrong-171230101955202.html>

#### Prelude to Conflict

**Benin, Joel and Hajjar, Lisa** (2014). *Palestine Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer*. Washington DC: Middle East Research and Information Project. [Read only pp. 1-2]  
[http://merip.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Primer\\_on\\_Palestine-IsraelMERIP\\_February2014final.pdf](http://merip.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Primer_on_Palestine-IsraelMERIP_February2014final.pdf)

**Gelvin, James L.** (2021). *The Israel Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [pp. 1-13]. Read from this link: <https://www.book2look.com/book/9781108488686>

**Gelvin, James L.** (2018). Video – "The Roots of the Israeli / Palestinian Dispute."  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y0ssII\\_fQuE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y0ssII_fQuE) [Watch from 11:05 – 25:00]

**Assignment # 1:** In one paragraph, identify the common argument in the Beinin / Hajjar and Gelvin readings about the fundamental nature of the Israeli / Palestinian conflict. **Due: Beginning of week 2**

## Week 2      Zionists, Palestinians, and the Colonizing Impulse

### Coveting Zion: Anti-Semitism and the Roots of Jewish National Aspirations

**Fields, Gary** (2017). *Enclosure: Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror*. Berkeley: University of California Press [pp. 198-201]. Read from UCSD Library website. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctv1xxvgz>

**Smith, Charles** (2013). *Palestine and the Arab Israeli Conflict*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins [pp. 29-33].

**Shlaim, Avi** (2001). *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*. New York: W.W. Norton [pp. 1-5]

**Herzl, Theodor** (1896). *The Jewish State* [Read Excerpts from Charles Smith above, pp. 46-48].

**Ha'am, Ahad** (1891). "Truth from the Land of Israel." *Israel Studies* [Read pp. 154-155, 160-164].

[https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel\\_studies/v005/5.2dowty.pdf](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v005/5.2dowty.pdf)

### Colonizing Zion: Zionism and the Impulses of Palestinian Resistance

**Film: 1913: Seeds of Conflict** [viewable from UCSD Library Electronic Course Reserves]

**Smith, Charles** (2013). *Palestine and the Arab Israeli Conflict*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins [pp. 33-41; Also read "Balfour Declaration" on pp. 93-94].

**Epstein, Yitzhak** (1907). "A Hidden Question." *Israel Studies*. Vol. 6 (1):34-54. [Skim pp. 34-39; read pp. 39-42].

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/30245563.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aac9f01cdbc3070cc506bd7ce3560bcc1>

**Assignment # 2:** In 1 page, answer one of the questions about the film, *1913: Seeds of Conflict*. **Due:**

## Week 3      Independence or Nakba? Debates on 1948 and the Palestinian Refugee Problem

### Reversing Myths: The Revisionist Critique of 1948

**Ben-Ami, Shlomo** (2007). *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson [pp. 42-48]. Also, watch the first 5 minutes of this video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-FLIBkTg8g>

**Morris, Benny** (2007). Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948. *The War for Palestine*. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [pp. 37-59]. [Listed under the title of the book]

**Pappe, Ilan** (2006). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. London: Oneworld. [pp. 1-9]

**BBC Hardtalk** (2014). Interview with Ilan Pappe. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lsmFS75ed4>

[Watch first 13 minutes).

**Assignment #3:** Debating the causes of the Palestinian refugee problem (2-3 pages).

## **Week 4 From Palestine to Israel: The New State and The Making Of Hebrew Land**

### **Creating a Hebrew Landscape**

**Kadman, Noga** (2015). *Erased From Space: Israel and the Depopulated Palestinian Villages of 1948*. Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press [pp. 1-32; read electronic version on “Roger” from UCSD Library website].

**Benvenisti, Meron** (2000). *Sacred Landscape. The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press [pp. 11-14, 17-27, 46-52; read from electronic version on “Roger” from Library].

### **Jewish and Democratic? Citizenship Debates in Israel / Palestine**

**Shafir, Gershon and Peled, Yoav** (2002). *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [pp. 110-136; read electronic version on “Roger” from UCSD Library website].

