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<th><strong>Class Title</strong></th>
<th><strong>Comparative Conflict Regulation: Israel/Palestine and Northern Ireland</strong></th>
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<td><strong>Course Number(s)</strong></td>
<td>POLS34557</td>
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<td><strong>Semester</strong></td>
<td>Spring 2014</td>
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<td><strong>Teachers(s)</strong></td>
<td>Dr. Julianna Füzesi</td>
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<td><strong>Points of Contact</strong></td>
<td>Office hours by appointment</td>
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**Course Overview**

This course introduces to the devices used to regulate ethno-national conflicts by examining two of the most prominent examples: Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine. It provides students with an understanding of the tools available to groups, states, and policy makers to both wage and manage such conflict. Following a thorough introduction to the twin concepts of nationalism and ethnicity, the course analyses these divided societies in three main thematic blocks: partition (Block A), hegemonic control (B), and power-sharing / negotiated settlements (Block C).

**Learning Objectives**

As an introductory course to ethno-national conflicts, this class focuses on three essential targets:

- to introduce students to the discipline's main themes, terms and theoretical debates, thereby providing thorough foundation knowledge
- to introduce students to the respective history and main issues of the Northern Irish and Israeli-Palestinian conflict
- to enhance students' understanding of the field by linking theory to detailed empirical case studies

**Teaching Method**

POLS34557 consists of lecture-discussion classes. Lectures will introduce new topics, which students will then discuss. It is therefore essential that readings be completed before class. Discussion in class, based on readings, will form the core element in understanding and evaluating theory and practice. Debates will include critical analysis of our source materials (online journal articles and our textbooks) as well as student presentations on the theories / case studies examined that week.

Themes may vary according to interest and current news. More than one week may be spent on a theme. The course will involve guest speakers, visits to relevant sites, and watching in-class documentaries.
| Assessment Structure | **Assessment** is based on **four differently weighted elements**:

- contribution in class (10%)
- one oral presentation (25%)
- one research paper (25%)
- a mid-term exam (20%)
- a final exam (20%).

**Contribution in the lecture-seminars** should reflect sustained preparation of class topics. Unexcused / unnecessary absences will result in an “F” grade in this element.

**Presentations** should be well researched and reflect a good grasp of the topic. They should be 10-15 minutes long. Presentations will be based on both the textbook and journal articles from our syllabus.

**Research paper:** one word-processed paper of 3000 words is due on **Wednesday 6 November 2013**. Essay topics will be posted on our course site. Own suggestions are welcome, but subject to approval. The essay will be assessed in view of

- a) structure, language and presentation (25%)
- b) methodology and referencing (25%)
- c) content (50%)

and will receive an overall composite mark. Late essays will not be accepted unless there is a **plausible and verifiable** reason (i.e. medical certificate for illness, stolen or crashed laptop computer etc.).

**In-class exam:** the mid-term exam is scheduled for **Wednesday 2 October, 2013**. This will be a quiz-type exam of two hours, requiring short answers to knowledge-based prompts.

The final exam will again last two hours and will present ten questions out of which three should be answered in short essays of two to three pages each.

| Required Resources | **Books:**

- Jonathan Tonge. "Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change" 2nd ed. (Longman, 2001), priced £26.35 again on Amazon
- James Gelvin. "The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War" (CUP, 2007), priced 17.09
Classroom Policies | Standard London Undergraduate Program attendance policies apply.

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### Foundations of Conflict

#### Theme 1 – Introductory overview (1) – Nationalism and ethnicity

**Questions to consider:**

- Definitions: why is ethnicity such a “fuzzy” concept? What are the problems in defining / recognising an ethnic group? Make a brainstorm list before coming to class.
- What is ethno-nationalism? Are there other types of nationalism too? (Muller, Esman, Connor)

**Class discussion:** based on these concepts, can we identify the ethno-national groups in Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine?

**Readings:**


**Optional:**

- Esman (2004), Chapter 2 *Ethnic Sentiments and Solidarities*

nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a ...’, Ethnic and Racial Studies Vol.1, 1978.)

Theme 2 – Introductory overview (2) - Nations vs states

Questions to consider:

- What is ethno-national conflict about? Consider and rank the various claims ethnic groups put forward. (Esman, Gurr)
- Method: What choices does a challenged state face? Consider the range of repressive versus accommodative instruments. Which ones do you think are ethical and which prove successful? (O’Leary & McGarry)
- What are the main group demands and state responses in our two case studies? Rank and describe Palestinian, Israeli, Irish Unionist and Republican positions based on these readings.

Readings:

Esman (2004), Chapter 1 Incidence and Scope of Ethnic Conflict and Chapter 4 For What do They Contend?


Theme 3 –: The foundations of conflict - Nationalism in Northern Ireland, Israel, and Palestine

Presentation topics:

1. How were Zionism and Palestinian nationalism constructed against each other? How does this affect attempts to regulate the conflict? (Gelvin, Pappé)

2. Why are Irish Unionism and Republicanism mutually exclusive? (Tonge, McGarry)

3. Both cases involve settler nationalism: outline the commonalities and differences between them. Which group did each state side with? (Gelvin, McGarry)

Readings:
Tonge (2001) Chapter 1 A Divided Island, and chapter 8 The Roles of Religion (optional): Chapter 4 Unionist and Loyalist Politics, Chapter 5 Nationalist and Republican Politics


Gelvin (2007) Chapter 2 Cultures of Nationalism, chapter 3 Zionism and the colonization of Palestine and chapter 5 From nationalism in Palestine to Palestinian nationalism


