

Teaching about the Middle East

A Teacher's Resource Guide

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Revised Edition, ©2010, 2012

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Printed in the United States of America

ISBN 978-1-56004-100-9

Product Code: ZP188

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Acknowledgements

This work is a culmination of thirty-five years of teaching experience and hence my greatest debt is to my students who over the years have taught me what works best. At the beginning of the Lebanon War (1982) and during the aftermath of the Gulf War (1991) it was Forrest Broman, then Superintendent of the Walworth Barbour American International School in Israel, who encouraged and supported the production of two editions of The Modern Middle East: An Activity Text. Over the years, collegial exchange has been an important factor in the gestation of this new work. The fact that other teachers have successfully implemented my materials in their classrooms has validated their worth and encouraged me to move forward with this project.

This new kit of materials contains many of the features of these earlier works with several added dimensions. This new work is firstly a resource guide for teachers and not a classroom text for students. Here you will find a synthesis of scholarship on Middle Eastern topics and introductory overviews that provide discussion for teachers who may have no formal academic training in Middle Eastern history and politics. Secondly, unit plans, lessons and student handouts provide jump starts for teachers who want to get started including Middle East topics in their regular curriculum. Thirdly, the visual presentations that are a part of this kit are offered as ancillary means of providing input to students. Finally, the kit contains an expanded menu of topics that connect closely to curricula in World History, International Relations, Current Events, Economics and Geography.

Many individuals have contributed to the fruition of this project, including Dr. Aaron Willis at Social Studies School Service who supported my concept and Mr. Bill Williams who edited the manuscript. My thanks go to Dr. Kenneth Stein of Emory University and Edie Weitzman who read significant portions of the manuscript and encouraged my efforts. Thanks also to Loretta Cohen who worked with me to develop visuals for the PowerPoint presentations. This project required the focus and concerted attention that a sabbatical from daily teaching duties affords. The Walworth Barbour American International School in Israel has my thanks for facilitating this wonderful opportunity.

Finally, my deepest thanks to my husband Dan who believed in me from the moment I began to teach Middle East History and never doubted the success of my curriculum or my efforts to share it with the teaching community.

Abigail Chill
Kiryat Ono, Israel
December, 2012

Chapter 1

An Introduction to Teaching About the Middle East

Since September 11, 2001, the perception of the Middle East as a world region with tremendous potential for affecting us has become deeply etched into our consciousness. However, the enduring centrality and importance of the Middle East to our cultural, geopolitical, historical and economic lives has long been a “given” that mandates educating and informing young people about this region of the world—no small task. Dramatic events capture the headlines daily and news travels fast. Sound bites bombard us with images and brief commentary; our opinions are shaped without our even being aware of how and by whom. Certainly, the rapidity of change in the region is one challenge to grappling with this subject; coping with the myriad of opinions, analyses, and information made available by the media and assorted interest groups is another. As teachers, we need to distinguish historical inquiry from current events. While there is no question that knowledge of history in its complexities ideally should inform our critical analysis of current events, they are not one and the same. This book is designed to assist teachers in their endeavors to make the Middle East more comprehensible to youth.

In this chapter you will find:

- ❖ A rationale for teaching Middle Eastern history
- ❖ A description of how to use this book
- ❖ Suggestions for how to integrate the study of the Middle East into your existing curriculum
- ❖ Diagnostic assessment activities to use in your classroom as triggers for beginning study of Middle Eastern history

In each chapter you will find a discussion for the adult reader that provides an overview of an important theme in Middle Eastern history. A unit plan modeling a sequence of lessons, step-by-step lesson plans, and student readings to facilitate implementation in your classroom are also included. Feel free to adapt or adopt these materials for your individual classroom, selecting the topics and activities that meet your needs.

The rapid unfolding of political, economic, and social events in the Middle East calls for teacher readiness to flex as history happens. Thus, a goal of this guide is to empower teachers with models for translating academic materials and current events headlines into student activities that are well-grounded in history. The materials presented here reflect more than twenty years of teaching experience and collegial exchange,¹ are classroom-tested, and are predicated on the conviction that learners actively engaged in the learning process acquire and retain more knowledge than passive ones. The Middle Eastern “souk,” or market bazaar, is traditionally the locus for finding what you need at a reasonable, negotiated price. It is my hope that this resource guide will equip you with a shopping basket of strategies and information that will enhance your students’ learning and make your role as educator more rewarding.

¹ Materials presented here are original, unless cited as originating from published or collegial sources.

Middle East Studies and Your Curriculum

Whether you are planning a lesson, unit, or course, stop and consider what you want your students to understand and know as a result of the learning opportunities you develop for them. In a tenth grade global history class, standards mandate that students become familiar with a variety of belief systems, comparing their theologies, rituals, and values. In an international relations elective, the origins and methods of managing conflict are studied. Both of these topics create opportunities for applying a case study method for introducing material on the Middle East. Familiar history and social science topics such as supply and demand, nationalism, imperialism, revolution, tradition and modernization, diplomacy and foreign policy, social structures, and institutions each have their illustrative counterpart in Middle Eastern studies. The chart below gives examples of connecting links between familiar high school social studies courses and Middle Eastern topics. Each general topic area is paired with a Middle East standard or outcome that I have worked with, and in column three there is a list of suggested content that links to the standard.

Social Studies Courses	Unit of Study/Middle East Standard	Suggested Content or Case Studies
World/Global History	Islam. Students will understand the origins, development, and impact of Islam on the Middle East.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparing and contrasting Arabian society before and after Mohammed. • The expansion and development of the Islamic Empire. • Comparing Islam to other faiths. • Islam as a political ideology in the past and present.
World/Global/European History	Nationalism. Students will understand the seminal role that nationalism has played in shaping Middle Eastern history.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluating national claims (Palestinian, Jewish, Kurdish). • Origins and expressions of Arab nationalism. • Origins, methods and outcomes of Zionism. • Why did the Jews succeed and the Palestinians fail to achieve independence?

World/European History	Imperialism. Students will understand the nature of European imperialism in the Middle East.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ottoman Empire and European contacts. • The case of Egypt and the Suez Canal. • Administration of the Palestine Mandate. • Is Zionism a form of colonialism?
European History	World War One. Students will understand how the political boundaries and institutions of the modern Middle East were a result of World War One.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wartime diplomacy; evaluating Britain's policies and strategies as a potential and later governing mandatory power.
European History	Holocaust. Students will understand the origins and expression of European anti-Semitism.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic v. civic identity; evaluating the status of the Jewish minority in 19th-century Europe. • The impact of the rise of Nazism on the relationship between Arabs and Jews in Mandatory Palestine. • The psychological impact of the Holocaust today.
Twentieth-Century History (IB)	Cold War. Students will understand how the Middle East is a case study in Cold War politics.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The case of the Aswan Dam and the Suez War. • How did the end of the Cold War affect the politics of the Middle East and the quest for peace?
Twentieth-Century History/Sociology	Developing Nations. Students will distinguish between traditional and modern world views and understand that the process of modernization has played a central role in the Middle East.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparative study of the process of modernization in Palestine, Egypt, and the Gulf states.

International Relations	<p>Conflict. Students will understand that conflict in the Middle East stems from mutually frustrating interests and contrasting values of individuals, groups, and nations.</p> <p>Students will understand the factors and strategies that may contribute to a fruitful or aborted peace process.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict. • Evaluating models of managing the Arab-Israeli conflict. • Evaluating the role of the UN in the Middle East. • Comparing military confrontations in the Middle East: How have military confrontations resolved or created problems? • Negotiating and proposing solutions to conflicts—for example, over Jerusalem or water.
Geography	<p>Human Geography. Students will understand how geography has shaped the economic, political, and social development of the Middle East.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The conflict over water. • The impact of the discovery and ascent of oil in the Middle East and worldwide.
U.S. History	<p>Foreign Policy. Students will understand the pattern of American foreign policy in the Middle East.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. policy during the vote on partition of Palestine, the Suez War, and the 1973 War. • Examine and evaluate U.S. foreign aid to Middle Eastern nations. • The role of the U.S. in the peace process.

The National Standards for History developed by the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA includes multiple references to the rise and importance of Islamic civilization and the Ottoman Empire in World History standards addressing the years 300–1770 CE and 1770–1914.² This same document highlights the transformation of the Middle East in Standards One, Two, and Three during the

² Gary B. Nash and Charlotte Crabtree, *National Standards for History* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools UCLA, 1996), pp. 157, 163, 167, 180, 190, 194.

period 1900–1945.³ Standard Two, “The search for community, stability, and peace in an interdependent world,”⁴ specifically addresses the Arab-Israeli conflict. Finally, the “Ten Strands” standards produced by the National Council of Social Studies charge educators to give students an understanding of cultural diversity, governance, economics, continuity and change over time, environment, global connections, civic practice, technology, identity, and interaction among individuals, groups, and institutions.⁵ Regardless of the standards and indicators underpinning your curriculum, the history, culture, and people of the Middle East provide excellent illustrative examples of principles, patterns, and processes that are at the core of social studies curricula.

Before you begin the process of identifying content objectives for your students, however, take a moment to consider your own attitudes and beliefs and how they might affect your teaching. If you are a “tabula rasa” when it comes to the Middle East, your class may experience a more objective presentation, although a less well informed and impassioned one. But if this possibility was unlikely before September 11, 2001, it most probably is unrealistic now. All of us have views and opinions on what America’s policy towards Iraq should be, the appropriateness of a global war on terror, the presence or absence of justification for Palestinian and Israeli policies and tactics, and the efficacy and power of Islam in today’s world. Perhaps when the Twin Towers crashed to Ground Zero, your views may have shifted or become stronger.

It seems that each year since I began teaching Middle Eastern history in 1977, there has been a watershed event that has challenged me to reexamine my understanding of the region I am teaching about. Anwar Sadat’s historic visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 that paved the way for the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was such an event. The commencement of the Palestinian uprising in 1987, the Gulf War in 1991, the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin, and the violent hostilities in progress since 2000 between Israel and the Palestine Authority are others.

Teaching a multicultural population with varying levels of investment in the volatile region being studied creates difficulties for the teacher. I will never forget the challenge pitched to me in the mid 1980s by a boy from Chile when he asked whether I wanted students to agree with my personal viewpoint. Surprised by his question, since I believed that I had been careful to withhold my personal viewpoint on the issue under discussion, I looked him straight in the eye without blinking and said as convincingly as possible: “I don’t care about that at all. I want to empower you to think intelligently about the issues and arrive at your own conclusions.” I meant it then and I still believe it today. What my student didn’t know was that inwardly I was thankful to him for asking his question. He had provided me with a reminder to be ever vigilant and careful in how I present material and to be respectful of the power of point of view and mindful of its appropriate place in the classroom.

³ Gary B. Nash and Charlotte Crabtree, *National Standards for History* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools UCLA, 1996), pp. 201–02.

⁴ Gary B. Nash and Charlotte Crabtree, *National Standards for History* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996) UCLA, p. 212.

⁵ National Council for the Social Studies, <http://www.ncss.org/standards/2.0.html>.

Getting Started With Diagnostic Assessments

Upon preparing to leave Israel for a school in Oman, the editor of our student newspaper wrote an editorial comparing reactions of friends to her plans with those she received from stateside companions three years earlier when she announced her family's intention to relocate to Tel Aviv. For her, it was a case of *deja vu*. Our international population held a stereotypical view of Omani life just as American teenagers had of Israel. In both cases, the tendency was to visualize a technologically inferior society stagnating in an unmitigated desert environment and peopled by quaint, exotic, nomadic people riding camels. Our student editor concluded pessimistically that the prevalence of stereotypical understandings augurs ill for bridging the differences that divide people and lead to conflict.⁶ This is exactly where Middle Eastern studies in particular and global studies in general can make an important contribution.

Teachers have long recognized the importance of beginning inquiry about any topic from the student's starting point. This idea is built into the popular "What I know; what I want to find out" paradigm and the ubiquitous pre-test or informational survey frequently administered at the beginning of a unit of study. Diagnostic assessments such as these can become learning opportunities that enable students to reflect on their formative knowledge base, their attitudes, and those of their classmates. This information will be helpful to you and the class as you introduce topics, moderate class discussions, and develop strategies to optimize student participation. The activities presented here are generic ones appropriate as openers to a learning segment on any aspect of the Middle East and adaptable for use with other topics as well. They are designed to reveal:

- The level and accuracy of the students' knowledge base
- The degree to which the student has a personal connection to the content
- The students' affective attitudes

⁶ Ellen Clark, "Why I Lack Faith in the Middle East Peace Process," *The Word* (June 14, 2002), p. 12.

Activity One: Middle East Metaphors

Objective:

Students will reflect on the origin and content of their own perceptions of the Middle East.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: 30 minutes

Materials: Pencil/Pen and paper

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. This is an excellent trigger activity that encourages creative and divergent thinking. Invite the class to write metaphors for the Middle East or, alternatively, other related expressions such as Israel, Islam, or “the Arab world.”
2. Students can do this individually, then pair and share.
3. Students select their favorites, interpret meaning, and reflect on where the images in our minds actually originate and how Middle Easterners might respond to them.

Here are some examples my students created on day one of Middle Eastern history class. In this case, I collected student metaphors, compiled them, and presented them to the class with questions for discussion the following day.

The Arab world is a microwave.

The Arab world is a treasure chest of mystery and treasure.

The Arab world is a gas station.

The Arab world is a school of fish.

Israel is a carton of Neapolitan ice cream.

Israel is a simmering cauldron.

Israel is a packed, sold-out football game.

Israel is the ugly duckling.

Israel is a young tree.

Israel is a bomb.

Israel is a fruit salad.

Israel is a lonely, winding desert road interrupted by barriers and cattle crossings.

The Middle East is a pinball machine.

The Middle East is a rocky road.

The Middle East is a volcano.

The Middle East is an aircraft carrier.

The Middle East is a dove that can't fly.

The Middle East is a shiny red ball on a kindergarten playground.

The Middle East is an old marketplace.

Discuss these metaphors with one another. Are there common themes reflected in them?

1. Which do you feel are especially meaningful or accurate, and why?
2. Which defy your understanding, and why?
3. Select the one “best” from each group, and tell why you selected it.
4. What do these metaphors reveal about us, the authors?
5. How might a citizen of a Middle Eastern country, an Arab or an Israeli, react to our images, and why?

Activity Two: Concept Map

Objectives:

1. Students will discover common perceptions or misconceptions about the Middle East.
2. Students will discover links and connections among concepts associated with the Middle East.
3. Students will identify topics about which they are well informed or require more information for better understanding.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: 30 minutes

Materials: Pen and paper or markers and poster paper

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Invite students to create a web of terms, ideas, people, and events that they associate with a central idea such as the Middle East conflict, Israel, the Arab world, and Islam. Begin with a center circle and add “spokes” and smaller circles as concepts and facts come to mind and trigger new associations.
2. When students have exhausted their energy, information, or space, have them identify connections and contradictions, and then have them frame questions suggested by their map. Have them distinguish the items they understand most accurately and about which they are most confident from the items they are unsure about or need more information about.
3. Debrief with a discussion of what we can learn about our own attitudes, assumptions, and awareness from the webs we have created.

Activity Three: How Do I Connect?

Objective:

Students will examine how their own lives and experiences have been linked to events in the Middle East.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Handout 1.1–Survey Questions

Step-by-Step Instructions:

This activity is predicated upon the assumption that the world is interdependent and that our lives, wherever we live them, are influenced to a lesser or greater extent by what happens in the Middle East, just as they are by events in other parts of the world. In this exercise, students have an opportunity to consider multiple ways in which they or their classmates may be personally connected to this world region.

1. Distribute Handout 1.1 to the class.
2. After completing the survey, students rank information about themselves on a continuum that reflects their appraisal of how close or distant their personal connection to the Middle East is. These questions focus on personal, cultural, intellectual, and political connections that students might have to the Middle East.
3. After filling out the form, students can sit in small groups and discuss their answers. Students should be encouraged to ask for and supply examples to expand upon their “Yes-No” response. For example, item number eight: If there is war in the Middle East, the price of oil is likely to go up, making gasoline, heating oil, and everything that utilizes petroleum products more expensive.” Or item number two: “My grandmother often tells me stories about what it was like to live in Lebanon before her family moved to the USA.”
4. It is useful to provide students with an assortment of recent news-magazines, newspaper headlines, or articles to illustrate some of the economic and geopolitical connections that may not readily come to mind. Students’ survey responses and discussion will reveal the character and nature of your students’ awareness and their perceptions of personal relevance to the subject.
5. Encourage students to listen respectfully and to be aware that self-disclosing comments and contributions need to be listened to with empathy. There may be a student who brings the memory of painful or emotional experiences to this exercise.
6. After sharing responses, students evaluate where they would place themselves on a continuum of connection to the Middle East.
7. Distant-----Near
8. In order to do this, students will need to evaluate the nature of their connection. For example, is it cultural, economic, political, personal, or intellectual? Someone without personal ties but an intense curiosity about terrorism might place themselves on the far right of the continuum alongside someone who is Jewish and planning a family trip to Israel to celebrate a bar or bat mitzvah (a coming of age ceremony).
9. To assist in the continuum exercise, have students refer to the survey questions.
10. Count the number of affirmative responses and decide how each one illustrates a connection to the Middle East and where it should be placed on the line.

11. A kinesthetic expression of the exercise would be to have students line up along a physical representation of the continuum and express in a sentence or two why they place themselves where they do.
12. Conclude this activity by having students write a reflection about the process they experienced in the course of the lesson and/or a discussion of the different ways in which they connect to Middle Eastern studies.

A Final Word

Regardless of the context in which you are teaching topics pertaining to the Middle East, it is helpful to begin with a preparatory activity that may be a lesson in its own right or a short introductory learning opportunity similar to the ones suggested above. Through these activities, you can identify student interests, involvement, or indifference and become aware of potential hot topics before they come up in class discussion. Similarly, students are exposed to classmates' perspectives and gain insights as to where and why they originate.

Student Handout 1.1

Survey Questions

1. Have you ever lived in or visited a Middle Eastern country? Y N
2. Have members of your family emigrated from a Middle Eastern country?
Y N
3. Do you have friends or family who have lived or worked in a Middle Eastern country (armed forces, study abroad, business travel, employed by a government)? Y N
4. Are you acquainted with anyone who has personally suffered as a result of conflicts associated with the Middle East? Y N
5. Do you practice a religion whose history and traditions are rooted in the Middle East (Judaism, Christianity, Islam)? Y N
6. Do you speak a language associated with the Middle East (Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Hebrew, Kurdish)? Y N
7. Do you believe that developments in the Middle East can have a direct impact on your personal life? Y N
8. Have you personally paid attention to controversial issues connected to the Middle East that have been publicly discussed in the media by reading, listening to news programs, or discussing issues with family or friends? Y N
9. Have you ever watched or participated in a political demonstration connected to Middle Eastern issues? Y N
10. Do you rely on products that originate in the Middle East? Y N
11. Where do you get your information about the Middle East? TV movies
newspapers Internet

Chapter 2

Teaching About Geography

Whatever your topic, theme, or time period, orienting your students to the geography of the Middle East is a must. At a minimum, students should be able to identify and locate major geographical features and political boundaries on a blank outline map of the region. If you are developing an historical topic, it makes sense to compare maps of the Middle East today with maps of the time period under discussion. The reading provided in Handout 2.1 is an introduction for students and/or teachers that illustrates how geography creates a portal for understanding the history, economy, politics, and culture of the Middle East. The content indicators listed below elaborate on these themes:

- Students will distinguish and describe five geographical regions of the Middle East and locate geographical and political features on a map of the region.
- Students will explain how natural resources, geography, and strategic sites have contributed to cross-cultural exchange, interdependence, and conflict in the Middle East.
- Students will analyze the role climate and technology has played in the economics of water and its political impact.
- Students will describe and evaluate the economic, social, and political impact of the discovery of oil in the Middle East.
- Students will detect and identify different points of view in the study of geography and cartography.
- Students will determine whether the Middle East is best thought of as a homogeneous or heterogeneous region.

Sample Unit Plan

Essential Question: How does geography define our lives?

Topic One: Orienting Yourself in the Middle East

Activity One: Classifying Geographic Terms–Discovering Points of View

Activity Two: How Homogeneous Is the Middle East?

Topic Two: Water–The Essential Resource

Activity One: What’s Your Opinion

Activity Two: The Tigris-Euphrates Conflict Simulation

Topic Three: Oil and the Impact of Petrodollars

Activity One: Consumers and Producers

Activity Two: Oil and International Politics

Activity Three: Petrodollars–A Catalyst for Change

Topic 1: Orienting Yourself in the Middle East

Traditional teaching segments emphasizing physical geography aim to familiarize students with the location and place names of topographical features, political boundaries, capital cities, natural resources, and the climate of the region. Mapping the Middle East, analyzing atlases to detect points of view, and manipulating geographic concepts and terms are all excellent introductory activities for the study of Middle Eastern geography.

Activity One: Classifying Geographic Terms–Discovering Points of View

Objectives:

1. Students will become familiar with the names and locations of physical and geopolitical sites and terms in the Middle East.
2. Students will understand that geographers bring a point of view to their study of a region.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Print the names of countries, disputed territories (e.g., Gaza, West Bank, Golan Heights), cities, straits, rivers, seas, mountain ranges, deserts, cultural sites of significance, and man-made sites of significance (e.g., Suez Canal) on small separate pieces of paper and place them into an envelope. Create one set for each group of approximately five students. Provide each group with an atlas and each student with a blank outline map of the Middle East. Have a variety of atlases on hand in the classroom for comparative purposes.

Handout 2.1: The Geography of the Middle East–An Introduction for Students and Teachers (optional)

Step-by-Step Instructions

Group work:

1. Groups of students will examine the contents of their envelopes and develop a system for categorizing the geographical information contained inside. Some students will probably do this by placing together all the terms that belong with a particular country. Since some sites are international, this system tends to break down. Other students may classify by geographical feature (rivers, mountains, seas, cities, nations, etc.). In the past, I have had students manipulate the slips of paper in a way that recreates the map itself. If students complete the task quickly, suggest they try alternative categories that might work.
2. Encourage students to move slips of paper around on their desks and try different groupings.
3. Students will need to consult an atlas to help them identify names that are unfamiliar.