**Buttu, Diana** (2021). “The Myth of Coexistence in Israel.” *New York Times*. (May 25, 2021).  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/25/opinion/israel-palestinian-citizens-racism-discrimination.html>

**Halbfinger, David M. and Kershner, Isabel** (2018). “Israeli Law Declares the Country the Nation-State of the Jewish People.” *NY Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/19/world/middleeast/israel-law-jews-arabic.html>

## **Week 5 Lords of the Landscape: War, Occupation, and Settlement**

### **6-Day War, Israeli Occupation, and International Law**

**Film: The Law in these Parts** [Watch from UCSD Library Website]

**Gorenberg, Gershom** (2007). *Occupied Territories: The Untold Story of Israel’s Settlements*. London: I.B Tauris. [pp. 34-41, 48-53, 99-107].

**Association for Civil Rights in Israel** (2014). *One Rule, Two Legal Systems: Israel’s Regime of Laws in the West Bank*, <http://www.acri.org.il/en/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Two-Systems-of-Law-English-FINAL.pdf> [pp. 5-12].

### **Occupation on the Ground: Settlers and Settlements**

**B’tselem** (2002). *Land Grab: Israel’s Policy of Settlement in the West Bank*. [pp. 7-8, 11-19, 37-41, 47-54].  
[https://www.btselem.org/sites/default/files/sites/default/files2/publication/200205\\_land\\_grab\\_eng.pdf](https://www.btselem.org/sites/default/files/sites/default/files2/publication/200205_land_grab_eng.pdf)

**Gorali, Moshe** (2003). “Legality is in the Eye of the Beholder.” *Haaretz*.  
<http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/legality-is-in-the-eye-of-the-beholder-1.101181>

**Shehadeh, Raja** (2008). Watch this video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UDMPt0Bn-T0&NR=1>

## **Week 6 Enclosed, Fragmented and Separate: The Everyday Life of Occupation**

### **Lines, Walls, and The Matrix of Control**

**Video: The Present** [Watch on Netflix]

**Association for Civil Rights in Israel** (2014). *One Rule, Two Systems: Israel’s Regime of Laws in the West Bank*, [pp. 103-114]. <https://law.acri.org.il/en/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Two-Systems-of-Law-English-FINAL.pdf>

**B’Tselem** (2021). **A Regime of Jewish Supremacy from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean: This is Apartheid.** [https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101\\_this\\_is\\_apartheid](https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101_this_is_apartheid)

**United Nations** (2014). 10 Years On: The Humanitarian Impact of the West Bank Barrier.  
[https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/ocha\\_opt\\_10\\_years\\_barrier\\_report\\_english.pdf&chrome=true](https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/ocha_opt_10_years_barrier_report_english.pdf&chrome=true)

**B’tselem** (2020). *Conquer and Divide* (Interactive Map). <https://conquer-and-divide.btselem.org/map-en.html>

## Jerusalem: The Contested City

**Fields, Gary** (2017). *Enclosure: Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror*. Berkeley: University of California Press [pp. 294-298].

**Chesin, Amir S. et al.** (1999). *Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [29-35, 124-125, 250-251; Read from UCSD Library Website]

**United Nations** (2018). The Ongoing Threats of House Demolition for Palestinian Residents of East Jerusalem. <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/high-numbers-demolitions-ongoing-threats-demolition-palestinian-residents-east-jerusalem>

## Week 7 Gaza: Epicenter of the Conflict

### Prelude to Conflict in Gaza

**LeVine, Mark** (2009). "Tracing Gaza's Chaos to 1948. *Al Jazeera*. <http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/arabunity/2008/02/2008525185737842919.html>

**Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement** (Hamas) (1988). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2538093.pdf>

**Wintour, Patrick** (2017). "Hamas Presents New Charter Accepting a Palestine Based on 1967 Border. *Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/01/hamas-new-charter-palestine-israel-1967-borders>

**Weiler, Jonathan** (2014). "The Hateful Likud Charter Calls for Destruction of Any Palestinian State." <https://www.juancole.com/2014/08/charter-destruction-palestinian.html>