**Block A: Partitioning Ireland and the Palestinian Mandate Territory**

**Theme 4 –: Partition or carving up states**

**Presentation topics:**

4. Fact: a third party separates warring ethnic groups by dividing up the state they reside in – does that work? Think about possible practical implications as well as about issues of justice. (Esman, Mearsheimer, Kumar)

5. What are the immediate and long-term effects of partition? Is it an effective way to regulate ethno-national conflict? (Mearsheimer, Kumar)

**Class discussion: is partition ever a solution?**

**Readings:**

Esman (2004) Chapter 5 The Contemporary State and Outsider Intervention


**Revision and Mid-Term Exam!**
Theme 5 – The effects of partition on conflict: Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine

Presentation topics:

6. Were there viable alternatives to partition in either case? If so, what were they? If not, did the proposed boundaries take sufficient account of the distribution of both ethnic nations? (Tonge, Gelvin, Milton-Edwards)

7. How did British imperial interests affect the partition of both Ireland and the Palestinian Mandate Territory? Pinpoint commonalities and priorities. (Coakley, Milton-Edwards)

Readings:

Tonge (2001) Chapter 1 A Divided Island, section 1.7 “Was Partition Inevitable?”


Gelvin (2007) Chapter 6 From the Great Revolt through the 1948 War

Block B: Hegemonic Control in Ireland and Palestine

Theme 6 – Exclusionary Domination aka Hegemonic control: Israel and Northern Ireland as “Ethnic "Democracies"

Presentation topics:

8. Define and describe ethnic democracy – a term that applies to both Israel and Britain (1921-1972). Are such states really democracies? If so why, or conversely if not, name the problems. (Smooha, Peleg & Waxman)
9. How does / did control work in Israel and Northern Ireland? What methods do/did these states employ to enforce second-class citizenship? Compare and contrast the two cases. (Smooha)

Readings:


Theme 7 —: Hegemonic control: Israel and Northern Ireland compared

Presentation topics:

10. How can we explain the rise and decline of the hegemonic control regime that governed Northern Ireland between 1921 and 1972? (McGarry, Tonge)

11. Why is Israel’s control regime still intact? Or is it? Did the two intifadas change anything? (Gelvin, Peleg, Lustick)

Readings:

Gelvin (2007) Chapter 8 The Arab-Israeli Conflict, chapter 9 The Palestinian National Movement Comes of Age


Wednesday 6 November : Research Paper Due!
Block C: Power-Sharing and Negotiated Settlements

Theme 8 — Consociationalism: Sharing power in Northern Ireland

Presentation topics:

12. What are the basic tenets of powersharing? How is it working out in Northern Ireland? (Esman, Lijphart, McGarry)

13. Why did the 1973 Sunningdale power-sharing system fail in contrast? (Tonge)

14. What incentives and disincentives does the Agreement offer the various players in Northern Irish politics? (Tonge, McGarry, Mitchell)

Readings:

Esman Chapter 7 Patterns of Pluralism II - Power-sharing (pp.142-146)


Plus EITHER:

Tonge (2001) Chapter 12 The Development of the Peace Process, Chapter 13 War and Peace, Chapter 14 The Good Friday Agreement, and chapter 15 Political Stability in Northern Ireland?

OR:


Theme 9 – A Tale of Two Peace Treaties: Settlement (Northern Ireland) versus Stalemate (Israel)

Presentation topics:

15. Compare the Oslo (1992) and Belfast (1998) agreements. What made the latter succeed and the former fail? (Gelvin, Tonge, Maney)

16. What are the main obstacles to implementing a two-state solution in the Middle East? (Pappé, Milton-Edwards)

17. Given the stalemate of the two-state solution, consider the main advantages and drawbacks of a one-state solution in which Palestinians are granted equal rights within a greater Israel. (Pappé)

18. Militancy (“terrorism”) is and was seen as an obstacle to peace in both cases. What are/were the differences in dealing with this problem? Compare and contrast. (Milton-Edwards, Tonge, Mitchell above)

Readings:

Gelvin (2007) Chapter 10 The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Accord


RELEVANT WEBSITES – A SELECTION

General:
- Truth Commission website: http://www.truthcommission.org/
- Crimes of War Project: http://www.crimesofwar.org/
- Institute for War and Peace Reporting: http://www.iwpr.net/
- International Crisis Group: http://www.crisisgroup.org
- International Alert: http://www.international-alert.org/

Middle East:
- Israeli government site: http://www.gov.il/firstgov/english
- Ha'aretz Israeli newspaper online: http://www.haaretz.co.il/
- PLO Negotiations Affairs site: http://www.nad-plo.org/
- Israeli-Palestinian site Bitterlemons: http://www.bitterlemons.org/
- Historical maps of Palestine/Israel link collection: http://208.84.118.121/pf_maps.php
- Changing maps of the Middle East: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/mideast/maps/pol.html

Northern Ireland:
- The Northern Ireland Assembly: http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/
- UK Government Northern Ireland Office: http://www.nio.gov.uk/
- Sinn Fein Party site: http://www.sinnfein.ie/
- Social Democratic and Labour Party site: http://www.sdlp.ie/
- Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) site: http://www.mydup.com/
- Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) site: http://www.uup.org/
- Northern Ireland Elections site: http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/
- The Northern Ireland conflict website: www.incore.uu.ac.uk
- Irish Historical Documents: http://wwwvms.utexas.edu/~jdana/history/documents.html
- Irish News daily newspaper: http://www.irishnews.com/
- The Belfast Telegraph: http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/