4. Students should locate place names on their own outline maps once they have identified their location.

Discussion:

1. Invite students to share their categorization system and the rationale behind it.
2. How do the different systems reflect each group's point of view?
3. Distribute additional atlases to the groups and ask students to compare how each atlas defines the perimeters of the Middle East. How does the definition compare to the map they have filled out? Are there some countries left out or included? Do students discover discrepancies in the naming of territories or cities when they compare maps from different sources? How do cartographers decide on which countries and geographical constants are, or are not part of the Middle East? Ask students what criteria they would use to make this decision? Would they use natural features, or cultural or historical ones, to define a region?
4. What are the origins of today's political boundaries?

Student Handout 2.1

The Geography of the Middle East: An Introduction for Students and Teachers

The Middle East as a Cradle and Crossroads

The “cradle and crossroads of civilization” metaphors so often used to describe the Middle East are potent images that explain the centrality of this region in global history. The great river valley civilizations of the Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates became centers of agricultural production, seats of government, and developers of technologies, belief systems, and writing 5000 years ago. The overland and sea routes that traversed North Africa, rounded the Arabian Peninsula, crossed central Asia, or headed northwestward to Europe created opportunities for encounter and exchange—whether through trade, migration, or military conquest—that resulted in the dissemination of cultures in both easterly and westerly directions. The stories of Ibn Battuta (1304–1365), the Crusades (1095–1221), Muslim and Jewish merchant middlemen, Ottoman expansion (1453–1600), and the building of the Suez Canal (1859–1869) are all connected to the manner in which geography created opportunities for cultural diffusion and the shaping of history. The chronology and pattern of Islam’s development and spread is better appreciated when studied in the light of the geographical environment in which it originated. Emerging in the Hejaz⁷ of the Arabian Peninsula (571–632), Islam spread first into the water-rich lands of Mesopotamia⁸ and, soon after, to Iran and Egypt. Similarly, the political capital or seat of power in the Islamic world shifted from Mecca during Muhammad’s lifetime to Damascus during the Ummayyad Dynasty (661–750), and to Baghdad during the Golden Abbasid Age (750–1200). The Muslim presence in Spain, Mogul India⁹ (16th–17th century), and points east, reinforces the concept of the Middle East as a crossroads of cultures.

Cultural Unity and Cultural Diversity

The crossroads reality can also create confusion when examining the human geography of the region. For, although Islam creates a cultural glue that tempts us to identify a unity within the region, the fact remains that Islam developed and spread via Arab expansion. Initially, it was Arab civilization and the Arabic language that created a unity and identity. Later, as Islam spread to non-Arab cultures such as Persian Iran and the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, a truly Islamic empire emerged. This cultural diversity raises a question about exactly which countries should be considered members of the Middle East. Is it Arab culture or Islamic culture that defines the Middle East? What about countries with Muslim majorities, such as Indonesia, Pakistan, and Afghanistan? In other words, how far east and west should we go in mapping the Middle East? What are the criteria that determine its identity and location? Furthermore, how did this part of the world come to be called the Middle East in the first place, and might Southwest Asia be a more objective, less Eurocentric¹⁰ descriptor to use?

⁷ Hejaz: The mountain range on the west coast of the Arabian Peninsula.

⁸ Mesopotamia: Literally, the land between two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, in modern Iraq.

⁹ Mogul Empire: The Muslim empire in South Asia (India).

¹⁰ Eurocentric: Seeing something from a European point of view to the exclusion of other viewpoints.

Political Boundaries and Political Identities

The imposition on the dismembered Ottoman Empire¹¹ of new political boundaries by Great Britain and France via the League of Nations following World War One further complicated the geopolitical identity of territories in the Middle East. In an effort to keep wartime promises and maintain control of oil resources and strategic locations, Great Britain and France, with League of Nations support, established new territories called Mandates that were slated to become nation-states when adjudged by the colonial powers to be ready for independence. Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine (later divided into two separate states, Trans-Jordan and Palestine) were to develop into the modern nation states occupying the Fertile Crescent¹² and the Levant. But what was to be the cultural character of these new states and how did the people who lived there perceive their identity? Two cases in particular highlight the cultural diversity within a seemingly homogenous region.

The states of Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran are home to the Kurds, a Muslim non-Arab people once promised their own state in Kurdistan¹³. Today, geographically divided and sometimes persecuted for their staunch commitment to maintaining their unique cultural identity, they find themselves struggling to maintain cultural cohesion. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is another example of political identities and boundaries in conflict. After more than one hundred years of conflict that include military engagements, terror, national uprisings, and stillborn attempts at political compromise, we have a situation in which 20 percent of the Israeli citizenry are Arab Muslims and Christians who simultaneously have a Palestinian national identity and an Israeli civic identity. Israeli Jewish citizens who live over the “Green Line”¹⁴ in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights are a Jewish minority in disputed territory. Finally, the Palestinian Arabs who are children and grandchildren of the refugees of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and the Six Day War (the June War of 1967) continue to press claims to return to their lost lands inside Israel and to establish a Palestinian state. This matrix of fluid political boundaries and enduring cultural identities is another example of the complex human and political geography we confront in the Middle East.

Technology and Geography

The development of modern technology intensified the strategic importance of geographical sites in the Middle East. The building of the Suez Canal by Ferdinand de Lesseps’s engineering company transformed Egypt from being a source of archaeological curios to an essential destination for European shipping bound for India and the Far East. Since 1869, the canal has had an enduringly pivotal role to play in the history of Egypt. Initially viewing the canal as a national treasure and source of pride, Egypt embarked on an aggressive development program following the canal’s completion, resulting in heavy debt. When the British government, a shareholder in the canal, demanded repayment of the debt, Egypt—unable to make

¹¹ Ottoman Empire: Between the 14th century and the end of World War One in 1918, much of the Middle East was ruled by a Turkish dynasty based in Istanbul (Constantinople).

¹² Fertile Crescent: One of the five regions of the Middle East, the Fertile Crescent begins in Mesopotamia (Iraq) and traces an inverted crescent shape southward along the Mediterranean coast.

¹³ Kurdistan: A mountainous region straddling Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Turkey.

¹⁴ Green Line: An imaginary boundary that divides the State of Israel from territories occupied in the June War of 1967.

payment—sold its controlling shares in the canal instead. In this way, Egypt ultimately lost control of the canal. In the aftermath of a revolt of Egyptian army officers who opposed foreign intervention in Egyptian affairs and lack of opportunities for Egyptians in the military, Egypt was reduced to protectorate¹⁵ status in 1882. Egypt's relations with Great Britain, France, the USA, and Israel have all been intricately connected to the Suez Canal, a site that remains of intense strategic importance to Egypt and the nations of the world.

The discovery of oil in Iran, Iraq, and later, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states increased the importance of the Persian Gulf and the oil-producing states in the eyes of the West as demands for petroleum products soared in the industrialized countries of the world. The ascendancy of OPEC¹⁶, the refusal (or embargo) of OPEC members to sell oil to states that supported Israel in the 1973 October War, and the fluctuating price of oil in response to political and military developments in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) and the Gulf War (1991) are examples of how the geography and politics of oil affect our lives. Equally important, however, is the way in which the discovery of oil catalyzed modernization programs in oil-producing countries such as Oman and the United Arab Emirates that challenged traditional ways of life and created neocolonial¹⁷ relationships with the industrialized states involved in both oil production and consumption.

Developing agriculture and industry and a rapidly expanding population in the Middle East burdens an already water-poor region with growing demands for water resources. This creates additional sources of conflict. Illustrative examples of these conflicts include the Tigris-Euphrates water dispute in which Turkey has been accused by Syria and Iraq of drastically reducing water supplies to their countries by building an extensive network of dams upstream within Turkey's sovereign territory. Similarly, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, while a complex and multilayered one, includes an argument over riparian rights¹⁸ to coastal aquifers¹⁹ and rainfall in the occupied West Bank.

Follow-Up Activities

1. Locate the geographical terms mentioned in this reading on an outline map.
2. Indicate locations where geography has created conflict according to this reading.
3. If the Middle East were a single unit, what city might serve as the capital, and why?
4. Map the travels of Ibn Battuta, the Crusades, or the expansion of Islam.
5. Locate the oil-rich regions of the Middle East in the order in which they were discovered and rank their oil reserves from least to most.

¹⁵ Protectorate: A non-independent territory that is controlled by another state.

¹⁶ OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

¹⁷ Neocolonial: A relationship between an industrialized country and a developing country in which the advanced country exerts influence over the other while not actually controlling it as a colony.

¹⁸ Riparian rights: Rights to water usage.

¹⁹ Aquifers: Underground accumulations of water resources.

Activity Two: How Homogeneous Is the Middle East?

Objectives:

- ❖ Students will compare and contrast geographical, cultural, and economic evidence in order to assess the degree of homogeneity or diversity in the Middle East and identify the most useful criteria for defining and distinguishing the region.
- ❖ Students will identify significant regional problems requiring resolution.
- ❖ Students will analyze accuracy of generalizations about the Middle East and use appropriate qualifiers.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 2.2–Features Chart**, access to research materials (almanacs, Internet), butcher paper and markers, **Handout 2.3–Generalization Statements**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Explain that geographical features may dominate sections of the Middle East and give those sections a unique character and identity. Some geographers divide the Middle East into five regions: the Nile River Valley (Egypt and Sudan), the Fertile Crescent (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and parts of Jordan), the Sahara (North Africa), the Northern Tier (Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan), and the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf (Saudi Arabia, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, and Kuwait).
2. Assign one of the five regions to each group and have students fill out a Features Chart for their region. Include a map showing the geographic constants, such as rivers, deserts, mountain ranges, seas, and straits.
3. When all groups have completed their charts, have them post their features charts around the room.
4. Students circulate, comparing charts and completing the following tasks:
 - Read the Generalization Handout (2.3). Put a check next to the statements that are accurate generalizations about the Middle East. Check a qualifying phrase when necessary. Add additional generalizations as needed.
 - How true is it to say that the Middle East is a homogeneous region in which most of the countries share common experiences and problems? Give examples.
 - To what extent do the Features Charts you have prepared suggest the presence or potential for unity or conflict in the region? Give examples.
5. Conduct a debriefing following completion of tasks in which students share responses. Pay attention to the choice of qualifiers most students used in correcting the accuracy of generalizations. Are some better than others in each case? Connect the use of qualifiers to the facts on the features charts for specific regions and the Middle East as a whole. What are student predictions for unity or conflict in the region? Are

the projected or real conflicts based on cultural, economic, or political issues? Close with the generalization: The Middle East is a homogeneous region. Ask students to justify the accuracy of this statement or supply an appropriate qualifier.

Student Handout 2.2

Features Chart

Region: _____

Feature	Country # 1	Country # 2	Country #3	Country #4	Country #5
Rainfall/Climate					
Population					
Languages					
Religion/Sects					
Major Cities					
Ethnic Groups					
Natural Resources					
Major Products					
GNP or GDP					
Per Capita Income					
Infant Mortality					
Literacy Rate					
Type of Government					
Presence of Strategic Site					
Assess Level of Significance (for the region and the world, and justify your assessment)					

Student Handout 2.3

Generalizations Statements

How accurate are these generalizations?²⁰

1. Middle Eastern people are Muslims.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

2. Middle Eastern nations have a water shortage.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

3. Middle Eastern nations are rich in natural resources.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

4. Middle Eastern people speak Arabic.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

5. Middle Eastern nations are each made up of a single ethnic group.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

7. Middle Eastern nations are significantly affected by geography.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

8. Middle Eastern nations control strategic sites.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

9. Middle East nations are rich in oil resources.

All or Almost All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Don't Know
----------------------	------	------	------	-----	------------

²⁰ This chart is adapted from Coverdell World Wise Schools Program, *Building Bridges: A Peace Corps Classroom Guide to Cross-Cultural Understanding*, and is used with permission.
<http://www.peacecorps.gov/www/bridges/lesson7/printable.html>

Topic 2: Water–The Essential Resource

“There are three things in the world which give joy: fresh water, fresh green, a fresh and beautiful face.”²¹ Arabic Proverb

The stereotype of a Sahara-like Middle East contrasts sharply with images of the Fertile Crescent and a water-rich Turkey marketing its water to neighboring states. What is true, however, is that water is becoming increasingly scarce as population growth and industrial development, together with global warming and desertification, take their toll on scant water resources that are replenished by diminishing levels of precipitation in a traditionally arid climate. Increased pumping of water to meet demand (overconsumption) is resulting in deteriorating water quality as higher levels of salinity are measured in underground aquifers. Governments’ development plans to increase irrigation of croplands and generate hydroelectric power such as in Turkey are further taxing river resources and reducing the volume of water available to downstream countries, in this case, Iraq and Syria.

As the challenges of sustainable development and environmental protection continue to grow everywhere on the planet, it is appropriate to focus on water, the essential resource in a unit exploring the geography of the Middle East. All the countries in the region are concerned and affected by the problem; there is a long history of conflict and cooperation on water; and, finally, a variety of approaches to resolving the conflicts over water are under consideration. A teaching segment on water might include the following components:

- Students complete an attitudinal survey by which they identify their operative beliefs regarding the ethics and fairness of water resource usage.
- A discussion of geographical factors beyond our control, as well as man-made supply-side and demand-side factors that are influencing availability of water resources.
- An evaluation of possible remedies for the water shortage problem.
- A simulation in which countries involved in a dispute over water can present position papers and negotiate their differences with the assistance of a facilitating nongovernmental institution.

Activity One: What’s Your Opinion?

Objectives:

- Students will become familiar with ethical dilemmas associated with riparian rights and water usage.
- Students will express, justify, and reconsider personal views on these issues.
- Students will become familiar with the location and quality of water resources in the Middle East.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

²¹ Robert Pearson, *Through Middle Eastern Eyes*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 47.

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 2.4—Opinion Survey**, Internet access, selection of articles on water, if available (e.g., Chanan Sher, “Source of Peace,” *The Jerusalem Report* (March 13, 2000), pp. 34-39).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Distribute Opinion Survey to students and complete the surveys by circling “agree” or “disagree.”
2. When the class has completed the survey, divide the class into small groups to compare answers and discuss points related to ownership and usage. Have groups keep track of points of agreement and disagreement.
3. Map locations and types of water sources available; research water supply and demand statistics
4. Discuss management of water via supply side and/or demand side. Some of these methods emerge from the survey, while others can be ascertained from appropriate articles on the Internet.
5. Discuss vocabulary by having kids figure out the meaning of terms relating to water sources, (e.g., groundwater, springs, surface water, aquifer, artesian well), managing supply (e.g., pipelines, conservation, desalination, import), and managing demand (e.g., taxation, economic realignment, pricing).
6. Have students find out more about how geology, elevation, and climate can affect the quality and quantity of water resources.

Assessment: How accurately does this statement describe and predict the future of water resources in the Middle East? “Man-made problems can be resolved by man-made solutions.”

Student Handout 2.4**Opinion Survey**

1. The reason there is a shortage of water in the Middle East is primarily because people are wasteful.

AGREE

DISAGREE

2. If a river runs through several countries, each country should make decisions independently of other countries about water use within its borders.

AGREE

DISAGREE

3. If a water resource is located within one country, only that country should make decisions about its use.

AGREE

DISAGREE

4. Historical claims to water rights are equally as strong or stronger than those based on need.

AGREE

DISAGREE

5. Water resources belong to the country where the water originated (precipitated).

AGREE

DISAGREE

6. Water resources belong to the country where the water can be pumped.

AGREE

DISAGREE

7. Countries which mismanage water and endanger its quality should not have its claims to water use honored.

AGREE

DISAGREE

8. I would prefer to live in an upstream area than a downstream one. (Rivers run from higher elevations to lower ones)

AGREE

DISAGREE

9. It is fair to charge different sectors of the economy different prices for using water.

AGREE

DISAGREE

10. I support the formation of a Middle Eastern regional organization to monitor the use of water.

AGREE

DISAGREE

11. I believe that the water problem in the Middle East can be overcome by technology.

AGREE

DISAGREE

12. I believe that all people should have access to clean and safe water.

AGREE

DISAGREE

Activity Two: Negotiating a Water Dispute²²

Objectives:

- Students will apply their knowledge of water resource management in a simulated conflict between countries.
- Students will experience the negotiation process and practice different negotiating styles.
- Students will reflect on their participation in a group activity involving research, writing, and oral argument.
- Students will work collaboratively and independently, and will communicate in a variety of modalities.

Time Frame: One week

Grade Level: High school

Materials: Handout 2.5–The Tigris Euphrates Conflict Simulation. Handout 2.6–Instructions for Writing a Position Paper and Planning Negotiations. Handout 2.7–Agenda for the Tigris-Euphrates Water Negotiation. Handout 2.8–Argument Organizer. Handout 2.9–Time-Out Response Sheet. Handout 2.10–Self-Evaluation Sheet. Handout 2.11–Group Evaluation Rubric. For more on negotiation, see Chapter Seven, “Teaching About the Search for Peace,” Activity Three.

Step-by-Step Instructions

There are a variety of water disputes in progress that could form the basis of a performance-based activity that combines learning about conflict with studying an environmental problem. The Tigris-Euphrates is the most famous of the disputes, and the University of Michigan has developed a computerized simulation well supported by resource materials for classroom use. The conflict between Palestinians and Israelis over rights to water precipitated in the West Bank has been an ongoing source of tension since the occupation began in 1967. Finally, the conflicts among Syria and Israel and Lebanon and Israel over water illustrate how political conflict and conflict over resources intersect. Whichever conflicts you choose to role-play in your class, the steps for conducting the activity are similar.

- Groups will research one “player’s” water history, economy, and national priorities.
- Include a Nongovernmental Organization (NGO) whose tasks are to write a mission statement for its organization and prepare a proposal for settling the dispute. This group plays the role of mediator at the negotiation.

²² The Tigris-Euphrates water dispute materials are based on The Tigris-Euphrates Diplomacy Simulation, an online project offered by the Interactive Communications & Simulations Group at the University of Michigan: <http://ics.soe.umich.edu/>. These materials appear with permission.

- Each group will write a position paper that represents a public statement of its view of the problem (see instructions that follow).
- The teacher should provide input on the dynamics of negotiation. This could include practice in identifying types of conflict (e.g., conflicts over values vs. conflicts over competing interests), negotiation strategies (e.g., hard, soft, and congruent problem solving) *Coping With International Conflict* by Roger Fisher et al. is an excellent source of information on conflict negotiation and resolution (see footnote 18).
- Groups exchange position papers and plan how they will negotiate.
- Conduct negotiation in three rounds, and then fill in time-out sheets.
- Debrief. Research, writing, and public speaking skills as well as self-reflection all play an important role in this activity as students work independently and collaboratively to develop their team responses. During the debriefing period, students should be encouraged to discuss the reasons why they believe the conflict was either resolved or unresolved. Have students do this analysis with the assistance of their notes and time-out sheets.

Debriefing Questions

- Describe the character of this negotiation (hard, soft, congruent).
- What was resolved during this negotiation?
- What prevented more fruitful negotiation?
- What strategies might have worked better?
- What should be the next step for resolving this conflict?

Student Handout 2.5

The Tigris-Euphrates Conflict Simulation

In this simulation you will represent members of four groups: Iraq (a downstream nation), Syria, Turkey (an upstream nation), and an NGO from outside the region. This simulation will give you an opportunity to experience the Tigris-Euphrates dispute and take part in a negotiation to resolve a conflict.

1. Using the handouts, and other library and electronic sources, gather data about Turkey, Iraq, and Syria respectively. You will want to find out about each country's economy, water use past and present, political problems, and national priorities.
2. Each group member will write an individual paper based on research. Your paper should state your view on the Tigris-Euphrates water dispute. What is the problem or conflict about? What needs to take place to resolve or manage the conflict? What policies will your country follow, and how will you justify them? What remedies can your country suggest and why? (See the guide sheet below.)
3. Group members should combine the best sections of individual papers. Use the following criteria to make your decisions:
 - i. How many of the eight points on the guide sheet are addressed (see the guide sheet below)?
 - ii. Does the paper emphasize positions or interests?
 - iii. Does the paper reflect a hard, congruent problem-solving approach or a friendly bargain?
 - iv. Discuss how the other sides will react to this paper.
4. The fourth group, the NGO, will choose a name for itself, develop a mission statement for the organization, and present a program for managing or resolving the conflict from its point of view. Be sure to state underlying reasons behind your program. This team will play the role of mediator at the negotiation.
5. Each group will give a copy of its final position paper to the other teams. Following consideration of the position papers, teams will meet to discuss negotiation strategies. What will you say at a joint meeting of all the parties involved? What are your goals for the meeting? What steps will you take to increase the probability that the outcomes of the meeting will satisfy you?
6. Conduct the negotiation (see handout below). Complete the time-out sheets between negotiation rounds.
7. At the close of the negotiation, we will conduct a debriefing in which we will analyze what took place and why, and what we have learned about negotiation, conflict resolution, and the water problem in the Tigris-Euphrates basin.
8. Complete the Self-Evaluation Sheet

Student Handout 2.6

Instructions for Writing a Position Paper and Planning Negotiations

The Position Paper

Your position paper should answer the following questions from your team's point of view:

1. What kind of conflict is this?
2. Who are the parties involved?
3. What are the basic facts (causes, consequences, what's going on)?
4. What are the basic assumptions, beliefs, and "givens" that, from your point of view, underpin the claims you are making and your position? ("We believe that...")
5. What should be done, or happen next (constructive steps, demands, negotiation offers)?
6. What, in your view, would be an acceptable resolution or approach to managing of the conflict?
7. What precedents or justifications support your position?
8. If you can anticipate the other side's viewpoint, you may present it and refute it, if possible.
9. Remember, this will be a public statement which all sides will read.
10. Ask yourself: How will the other teams feel reading our statement? How do I want them to feel, and what might be the consequences of successfully resolving the conflict? Do I want to conduct a friendly, hard, or congruent style of negotiation?²³

Planning Negotiations

As you plan your negotiating strategy, including who will say what and in what order, consider which of the following will be important to your team in negotiating the Tigris-Euphrates dispute:

- Ideology (principles believed in)
- Symbolic concerns
- Prestige, or reputation
- National welfare
- Practicality
- Precedents
- Internal concerns
- Procedural concerns (over how the negotiating will be done)
- Substantial concerns (over actual points under negotiation)
- Sovereignty (independence)
- Immediate future
- More distant future

²³In congruent problem solving, we separate the people from the problem, focusing on interests, generating alternative solutions and using objective criteria to evaluate outcomes. A discussion of the three types of bargaining strategies can be found in Roger Fisher, *Coping With International Conflict* (Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997), p. 139. For more, see Chapter Five, "Teaching About the Search for Peace," in this resource guide.