### May, 2021: A Changing Pattern of Media Coverage of Mayhem in Gaza?

**Hamid, Shadi** (2021). "Don't Take the Narrow View of What's Happening in Gaza." *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/05/israel-palestine-gaza-hamas-history/618896/>

**Taylor, Alan** (2021): "Photo Essay: Violence Across Israel and Gaza." *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2021/05/photos-violence-explodes-across-israel-and-gaza/618863/>

**Al-Jazeera** (2021). Video: "Israel Palestine: The Double Standard in American Newsrooms." <https://www.aljazeera.com/program/the-listening-post/2021/5/29/israel-palestine-the-double-standard-in-american-newsrooms> [Watch until 11:45]

**Al-Jazeera** (2021). "Video: "Who Controls the Media Message on the Israel / Palestine Conflict?" <https://www.aljazeera.com/program/inside-story/2021/5/16/who-controls-the-media-message-on-the-israel-palestine-conflict>

## Week 8 Social Media and the Conflict: Documenting Issues of Human Rights

**Stein, Rebecca L.** (2021): *Screen Shots: State Violence on Camera in Israel and Palestine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press [1-12, 72-99, 124-156].

## Week 9 The 'Peace Process'

### Peace: Mantras, Mythology, and Media Representations

**Anziska, Seth** (2018). *Preventing Palestine: A Political History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press [pp. 270-87]. Read from Geisel Library Website.

**Dunsky, Marda** (2008). *Pens and Swords: How the American Media Report the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press [pp. 66-70, 113-128].

**PBS Frontline** (2016). "Netanyahu, Rabin and the Assassination That Shook The World." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JhMF30VLZCA>

## Peace Process (cont'd): The Israel Lobby and its Impacts on Peace

**Mersheimer, John and Walt, Stephen** (2006). "The Israel Lobby." *London Review of Books*.  
<https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>

**Massing, Michael** (2006). "The Storm over the Israel Lobby." *New York Review of Books*.  
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19062>

**Netanyahu, Benjamin** (May 24, 2011). Speech Before U.S. Joint Session of Congress.  
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?299666-1/israeli-prime-minister-netanyahu-address-joint-meeting-congress>

### Week 10 The Peace Process on Life Support

#### Two States for Two Peoples? One state for All?

**Shlaim, Avi** (2018). "Palestinians Still Live under Apartheid 25 Years after the Oslo Accord." *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/13/palestinians-still-face-apartheid-israel-25-years-after-oslo-accord>

**Video: John Kerry Remarks at State Dept. on Middle East Peace (December 28, 2016).** [Begin at 18:10]  
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?420776-1/secretary-state-kerry-state-solution-path-middle-east-peace>

**Hoffman, Gil** (2017). "Likud Votes to Oppose Palestinian State." *Jerusalem Post*.  
<https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Likud-votes-to-oppose-Palestinian-state-500847>

**Halbfinger, David M.** (2018). "As a 2-State Solution Loses Steam, a 1-State Plan Gains Traction." *New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/05/world/middleeast/israel-palestinians-state.html>

**Abbas, Mahmoud** (September 23, 2011). **Address to the United Nations**  
<http://www.c-span.org/video/?301726-2/palestinian-president-abbas-united-nations-address>

#### Boycott! Peaceful Solution to the Conflict or Anti-Semitism?

**Maira, Sunaina** (2018). "Boycott! The Academy and Justice for Palestine. Berkeley: University of California Press. [pp. 1-11, 20-22, 35-40, 85-118].