- Relationships between/among parties
- Progress
- Politics

Student Handout 2.7

Agenda for the Tigris-Euphrates Water Negotiation

1. Review delegations' position papers in committee and conference.
2. Review delegation's plans for negotiation in light of other sides' papers.
3. Opening statements.
4. First responses.

(Time out: Delegates fill out individual analysis sheets.)

5. Substantive issues: presentation and discussion by participating delegations (Round One).

(Time out: Delegates fill out individual analysis sheets.)

6. Substantive issues continued (Round Two).

(Time out: Delegates fill out individual analysis sheets.)

7. Substantive Issues (Round Three).

(Final time out: predictions for resolution? In your personal opinion (not in your role), what factors either promoted or inhibited resolution of this conflict? What might have made for a different outcome?

Student Handout 2.8**Argument Organizer**

	Iraq	Turkey	Syria	NGO
Claims Made				
Facts to Verify				
Bargaining Style				

Student Handout 2.9

Time-Out Response Sheet

When the negotiation facilitator calls ‘time out,’ please refer to the appropriate section of this document and answer the questions that follow. The purpose of this exercise is to encourage reflection and analysis of what is taking place during the meeting. Please listen carefully and fill in the response sheet as completely as you possibly can. The facilitator thanks you in advance for your cooperation in this endeavor.

Time Out One

- How did you personally feel as you listened to the other side present its opening statement?
- Identify the issues raised. Did the statement focus on interests or positions?
- Was the tone “soft” (friendly), “hard,” or reflective of congruent problem solving? Give an example.

Time Out Two

- Are the delegations arguing over the same issues? Is there any consensus? Has the tone changed? Which student is the leader of each delegation?
- Do the other delegations confer with each other, or do you see one-person presentations?
- Did you have something to contribute but didn’t? Why?
- Do you have a positive (optimistic) or negative (pessimistic) feeling about this negotiation, and why?

Time Out Three

- What do you predict for the future of this conflict? Why?
- What have you heard at the meeting that you could call constructive? Was any aspect of the conflict resolved? Will it be harder or easier in the future to make progress on resolving this conflict?
- What would be your next move in your role as delegate from your country or team?
- Reflect on the position you advocated and the way in which you interacted with other delegation members using the following standards:
 1. How do I think future historians are likely to judge my conduct?
 2. Will my conduct be cited to my credit, or will I have to defend it?
 3. If, through no doing of mine, a full account of my conduct appeared on the front page of tomorrow’s newspaper in my country, is it more likely that I would be proud or embarrassed?

Student Handout 2.10**Self-Evaluation Sheet**

The most important contribution I made to my group was

I could have done a better job on _____

I would give myself a grade of A B C D for my role in developing this group assignment _____ because _____

Our group had difficulty _____

I learned the most from (pick one and explain why you chose it) 1) researching, 2) writing, 3) discussing in group, or 4) negotiating.

Student Handout 2.11

Group Evaluation Rubric

	NOBEL WINNERS	A-TEAM	ON PROBATION	LOOKING FOR A JOB
Our Group Work	All members participated, a leader emerged, we examined different perspectives and reached consensus.	Discussed a lot but relied on one or two people for ideas. Got the job done.	We talked a lot but often lost our focus, never came to clear conclusions.	We pulled in different directions, wasted time, felt frustrated.
Our Group Paper	The paper reflected the group's thinking. We all agreed with the end product, which was well written and supported.	The paper was the work of a few people only, but everyone was familiar with it and it made sense.	Everyone read the paper but most had little to do with producing it. The end product had weak content and many errors.	Group members were unfamiliar with the end product. The content was weak and unsupported. There were many errors.
My Personal Contribution	I filled out activity sheets, contributed ideas in discussion, and helped write the paper.	I reflected on ideas with the group, asked questions and probed, but didn't initiate ideas.	I did too much work for the group. I didn't do enough to help my group.	I goofed off.
Class Negotiation Activity	Issues were well presented, positions were clear, people "thought on their feet" and applied bargaining strategies.	Openings were clear, some give and take, groups were unevenly prepared, but dynamics of negotiation were interesting.	Participants were unfamiliar with the material. The same people spoke all the time, but carried the day.	Activity was only minimally successful. There was too much disorder to understand what was going on.

Topic 3: Oil and the Impact of Petrodollars

When the first oil tanker sailed through the Suez Canal in 1892, carrying its load of petroleum from Baku in the Caucasus to East Asia, the powerful connection between the oil industry and the Middle East was established. Although oil had not yet been discovered in the region, the entrepreneurs and governments of the industrialized countries were well aware of oil's global significance and the potential for discovering new sources of this increasingly vital resource. The discovery of oil, first in Iran and later in Iraq, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and North Africa, increased the strategic and economic significance of the region as U.S. and European companies and governments invested heavily in geological exploration and, later, the extraction and refining of Middle Eastern oil. The history of the oil industry in the Middle East unfolded in the shadow of 19th-century imperialism and the 20th century's Cold War. It is inextricably linked to both intra-regional conflicts such as the Iran-Iraq War and shifting political and cultural patterns such as the Islamic Revolution in Iran or modernization in the Gulf states. It has been a source of jealousy among rich and poor Arab states and used as a sanction in international politics. The U.S. government's efforts to preserve stability in the Middle East can be better understood in light of its economic interest in maintaining the availability of oil to the U.S. and its allies. The pumping and pricing of Middle Eastern oil, and its refining and transport through sensitive strategic zones both east and west, have dire consequences for economies around the world and for our personal economic lives. Thus, oil in the Middle East can be studied both in terms of its historical dimensions and its contemporary role. One has only to read the headlines to find evidence for why we should teach about oil. Here is an outline of relevant content to help you design an instructional component on oil.

- ❖ Students will identify oil-rich nations in the Middle East and strategic sites related to the worldwide transport and distribution of oil.
- ❖ Students will trace the development of the oil industry in the Middle East between 1900 and today, drawing conclusions about the changing relationships between industrial oil consumption and Middle Eastern countries.
- ❖ Students will identify factors that affect the price of oil and give examples of how those factors operate.
- ❖ Students will explain how oil and petrodollars have brought rapid economic, political, and social change to oil-producing countries.
- ❖ Students will evaluate world dependency on Middle Eastern oil.
- ❖ Students will evaluate Arab dependency on oil for economic viability.
- ❖ Students will analyze the role of oil in international conflicts.

The best sources of information on oil are to be found on the Internet, since there you can locate the most recent statistical data. The U.S. Energy Information Administration <http://www.eia.gov/> will direct you to a wealth of information, both current and historical; the activities presented here are partly based on that agency's Country Analysis Briefs (found at <http://www.eia.gov/countries/>). The Congressional Quarterly handbook *The Middle East* is informative and comprehensive.²⁴ Daniel

²⁴ *The Middle East*, Ninth Edition (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc.) 2000 pp 155-193.

Yergin's *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*²⁵ is a detailed history of the oil industry from its earliest beginnings. I recommend the video series by the same name,²⁶ since it provides powerful images that make the information concrete and give the epic story of oil a human face.

Activity One: Consumers and Producers

Objectives:

- ❖ Students will identify oil rich nations in the Middle East and strategic sites related to the worldwide transport or distribution of oil.
- ❖ Students will trace the development of the oil industry in the Middle East between 1900 and today, drawing conclusions about the changing relationships between industrial oil-consuming nations and Middle Eastern states.
- ❖ Students will identify factors that affect the price of oil and give examples of how they operate.
- ❖ Students will evaluate world dependency on Middle Eastern oil.
- ❖ Students will evaluate Arab dependency on oil for economic viability.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: The group task **Student Handout 2.12–Topics for Research and Analysis**, the student reading **Student Handout 2.13–The Oil Industry in the Middle East**, access to atlases, and access to the Internet.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Distribute **Student Handout 2.12–Producers and Consumers From Colonialism to Independence** and **Student Handout 2.13–The Oil Industry in the Middle East**. The reading will provide important information that students need to complete their assigned tasks. For homework, have students use an atlas to fill out a map locating centers of oil production and strategic transportation sites.
2. Divide the class into three groups. Each group will investigate a different aspect of the consumer-producer relationship in the context of Middle Eastern oil.
3. Prepare a handout for each group according to the Master Outline that follows.
4. Students work in groups.
5. Students present their products to the class, fulfilling a responsibility to “teach” classmates about their perspective of the consumer/producer relationship.
6. The information learned through this exercise will be applied in the culminating activity.

²⁵ Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*, New York: Free Press, 1991.

²⁶ *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*, Majestic Films International, BBC TV. MICO, WGBH, Public Media Video 1992.

Student Handout 2.12

Topics for Research and Analysis

Group One Topic: Producers and Consumers From Colonialism to Independence

Using the **Student Handout 2.13** reading and the recommended Internet sites below, decide how you would characterize the development of the relationship between Middle Eastern oil producers and the industrialized nation states who at first played a substantial role in the extraction, refining, and sale of petroleum products.

What historical events enhanced or inhibited Middle Eastern independence from Western countries? When have Middle Eastern countries acted independently or been reliant on Western ones in terms of oil? Has colonialism faded away, or are we in a new age of neocolonialism when it comes to Middle Eastern oil?

Your task is to create a line graph that begins in 1900 and traces the development of the oil industry. Use the graph to prepare a presentation that answers the questions above and makes recommendations for the future.

Internet sites:

World Oil Transit Chokepoints, <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/security/choke.html>
Country Analysis Briefs, <http://www.eia.gov/countries/>

Group Two Topic: Who Depends on Middle Eastern Oil?

Using the **Student Handout 2.13** reading and the recommended Internet sites below, analyze just how dependent on Middle Eastern oil the United States and the industrialized world are today. Although the United States was a pioneer in the oil industry when it first began, by the 20th century, Middle Eastern oil was becoming essential. During the Oil Embargo of 1973, OPEC states would not sell oil to the United States, and a great effort was made to reduce consumption and discover alternative sources of energy. Have our consumption habits and/or our use of alternative sources of energy reduced or increased our dependency? How dependent are the oil producers on their oil for their own economic well-being? Are they diversifying their economies or relying on a single export to meet their needs? The answers to these questions could have economic consequences for oil producers as well as far reaching implications for U.S. foreign policy and energy development in the 21st century.

Your task is to address these questions and prepare a presentation that recommends future policies for producers and consumers.

Internet sites:

Country Analysis Briefs, <http://www.eia.gov/countries/>

(Check out these countries: USA, Oman, Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, Jordan)
http://www.eia.gov/ftproot/presentations/ieo99_3im/sld010.htm

Group Three Topic: Who Decides How Much We Pay for Oil?

Using the **Student Handout 2.13** reading and the recommended Internet site below, analyze the many factors that determine the price of oil. Supply and demand, or how much is made available at a given price and how much oil consumers are prepared to buy at a given price, are the classic determinants of price in a free-market economy. The formation of the cartel known as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the nationalization of the oil industry in many states had tremendous influence over prices, however, and introduced political and national-interest factors into the pricing equation. Conflicts in the Persian Gulf, Arab-Israeli wars, embargos, and sanctions have affected availability of supplies from the Middle East, while increased oil production in other nations such as Mexico and Nigeria at times created an oil glut. Environmentalists concerned about increased global warming from burning fossil fuels, stateside oil companies and private consumers are examples of groups that have their own interests at stake when it comes to preferred pricing.

Your task is to track and account for price fluctuations in the oil market since 1973. What are some examples of how the American economy was affected by these price fluctuations? Develop a scenario that illustrates the factors that affect the price of oil today. Present the scenario to the class for their analysis. Suggest a fair and equitable way for determining the price of oil today.

Internet site:

25th Anniversary of the 1973 Oil Embargo,
<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/25opec/anniversary.html>

Student Handout 2.13

The Oil Industry in the Middle East

Introduction

When we compare the Middle East's nearly 677 billion barrels of crude oil reserves (66 percent of the world's total) to those of any other oil rich region, we see that oil producers such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Oman, Libya, and the United Arab Emirates are of immense strategic importance to the energy consumers of the world. Today, the United States' own oil production has decreased 40 percent since 1970. In 2010, the United States imported over 4,300,000,000 barrels of oil. The development of the oil industry in the Middle East, however, is a story of the 20th century; in 1900, geologists had no idea of the vast reserves in Mesopotamia, the Northern Tier, and the Arabian Peninsula. In this reading you will learn:

1. The story of how the oil industry began and expanded.
2. How the price of oil is determined.
3. How international conflicts and the oil industry have influenced one another.
4. How wealth generated by the oil industry has brought change to the Middle East.

The pumping of oil and its refining is an industry that began in Pennsylvania and, later, America's Southwest. From the mid-19th century through 1900, the industry matured under the industrialist John D. Rockefeller and others. In 1892, when the first oil tanker owned by the Shell Transport Company sailed through the Suez Canal carrying a cargo of crude oil from the rich oil fields of Baku in the Russian Caucasus to the Far East, the strategic importance of the Middle East for the shipment of oil in both easterly and westerly directions was clear. By 1900, however, American, British, and Dutch companies were determined to explore for and acquire the rights to oil in foreign lands. The Middle East became a target for these companies, private investors and governments alike. Middle Eastern oil proved to be easy to extract because of its proximity to the surface and the familiar geological structures in which it had formed. Low production costs made these newly discovered oil fields attractive and lucrative.

Petroleum, or "Black Gold," as it has been called, has interfaced with human history in multiple ways during the 20th century. In the industrialized countries of Europe and North America, oil first became popular as a fuel to provide light, and later, as gasoline, to power the newly invented automobile. An increasingly mechanized, mobile, and industrialized economy recognized the advantages of oil over coal as a source of energy. Some historians believe that the necessity to secure fuel helped to drive German and Japanese war plans in World War Two and played a pivotal role in determining the outcome of the war. The military, pharmaceutical, plastics, and fertilizer industries are all consumers of petroleum products. The modern world is "hooked" on oil. But what about the oil-rich, often newly independent petroleum producing countries; how did they view these economic developments?

In 1900, many of today's Middle Eastern oil producers were part of the Ottoman Empire ruled by the Turks from their capital, Istanbul. The Arabian Peninsula was divided among sheiks or tribal rulers who competed for dominance in their region.

Middle Eastern oil was first discovered in independent Iran in 1900, so most of the region's petroleum wealth was unknown at that time. Although never systematically colonized in the 19th century by European states as Africa had been, the Middle East had experienced European colonialism in Egypt. As the oil industry developed in the twentieth century at the impetus of capitalist investors, large companies, and foreign governments, Middle Eastern rulers became more and more aware of—and disturbed by—what appeared to be a new form of indirect imperialism in which Western companies made huge profits from guaranteed oil supplies.

The presence of Western companies, however, propelled the traditional Middle East into the center of a world economy and opened a window to Western political and cultural patterns—in short, to modernity. The growing recognition that the natural resource treasures within their territories were beyond their control was soon to lead to a politicization of oil as more and more political leaders began asserting their independence and modernizing their economies. Middle Eastern civilization, that had once outstripped European accomplishments in the arts, sciences, and philosophy during the medieval period only to become politically and economically dominated by the West, now, in the 20th century, saw itself wielding a powerful weapon. This broad outline of the story of Middle Eastern oil illustrates how the discovery and development of the petroleum industry created both opportunities and resentments. It highlights the dichotomy of the interests of oil-consuming and oil-producing nations and suggests how oil could easily become a political or economic cause of conflict, or a weapon in the conduct of such conflicts. Let's look more closely at the origins of the oil industry, the inequities it engendered, and the conflicts within which it played an important role.

The Oil Industry Moves From Company Control to Cartel

Early in the 20th century we can see that the petroleum industry in the Middle East was punctuated by struggles on three levels. Initially, competition raged among the industrialized nations such as England, the United States, France, Germany, and the Netherlands as they fought to win concessions of the rights to oil in the Middle East. Beginning in 1901, sheiks and governments typically granted concessions to foreign companies to explore for oil and, ultimately, to pump it out of the ground. Since Western countries and companies had the engineering and geological knowledge to find and extract the oil, whereas the local rulers and governments did not, this seemed reasonable.

In the beginning of the 20th century, producers received 16 percent of the future profits in addition to a flat fee for the right to explore and pump. As time went on, however, the producing nations struggled to win an increasing share of control over their vital resource. The appearance of Arab national and revolutionary ideologies during a period of Cold War tensions and Arab hostility over the creation of Israel led to Arab and also Iranian questioning of old alliances and understandings regarding the best way to run “their” oil industries. It was becoming clear that the concepts of self-determination and the end of European colonialism were inconsistent with a concession system that allowed foreign companies to dominate local oil industries.

Between 1950 and 1954, producers won the rights to 50 percent of the profits from the oil produced in their countries. The profit sharing arrangement was not to last

long. Petroleum-rich Iran already nationalized its oil industry by 1951, and the increasing attractiveness of revolutionary nationalism in the Arab world suggested that other oil producers might do the same. Saudi Arabian oil minister Ahmad Zaki Yamani warned in 1968 that failure to allow acquisition of stock in companies would result in nationalization. By the middle of the 1970s, the oil companies no longer held controlling shares; those shares had been acquired by Middle Eastern oil producing countries.

The most dramatic shift, however, in the structure and practice of decision-making in the oil industry had come a decade before, in 1960, with the establishment of the cartel or monopoly known as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Falling oil prices at the end of the 1950s, resulting from an increase in competitive smaller companies entering the market, cut into the oil producer's share of profits and was one of the motivations for uniting into a cartel. As developing nations, the oil producers needed income to fund programs in education, agriculture, health, and industry, as well as to purchase armaments, all things oil revenues could pay for. Before the establishment of OPEC, profit-sharing arrangements allowed the price of oil to be heavily influenced by decisions made not by the producing countries but by the foreign oil companies who had bargained for concessions that were later modified by treaties and contracts. This would change in 1960 with OPEC taking a leading role in the setting of prices and production quotas. Let's look more closely at the economic relationship between buyers (who constitute the "demand") and producers (who furnish the "supply") in the oil market.

Prices and Production

The market price of a product is determined by the readiness of consumers to buy (demand) and producers to sell (supply) at a mutually agreed upon price. However, when a product is as essential to the world economy as oil, it becomes difficult for consumers to hold off buying until the price is right. Recognizing this dilemma, the oil producers who joined OPEC began to work together to maintain favorably high prices that oil companies would have to pay if they wanted foreign oil. Producers accomplished their goal by working according to the principles of supply and demand. When oil was supplied in abundance, prices were low. Discoveries of new oil fields, leading to overproduction beyond the quantity in demand, would result in a low price per barrel and poor revenues. Agreements among oil producers on how much oil to pump and sell would manipulate the supply to the optimum level in order to set a favorable price and yield a good profit. Of course, limiting production also reduced potential for profits. OPEC nations found themselves walking a tightrope as they struggled to work in concert to agree on production and price levels when member states had their own economic agendas, needs, and oil reserves.

Fluctuating demand (or the readiness of buyers to pay a given price) also affects the price of oil. In wartime, for example, demand for petroleum may surge higher, raising prices. In periods of economic stagnation, recession, or economic slow down, manufacturing decreases, spending tapers off, and oil, while still necessary, is no longer needed in such great quantity; prices will fall because fewer buyers are prepared to pay the offered price. Even economic or political rumors might have the psychological effect of instilling fear or confidence that could enhance or inhibit demand. Once formed, OPEC initially brought pressure on oil companies to agree to

price rises and the right to participate in foreign companies. Throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the price of Middle Eastern oil seesawed up and down. Low prices of fifty cents a barrel in 1971 contrast sharply with high ones of \$140 a barrel in 2008. Throughout these decades fluctuations were caused by OPEC decisions to cut production, and by conflicts in the region such as the Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War.

Oil and Wartime

In October 1973, after the surprise attack by Egypt and Syria on Israel, OPEC increased prices by 70 percent. At this time, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) demanded that Israel withdraw from territories occupied during the six-day 1967 June War and restore the rights of Palestinian refugees. Arab states had attempted to use oil as a sanction before against Israel but were never as successful as in 1973. This time, not only did OAPEC states cut production levels as much as 10 percent, but they also refused to sell oil to the United States because of its support for Israel. This embargo of oil to the USA continued through March 1974. Americans experienced hardship at the filling station, where prices soared due to shortages, and where drivers were allowed to line up for gas only on designated days. President Nixon pleaded with Americans to set home thermostats at a chilly 68 degrees Fahrenheit while home-heating oil was in short supply.

The challenge of the embargo spurred Western countries to decrease their dependency on Middle Eastern oil, and they began to aggressively explore for and discover new oil fields in Alaska and the North Sea; these new sources brought prices down. Prices in the later 1970s also decreased as a result of increased production of oil by countries such as Mexico, Nigeria, Venezuela, and others who could not afford to cut production levels along with the Arab producers. The low prices during the oil glut (oversupply) of the 1980s, however, was to change with the outbreak of military hostilities in the Persian Gulf.

Fighting in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88) and the Gulf War (1991) illustrates how oil can at once be a cause of, and a weapon in, conflict. During the course of the Iran-Iraq war, oil production of both these OPEC members was severely reduced as a result of mutual attacks on each other's oil installations. This loss of revenue crippled their abilities to purchase arms until other OPEC members chose sides and began supplying petrodollars from their own revenues to back their respective allies. This war emphasized the vulnerability, not so much of supplies, but of the ability to transport oil through the strategic Straits of Hormuz, the gateway to the Persian Gulf. Attacks on Kuwaiti tankers, for example, jeopardized the supply of oil to consumers such as Western Europe, the U.S., and Japan. In this case, the U.S. intervened by reflagging the tankers and providing armed escorts for vessels traversing the gulf. This war demonstrated the fragility of the Arab OPEC states's unity, but at the same time hammered home the shortcomings of Western dependence on Middle Eastern oil.

On May 30, 1990, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq addressed a closed session of the Arab Summit meeting in Baghdad with these words:

Since 1980, when we were at war, we faced circumstances which were as difficult as the war itself because they affected our economy and basic

resource, namely oil. There was confusion in the oil market. There was lack of abidance by OPEC decisions.... We say that war is fought with soldiers and harm is done by explosions, killing, and coup attempts, but it is also done by economic means sometimes.... I say that those who do not mean to wage war on Iraq, that this is in fact a kind of war against Iraq.²⁷

Although Iraq's decision to invade Kuwait on August 2, 1990, was a result of many factors, oil was a key one. Specifically, Saddam Hussein was irate over Kuwait's refusal to abide by lower production quotas that he believed resulted in low prices that cut into Iraq's sorely needed oil revenues. In addition, Iraq was angry over Kuwaiti activities at the contested Rumaila oil field situated on the Iraq-Kuwait border. Finally, Iraq owed 80 billion dollars to Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates for monies borrowed during the war with Iran. Iraq wanted this debt to be forgiven. Once again, this case shows how OPEC is weakened by disagreement over the setting of production levels within its membership. Iraq's rapid invasion of Kuwait and the human and property losses suffered by the Kuwaiti people shocked the world and highlighted the defensive vulnerability of the states on the Arabian Peninsula such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar. With these states husbanding essential oil reserves and the Gulf a transport chokepoint the security of the region became ever more the concern of Western nations, particularly the United States, the largest consumer of petroleum.

As the political and economic interlacing of oil intensified, another embargo, this time instituted by the international community to force Iraq's compliance with UN Security Council resolutions, demanded, among other things, the cessation of production of weapons of mass destruction. Desperate to rebuild the damage incurred in the Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War, Iraq had been severely hampered by this oil embargo. The oil-for-food program was an offer by the UN to allow export of petroleum provided that the revenues would be used for the humanitarian relief of the Iraqi people and not for the development of weapons. In August 2002, speculation over an expected United States attack on Iraq prompted Daniel Yergin to point out that despite Iraq's 100 billion barrels of oil reserves, disruption of its oil production would create few oil supply problems. On the other hand, should the attack affect the region more widely and disrupt oil production of its neighbors, the problem would become more severe.²⁸ While Middle Eastern oil has been of international concern from the inception of the industry in 1900, it creates internal, domestic opportunities and dilemmas for nations that have recently discovered its presence within their borders. The next section examines the effects oil has brought to the Gulf states.

Petrodollars for Development

Gulf states such as Oman and the United Arab Emirates discovered oil in the 1970s and immediately began a rapid modernization program. In less than a generation, these countries were transformed from Bedouin tribal communities with traditional

²⁷ The New York Times Archives, THE WORLD: Excerpts; Fighting The War of Words Over Kuwait, Published: August 12, 1990 <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/08/12/weekinreview/the-world-excerpts-fighting-the-war-of-words-over-kuwait.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>

²⁸ Daniel Yergin, "Oil Prices Won't Depend on Iraq, but on its Neighbors" *The New York Times* (August 25, 2002), p. 7

cultures and undeveloped technology into modern Arab states. In Oman it took a revolution and palace coup to displace a repressive leader before modernization could begin. Over the course of 40 years, a rapid building program and education and health improvements have brought the Omani people squarely into the 21st century as rapidly as possible. In the United Arab Emirates, the political consolidation of Abu Dhabi and Dubai with five other emirates created an oil-rich country in which revenues are shared. Here too, modernization began once oil was discovered.

The material modernity that these states enjoy is coupled with persisting traditional attitudes and customs that sometimes create dilemmas for parents and children. The Omani air force pilot who flies to the desert to visit his brother living a Bedouin (nomadic) lifestyle far from the amenities of urban civilized life exemplifies a persisting cultural dichotomy. While some women continue to live in the countryside according to traditional tribal customs, urban female children attend university and have joined the workforce outside the home. These are additional examples that emphasize the diversity of cultural values and practices that exist in a society that has advanced from a medieval life style to a modern one in barely 20 years. The need to import skilled foreign workers such as engineers and geologists to fill positions in the oil industry has introduced tensions created by the presence of new, often non-Muslim ethnic groups.

By relying on oil revenues for their well being, these emirates may need to contend with the problem of dwindling reserves and finding alternative sources of income. Oman, for example, has made attempts to nurture tourism as a new industry. Another state, Qatar, which has been pumping oil since 1947, has recently developed offshore gas fields as a new source of income.

While no crystal ball can tell us the future of the oil industry in the Middle East, there are discernible patterns that recur and therefore are worthy of our attention as we continue to watch events develop and unfold. The temporary slackening in Western dependence on Middle Eastern oil that took place in the aftermath of the oil embargo of the 1970s is over. Most energy specialists recognize that dependence on oil produced in the Middle East will continue in the future. At the same time, we have seen repeatedly that the Muslim producing countries have a difficult time maintaining their cartel. There are simply too many historical, territorial, and economic disagreements and national agendas to maintain solidarity when it comes to pricing and production levels. The Persian Gulf will continue to be a hot spot as a result of its concentration of oil reserves, competing leaderships, and importance as a transport route. Prices will continue to fluctuate in response to a host of climatic, geologic, political, economic, and psychological stimuli emanating both from within and without the region itself. These patterns suggest that the United States needs to be concerned with safeguarding the stability of oil producing nations and maintaining the security of the region.

Activity Two: Oil and International Politics

This activity works as a learning opportunity although the role play could also serve as an assessment of student understanding, since it requires students to apply what they have learned about supply and demand, pricing of oil, consumers, and producers.

Objectives:

- Students will compare and contrast the role played by oil in a number of key conflicts in the Middle East.
- Students will understand the complexities of the role of oil in the Middle East by analyzing and responding to unfolding geopolitical, economic, and environmental events from the point of view of U.S. oil companies, the U.S. government, OPEC and/or NOPEC countries, the UN, and Middle East specialists.
- Students will reflect on and evaluate the efforts of “players” in the oil game to manage fluctuating economic, political, and environmental conditions.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: Access to research materials and Internet sites, butcher paper, markers.

Handout 2.14–Oil and International Politics. Handout 2.15–Instructions for the Oil Game. Teacher materials and samples of “Headlines” (for teachers).

Step-by-Step Instructions

Day 1

- Divide the class into groups and assign each group a different conflict or time period (see **Handout 2.14**).
- Students will research answers to the questions on **Handout 2.14** in order to determine the significance of oil in the particular period they are studying.
- Students will present their findings to the class by preparing a poster for display and discussion.

Day 2

- Assign the roles of the U.S. Government, the UN, OPEC countries, NOPEC countries, U.S. oil companies, Middle East Experts, the EU, and developing countries to groups of students. You may wish to omit some based on the size of your class.
- Distribute copies of **Handout 2.15** (description of roles and alternative responses) to each group. The teacher should review alternative examples of responses and give examples of different levels of crisis. Similarly, review the interests of the different roles represented in the game (see **Handout 2.15**).
- The teacher will conduct the game by feeding a series of “Breaking News” items to the groups during a few rounds of play. Alternatively, students can select the headline news from recent media reports that they believe are (or will be) having an effect on the petroleum industry. (Note: Some of the breaking news items are historical while some are fictional. You may wish to

adapt these to your needs). Each group will discuss the unfolding events and determine whether or not this event requires a response of some sort and what that response will be. Responses may take the form of:

- Public statements of protest or endorsement.
 - Formation of an alliance with other nations through public or private diplomacy.
 - Proposing new legislation.
 - Calling for a meeting with other nations.
 - Announcing a new oil policy regarding production, consumption, exploration, or transportation.
 - Use of military force.
 - Requesting intervention by the UN.
 - Teachers may wish to draw news items from recent political and oil headlines that appear in the press at the time they are teaching this lesson.
- After groups decide on their responses, they may make a public statement or refrain from public comment and simply “PASS.”
 - Continue to introduce “Breaking News” and keep track of public responses on the chalkboard.
 - Conduct a debriefing session in which students reveal secret responses that the rest of the class may not be aware of and assess the degree to which they believe the crisis in the oil industry was handled successfully or unsuccessfully. Did the decisions that were made enable groups to achieve their goals? What was the impact of their decisions on their fellow players in the oil game? How were national economies likely to be affected by the policy decisions that were made and how would the world economy be impacted? Did the players act responsibly or irresponsibly?

Student Handout 2.14

Oil and International Politics

Since the discovery of oil in the Middle East in the early 20th century, the resource and the region have been of intense strategic importance. Find out how oil came into play as a tool of international politics during the second half of the 20th century.

Events and Time Periods

1973: The October War (Arab-Israeli conflict)

1980–88: The Iran -Iraq War

1991: The Gulf War

1991–96: Early years after the fall of communism

1996–2002: UN Resolutions on Iraq

Questions

What role did oil play, if any, in causing the conflict?

To what extent did the oil industry become a target in the conflict?

To what extent did the oil industry become a weapon in the conflict?

To what extent was oil used as a political tool (sanction or reward)?

How were individual countries' economies affected during the conflict?

How was the world economy affected during the conflict?

How did oil companies, governments, OPEC/NOPEC, and international organizations respond to unfolding events in terms of petroleum consumption and production?

Be sure to consult:

- <http://www.eia.gov/countries/> (provides an index to all the Country Analysis Briefs)
- http://www.eia.gov/ftproot/presentations/ieo99_3im/sld010.htm•
<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/25opec/anniversary.html> (Power Point Slide Show of energy consumption patterns and availability 25 years after the OPEC embargo)
- <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/iraqchron.html>
- <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1990/scres90.htm> (Security Resolution 661)

Use the Energy Information Administration -- Country Analysis Briefs as a source of information about interventions and responses to events affecting the oil industry. The chronologies are especially helpful.

Student Handout 2.15

The Oil Game

In this activity you will represent one of the “players” in the oil game. Players include representatives of the U.S. government, U.S. oil companies, OPEC and NOPEC countries, the UN, and Middle East experts (historians and energy specialists). Reading the role descriptions will help you better understand the interests and goals of your group.

This game is driven by a series of “Breaking News” events that your teacher will supply. In each round of the game, an event or events will take place that you may choose to respond to in a number of ways. Some responses may be public, while others may be secret. In some cases you may choose to ignore the news item if, for whatever reason, you do not wish to respond. At the conclusion of the game, you will step out of your roles and evaluate how the oil industry, the Middle East, and the world economy have been affected by the decisions that your groups made.

In order to play this game, you will need to apply all that you know about the history of oil in the Middle East, past precedents for using oil as a political tool or weapon, the dynamics of supply and demand, and the needs of both producers and consumers.

The responses you make to “Breaking News” may take the form of:

- ❖ Public statements of protest or endorsement.
- ❖ Formation of an alliance with other nations through public or private diplomacy.
- ❖ Proposing new legislation.
- ❖ Calling for a meeting with other nations.
- ❖ Announcing a new oil policy regarding production, consumption, exploration, or transportation.
- ❖ Use of military force.
- ❖ Requesting intervention by the UN.
- ❖ Dispatch of a diplomatic mission.

In the debriefing session you will be asked to assess:

1. The degree to which you believe the developments in the oil industry were handled successfully or unsuccessfully.
2. Did the decisions that were made enable groups to achieve their goals?
3. What was the impact of their decisions on their fellow players in the oil game?
4. How were national economies likely to be affected by the policy decisions that were made, and how would the world economy be impacted?
5. Did the players act responsibly or irresponsibly?
6. What role did violence play, if any, and was this violence avoidable?
7. How the management of events in this activity compares to the way events have been managed in the past, or how closely the situation in the activity resembles events taking place today.

Who Is Who in the Oil Game?

OPEC Countries: The OPEC cartel has been dominated since its creation in 1960 by Arab and Muslim states that hold vast oil reserves. Not always have the OPEC countries agreed on mutually acceptable production levels and prices, however. Sometimes OPEC countries have disagreed over oil policy and whom to support in military and political conflicts within the region (see **Student Handout 2.13–The Oil Industry in the Middle East**). Generally, the OPEC countries want to maintain favorable price levels and are concerned about overproduction that could depress prices. Instability in the region could also disrupt transport of oil and cause harm. OPEC countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait view the U.S. as an important guarantor of their security, especially after the invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the Gulf War that followed.

The USA: Although itself a producer of oil, the U.S. needs to purchase Middle Eastern oil. Stability in the region will help secure open transport lanes, pipelines, pumping stations, and refineries. In the past, the U.S. has used military forces in the Persian Gulf to protect its oil-producing allies and defeat aggressive countries such as Iraq in the Gulf War. The U.S. government is keen to maintain reasonable oil prices so that U.S. companies can continue to buy, refine, and profit from the sale of Middle Eastern oil that fuels the U.S. economy and contributes to maintaining favorable employment levels throughout the economy.

U.S. Oil Companies: These companies are an important factor in the U.S. economy and rely on purchasing Middle East oil for refining and resale. Companies want reasonable price levels that will allow them to make a profit and are very sensitive to shifts in supply and demand.

NOPEC Countries: Countries such as Russia, Nigeria, Malaysia, Columbia, and Norway are affected by the flow of oil from the Middle East. Disruptions in oil supply make the oil that they produce command a higher price, but alone they cannot fill the shortfall created by a long-term interruption in Middle Eastern oil production.

Middle East Experts may be historians, economists, or political scientists who interpret unfolding events in light of their knowledge. As advisors to governments and writers in a free press, their opinions, analysis, and advice can have a significant impact on the policy decisions made by other players.

The UN: This premier international organization has played a significant role in the region as the UN Security Council has passed numerous resolutions with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iran-Iraq War, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. During recent years, the UN has called on nations to embargo Iraqi oil in order to obstruct Iraq's plans to use oil profits for building weapons of mass destruction. The UN is an excellent forum for formulating and implementing a consensus of the world nations as crises develop.

Asian Players: China, India, Japan, and South Korea have industrial economies that can significantly impact the oil market in today's global economy. Their political responses to "Breaking News" developments have important impact on other nations.

The European Union: Since the formation of the European Union in 1992, European states have increasingly been seen as a geopolitical unit despite differences on some issues. The environmental Green movement is strong in Europe, and energy consumption, alternatives to fossil fuels, and debate over the safety of nuclear energy have become central issues in the European community. Although not consistently monolithic on petroleum issues, as “Breaking News” events happen, EU attitudes and policies can be considered.

Teacher Materials: Sample “Breaking News” Items

- ❖ Protesters at the Earth Summit on Sustainable Development challenge governments around the world to limit use of fossil fuels such as petroleum and coal that contribute to the creation of a greenhouse effect when burned to produce energy. They warn that the result of indiscriminate use of this source of energy will be rising temperatures, climatic changes, increased flooding, destruction of croplands, and increased danger from carcinogenic radiation. Reputable scientists have supported their claims. The summer of 2002 has already witnessed serious flooding in Europe and China. Clean energy such as solar energy and wind farms are promoted as alternatives to oil.
- ❖ Iraq has accused the United States of being responsible for the suffering of its civilian population as a result of the oil embargo of Iraqi petroleum products. Iraq has called upon OPEC nations to reverse the embargo and refuse to sell oil to the countries that continue to punish Iraq for crimes not committed, namely the development and possession of weapons of mass destruction.
- ❖ The United States claims that Iraq has direct connections with the Al Qaida organization responsible for the attack on the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001.
- ❖ Iranian ships are sighted in the Persian Gulf in the vicinity of the Straits of Hormuz. Reports are that recent threats made by Iraq have prompted the Iranians to conduct naval maneuvers in this sensitive strategic chokepoint.
- ❖ An explosion at a rich offshore oil pumping station in the North Sea has necessitated the closure of the installation for an indefinite period of time.
- ❖ Libya, a major oil-producing nation, has been consumed by revolution, and a popular uprising supported by the U.S., Britain, and France has resulted in the ousting and death of the authoritarian dictator Muammar Muhammad al-Gaddafi.
- ❖ Iraq threatens to blow up petroleum installations and the Trans Arabian Pipeline that runs long the Saudi Arabian–Iraqi border if attacked by the United States.
- ❖ NOPEC countries with heavy debts, such as Mexico, Nigeria, and Columbia, are considering increasing production, much to the dissatisfaction of OPEC members.
- ❖ Exploration for oil in the Caucasus fails to yield any new oilfields that can be pumped profitably.
- ❖ Israeli soldiers and Palestinian fighters clash in a bloody battle in the West Bank town of Ramallah. Iraq and Lebanon both accuse the U.S. of supporting Israel’s occupation of Palestinian lands, and call on OPEC nations to use their oil power for the betterment of Palestinian conditions and the achievement of statehood.

- ❖ The USA offers the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan oil in exchange for the right to place armed forces on Jordanian soil in advance of an attack on Iraq.
- ❖ World economic trends indicate a growing recession as high tech companies close their doors and spending ebbs in the consumer sector.
- ❖ An exceptionally frigid winter is expected to hit North America and most of Eastern and Western Europe in the coming season.
- ❖ An earthquake in Japan seriously damages a nuclear reactor, creating the worst nuclear disaster since the 1986 Chernobyl meltdown in the Ukraine.
- ❖ Iran is in the process of developing nuclear capabilities that would enable the production of a nuclear weapon in the coming months. Public threats against Israel, the Iranian government's support for extreme Islamic groups such as Hizbullah, and Iran's use of terror have led to sanctions and talk of a military option to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms in the region.

Activity Three: Petrodollars—A Catalyst for Change

The theme of modernization and change recur in the study of the Middle East whether discussing politics, economics, or culture. A film such as *The Petrodollar Coast*, one of three in a series entitled *The Oil Kingdoms*,²⁹ does a wonderful job of depicting the ways in which newfound wealth changed countries such as the United Arab Emirates and Oman, creating new dilemmas for these societies to solve. The Web is a good source of articles that you may find useful in lessons on tradition and modernity, and two examples are referred to in the following lesson. The first is a description of Saudi Arabian society, the second examines the changing role of camel racing in the Gulf.

Objectives:

- Students will identify economic, political, and social changes that have resulted from petrodollar wealth by pointing out the features of traditional and modernizing life styles in the Gulf states.
- Students will understand why introducing new technology can promote the diffusion of new, unanticipated cultural norms.
- Students will discuss possible future scenarios for Gulf states' societies.
- Students will assess the benefits and problems that have resulted from the expansion of petrodollar wealth in the Gulf.

Grade Level: Middle school/High school

Time Frame: One and one-half lesson periods

Materials: **Handout 2.16—Guide Sheet** for watching film or analyzing readings/sites. A film on modernization in the Gulf states such as *The Petrodollar Coast*, and/or articles that discuss changes in Gulf state societies. Suggested web sites include: “Camel Racing in the Gulf: Notes on the Evolution of a Traditional Sport,” by Dr. Sulayman Khalaf (first published in *Anthropos*, 1999, pp. 85–106, and available at Freeservers.com <http://enhg.4t.com/articles/camelrac/camelrac.htm#intro>) or “A Forced Pause in Saudi Arabia’s Rush to Modernization” by Richard Curtiss (first published in *Washington Report*, January/February 1997, p. 10., and available at *Washington Report On Middle East Affairs* (<http://www.washington-report.org/backissues/0197/9701010.htm>)).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Distribute Guide Sheet to class.
- Use a film that depicts contrasts between the Gulf before and after discovery of oil. Be prepared to stop periodically to discuss segments. Alternatively, share information from selected Web sites and articles.

²⁹ *The Oil Kingdoms: The Petrodollar Coast*, Chicago: Films Incorporated, 1983.

- Have students fill out the Guide Sheet as they view the film or read sources. Then use the Guide Sheet as a basis for class discussion.
- Have students consider whether images in the film or facts from the readings refute or corroborate generalizations we hold in our minds about life in an oil-producing state? Encourage students to look for similarities as well as differences between their own lives and society and those of the people in the film.
- Encourage students to articulate the positive and negative effects of oil wealth, and in what areas of life they see that change has taken place. What, for example, is the same or different in Saudi Arabia as a result of discovering oil? Students may categorize changes in terms of politics, gender issues, education, economy, generation gaps, and standard of living. The article on Saudi Arabia gives many examples of these changes. The article on camel racing is excellent for illustrating how the camel, a prominent feature of Bedouin Arab culture, takes on a new but important role in modern Gulf society as a focus for preserving the national and cultural heritage. (Sections one, two, five, and six are the most useful in this lengthy article unless your students are planning to buy, sell, train, and race camels!)
- Ultimately students will recognize that the petrodollar countries of the Gulf are in the process of accommodating their traditional cultures to the features of new modern ones. Here are some questions to consider: Is it possible to modernize technologically while maintaining traditional values? What is the best way for society to respond to cultural conflicts between the generations or genders while undergoing a transition to modernity?

Student Handout 2.16**Guide Sheet**

- ❖ Define “petrodollars.”
- ❖ List particular images from the film or facts from your reading that are most vivid in your mind.
- ❖ Explain why you think the film corroborates or refutes commonly held stereotypes of Arab people, and give examples to illustrate your thinking.
- ❖ How did petrodollar wealth change the sheikdoms of the Gulf politically, economically, socially, and culturally?
- ❖ Political changes:
- ❖ Economic changes:
- ❖ Social changes:
- ❖ Cultural changes:
- ❖ List examples of traditional Arab customs or values. Which of these values do you think will remain important in the Gulf states in spite of petrodollar wealth, and why?

- ❖ How has wealth created problems for these countries?

- ❖ What are your forecasts for the future of the Gulf states?

Assessments for a Unit on the Geography of the Middle East

Throughout this unit, students have examined geographical realities in the Middle East and explored how they influence and intersect with the lives of people both within and beyond the region. The essential question posed at the outset of this chapter—“How does geography define our lives?”—is, of course, an open-ended one with many possible answers. A variety of pedagogical techniques and materials are presented that allow a decoding and synthesis of academic material providing students with historical background for thinking about contemporary geographical issues. Student activities are task-oriented and collaborative, involving researching, writing, group decision-making, and oral presentation. Simulation and role play have an important place here, as do evaluation and reflection on processes as well as outcomes. The teacher functions as both a source and mediator of information, but students are expected to discover more for themselves with the teacher acting as facilitator. Here are some assessment activities that push students to formulate their response.