**BDS Movement Call** (July 9, 2005). <http://www.bdsmovement.net/call>

**Omar Barghouti / Amy Goodman** video (2013). [start at 6:45]  
<http://podcast.lannan.org/2013/02/08/omar-barghouti-with-amy-goodman-conversation-1-february-2013/>

**Beinart, Peter** (2021). "Israel's Lunatic Response to Ben & Jerry's." *Beinat Notebook*.  
<https://peterbeinart.substack.com/p/israels-lunatic-response-to-ben-and?fbclid=IwAR2oXdIQBncQwSTghOaTBhhVetih6ElmroBce09PYSfUGPUFIMIOFfidvpU>

**Lynch, Colum** (2021). "An Israeli – Palestinian Ice Cream Sandwich." *Foreign Policy*.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/08/09/an-israeli-palestinian-ice-cream-sandwich/>

### Selected Websites of Interest

Adalah Justice Project <https://www.adalahjusticeproject.org/>

Al-Jazeera (Arab world, news site), <http://english.aljazeera.net>

American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) <http://www.aipac.org/>

Anti-Defamation League <http://www.adl.org/>

Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ) <http://www.arij.org/home.html>

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) <http://www.bdsmovement.net/>

B'tselem (Israeli Human Rights Organization) <http://www.btselem.org/>

Electronic Intifada (U.S.-based) [www.electronicintifada.net](http://www.electronicintifada.net)

Haaretz (Israel, newspaper), <http://www.haaretz.com/>

Hillel San Diego <http://hillelsd.org/>

Honest Reporting <http://honestreporting.com/>

Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHN) <http://www.icahd.org/>

Jadaliyya (ezine) <http://www.jadaliyya.com/>

Jerusalem Post (Israel, newspaper), <http://www.jpost.com>

Jewish Voice for Peace <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/>

Ma'an (Independent Palestinian news site), <http://www.maannews.net/eng/>

Middle East Research and Information Project, <http://www.merip.org/>

Mondoweiss <http://mondoweiss.net/>

Negev Forum for Coexistence <https://www.dukium.org/>

Students for Justice in Palestine UCSD <https://www.facebook.com/sjpucsd>

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in Occupied Palestine (OCHA) <http://www.ochaopt.org/>

Y-Net -- Yediot Ahranot (Israel, newspaper) <http://www.ynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-3083,00.html>

+972 Independent reporting and commentary from Israel and Palestine (ezine) <http://972mag.com/>

## Other Resources

**Khalidi, Rashid** (1995). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press [pp. 96-105].

**Rose, Jacqueline** (2011). Re-reading Khirbet Khizeh by S. Yitzhar. *Guardian*.  
<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/mar/12/rereading-jacqueline-rose-khirbet-khizeh>

**Yitzhar, S.** (1948). *Khirbet Khizeh*. Jerusalem: Ibis Editions, 2008 [pp. 7, 29-38, 104-113]

**Halper, Jeff** (2000). "The 94 Percent Solution: Israel's Matrix of Control". *Middle East Report*. No. 216 [pp. 14-19]. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1520209.pdf>

Amy Kaplan (2018). *Our American Israel* (Harvard University Press).

**Fields, Gary** (2021). "The Purgatory Imposed on Gaza by Israel Predates Hamas." *San Diego Union Tribune*.  
<https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/commentary/story/2021-05-19/opinion-israel-palestine-conflict-history>

**Fields, Gary** (2010). "Ex-Communicated: Historical Reflections on Enclosure Landscapes in Palestine." *Radical History Review*. <https://communication.ucsd.edu/files/files-fields-gary/fields-excommunicated.pdf>

**Klein, Naomi** (2021). Censure at University of Toronto [2-minute podcast]  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bl2kjFHsY>

**Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs** (2015). Israeli Settlements and International Law.  
<https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Peace/Guide/Pages/Israeli%20Settlements%20and%20International%20Law.aspx>

**Weizman, Eyal** (2007). *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London: Verso [88-95].

Melani McAlister's *Epic Encounters* (University of California Press, 2005)

Melani McAlister (2018). *The Kingdom of God Has No Borders* (Oxford University Press)

Walter L. Hixson. *Israel's Armor: The Israel Lobby and the First Generation of the Palestine Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5frVOAuW6Gg>  
<https://consortiumnews.com/2019/03/26/how-the-israel-lobby-got-its-start/>

Rafael Medoff's *Militant Zionism in America* (2002)

**Said, Edward** (1978). *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Random House [pp. 3-15].

For very recent pieces on Palestine see the list at the following website of JPS  
<https://online.ucpress.edu/jps/article/49/3/105/110803/Bibliography-of-Recent-Works16-NOVEMBER-2019-15>