- Conduct a debate arguing the resolution: “This House believes that geography defines our lives!” (Below, this resource guide provides materials to familiarize students with the elements of formal debating and instructions for structuring classroom debates. Students proposing this resolution would be able to build a strong argument using information from their study of water and oil and the conflicts they engender, as well as the influence of strategic sites and the geographical origins of political conflicts. The opposition would focus on refuting this argument by bringing examples of engineering, scientific, and political interventions that have helped human beings control their environment while living in harmony with it.
- Invite students to construct an itinerary, map a route, and write five diary entries for one of the following travelers. Routes should contain specific place names and a rationale for why you recommend stopping there. Be sure to explain the mode of transportation and projected costs.
 - ❖ An English missionary en route to a posting in India in the year 1870.
 - ❖ A 15th-century Arab merchant living in Baghdad and acting as middleman between China in the east and Spain or Italy in the west.
 - ❖ A geologist who prospected for oil in the Middle East in the 1930s who wants to revisit the early oilfields and learn more about recent oil discoveries.
 - ❖ A military historian researching the Gulf War.
 - ❖ A military strategist who wishes to better understand the critical importance of the Middle East.
- Design a hypothetical map illustrating the location of water resources (including both aquifers and surface water), dams, elevation and topography, upstream and downstream countries, and seawater. Have students write an analysis of the water situation in this hypothetical region. How great is the potential for conflict and why? What steps could be taken to increase water supplies or reduce demand in order for better management to avoid conflict?

- Write an essay that answers the question, “Does geography define our lives?” Use examples from our study of the Middle East to prove your thesis.
- Collect a variety of maps of the Middle East from different time periods and by cartographers of various nationalities, and analyze their points of view. Which countries or sites, for example, are labeled in the maps? Are there discrepancies among the maps? How does our own geographical orientation determine our point of view when it comes to understanding and interpreting geographical issues and problems? (Use examples from our study of the Middle East.)

Chapter 3

Teaching About Islam

Following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City, the Web was filled with sites advising teachers on how to present both the tragedy and Islam in the modern world to young learners. There were a variety of responses to the challenge. There were postings that exhorted American schools to broaden parochial perspectives and better inform our students about other cultures so that they may become sensitized to how Americans are viewed by the Muslim world. Fear of compromising our tradition of tolerance at home became the focus of other educators and government spokespeople who made Promethean efforts to divorce and detach Islam from the story of the Twin Towers. John Agresto challenged teachers to “teach what you know to be true, not what you hope might be true.”³⁰ In other words, don’t avoid painful realities for reasons of political correctness. Victor Davis Hanson goes even further, remonstrating and reminding teachers that

The failure to exercise moral judgment—[to] deny Islamic Fundamentalism is a great plague upon the world...is not proof of forbearance but of abject ethical decrepitude.³¹

The controversy over the content and method of presenting Islam to students at this sensitive time in our own history is not only a result of terror and rage against America and other Western societies. It is part of the ongoing debate over how global and multicultural our teaching of history should be. Are we sacrificing student understanding of American values, institutions, and history in our effort to prepare future citizens of the world? These questions will continue to occupy us, but clearly a balance must be found between educating our youth to understand the “American Way,” world cultures, and how they intersect. It is helpful to remember that we can think about Islam from three different points of view: the first looks at Islam as a world religion, the second as a world civilization, the third as a political ideology. While there is considerable overlap among these categories and students need to be able to recognize these connections, it is important for teachers to see that each perspective by itself is an incomplete one. Furthermore, each perspective helps to provide a rationale for understanding why we are teaching our students about Islam. In this chapter you will find

- A rationale for structuring classroom inquiry spotlighting Islam as a world religion, world civilization, and political ideology.
- A survey of interpretations of Islam.
- A sample unit plan, detailed lesson plans, and student materials that enable delivery of instruction on the above themes.

Islam as a World Religion

Studying the origins, beliefs, practices, and values of Islam creates opportunities to reflect on the meaning and social functions of religion and common experiences

³⁰ John Agresto, “Lessons of the Preamble,” <http://www.edexcellence.net/Sept11/sept.11.html>.

³¹ Victor Davis Hanson, “Preserving America, Man’s Greatest Hope,” <http://www.edexcellence.net/Sept11/sept.11.html>.

shared by the entire human family. Bernard Lewis expresses Islam's role eloquently when he describes its contribution to individuals' lives and the history of humankind.

Islam has brought comfort and peace of mind to countless millions of men and women. It has given dignity and meaning to drab and impoverished lives. It has taught people of different races to live in brotherhood and people of different creeds to live side by side in reasonable tolerance. It inspired a great civilization in which others besides Muslims lived creative and useful lives and which by its achievement enriched the entire world.³²

As a branch of the Judeo-Christian religious heritage, the study of Islam promotes opportunities for comparative analysis of the Western monotheistic faiths and, while similarities abound, we find fundamental differences, such as the original unity between church and state in Islamic society. The story of Islam's development in its early years, its institutions, leaders, and the process of its growth, hold within it the key for understanding the origin and perpetuation of the diversity within the ranks of its believers, past and present, and its political power struggles. The bottom line is that it is important to teach about world religions, provided that we incorporate the study of representative primary sources and refrain from promoting one religion over another.

Islam as a World Civilization

The narrative of how Islam metamorphosed from a local Arabian religion founded in the seventh century CE into a world civilization spreading into Europe and Africa and throughout southwest and East Asia is a fascinating story. Its chronology includes the rise and fall of Arab dynasties such as the Damascus-based Umayyads (661–750 CE) and the Golden Age of the Abbasids with their capitol in Baghdad (750–1200 CE). The non-Arab, Islamic empires led by the Ottoman Turks (1289–1923) who dominated the Middle East, the Persian Safavids (16th–18th century), and the Mughul emperors of India (16th–18th century) testify to the multicultural, trans-imperial face of Islam. At each step of its development, the Islamic world, with its political leaders and militaries, merchants and mystics, mathematicians, thinkers, artisans, and builders, played pivotal roles in shaping world history as it developed, preserved, and facilitated the diffusion of knowledge, technology, and institutions across the great Eurasian continent. The explanation of Islam's meteoric rise, dominance, and eventual decline raises important essential questions. Here are some examples: 1) When, why, and how does a set of beliefs turn into a civilization? 2) Why do powerful empires or governments become weak, go into decline, and even disappear?

Islam as a Political Ideology

Our final perspective looks at Islam through the lens of political ideology. It is true that, from its inception, Islam's initial goal was to build an Umma or community of believers, creating Dar-al Islam or the House of Islam by welding together disparate warring Arabian tribes. Viewed as the political structure of society to be governed by the laws of the Sharia (religious law) and the Qur'an, this Umma was, from the Muslim point of view, destined to expand territorially, bringing its teachings to Dar al

³² Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic Monthly* (September, 1990), p. 48.

Harb, the House of Unbelievers or the House of War. Thus, unlike Christianity, from its very origins, Islam promoted a political agenda, not only a spiritual one. Indeed, until the 20th century and the emergence of nationalism, most Middle Easterners viewed Islam as dominant in defining their personal identities along with family, clan, tribe, and village.

However, it is also true that the political model Muhammad advocated in the seventh century has undergone extensive modification and interpretation. As contacts with the West increased and nation states emerged from the shambles of the old Islamic empires, they began to embark on a process of modernization in many areas of life. The history of Islam as a political ideology requires examination of this process and its costs and consequences. Nationalist leaders such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and Gamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt attempted to completely subordinate citizens' Muslim identity to their national one. Flirtations with Western ideologies such as democracy, fascism, and soviet-style socialism had their heyday before and during the World Wars as Arab ideologues borrowed and molded ideas and terminology to suit their conceptions of political structure. Most scholars agree that the failure of modernization programs to live up to expectations or win widespread acceptance is responsible in part for the resurgence of political Islam. The Islamic ideology was perhaps the most authentic of all for Middle Eastern peoples, and never far from their consciousness. Evidence of political Islam's resurgence peppers recent history and current events. The Islamic revolution in Iran (1979), the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat (1981), Hizbullah (The Party of God) in Lebanon, the Taliban in Afghanistan, al Qaeda cells around the world, and Hamas activists in Gaza are a few examples. The antecedents of these Islamic organizations and activities can be found in Wahhabism,³³ Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani's activities,³⁴ the Muslim Brotherhood founded by Hassan al-Banna in Egypt during the 1920s, and the Devotees of Islam in Iran.³⁵ The religious revival within Islam has engendered a great debate in the West and perhaps too little discussion within Islamic lands.

In the West, resurgence of Islam in its militant form leads ultimately to the question: Why? This is a question that fascinates students who find it hard to comprehend why millions of people would prefer to live according to Islam's seemingly restrictive codes rather than embrace modernity and all that it offers. Bernard Lewis' articles "The Roots of Muslim Rage"³⁶ and "The Revolt of Islam"³⁷ are excellent sources for understanding the complexity of the historical, religious, and cultural motivations for returning to the Islamic fold. In addition, Lewis offers an explanation why the

³³ Wahhabism was founded by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab who sought to purify the faith in 1744. Active in Arabia, Wahhabism was adopted by the Saudi leaders who later became the dominant political leaders in the Arabian Peninsula.

³⁴ al-Afghani (1838–1897) was a cosmopolitan Muslim who believed that unity expressed through traditional Islam was the best defense against an expanding western imperialism.

³⁵ The Devotees of Islam were founded by Navvab Safavi (1923–1956) in Iran. Martin Kramer sees him as having had an important influence on the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. The information on precursors of contemporary Islamism comes from Martin Kramer, "Fundamentalist Islam at Large: The Drive for Power," *Middle East Quarterly*, June, 1996, <http://meforum.org/pf/php?id=304>.

³⁶ Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic Monthly* (September, 1990), pp. 48-56.

³⁷ Bernard Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam," *The New Yorker* (November 11, 2001), http://www.newyorker.com/printable/?fact/011119fa_FACT2.

expression of this religious fervor has taken the form of attacks on the West. Students should understand, however, that this phenomenon has multiple causes and has engendered lively debate within academia. For Bernard Lewis, the fact that Islam never adopted the concept of separation of church and state, while the West did, is a basic difference that has colored the relationship throughout history. If the right and correct political model is an Islam that rules over Muslims and nonbelievers, how distressing it is that European states began to eclipse the Muslim world by the late 16th century. Territorial losses, the incursion of Western cultural values into Middle East societies, and increasing economic dominance by Western companies and products that simultaneously accompanied political defeats and attempts at modernization were humiliating experiences to Muslims.

Interpreting Islam

The fact that Islam's core teachings express humanistic values such as brotherhood, justice, and peace are in contradiction with the violence, terror, and abuse of human rights we read and view in the media. The simplest explanation lies in understanding the difference between core beliefs of the faith and their interpretation by different Muslim groups and societies, some of them extreme, in history and today. The debate over interpretations is taking place both among practicing Muslims and Western scholars of Islam. Non-militant interpretations of Jihad, for example, claim the concept refers not to a call to pick up arms in holy war, but rather is a call to dedicate oneself to struggle to lead a good Muslim life. Indeed, Muhammad represents the model man embodying a host of admirable qualities, including gentleness, forbearance, kindness, and a forgiving nature. Ultimately, those who defend Islamist groups such as Hamas and Hizbullah, however, on the grounds that they are social organizations providing for the physical and spiritual well being of Muslims by establishing health clinics, schools, and charity organizations, must confront the reality that they also engage in terror.

John Esposito, Director of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, presents fundamentalist Islam as a reforming movement and distinguishes between Muslim extremists and revivalists. The journalist Robin Wright picks up this theme when she asserts that reforming Islamist movements can draw on traditions within Islam to support strivings for a more pluralist, flexible Islam. *Ijtihad* (interpretation), *ijma* (consensus) and *shura* (consultation) are three examples of Islamic practices that Wright uses to assert Islam's compatibility with democratic ideals that promote reform. Abdul Karim Soroush and Rashid al-Ghannoushi, reformers who emphasize the importance of individual freedom and the need to strike a balance between holy texts and human reasoning respectively, are frequently cited as reminders that Islam and democratic ideology are not contradictory to one another. While the West debates the nature and future of Islam, it remains the task of practicing Muslims around the world, in their different cultural and national settings, to determine the role their faith will play in shaping their economic, social, and political lives. The interpretive path that they choose to follow in their application of Islam to addressing socio-economic inequalities, gender issues, and government can have far-reaching implications for the well-being of these societies and their future development.

What academics and scholars agree on, regardless of their personal interpretations of Islam or their place on the debate continuum, is that Islam will continue to be an important cultural, political, and social force in our world. What is more, Islam—and our relationship to societies that either live by its laws or choose to practice a less politicized form of the faith—will continue to evolve and develop in response to internal and international challenges. If students are to understand these developments, they must be familiar with the origins and impact of political Islam, Islam as ideology. Learning about the basic beliefs and practices that reflect Islam's links with the Judeo-Christian heritage alone won't do.

The three perspectives discussed above serve as a framework for the study of Islam. Here is a list of indicators that validate student understanding of these themes, Islam as world religion, Islam as world civilization, and Islam as political ideology.

Objectives for Teaching about Islam

1. Students will reflect on the role of religion in human society.
2. Students will compare and contrast beliefs, practices, and values of Islam with other monotheistic faiths.
3. Students will explain how and why Islam successfully developed from a local Arabian religion into a world civilization, and account for the decline of its political influence in the world after 1600.
4. Students will identify and account for the diversity within Islam today.
5. Students will define Islamic fundamentalism, differentiate Muslim states from Islamist ones, and account for the revival and resurgence of political Islam in recent history.
6. Students will evaluate and explain the source of tensions in today's world between Western states and Muslim/Islamic ones.

Sample Unit Plan

Essential Question: Does religion serve society or does society serve religion?

Topic One: Islam as a World Religion. Does organized religion make the world a better place?

Activity One: The Founding of Islam. Comparing pre- and post-Islamic Arabia.

Activity Two: Comparing Islam with other monotheistic faiths. How close are the "Abrahamic cousins?"

Activity Three: When religious narratives disagree.

Topic Two: Islam as a World Civilization. How can we explain the rise and weakening of the Muslim world in the 19th century?

Activity One: What are the elements of a civilization and how does a faith transform into one?

Activity Two: Evaluating strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire.

Topic Three: Islam as political ideology. Is political Islam a threat to security?

Activity One: What do we mean by political Islam and what are its origins?

Activity Two: What is the source of political Islam's popularity; who perceives it as a threat, and how should governments respond?

Topic One: Islam as a World Religion. Does Organized Religion Make the World a Better Place?

An opening unit on Islam focuses student attention on the role of Muhammad in changing Arabian society—reforming it, if you will, from a pagan, tribal society to one based on shared beliefs and values emanating from a monotheistic faith. In the process, students reflect on the purpose of faith in the lives of human beings and learn about the institutions and practices that developed to enhance, support, and administer the society created through belief in Islam. A study of Islam leads naturally to a comparison with Judaism and Christianity, and finally to an examination of how the beliefs of these religions intersect with one another

The Comparative Model

When we compare Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, their similarities are immediately apparent. An examination of their practices, beliefs, and values validates the appropriateness of applying the metaphor that identifies Islam as a “branch of the Abrahamic family tree.” Students can develop an awareness of shared elements among the monotheistic faiths by letting texts drawn from the Old and New Testaments and the Qur’an speak for themselves. Excerpts from secondary sources can also be helpful in explaining core concepts. Making a chart that challenges students to categorize information gathered under headings such as 1) Beliefs and Values, 2) Identity and View of the “Other,” 3) The Big Picture, or What Is our Purpose on Earth?, and 4) Rituals and Practices (Behaviors) is a useful exercise.

Any discussion of these facts requires a generous “helping” of teacher sensitivity. First, be sensitive to the fact that your students are discussing and sharing perspectives on beliefs and practices that may be an intimate part of their personal lives. Second, be prepared for an expression of diversity of practice and observance among students of the same faith, a reality that can be difficult for some students to accept. Third, be aware that there may be students in the class who are members of other religious groups or atheists who may feel devalued or left out because there is less opportunity to talk about their personal experiences. Maintaining a classroom in which all students feel that they have something to contribute, characterized by a sense of acceptance, safety, and respect, will facilitate and promote constructive discussion of this sensitive topic.

Recognizing, however, that Islam, Christianity, and Judaism are all faiths that call on their believers to give charity to their fellow human beings, pray to one God, read their Holy Book as God’s revelation, and strive to live a righteous life, does not diminish the fact that in the past they represented competing faiths. The very similarities, rather than engendering empathy and understanding, can be interpreted as irritants. The incorporation of the Old and New Testament prophets and personalities such as Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David, and Jesus into Islam’s tradition did not convince Jews nor Christians to convert to Islam in large numbers in the seventh century. Initially, orienting prayer in the direction of Jerusalem or mandating dietary laws and fasting, although reminiscent of Jewish ritual and practice, did not win Jewish converts to Islam.

Religious groups are prone to establishing themselves by telling “The Story” from their own point of view. Frequently, this means treading on the toes of other antecedent faiths. Sites and saints holy to one sect are likely to be appropriated by another. These common practices are clues for understanding the nascent conflicts that develop into full-blown ones. The Dome of the Rock and the city of Jerusalem are excellent case studies of just such a conflict. The claim that Islam merely “repackaged” Jewish and Christian beliefs and practices and then “marketed” them throughout the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia is a reflection of a Eurocentric attitude. It is an error to view Muhammad as a clever “copycat” rather than as a spiritual leader and reformer who revolutionized society in Arabia and jumpstarted a civilization that would change history. To do so misses the point of why we study religion comparatively. Our real purpose is to discover how beliefs evolve and develop together. Help students to see how they reflect the commonality of the human condition in their striving for spirituality and aspiration to live righteously, even when, in practice, societies may fall short of the ideal.

The activities described here include student readings that describe the coming of Islam and the changes it brought. There are many global or world history textbooks that contain useful passages that reiterate these basic facts and that can be substituted. In addition, you will find suggested handouts to trigger and support deeper discussion.

Activity One: The Founding of Islam. Comparing Pre- and Post-Islamic Arabia

Objectives:

- Students will compare and contrast Arabian society before and after the founding of Islam.
- Students will reflect on the purpose and role of organized faith in the lives of human beings.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Introductory Reading on Arabia in the sixth and seventh centuries.

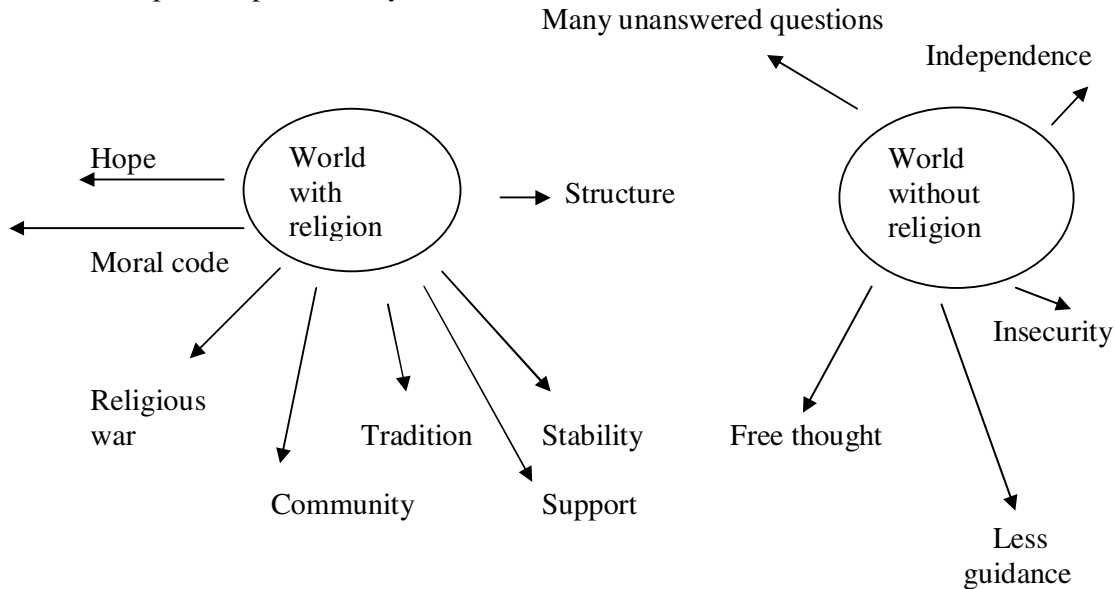
Handout 3.1–The Founding of Islam and Muhammad’s Teachings (or other textbook reading). **Handout 3.22–“The Legend of the Turkey” and “The Concept of Sulha.”** Butcher paper, and markers. Optional film: Islam–Empire of Faith, Part One (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yX3UHNhQ1Zk>) and the PBS site based on the film at <http://www.pbs.org/empires/islam/>.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Have students write a response to the following prompt: Does belief in an organized religion make the world a better place? Students should write freely for about ten minutes without stopping for discussion. If they have questions, uncertainties, or problems with the question, have them write them down in their response. The purpose is to get students to write down their associations, first impressions, and general thoughts.

2. Divide students into small groups and allow time for each group to share and discuss their responses.

3. Each group will create a visual organizer or diagram that communicates the main points discussed in the group, or a consensus if one exists. Here is an example of one such product produced by seniors.



4. Encourage students to discuss and explain their visual organizers. Have them give examples of the points in their diagrams. What do they mean by moral codes? What are some examples of religious wars, insecurities, or unanswered questions? What questions do the diagrams raise? Typically, classes puzzle over how religions that teach brotherhood and tolerance, and preach the importance of acting responsibly towards one's fellow human beings, have also been the power behind the perpetration of violence and cruelty towards others. This opening activity is a good diagnostic of students' experience and attitudes towards the topic of religion in our world.

5. Tell the class that they are now going to use what they read in their text or handout to distinguish culture in Arabia before Muhammad to culture after the founding of Islam. Students can do this by filling in a Venn diagram, creating cartoons, or writing dialogues between Muhammad and his fellow Arabians. The chart summarizes some of these main points.

Arabia Before Muhammad	Enduring Features That Remain Important	Arabia After the Founding of Islam
The tribe is the main political unit of the society.		The Umma or community of believers becomes the identifying core of society.
The sheik is the political head of the tribe.		The Prophet Muhammad and, later, the caliphs or the deputies of the prophet, are the spiritual and political leaders of the Umma.
Identity is based on kinship or family. Families form clans, clans form tribes.	Family and local identities remain very important.	Identity is based on faith in Allah and acceptance of Islam. All are expected to join the community by professing faith.
Nomadic society, some trade and agriculture		
Some city-states (Mecca, Medina)		Political unity creates greater economic strength.
Sulha is practiced as a process for resolving conflicts.	Sulha continues to be practiced in Arab societies.	Koran, Sharia, and Hadith (stories about and sayings of Muhammad) lay down codes of social behavior.
Tribal warfare and blood feuds are common.	Military strength as a defense or as a means of expanding Dar-al Salam remains important.	Muhammad aimed to reduce tribal warfare and promote a sense of shared community.
Polytheistic religion; animist (belief in spirits of nature); the black rock known as the Ka'aba is a holy site of pilgrimage.	The Ka'aba, located in Mecca, remains an important sacred site.	Monotheism, or belief in one God, Allah, is practiced. The Five Pillars of Islam guide spiritual and social behavior.
Laws are determined by tradition and sheiks or elders of the tribe.		Law is written down in the Qur'an, the scriptures revealed to Muhammad by God, and codified as the Sharia, or Islamic law.

6. Have students refer back to their visual organizers. How are the changes that Muhammad instituted in Arabia related to the functions of religion today? How are they different? Tell the class to be on the lookout for more connections as the unit progresses.

7. A suggested extension activity examines values and attitudes in tribal Arab society. **Handout 3.2** excerpts what Thomas Friedman calls (in his book *From Beirut to Jerusalem*) “The Legend of the Turkey” and the conflict-resolution process known as Sulha. Both readings are a reflection of values and perceptions of victims in a conflict and ways of achieving justice and protection. The Legend of the Turkey emphasizes values associated with tribal societies similar to those of the Arabian Peninsula before the appearance of Muhammad. Strength and honor are highly prized, for example, and the legend suggests that without swift retribution for wrongs, regardless how small, all is lost. The Sulha process, also a traditional practice, is a nonviolent ritual for resolving serious conflicts, even those accompanied by loss of life. Engage students in discussion of the meaning and significance of these examples and whether or not they are in contradiction. Consider also the source of these different portraits and discuss ways of evaluating their reliability. What is the students’ evaluation of these outlooks

and methods of conflict resolution? Would the Sulha ritual work in cases involving members of different tribes? How do these methods of conflict resolution compare with Muhammad's remedy for tribal warfare?

Student Handout 3.1

The Founding of Islam and Muhammad's Teachings

Arabia at the time of Muhammad's birth (571 CE) was a remote territory far from the mainstream of events. While the Greeks, Romans, and Persians struggled for control of the Middle East, Arabia, sheltered by vast deserts, developed independently. People belonged to enlarged families or clans that in turn formed tribes in which membership was based on kinship. Traders and merchants lived in small cities such as Mecca and Yathrib (later Medina), while other tribes wandered through the desert, living the nomadic life of the Bedouin. Arabians practiced polytheism and worshipped many gods. They prayed to spirits that were believed to inhabit the natural surroundings. The monotheism of Judaism and Christianity had not spread throughout Arabia, although there were Jewish communities in the Hejaz, and traders and merchants brought these ideas along with them as they sailed around the peninsula and traveled the land routes across the Middle East.

In the sixth century, Arabian life was characterized by tribal warfare and superstition. The family and the tribe provided the basic social and political structure in society. Laws were made and enforced by sheiks (tribal chiefs) revered for their ability to protect the tribe from outside attack and preserve order within it. The position of sheik usually belonged to a respected elder within the tribe, who could pass the position on to a son. Competition among tribes was fierce as tribesmen in city-states such as Mecca and Medina struggled for power. Arabians identified strongly with their tribe and loyalty to it was of the highest importance. Violent blood feuds or interfamilial wars were common, and tribesmen would kill to protect the honor of the family.

Muhammad was born into a powerful and respected tribe called the Qurayish, whose headquarters were in the city of Mecca. A major source of income for this tribe was its control and custodianship of the Ka'aba, the sacred black rock to which Arabians made religious pilgrimage. Muhammad was orphaned by age six and was raised by his grandfather and uncle. He lived a comfortable life in Mecca after marrying the wealthy widow Khadija.

As Muhammad matured, he began to ponder and meditate about his world and the way of life of his fellow Arabians. He would isolate himself high in the mountains outside Mecca and seek answers to his questions about life and God; he became a mystic and a philosopher.

According to the Qur'an, God sent the angel Gabriel to Muhammad to announce that he had been chosen as God's prophet to spread a new faith to all humans. These personal revelations were a signal to Muhammad to begin Allah's works on earth, to teach a new belief, a new code of behavior, and a new form of worship. This turning point was to have significance not only for Muhammad, but also for the future of the Middle East and world civilization.

The new faith professed that there was only one God, Allah, and that Muhammad was his prophet. Islam literally means submission, and the faith called on mankind to submit obediently to God by acknowledging His supremacy. Although Muhammad's

nearest relatives within the tribe were devoted followers, there were many others who opposed Muhammad's teachings. The Qurayish feared for their monopoly on the holy shrine of the Ka'aba. Allegiance to Muhammad would encourage a weakening of loyalty to the tribe and the sheik. Muhammad was forced to leave Mecca. His journey or "flight" to Medina in 622 CE is called the Hegira and marks the commencement of the Islamic calendar.

Muhammad targeted Medina as his city of refuge for good reason. Not only was it a prosperous trading city, but it was also in political turmoil. A Jewish minority lived alongside Arab tribes who were locked in a political power struggle. Perhaps, Muhammad reasoned, the Medinese would be eager for a new leader to restore order in their city, and the Jewish minority would be sympathetic to his monotheistic teachings. Although Muhammad was unsuccessful in converting the Jews in Medina to his faith, he did succeed in expanding the number of faithful, and in the process developed a strong military force. Medina became Muhammad's temporary headquarters.

Muhammad realized that his influence and power would remain limited unless he succeeded in converting the residents of Mecca and controlling the holy city. Mecca was a wealthy trading center, Muhammad's hometown, and the site of the Ka'aba that Arabians were already coming to visit on an annual basis. These were three good reasons for returning there. Success in Mecca would harness the economic and spiritual resources for the strengthening of Islam and break the power of the Qurayish, his main opponents. The Battle of Badr, in which Muhammad's soldiers, although outnumbered, won a decisive victory in a raid on a caravan, seemed to signal Allah's approval of his mission. Muhammad returned to Mecca in 630 CE with an army and successfully subdued the city, converted the population, and destroyed the Qurayish as a political force.

Muhammad's Teachings

We generally associate a religion with a set of beliefs, practices, holidays, and customs. Religions also provide ethical models or standards for behavior in society. Islam contained all of these elements, plus an additional one. To convert to Islam meant to become a member of a new community, the Umma, or community of believers. Thus, new Muslims adopted not only a new religion but a new identity which replaced their old tribal one. Muhammad's followers experienced a practical transformation when they acknowledged Allah and Muhammad as his Prophet. They were taught a new code of interpersonal behavior, learned to worship Allah in newly proscribed ways and formed a new political entity with Muhammad at its head.

In the modern Western world, religious observance is a very personal expression of religious identity, but in Muhammad's Arabia it became the focus of social organization. Where once the sheik had been the leader and judge, now Muhammad, the Prophet, became the political and spiritual leader of the Umma. Where once family ties or birth determined your allegiance, now a profession of faith in Allah and his Prophet earned you a new political identity. Scattered warring tribes could be welded into a single powerful, peaceful, and wealthy enterprise.

What were Muhammad's teachings? In many ways they resembled the values of religions you are familiar with. Kindness and compassion, social responsibility to community members less fortunate than yourself, righteous and just behavior in all aspects of life, and respect for others and their property are a few examples of the standards for behavior presented in the Qur'an. In addition to the holy text of the Qur'an that is God's revealed word, Muslims also look for guidance to the Sharia, or code of religious law, and the Hadith, a collection of Muhammad's sayings and stories about him that model correct behavior. The Five Pillars of Islam are the central practices that devout Muslims are called upon to perform. They include 1) proclaiming faith in Allah, the one God, and Muhammad, His Prophet, 2) praying five times each day, 3) giving of the Zakat, or charity, to the poor, 4) celebrating Ramadan, a month of introspection and fasting from dawn to sundown, and 5) participating in the Hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, at least once during one's lifetime.

Islam encourages one and all to convert without regard to race or gender. Although Muhammad had never himself read the Old or New Testaments, there was much in Islam that was familiar to Jews and Christians. Monotheism, prayer, fasting, charity, and pilgrimage were all important in the older faiths. Furthermore, the Qur'an teaches that Muhammad is the last in a long line of prophets that includes the personages in the Bible such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, Mary, and Jesus. Muhammad's purpose was to make Islam the predominant religion of Arabia and eventually for it to spread its message to all mankind. When Muhammad died in 632 CE, all of the Arabian Peninsula, most of which had been populated by pagan people at the beginning of his lifetime, had converted to Islam. Islam began as the faith of a single man and developed into a political, spiritual, social, economic, and military power that would continue to expand after Muhammad's death.

Student Handout 3.2

The Legend of the Turkey and the Sulha Process

When members of a society are struggling with a conflict or have been harmed by another person, what is the best way to resolve the problem and find justice? In our society we may go to court in order to settle disputes in a formal process that includes a judge, jury, or arbitrator. We may choose a less formal method, such as asking a third party, a trusted friend, or a relative to help mediate the dispute and facilitate a solution. Here are two sets of attitudes to redressing wrongs that were used in pre-Islamic Arabia. What do we learn from them about attitudes and expectations of behavior? Read about them and answer the questions that follow.

The Legend of the Turkey

Thomas Friedman, a writer and journalist, tells the Legend of the Turkey in his book, *From Beirut to Jerusalem*.

One day, according to this legend, an elderly Bedouin man discovered that by eating turkey he could restore his virility. So he bought himself a turkey and he kept it around the tent.... One day though, the turkey was stolen. So the Bedouin chief called his sons together and said, "Boys, we are in great danger now—terrible danger. My turkey's been stolen." The boys laughed and said, "Father, what do you need a turkey for?" He said, "Never mind, never mind. It is not important why I need the turkey; all that is important is that it has been stolen, and we must get it back." But his sons ignored him and forgot about the turkey. A few weeks later, the old man's camel was stolen. His sons came to him and said, "Father, what should we do?" And the old man said, "Find my turkey." A few weeks later the old man's horse was stolen, and the sons came and said, "Father, your horse was stolen, what should we do?" He said, "Find my turkey." Finally, a few weeks later someone raped his daughter. The father went to his sons and said, "It is all because of the turkey. When they saw they could take my turkey, we lost everything."³⁸

1. Why does the old man tell his sons they are in grave danger after the turkey has been stolen?
2. If the sons had followed their father's advice and gone in search of the turkey with the intention of bringing it back to their father, what events might have resulted from this action?
3. Friedman includes this legend in his book because he wants to give an example of what he calls "tribal mentality." How would you describe the characteristics of this mentality based on the story you have read?

³⁸ Thomas Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1989), p. 89. Used with permission.

Sulha, a Process for Resolving Conflicts

The process of Sulha is a way of settling conflicts peacefully even when great harm has been done to one of the sides in the conflict. The Wi'am Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center tells us of an Arab traditional saying: "Nobody can carry blood, it is so heavy. Even the earth cannot absorb [it].... It will remain a stain."³⁹ This means that even in cases where blood has been spilled, a way must be found to avoid vengeful bloodletting. These are the steps of the Sulha process:

Jaha: In this first step, the family of the person who has committed the crime moves about the community, confessing guilt and calling on respected members of the community to act as mediators in the conflict.

Consent: This group of respected community members, or Jaha, goes to the family of the victim to express the offender's sorrow and to ask that they give consent to receive the offender in order to hear him repent and ask for forgiveness. Often, if the loss or crime is very great, consent comes only after several visits and requests by the Jaha.

Hodna: When consent is given, the Sulha process has begun. The Hodna is a truce agreement. The victim's family promises not to retaliate, and the perpetrator and his family promises not to confront the other side. This is evidence of a willingness to make peace.

Atwa: This is a payment to show commitment to the Hodna agreement. If the Jaha (mediating group) is successful in arranging its payment, then violence is avoided.

Diya: During a time of repentance and mourning, the Jaha decides on an appropriate payment, or diya, to be paid to the victim's family.

Sulha: This ceremony is the final step in the process. Both sides, in the presence of the community and special guests, pledge that they are reconciled and agree that restitution has been made. Symbolic gestures—such as knotting a ceremonial cloth, the extending of invitations by each family to the other to share a festive meal, and finally the breaking of bread together—signal the resolution of the conflict.

- The Sulha process has been part of Middle East cultures since pre-Islamic times. Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of this method of resolving conflicts. Is it applicable both in intra-tribal (within a tribe) and inter-tribal (between tribes) conflicts?
- Is it applicable today? Why or why not?
- How do the attitudes reflected in this pre-Islamic tribal institution compare and contrast to the attitudes expressed in "The Legend of the Turkey?"
- What insights can we draw from considering the sources of these readings?
- How do these readings connect to what we know about Arabia during Muhammad's lifetime and Islam's aspiration to create an ever-growing umma?

³⁹ "Sulha and Conflict Resolution," <http://www.planet.edu/alaslah/sulhacr.html>.

Activity Two: Comparing Monotheistic Faiths—How Close a “Cousin” Is Islam to the Other Abrahamic Faiths, Judaism and Christianity?

Objectives:

Students will compare and contrast beliefs, practices and values of Islam with other monotheistic faiths.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Primary sources from the Qur'an, readings on the Five Pillars of Islam, and the Old and New Testaments can be found in anthologies and on the Web. Judaism 101, (<http://www.jewfac.org/index.htm>) is a good site for basic concepts in Judaism, especially the entry on the 613 commandments and basic beliefs (see sample **Handout 3.3**). **Handout 3.4—Comparative Chart**. Film: *Three Faiths, One God* (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfJ7sIWMBt4>)

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Divide students into groups and assign each one a single religion to investigate. You may assign the same religion to more than one group or add additional faiths if you wish.
- Distribute handouts with excerpts from the Qur'an and the Bible (Old and New Testaments) and/or refer students to appropriate Web sites. Good key words to use when searching for sites are Qur'an, Hadith, Bible, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Distribute **Handout 3.4**.
- Create mixed groups in which each religion is represented.
- Students share information and discuss similarities and differences.
- Each group prepares a written statement in which they reflect on how each faith seeks to build a righteous society and how believers are expected to behave.
- Statements are read aloud and discussed.
- Finally, conduct a class discussion on the question: Why do religions that teach brotherhood and tolerance sometimes engage in violent conflicts?

Student Handout 3.3

Primary Sources: (Teacher may provide sources or have students locate them by using references and citations.)

The Old Testament

Exodus 6:2–9 (God’s covenant with the children of Israel), Exodus 31:12–17 (observance of the Sabbath), Exodus 19:5–6 (reiteration of the covenant), Exodus 23:10–11 (provision for the poor), Leviticus 19:9–10 (providing for the poor), Leviticus 22:27 (injunction to obey commandments is linked to possession of the Holy Land), Deuteronomy 5:1–21 (the Ten Commandments), Isaiah 2:1–5 (prophecy of peace), Isaiah 11:1–10 (prophecy of justice and peace, a messiah from the root of Jesse).

The New Testament

Mathew 5:38–40 (proper response to having been harmed), Mathew: 11–12 (universality of the faith), Mathew 22:37–40 (perfection and behavior towards enemies), Luke 6:36–38 (injunction to be merciful), Corinthians 15:1–8 (miracle of Jesus’ resurrection; redemption through Christ).

The Creed of Nicea, 325 CE

We believe in one God, Father Almighty, maker of all things, visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father as His only Son, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten, not made; of the same substance with the Father, through whom all things made flesh, became man, suffered and rose on the third day, ascended to heaven and is coming to judge the living and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Spirit.⁴⁰

The Qur’an

Sura C: The Coursers (on pilgrimage), Surah IV: Women (inheritance laws), Sura II: The Cow (on righteousness, on aggression, fasting on Ramadan).⁴¹ Another approach to exploring the Qur’an is suggested here:

Exploring the Qur’an

The Qur’an, like the Old Testament, contains a variety of verses, some prayer-like and lyrical, extolling and praising Allah, others resembling “wisdom literature,” and some legalistic, explaining the rules that Muslims should live by (dietary rules and inheritance laws). Some of the Suras or chapters are short and others are very long. For example Sura 2, “The Cow,” is 284 verses long while Sura 1, “The Opening,” is only seven verses long.

⁴⁰ John Noss, *Man’s Religions* (New York: Macmillan), 1956, p. 605.

⁴¹ Kevin Reilly, *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader, Vol. 1* (Boston: St. Martin’s Press), 2000, pp. 244–49

Become acquainted with the text of the Qur'an by reading through a variety of Suras or parts of Suras. You can find them at Islam 101 (<http://www.islam101.com/quran/yusufAli/index.htm>).

You can also navigate on this site and read Qur'anic quotations on a variety of topics, such as human rights, by clicking on the side bar where you will find "The Qur'an on War, Peace, and Justice." We can talk in class about your evaluation of this site, but be sure to examine the texts in translation (by Abdullah Yusefali). If you wish, you may read some commentary called "Chapter Introductions" by Maududi that you will find on the sidebar. If you are reading a long sura and you get lost or have difficulty, stop reading and click on something else. Read from at least six different suras. You might try these listed below, but feel free to explore wherever you like.

Sura 49: The Private Apartments, the Inner Apartments
 Sura 2: The Cow
 Sura 4: Women
 Sura 23: Believers
 Sura 98: The Clear Proof Evidence
 Sura 47: Muhammad
 Sura 83: Defrauding the Cheats
 Sura 2: The Table

As you read, be sure to take notes and answer these questions:

- 1) What values or beliefs are emphasized in the text?
- 2) Did the texts corroborate what you already knew? Explain.
- 3) What new information did you learn? Explain.
- 4) What questions do you have after reading selections from the Qur'an?

The Hadith (Muhammad's Sayings)

Muhammad proscribes behaviors for the Caliphs who will succeed him, and speaks of the people's relationship and obligations towards the leader of the Umma.⁴²

Additional Web Sites

An anthology of readings in world civilizations that includes the Bible and the Qur'an can be found at Washington State University's Web site (http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/1/contents_vol_.html). Also see Judaism 101 (<http://www.jewfac.org/index/htm>).

⁴² Ibid., pp. 250–51

Student Handout 3.4

Comparative Chart

	Beliefs and Values	Identity and View of “the Other”	The Big Picture: What Is Our Purpose on Earth?	Rituals, Practices, and Behavior
Judaism				
Christianity				
Islam				

Activity Three: When Religious Narratives Disagree

Objectives:

- 1) Students will compare Muslim and Jewish narratives on the importance of Abraham/Ibrahim and Jerusalem/al-Quds in order to understand the religious dimension of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- 2) Students will role-play Muslims and Jews, describing and explaining the practice of their faith.
- 3) Students will reflect on when and why differences in religious beliefs can create an intense reaction and response.
- 4) Students will reflect on the conditions necessary for related, yet different, religions to coexist in peace.

Grade level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 3.5– Muslim Narrative in the Qur’an** and **Handout 3.6– Judeo-Christian (Old Testament) Narrative.** “The Legacy of Abraham” by David Van Biema in *Time*, September 30, 2002, pp. 52–61. **Handout 3.7–Chronology: Jerusalem Through the Ages** and **Handout 3.8–Guide Sheet for Observers and Moderators.** A map of Jerusalem that shows West Jerusalem, the Old City, and East Jerusalem.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Students are divided into four groups: Jews, Muslims, moderators, and observers.
- “Jewish” and “Muslim” students receive copies of their narratives. Moderators and observers receive both narratives. Everyone receives a historical chronology of the city of Jerusalem and has access to a map of the city.
- Jews and Muslims read their narratives, make sure they understand the points, and write down a personal statement that answers these questions:
 - Why do members of your group see Jerusalem as its capital city?
 - What historical evidence supports the Muslim and the Jewish claim or perspective on Jerusalem?
 - Do you see a way for the city to be shared by both groups that would honor both sets of claims and needs? This written statement is a personal response.
- Moderators and observers should also read the narratives and answer similar questions.
- After students have written personal statements, they discuss in their groups. Ask students to consider what might account for different perspectives within the group.
- Moderators develop interview questions to ask Jews and Muslims. The purpose of the questions is to enable each side to learn the beliefs and attitudes of the other and to help each group assume a particular identity. Suggested questions might include:
 - Why is Jerusalem holy to Muslims/Jews?

- What is the significance of Abraham to Muslims/Jews?
- Do you practice rituals or ceremonies that teach or perpetuate the importance of Abraham and Jerusalem?
- How do you feel about the fact that your interpretations of events and figures are similar, yet different, in basic ways?
- Is it possible to respect a religion that contradicts your religion's basic beliefs?
- Is it important for Muslims and Jews to control the city of Jerusalem because of religious beliefs?
- Do you see a way that the city could be shared?
- The groups meet together and respond to moderators' questions. Observers take notes on the content and tone of the conversation that develops. Do Muslims and Jews begin to talk or argue with one another, or maintain conversation with the moderators? What emotions are expressed? Anger, humor, hurt, frustration, apathy, disinterest, respect, curiosity?
- During the debriefing, students abandon their roles and reflect on what took place and why. Observers share their notes with the class. There are essentially three possible ways the conversations may go: 1) Students feel threatened and become defensive of their beliefs, making comments that devalue the other side or challenge their legitimacy. 2) Students have difficulty assuming the role and adopt a disinterested attitude about the issues and differences between the groups. 3) Students are genuinely interested in the views of the other side, look for similarities, and see in them a commonality upon which coexistence and respect can be built. There are important lessons to be learned from each of these three possible scenarios. If conflict develops, students can engage in metacognitive thinking about why this happened. If students are apathetic and disinterested, teachers can contrast their attitude with the chronology of the controversy over Jerusalem and headlines of violence between Arabs and Jews in the vicinity of the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sherif. Why were the emotions expressed so strong? Finally, scenario three provides a good starting point for discussing what has to be in place for groups to coexist peacefully and resolve differences (e.g., validation of beliefs, respect, trust, willingness to accept differences, guarantee of access to holy sites, and freedom to worship).