**B'teselem** (2020). "Statistics of Demolitions of Houses in East Jerusalem."  
[https://www.btselem.org/planning\\_and\\_building/east\\_jerusalem\\_statistics](https://www.btselem.org/planning_and_building/east_jerusalem_statistics) [Excellent source material]

**Masalha, Nur** (1991). "A Critique of Benny Morris," *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 21 (1): 90-97.  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/2537367?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2537367?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)

**Kershner, Isabel** (2013). "Photographs Tell a History of Palestinians Unmoored." *New York Times*.  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/29/world/middleeast/photographs-tell-a-history-of-palestinians-unmoored.html?\\_r=0#](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/29/world/middleeast/photographs-tell-a-history-of-palestinians-unmoored.html?_r=0#)

**Shafir, Gershon** (2017). *A Half Century of Occupation: Israel, Palestine, and the World's Most Intractable Conflict*. Berkeley, University of California Press [pp. 30-41, 48-53].



**Shulman, David** (2017). "Israel's Irrational Rationality." *New York Review of Books*.  
<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2017/06/22/israels-irrational-rationality/>

**Shulman, David** (2012). "I Am an Illegal Alien on My Own Land." *New York Review of Books*.  
<http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2012/jun/28/susya-demolition-israeli-occupation/?insrc=rel>

**Erakat, Noura [Interview by Hasan, Mehdi]** (2019). "Israel: Democracy or Apartheid." *The Intercept*.  
<https://theintercept.com/2019/09/19/israel-democracy-or-apartheid/>

**Landa, Melissa** (2019). "Israel Is Not an 'Apartheid' State — Here's the Proof." *The Algemeiner*.  
<https://www.algemeiner.com/2019/08/13/israel-is-not-an-apartheid-state-heres-the-proof/>

**Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs** (2007). Two States for Two People  
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/The+Israel-Palestinian+peace+process+Two-state+vision.htm>

**Video: "Is Peace out of Reach?" 60 Minutes Broadcast January 25, 2009.**  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A7XtT91yO6g>

**Dunsky, Marda** (2008). *Pens and Swords: How the American Media Report the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press [pp. 129-132, 149-158].

**60 Minutes** (December 21, 2003). "The Fence." [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4nmsPCMz\\_P8&NR=1](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4nmsPCMz_P8&NR=1)

**Aylon, Ami** (August, 2014). "Israel's Response Is Proportionate to Hamas's Threat." *New York Times*.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/07/22/self-defense-or-atrocties-in-gaza/israels-response-is-proportionate-to-hamass-threat>

**Munear, Yousef** (2019). "There Will Be a One-State Solution." *Foreign Affairs*.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/israel/2019-10-15/there-will-be-one-state-solution>

**Levy, Daniel** (2018). "A Former Peace Negotiator Muses on Trump and the Future of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process." [Podcast: first 28:00] *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/22/a-former-peace-negotiator-muses-on-trump-and-the-future-of-the-israeli-palestinian-peace-process/>

**Netanyahu, Benjamin**, (2004). "Why Israel Needs a Fence." *New York Times*.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/13/opinion/why-israel-needs-a-fence.html>

**Harrop, William Caldwell** (2000). Review of *Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem*. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/203681478/fulltextPDF/3E6EF2F4AF3742BDPQ/1?accountid=14524>

**United Nations** (November, 2018). More casualties sustained during the 'Great March of Return' in Gaza.  
<https://www.ochaopt.org/content/more-casualties-sustained-during-great-march-return-gaza>

**Shah, Karim** (2018). Between Fire and Sea: The Man Behind Gaza's Great March of Return. *Aljazeera Witness*.  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/witness/2018/09/fire-sea-man-gaza-great-march-return-180923092246387.html>

**Abu Artema, Ahmed** (2018). "I Helped Start the Gaza Protests. I Don't Regret It." *New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/14/opinion/gaza-protests-organizer-great-return-march.html>

(2018) "Lorde Called a Bigot Over Cancelled Israel Concert." *The Guardian*.  
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