Student Assignments for Topic One

- Develop a plan for resolving the conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews over the city of Jerusalem. Take into consideration religious beliefs and the historical chronology and present demography of the city.
- Write an answer to the essential question of this unit: What is the role of religion in our lives?
- You are a tour guide in a company seeking to promote interfaith understanding. Create an itinerary and guide for American Jews, Muslims, and Christians traveling to Jerusalem or the Holy Land that will promote your goal.

Student Handout 3.5

Muslim Narrative in the Qur'an

Muhammad, born in 570 CE, is Allah's Prophet. It is he who brought the message of Islam to the people of Arabia. Long before this, however, there were Muslims who believed in the oneness of Allah, submitted to His authority, and lived an upright and righteous life. "Ibrahim was not a Jew nor a Christian, but a Muslim" (Qur'an 3:67). Ibrahim's son by Hagar was named Ismail. When Ibrahim's wife, jealous of Hagar because she herself could bear no children, sent Hagar and the baby Ismail out of Ibrahim's household to die in the desert, Hagar was saved by the waters of the zemzem spring that miraculously flowed not far from the Ka'aba. This holy rock, first erected as a shrine by Adam, was later refurbished by Ibrahim. To this day, we Muslims make a great pilgrimage, the Hajj to the Ka'aba in Mecca, but also make a lesser pilgrimage that reenacts Hagar's desperate search for water.

In the Sura "The Rangers" (37:102), we learn of Ibrahim's great test and of both his and Ismail's submission to the will of Allah. Called upon to sacrifice his son, Ismail, Ibrahim ascends the holy mountain, the Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary), and together father and son prepare to fulfill Allah's command. At the last moment, the angel Gabriel stays Ibrahim's hand and the boy is saved. The rock that was to serve as the altar for Ismael's sacrifice is still visible on the Haram. It is located in a grotto under the beautiful Dome of the Rock built first by Abd al Malik, the Ummayyad Caliph in 691 CE in Jerusalem. The Haram is of such importance that another domed mosque, al Aksa, was also built by Abd al-Malik. Ibrahim's readiness to sacrifice his son is commemorated each year by the Feast of the Sacrifice, or Id-Al Adha. We celebrate Ibrahim's devotion to Allah and Hagar's display of love for Ismail. Ibrahim's son by his other wife, Ishaq, and his grandson, Yaquob, are important to us for they were obedient to Allah and put away all idols.

The Haram al-Sherif figures importantly in another way in Islam and continues to be of essential importance to Muslim people wherever they live. On the 27th day of the month of Rajab, Muhammad ascended to heaven on his steed, al-Buraq, from Jerusalem. His ascension (al-Miraj) was the culminating event after a miraculous Night Journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (al-Isra). As Sura 17 states: "Glory to Allah who did take His servant for a Journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque." Muhammad believed that Jerusalem, as Ibrahim, embodied the spiritual and physical source of his faith. Throughout the Qur'an, the connection between Islam and the monotheism of Abraham is emphasized. "The rocks of Jerusalem are what the heavens are made out of."

Questions:

Now that you have read the Muslim narrative, write a personal response that addresses the following issues:

- What is the importance of Jerusalem to Muslims?
- Review the chronology of Jerusalem. When and for how long did Muslims rule over the city?
- How important are religious considerations to you in solving the dispute over Jerusalem?
- What needs to happen in order for all groups to live peacefully in Jerusalem?

When you have written your responses, share them with your group members and see if there is consensus or disagreement.

Student Handout 3.6

Judeo-Christian (Old Testament) Narrative

The story of the origin of the Jewish people is found in the book of Genesis, Chapters 12 to 25. Here we learn about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the three patriarchs of the Jewish people, and about Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah, their wives and matriarchs of the Jewish people. About 2500 years ago, God called on Abraham, living in Mesopotamia (today's Iraq), to arise and journey with all his belongings and household to the Land of Canaan, a territory God promised to Abraham and his descendents. Even though, throughout the Middle East, the pagan custom was to worship idols, Abraham accepted God's covenant. He would worship and obey only one God and, in turn, God would make his family into a great nation more numerous than the stars and give them the Land of Canaan. Abraham made the journey from Ur Kasdim in present day Iraq to the Land of Canaan and settled down in his new home.

Sarah, Abraham's wife, was desolate because she could not bear children. Abraham did have a son by Hagar, an Egyptian concubine, and the child was named Ishmael. God commanded Abraham to circumcise himself and his son Ishmael as a sign of the covenant between God and Abraham and his descendents. Jealous of Hagar and her son, Sarah asked Abraham to send her away. Alone in the desert, Hagar, fearful her son would die, called on God to save him. God provided water for the boy and promised that he too would become the father of a great people.

In her old age, Sarah did give birth to a son, Isaac. When Isaac was still a boy, God called to Abraham and told him to take Isaac, whom he loved, up to Mount Moriah and there to sacrifice him to God as proof of his obedience and love. On the journey, Isaac questioned his father, "Where is the lamb for the sacrifice?" Abraham answered that God would provide the lamb. Just as Abraham was about to slaughter his beloved son, God sent an angel to stay Abraham's hand and announced that he was convinced of Abraham's devotion. God promised to keep his covenant with Abraham. On seeing a ram caught in the brambles on the mountaintop, Abraham captured it and sacrificed it to God in place of his son. On the Jewish New Year holiday, when God judges all creatures and decides their futures, we read the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac and pray that God will remember us with righteousness as he did Abraham and Isaac. We blow the ram's horn during the prayer to arouse the congregation to repent of their sins and renew their devotion to God.

Isaac grew up to father Jacob and Esau. Jacob, also known as Israel, became the third patriarch and the father of twelve sons and one daughter. These sons would become the founders of the Twelve Tribes, the Children of Israel.

The mountain where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac is the same mountain that David conquered in 1000 BCE, creating the capital city, Jerusalem, where King Solomon built the holy temple. Today, we call this mountain the Temple Mount because it is where the Temple once stood. Jerusalem became their spiritual and political capital. On festivals such as Passover, Shavuot (The Feast of Weeks), and Sukkoth (The Feast of Tabernacles), people would come from all over the Land of Israel to worship and make sacrifices to God in honor of the festival day, in

thanksgiving and to ask forgiveness for sins. Although the first Temple was destroyed in 586 BCE by the Babylonians, rebuilt and destroyed again in 70 C.E. by the Romans, while in exile we recited the psalmist's oath, "If I forget you O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither and my tongue cleave to my palate!" The bridegroom breaks a glass under the wedding canopy and recites these words alongside the bride as a remembrance of the importance of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Temples, and our long exile.

Questions:

Now that you have read the Jewish narrative, write a personal response to the questions that follow:

- What is the importance of Jerusalem to Jews?
- Review the chronology of Jerusalem. When and for how long did the Hebrews rule over the city?
- How important are religious considerations to you in solving the conflict over Jerusalem?
- What needs to happen in order for all groups to live peacefully in Jerusalem?

When you have written your responses share them with your group members and see if there is consensus or disagreement.

Student Handout 3.7

Chronology: Jerusalem Through the Ages (Items referring to Jerusalem are in bold letters.)

Patriarchal Period (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob), ca. 1600 BCE
 Hebrews in bondage in Egypt
 Hebrews exodus from Egypt (Passover holiday), ca. 1500–1200 BCE
 Period of the Judges

Jerusalem a Jebusite (Canaanite) city
King David, 1000 BCE, makes Jerusalem capital of the kingdom
King Solomon builds the First Temple on Temple Mount in Jerusalem
Destruction of the First Temple, 586 BCE
Crucifixion of Jesus, 30 CE in Jerusalem
Destruction of the Second Temple on Temple Mount in Jerusalem, 70 CE (Fast of 9th of Av commemorates the destruction)
A Roman Temple is constructed on the Temple Mount site.

Birth of Muhammad in Mecca, 571 CE
 Hegira (flight from Mecca to Medina), 622 CE
Muhammad's Night Journey to Jerusalem
 Muhammad dies, 632
Abd al-Malik builds al-Aksa Mosque (completed 705 CE) on Haram al-Sharif
Dome of the Rock completed on Haram al-Sharif, 691
 Umayyad Empire (Arab) rules, 661–750
 Abbasid Empire (Arab) rules, 750–1200
 Seljuk Turks rule, late 11th century

First Crusade 1095 CE
Crusader state controls Jerusalem, 1099–1144 CE
Saladin reconquers Jerusalem, 1187 CE

Mamluk rule, 1260–1516
 Ottoman Turks, 1453–1920

British Mandate in Palestine, 1920–1947
 Violence between Palestinians and Jews continues
United Nations votes to create an Arab and Jewish state in Palestine with an internationalized Jerusalem; Jews accept the plan, Palestinians and Arab states refuse to accept plan, war breaks out
 Israeli statehood proclaimed, 1948; **Old City of Jerusalem and East Jerusalem occupied by Jordan; West Jerusalem declared the capital of Israel**; no recognition of Israel by Arab states; state of war continues. Palestinian state does not come into being. 700,000 Palestinian refugees flee or are forced to leave their homes

Palestine Liberation Organization is founded, 1964
 Six Day War (June War), 1967; **Old City and East Jerusalem in Israeli control**
 Terror by PLO continues

Israel begins building program in East Jerusalem and the Old City, 1967

Peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, 1979 (**the issue of Jerusalem to be discussed later**)

Intifada (popular rebellion of Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza Strip), 1987–90

Kingdom of Jordan formally announces that it gives up claims to Jerusalem, 1988

Madrid Conference, 1990 (first negotiations between Israel and Arab states)

Declaration of Principles, 1993; Palestinians and Israelis agree to recognize one another, end violence, and negotiate a peace settlement.

Peace treaty between Israel and Jordan is signed, 1994.

Oslo II Accords, 1995; agreements between Palestinians and Israel on withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territory and transfer of sovereignty to Palestinian Authority. Jerusalem is not negotiated. Plan is to build trust through successful transfer of power and leave Jerusalem for the end of the negotiation

Throughout this period, Hamas (Islamic Palestinian organization) rejects peace process and continues to use terror against Israelis

July, 2000, Camp David II; Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Chairman Yassir Arafat meet at Camp David with President Bill Clinton to work out peace settlement. For the first time ever, **Israel puts Jerusalem on the negotiating table for discussion**. PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat rejects Israel's suggested settlement offer and leaves Camp David

October 2000, al-Aksa Intifada begins after Knesset member Ariel Sharon visits Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif

2001, suicide bombers carry out terror attacks inside Israel, Israeli troops open fire and kill Israeli Arab demonstrators

October 2002, al-Aksa Intifada continues, Israeli troops reoccupy zones previously under Palestinian control. Peace process is on hold. **Jerusalem continues to be a flash point for violence.**

Student Handout 3.8

Guide Sheet for Moderators and Observers

As moderators and observers, you will be primary facilitators of this activity. Observers and moderators are both responsible for reading the Muslim and Jewish narratives and the chronology “Jerusalem Through the Ages.” While groups are reading and writing answers to questions, you will be doing the same. Once conversations begin, observers will circulate through the room, listening and watching. At the close of the role play, you will be asked to tell the class what you saw in terms of expression of emotions, degree of investment, changes in opinions.

Moderators will work on developing questions to pose to Muslims and Jews that will enable them to explain their beliefs and respond to one another. Here are some examples:

- Why is Jerusalem holy to Muslims and Jews?
- What peoples have ruled Jerusalem over the centuries (see the chronology)
- What is the significance of Abraham to Muslims and Jews?
- How do you feel about the fact that your interpretations of events and important personalities in the narrative are similar, yet different?

Topic 2: Islam as a World Civilization—How Can We Explain the Rise and Eclipse of the Muslim World?

This unit focuses on the spread and development of Islam from a local Arabian culture into a world civilization. Rather than emphasizing great contributions, the central questions revolve around the process whereby Islam came into contact with other peoples in the East and West, and what these encounters meant for them and for the history of the world. Students will need to define the concept of world civilization and explain how a local faith grew into an enduring way of life with profound influence throughout Eurasia. From the 13th century on, we see a growth of Islamic empires such as the Moghul Empire in India, the Safavid Empire in Persia, and the Ottoman Empire in western Asia that flowered in the 15th and 16th centuries. Of these three empires, the Ottoman Empire is featured as a case study of a powerful Islamic Empire that has left its stamp on the Middle East.

Activity 1: How Does a Faith Transform Into a Civilization?

Objectives:

- Students will define the term *civilization* and identify components or features of civilizations.
- Students will explain why and how Islam developed from a local faith into a world civilization.
- Students will explain what is meant by cultural diffusion.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: A teacher-made interactive PowerPoint® presentation. A model is included.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

In this activity, students view a PowerPoint® presentation that engages the class in reflecting on and answering a series of questions. After each question, students can work with a partner to construct an answer that is shared and discussed before proceeding to the next slide and reading an answer. This kind of interactive PowerPoint® slide show is a model that can be viewed by students independently, in pairs, groups, or by the entire class. It is adaptable to any number of topics. When students are tasked with constructing this type of PowerPoint® presentation, it becomes a good assessment of understanding and learning after input has been provided.

Activity 2: Evaluating Strengths and Weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire

Objectives:

1. Students will identify the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire.
2. Students will understand the conflicting interests at work in the administration of the Ottoman Empire.
3. Students will develop interpretations explaining the decline of the Ottoman Empire after the 17th century.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 3.9–Overview of Islamic Empires. Handout 3.10–Role-Play Instructions, Identities and Issues**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Students will read **Handout 3.9–Overview of the Ottoman Empire** for homework and answer the questions at the bottom of the handout.
- Create groups of five in which one student will play the role of the Sultan while others serve as advisors. Role-play cards give students information about particular problems or decisions that need to be made in the empire.
- In turn, students playing the role of advisors will select an issue to discuss in a group session with the Sultan. Advisors should comment on the source or origin of the problems and make recommendations to the Sultan. Advisors need to be tactful in their presentations and recommendations. They should point out strengths as well as weaknesses that need to be remedied.
- After listening to the advisor, Sultans will give their policy decision on the issue and the rationale for their decision. The next student then presents his/her issue.
- After students have completed one role play, choose a group to discuss the next issue publicly.
- After the class has dealt with three of four cases, conduct a debriefing in which students:
 1. Evaluate the significance of the issues discussed for the future of the empire.
 2. Evaluate the leadership of the “class sultans” compared to the Ottoman Sultans of the past.
 3. Formulate an interpretation of why the Ottoman Empire lasted for 500 years and the reasons for its decline.

Note: Materials to support this lesson may be found at www.umich.edu/~iinet/worldreach/assets/pdf/neh-units/Rutz.pdf

Student Handout 3.9

Overview of the Ottoman Empire

Who were the Ottomans?

The Arab Empire that brought Islam as far west as Spain and as far east as India was ultimately supplanted by empires ruled by nomadic people whose origins can be found on the steppe lands of central Asia. Ibn Kaldun (1332–1406), a scholar of Islamic law and religious texts, wrote a history called the *Muqaddima (Prolegomena)* in which he explains a recurring political pattern. Arab leaders win the military support and loyal devotion of tribal people of the steppes, only to be overthrown in the end by their original clients. The Seljuks and Mameluks are examples of Turkish-speaking people who first followed rulers loyally and then supplanted them and ruled the Middle East in their place. By the 16th century, there were three Islamic empires; all of them originated from warrior peoples who were seminomadic converts to Islam. They were the Moghul Empire in India, the Safavid Empire in Persia, and the Ottoman Empire that included Turkey, North Africa, Mesopotamia, the Hejaz in Arabia, and the eastern Mediterranean lands of the Levant.

The Ottoman sultans, beginning with Osman Bey in 1289, expanded east and west, conquering Constantinople and renaming it Istanbul as their capital in 1453. Mehmed II (1451–81) considered himself a true emperor because his kingdom included Europe and Asia and two seas, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. A strong military was built upon the *devshirme*, or forced recruitment, of Christian boys throughout the empire, educating them to be good Muslims and skilled soldiers. The army consisted of an elite corps known as the Janissaries (Yeni Cheri) made up of these young men as well as a light cavalry (the Siphai) and a volunteer infantry. The concept of *ghazi*, or Muslim religious warriors, permeated the military establishment.

By the end of Suleiman the Magnificent's reign (1520–66), the Ottoman Empire stretched from Basra in the east and the Hejaz in Arabia to the Black Sea and the Balkans in Europe. All of North Africa, except for the Sultanate of Morocco, fell under Suleyman's domain. The Sultan saw himself as a defender of the House of Islam against Christian Europe and as a protector of the holy sites, especially Mecca, scattered throughout the Middle East. Most texts assert that, at its height, the Ottoman Empire was indeed a political marvel. The Janissary and Siphai provided military strength that by 1566 had led the Ottoman armies nearly to Vienna, terrifying the Habsburg monarchs. At the same time, the Ottoman navy vied for control of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

The many non-Turkish national groups such as Kurds, Jews, Armenians, Serbs, and Greeks living under Ottoman rule were granted autonomy in their local communities through a system known as the *millet*. As long as these communities obeyed the law and paid their taxes, they could continue to maintain community institutions such as schools, churches, and synagogues, and follow their own ways of life. In the 16th century, Ottoman architecture, poetry, painting, medicine, geographical studies, and mathematics were renowned. The sultan's chief astronomer built an observatory at Istanbul and developed instruments to fix the location of heavenly bodies. The Islamic emperors were patrons of the arts and builders of public works projects.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Islamic Empires

The Islamic Empires and their rulers were a blend of steppe traditions distinguished by an authoritarian style of administration, a militaristic ethos, and Islamic institutions. From Islam, they took the idea of personal piety and religious zeal. Laws were pronounced by the Ottoman rulers as ready-made edicts. Steppe traditions, however, also created problems for the Islamic empires. A critical one centered on the succession to power. The problem of how to divide authority and land among the rulers' sons plagued the Moghul, Safavid, and Ottoman Empires. Mehmed the Conqueror made it legal to kill competing siblings once the throne had been claimed. Children of the sultan were often kept isolated from affairs of state and remained ignorant of the problems and methods of statecraft in an effort to prevent them from becoming a threat to the ruling sultan. This resulted in a weakening of government generally and a pattern of incompetent rulers unable to maintain authority and power in the empire.

Competent leadership was sorely needed as the empire faced problems that threatened her unity and economic well-being. Religious tensions flared between the Muslim clerics, who were orthodox in outlook, and the sultans, who sometimes followed the Sufi, or mystical, ways of Islam. Conservatives protested against the astronomy observatory and the printing press, believing these expressions of new technology were in conflict with tradition. The military expense of maintaining the empire began to drain the royal treasury, especially as Austrian, Russian, British, and French armies and navies began to respond to the Ottoman challenge. The Ottoman Empire began to weaken as it lost territory at the Peace of Karlowitz (1699), and as nationalism began to capture the imagination of ethnic minorities in the late 18th and 19th centuries. At the core of the empire's problems was its inability to improve its economy. Military campaigns were expensive, and efforts to increase revenue through taxation or bribery stimulated opposition. Defeats were a result of the Ottoman army's failure to modernize and the increasing power of Europe.

Why did the Ottoman Empire begin to decline?

Ironically, the Ottoman sultans were encouraging to European countries that wished to trade in Ottoman lands. However, the methods they chose resulted in undermining the economy rather than promoting its growth. The sultans agreed to the practice of allowing European commercial interests special privileges within the Ottoman economy. In 1453, the Ottomans signed a treaty agreeing to refrain from enacting taxes above five percent on imported goods. Capitulation agreements exempted foreign businessmen from paying taxes to the government and stipulated that they could not be tried in Turkish courts. Employees of foreign businesses were allowed the same privileges. The Anglo-Turkish agreement of 1830 forbade government monopolies or the prohibition of exports. Finally, British merchants were exempt from taxes that local merchants were required to pay.

These measures resulted in more and more European businesses and investors becoming active in the empire under conditions that worked to the disadvantage of local interests. European businessmen felt above the law since they could not be tried in court. Turkish exports of foodstuffs, wool, silk, and cotton were only 50 percent of the value of British imports of finished goods such as processed foods, steel, and

woven cloth. Balance of payments deteriorated because more money was leaving the empire than being earned. Crafts and industries were unable to compete with European products, and protective tariffs above three to five percent were disallowed by the capitulation agreements. As imperial income drained away, the sultans were forced to seek foreign loans. By 1875, the sultan had taken out 14 loans and owed 12 million pounds sterling! Although in the mid 19th century the Ottoman government tried to address some of these economic problems and the issue of competing nationalisms within the empire through the institution of the Tanzimat reforms, they were not sufficiently successful.

Many historians believe that economic conditions contain the key to understanding the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Others such as L.S. Stavrianos point out that a weak economy was simply one symptom of a society that failed to modernize. “The end result of this technical disparity was the shift of the economic center from the eastern Mediterranean to central and northern Europe.”⁴³ Albert Hourani prefers to think of changing conditions as an adjustment rather than as a decline. He reminds us that an empire that existed for 500 years is bound to change. Hourani believes that a shift of power from sultan to high officials (grand viziers), a change in the army from exclusive recruits to one made up of merchants and artisans, and the emergence of powerful local groups made up of wealthy families, army officers, or governors helped to undermine the authority and power of the sultan’s leadership.⁴⁴

As the years passed, the technological, scientific, and economic gap between the Ottoman east and the European west grew wider. The empire would continue to exist till after World War One and officially be dissolved in 1923, but during the 19th and early 20th century, Ottoman rule became progressively weaker. Some of the sultans were not sufficiently competent to rule so complex an empire, and others were more concerned with luxurious living than the challenges of statecraft in a changing world.

Church and State in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire endured from the 13th century through the early 20th century and at its zenith encompassed much of the Middle East and the Balkans. Although the Sultan retained the title of Caliph, there was a division between church and state that is clearly evident if we compare the two wings of the Ottoman government.

Sultan (Caliph)

The Ruling Institution (Secular government)

The ruling institution was responsible for administering the empire, defense, finances, and foreign policy. Belief in Islam was not a requirement for

The Muslim Institution (Religious government)

The Muslim institution was responsible for interpreting Sharia law and the Qur’an,

⁴³ L.S. Stavrianos, *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age* (New York: William & Morrow and Co., 1981), p. 127.

⁴⁴ Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge: the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 250–51.

participating in the ruling institution.

and maintaining and supervising education. Only Muslims could serve in the hierarchy of the Muslim institution.

Vizier (chief deputy
Ulama)

Mufti (head of the

Provincial governors

Ulama (Council of learned Islamic scholars)
Qadi (judges of religious law)

Janissary Corps (elite army corps)

Waqf (administered financial support to religious institutions such as mosques, schools, and hospitals)

Siphai (cavalry)

The Ottoman Empire tolerated expressions of cultural diversity. Jews, Armenians, Serbs, Greeks, and Slavs were allowed a degree of autonomy in exchange for acceptance of Ottoman rule and obedience to Ottoman authority.

What happened to Political Islam as the Middle East Modernized?

In the 19th century, Middle Eastern people and governments came into more and more contact with Western European nations, who were far more industrialized, modernized, and technologically advanced. It became clear to many leaders within the Ottoman Empire, such as Egypt's Khedives,⁴⁵ that it was necessary to catch up with the West or be completely dominated by it. As the Middle East modernized, Western culture penetrated the Islamic world. Sometimes, attempts at modernization included borrowing money from Western banks to pay for development of infrastructure, training, and equipment that eventually led to financial debts that could not be paid back. The result was an increasing dependence on Europe rather than independent development.

After World War One, the modernization process became accelerated. In modern Turkey, for example, nationalist leader Mustapha Kemal Ataturk revolutionized his country by instituting a series of measures designed to subordinate Islam to the secular state and transform it into a Western style religion rather than a political ideology. The Caliphate was abolished, religion and state were officially separated, a

⁴⁵ Muhammad Ali, the Khedive, or ruler of Egypt, began a vigorous modernization program that his successors pursued. The Khedive Said negotiated the building of the Suez Canal that was completed during Ismail's rule. Ismail embarked on an ambitious program of economic, social, and military development that ultimately resulted in Egypt's losing control of the Suez Canal and the entrenchment of a British and French presence in the country.

that law made the wearing of the brimless fez illegal,⁴⁶ wearing of the veil was discouraged, the Qur'an was translated into Turkish, and the use of Arabic was banned in public ceremonies. Schools were administered by a secular Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Religious Affairs was closed down. Each one of these measures aimed to intensify Turkish citizens' national identity at the expense of their Islamic identity. Similarly, in other parts of the Middle East, countries became independent and established secular governments. An examination of Muhammad's political vision, the Sunni-Shia schism, and the Ottoman and Turkish models of government illustrate how the Umma has undergone political shifts over its 1400-year history.

Iran's Government Today

Iranians live today in an Islamic Republic that came into being in 1979 following a revolution led by the Ayatolla Ruhollah Khomeini that ousted the royal Shah of Iran, Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. The Iranian Revolution resulted in the establishment of an Islamic Republic that aspires to rebuild Iran into an exemplary Islamist state founded on the Qur'an.

Today, the Iranian government is headed by a Supreme Leader who comes from the ranks of clerical scholars, is appointed for life, and exercises wide powers of appointment, commands the military, and influences domestic and foreign policy. The legislature, the Majlis (270 members), is elected every four years. The legal voting age is sixteen. A Council of Guardians serves as an upper chamber that reviews legislation but cannot veto laws passed in the Majlis. This council is made up of six clerical and six nonclerical members. The Expediency Council is a body that mediates between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians. These three bodies make up the legislative branch of the government. The executive branch consists of a President elected by popular vote and a cabinet appointed by the President. An array of governmental departments is responsible for carrying out laws and policies. A Supreme Judicial Council heads the judicial branch of the government. This model of Iranian Government reflects Western influence in its three separate branches and periodic elections. Nevertheless, it assigns a great deal of power to people who are not elected by the population and who come from the religious establishment. For example, the Supreme Leader, the highest political position in the government, is necessarily a cleric.

⁴⁶ The brimless fez allowed Muslims to say their prayers while wearing their hats with head bowed low to the ground.

Islamic Fundamentalism/Islamism Defined

Iran is perhaps the best example of a trend that the world first became aware of during the last quarter of the 20th century. Since the 1970s, the Muslim world has been experiencing an increase in religious fervor. The political expression of this heightened religious commitment is sometimes called Islamic fundamentalism or Islamism. The term *fundamentalism* means belief in the literal or basic meaning of the holy text. Jewish and Christian fundamentalists are people who strive to live by the teachings and laws written, respectively, in the Torah (the five books of Moses) and the New Testament. Similarly, Islamic fundamentalists struggle to build a truly Islamic society based on the Qur'an, the Sharia, and the Hadith.⁴⁷ Their ideal government is Muhammad's model in which a community of believers constitutes Dar al-Islam, the House of Islam. In such a model, Islam becomes a complete ideology that shapes and influences all aspects of life. No longer is religion simply an expression of private beliefs or community celebration.

Islamism Develops

The development of Islamism was a long process, although there were intellectuals and activists throughout the 19th and early 20th century who advocated a return to Islamist models of government. Hassan al-Banna, who founded a fundamentalist movement in Egypt called the Muslim Brotherhood, is an example of such an activist. By the mid-20th century, Muslims had experimented with a number of Western political ideologies, but none had fulfilled their promise. The nationalist movements that were responsible for liberating countries such as Egypt and Algeria from the European colonialism of Britain and France were hailed at the outset, but were unable to resolve the serious economic and social problems that plagued these modernizing countries. The Pan Arab movement that envisioned the political unification of Arab states failed, as did Communist ideology that took the form of Arab socialism in Egypt and was promoted by the Ba'ath Party in Syria and Iraq. As poverty, unemployment, and urban decay grew more acute in developing Arab countries and the humiliation of a once great civilization was felt more keenly, some Muslims began to translate their frustrations and envy of Western prosperity into an affirmation of faith. The catastrophic defeat of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan by Israel in the June 1967 War (the Six Day War) and the loss of territory, including the Haram al Sharif in Jerusalem with its historic mosques, was an additional trigger to the Islamic revival. After all, wasn't Islam the truly authentic ideology for Muslim people? Hadn't the Arab and Islamic empires been at their zenith when their people lived full and complete Muslim lives?

Islam contains within it the idea that Dar al-Islam should spread to Dar al-Harb, the House of Unbelievers or the House of War. Here is where the militancy of Islamism begins to be perceived as a threat. Muslim states, leaders, and citizens that maintain a separation between religious institutions and secular government may very well be opposed to adopting a fundamentalist lifestyle that rejects elements of modernism. Furthermore, the existence of Israel, a state with a Jewish majority within the Middle East, is an additional aggravation to Islamists, who believe that Muslims should liberate this territory from the control of "infidels." The Hizbullah (Party of God) in Lebanon and the Palestinian Hamas militants in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are

⁴⁷ Muslims believe the Qur'an is God's revealed word, the Sharia is the code of Islamic law, and the Hadith includes traditional stories and sayings by Muhammad.

examples of Islamic fundamentalist groups who have used violence and terror to achieve this goal. The West's history of imperialism and pursuit of economic and political interests in the Middle East contributes to the sour relationship between Western and Muslim civilization. It was the Ayatollah Khomeini who first referred to the United States of America as the "Great Satan." He was implying that the U.S. and the West were tempting and influencing Muslims to abandon an Islamic lifestyle through the power of their media, the marketing of consumer products, and the proliferation of technologies that diffused Western values and culture throughout Muslim lands. The most dramatic and virulent expression of this anti-Western sentiment was the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, by the al-Qaeda terror organization. The use of violence and terror in the form of human suicide bombers, explosive-packed vehicles, taking of hostages, political assassination, and the hijacking of commercial airline carriers have been used all over the world and against many targets, including random civilians, political leaders, and government property.

Academic scholars continue to debate the meaning of Islamism and what its growing strength and popularity imply for the future. Martin Kramer, a scholar in Middle East studies, sees the movement as being fueled by a desire to restore Islam's rightful power in today's world. This, fundamentalists believe, can only happen if Dar al-Islam is reestablished under an Islamic state.⁴⁸ The West continues to spread secular modernism through the process of globalization, while Islam aspires to expand Muslim patterns of life. Other academics, such as John Esposito, make a distinction between a reforming and socially conscious Islam and the violent militants who resort to blunt terror in their efforts to spread their way of life and to achieve their political goals.⁴⁹ Muslim scholars such as Khaled Abou el-Fadl seek to explain what appear to be contradictions between faith with universal values of tolerance and expressions of political violence that are reported in the media. El-Fadl emphasizes the importance of being familiar with the historical context for understanding controversial verses in the Qur'an. Without knowledge of this context, the reader is liable to misinterpret the meaning of scripture that was revealed to Muhammad over many years. Furthermore, he attributes the successful spread of extreme Islamic ideology in the 20th and 21st centuries to the weakening of the Ulema. These traditional Muslim scholars, who in the past had held extremists in check, have become marginalized in societies where modernization and the rise of secular governments have gained dominance.⁵⁰ No doubt this debate will continue as Westerners seek to understand the reasons why political Islam has become so popular and how the world should respond to it.

⁴⁸ Martin Kramer, "Islamic Fundamentalism Fosters Violence in the Middle East," *Opposing Viewpoints: The Middle East* (San Diego, Greenhaven Press, 2004) pp.70–80.

⁴⁹ John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 8.

⁵⁰ Khaled Abou el-Fadl, "The Place of Tolerance in Islam" (http://www.irfi.org/articles/articles_301_350/place_of_tolerance_in_islam.htm)

Questions to Consider:

What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire?

How can we explain the fact that the Ottoman leaders agreed to the demands of Western European countries?

Student Handout 3.10

Role-Play Instructions, Identities and Issues

In this role-play, you will play the part of the Sultan or one of his advisors.

If you are the Sultan, you are expecting to hear a report from your Grand Vizier, the Mufti, the Chief Finance Minister, and the Chief of the Armed Forces. After each advisor has had an opportunity to report to the Sultan about problems, developments, achievements, or future planning, the Sultan will ask questions and/or respond to what he has heard. Your role cards give you additional information about who you are and how you might respond. You should include references to the origin or background of the issue under discussion, why it is important to the future of the empire, and your recommendations to the Sultan..

After discussing one issue in your small group of five, a team will be selected to conduct a role play publicly. When we have completed each of the issues, we will conduct a discussion to determine how closely you believe our role play resembled actual meetings held between the sultan and his advisors.

The Sultan

The Sultan is an absolute ruler who officially is recognized as the Caliph (head of Umma, or the community of the faithful). He heads both the ruling institution (the secular side of the government) and the Muslim institution (the religious side of the government). You are concerned about maintaining authority in the Empire and are aware of the weight of tradition in your domains. You see yourself as the guardian of the House of Islam (Dar al-Islam) and as a warrior king. In the 19th century, sultans have lost their austere, military air and have become pleasure-seeking rulers that some would call decadent. You believe that these behaviors are part and parcel of being an emperor, but you also want to be remembered as a ruler who developed his land and his people. You are aware of Europe's increasing interest in your empire and are eager to learn of your advisors' "read" on this. You value your advisors' opinions but realize that you must assert your authority or risk appearing weak and insecure. The respect and honor due your position are highly valued, and you believe they must be preserved at all costs.

The Grand Vizier

The Grand Vizier is the First Minister of the Empire. He is a close advisor to the Sultan and has an intimate knowledge of what is going on economically, politically, and socially in the Empire. The Grand Vizier belongs to the hierarchy of the ruling institution and hence has no authority in religious affairs. You have many allies amongst prominent families in the capital and seek greater influence and power. You are respectful, however, of the Sultan and recognize the dangers of appearing to challenge his authority. You would like to see the empire develop to her former greatness and have some ideas about how to accomplish this task. Of specific concern to you is the economic decline and increasingly privileged European presence. The problem of training a competent candidate to succeed the present Sultan is a

continuing worry. The rash of palace plots and royal family murders that have taken place over the years has created a sense of instability in the empire.

The Mufti

The Mufti is the head of the Ulema, or the “College of Islamic Scholars.” As such, you are the highest-ranking member below the Sultan within the Muslim institution. You are concerned about challenges to Islam that have begun to infiltrate into the empire as Western Europe has sought to trade within the realm. For example, the Wahhabi sect in Arabia challenged the authority of the Sultan to serve as Caliph because of innovations he allowed into the society. You are also aware that many clerics are angry over the fact that, although officially banned from politics, women continue to wield personal influence over the Sultan.

The Chief Officer of the Janissary, Siphai, and Infantry

As Chief Military Officer, it is your job to defend the realm and the Sultan, and to defend the interests of your officers and men in the armed forces. You have always believed that these two goals complement one another, knowing that a well-treated and well-commanded army will complete assigned missions to defend and protect better than an army weakened by grievances and complaints. You are aware of rumblings within the military that arise from payment of salaries in debased currency, inferior equipment, and training based on antiquated methods. Aware of a pattern of military coups in Ottoman history where soldiers have risen against their commanders, you believe rapid change and modernization is essential.

The Chief Financial Officer

The Chief Financial Officer is responsible for the economic well-being of the empire. You are concerned with the high cost of maintaining the military, the Sultan’s household, and the flow of bullion (gold and silver) out of the kingdom to pay for costly imports. Europeans are eager to do business in the kingdom and continue to press for special conditions and privileges. The common practice of bribery amongst tax collectors, land registry officials, and in the government bureaucracy has cut into the budget of the empire. You recognize a need to generate more income while at the same time modernizing the economy.

Summary of Economic, Social, and Political Issues That May Be Discussed:

- The problem of succession to the Sultanate
- Treatment of ethnic and religious minorities
- Buttressing the army and avoiding rebellion
- Culture clash between traditionalists and reformers
- Economic relations with Europe (capitulations, tariffs, immunity)
- Public works projects
- Decline of the empire’s economic growth
- Deteriorating revenues
- Increase in corruption

Assessments for Topic Two

- Create an “Advice Column” with questions and answers that illustrate the dilemmas and problems encountered by Islam as it grew from a local faith into a civilization, and the solutions that were found.
- If Muhammad could communicate with Suleiman the Magnificent, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire at its peak of power, what would he have written and how would Suleiman have responded?

Topic Three: Islam as a Political Ideology–Is Political Islam a Threat to Security?

Teaching about Islam as a political ideology is the most emotionally loaded, difficult, and immediate of the three topics presented in this chapter. One of the difficulties stems from our desire to present Islam as objectively as possible, avoiding the pitfalls of demonization, despite a climate deeply impacted by daily reports of violence in the Muslim world. The discussion of the academic debate in progress over the nature and expression of political Islam included at the beginning of this chapter is indicative of the difference of opinion among Middle East scholars on the meaning of this phenomenon. The public issues model for teaching controversial material is a helpful guide for structuring lessons that deal with Islamic fundamentalism (also known as Islamism) and the terror that some of its adherents have inflicted to further its proclaimed program. In this model, definitional, factual, and ethical questions guide students in their examination of a particular issue. This teaching segment addresses definitional questions such as:

- What do we mean by political Islam, and what are its origins?
- Why has Islamic ideology become increasingly popular in the 20th century?
- What groups/states feel threatened or are targeted by Islamism, and why?

In the process of answering these questions students will learn that:

- Islam, from its earliest beginnings, unlike Christianity, has always had an intrinsic political purpose.
- Political conflicts within the Umma have created diversity in Muslim practice.
- Political, economic, social, and historical forces have worked to revive popular interest in structuring society around traditional Islamic values and institutions.

Examining a spectrum of attitudes and behaviors that characterize Muslims develops the theme of diversity. Finally, students will be introduced to the ethical dilemmas confronted by both Muslim and Western states challenged to respond to militant Islam. At the conclusion of the segment, students will be better informed and equipped to debate the question posed at the beginning of this inquiry: “Is political Islam a threat to security?”

Activity One: What Is Political Islam?

Objectives:

- Students will differentiate between Muslim states (those with a Muslim majority, such as Jordan and Syria) and Islamist states (those with a theocratic structure, such as Iran).
- Students will understand how the political issue of succession split the Umma into two factions that created the Sunni and Shiite branches of Islam.
- Students will reflect on the advantages and difficulties of theocratic states.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: **Handout 3.11–The Origins and Meaning of Political Islam. Handout 3.12–Profiling Islamic and Muslim States.** Access to research materials and/or the Internet.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Students will come to class having read **Handout 3.11–The Origins and Meaning of Political Islam** or a similar text (and/or current articles) explaining the political components of Islam.
- Begin the class with a trigger question such as “What would it be like to live in a theocratic state?” or “What are the pros and cons of a government that is based on religion?” Another good trigger is a film clip or news interview that expresses an Islamist worldview. Spend 10–15 minutes discussing the meaning of theocracy (a state in which government, education, family life, customs, laws, values, and practices are founded on religious beliefs and administered by religious institutions. Push students to predict what the benefits or problems in such a society might be. Encourage students to use what they have learned from the reading about early Islamic politics to answer this question, as well as what they may know or feel about theocracies generally.
- Introduce the terms Muslim state and Islamist state, fundamentalist Islam, and Islamism. Which of these terms are synonyms and which are not?
- Divide the class into pairs or trios and assign each group the task of creating a profile of a different Middle Eastern state, such as Jordan, Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, or Algeria. Are these states Muslim or Islamic states? Students will gather evidence about the government, lifestyle, education, legal systems, attitudes towards minority groups, gender roles, and religious practices in order to determine where their country falls on a continuum from secular state to fundamentalist state. Students should pay attention to any conflicts, instability, or patterns of change in the secular/fundamentalist character of these states.
- When all the data is collected, students can arrange themselves physically in a continuum or create one on the chalkboard. Students can tell the class what the defining characteristics were that helped them to make their assessment. Important questions to answer in the debriefing are: What diversity or variety did you find amongst Islamic states? What trends or patterns of change do we find when we look at the region as a whole?

Student Handout 3.11

The Origins and Meaning of Political Islam

Islam, from its beginnings, played an important political role in the lives of believers. Islam not only professed a set of values, rituals, ethical standards, customs, and practices, but also substituted the political identity of the Umma for the political identity of the tribe. First the Prophet Muhammad and later the Caliphs or his deputies stood at the head of the Umma, providing political leadership. Converts who joined the Umma adopted a new political identity, exchanging their tribal identity acquired by birth for a new one based on faith. In this community, religious laws, or the Sharia, became the standard and guide for righteous behavior. Islam became a complete way of life, regulating behavior in the areas of government, family life, economic transactions, social responsibility, and devotion to God.

Muhammad's Death Sparks an Enduring Political Crisis

By the time of Muhammad's death in 632 CE, the Arabian tribes had successfully been converted to Islam. It remained for the Prophet's successors to continue to lead the Muslim people and to spread the faith beyond the Arabian Peninsula. But who would lead the Umma? The need for a strong and competent leader was immediately apparent as Arabian tribesmen took advantage of the power vacuum created by Muhammad's death to rebel and revert to pagan practices and old political loyalties. Muhammad's generals had to subdue these rebels and return the wayward tribes to the fold of the Umma.

Initially, Abu Bakr, Muhammad's father-in-law, was selected as the first Caliph. This newly created position would replace the Prophet since no individual claimed to be designated by Allah and Muhammad had left no instructions regarding who should succeed him. The Caliph would now become the spiritual and political head of the Umma, no easy task. Do you think that the leadership qualities necessary to lead the people spiritually and politically are the same?

Abu Bakr was followed by Omar, and he in turn by Othman, one of Muhammad's sons-in-law. During these years, the Arabian Muslims set their sights beyond the peninsula, and their armies struck out in the direction of Mesopotamia, the Levant (today's Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Israel), and Egypt. Their military and political successes were formidable as the crumbling Byzantine and Persian Empires fell apart, creating a welcome opportunity for Islam to rule. The last of these first four Caliphs, also known as the *Rashidun*, or the Rightly Guided, was Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law. Ali had come to power, however, after rebels murdered Othman. Ali had always believed that he, not Abu-Bakr, should have been selected as first Caliph. He was designated as Caliph only six days after Othman's murder. Othman's family, the Umayyads, vowed to seek revenge and make their candidate, Muawiya, Caliph in Ali's place. The controversy over the Caliphate and the question of who should rule was a major political crisis that split the Umma and changed Islam in ways that continue to resonate in the Arab world today.

The struggle between Muawiya and Ali culminated in the murder of Ali and the death of his son Hussein in the Battle of Kerbala that took place in modern day Iraq.

Followers of Ali and Hussein broke from the Umma and formed a separate branch of the faith that went by the name Shia.⁵¹ The Shiites distinguished themselves from the Sunni (or orthodox) Muslims by their belief in the first Imam and his twelve successors who receive their authority from Allah and serve as spiritual guides, mediators, and interceders between God and man. Sunni Muslims reject this belief. This distinction has had significant impact on government in countries where Shiism is dominant. In Iran, for example, the Ayatollahs who lead are comparable to modern day Imams. Their authority is absolute, since they are divinely guided and they can only be appointed by other Ayatollahs of similar status. Today, the Sunni Muslims are in the majority around the world; however, the Shiite community dominates in Iran and is a majority in Iraq and southern Lebanon. Not always does the leadership of a state reflect the sentiments of the majority of the population. In Iraq before the coalition of United States and British forces toppled the regime of Saddam Hussein, the Shiite majority was ruled by a Sunni dictator. The Iran-Iraq war that raged from 1980 to 1988 pitted Shiite Iran against Sunni-led Iraq. Thus, we see that conflict within the political framework of early Islam generated religious diversity and sometimes violence.

The Arab Caliphs of the Ummayyad Dynasty (661–759 CE) and the Abbasid Dynasty (750–1200 CE) ruled a vast empire that spread from Spain to India. After 1200, however, power passed to Central Asian and Turkish people who had become Muslims. The Arab Empire became a number of separate Islamic empires with capitals and leaders in Constantinople (Turkey), Fatephur Sikri (India), and Isfahan (Persia/Iran). These empires were ruled by warrior kings. It is useful to notice what happened to the Caliphate during these years of Islamic empire.

⁵¹ Shia means a group of people who have reached a consensus on a particular issue and become “followers,” in this case, followers of consensus on the legitimacy of Ali and his descendents to rule as Caliphs.

Student Handout 3.12

Identifying Muslim and Islamist Countries

Research one of the countries listed in the chart below in order to discover whether it qualifies as a Muslim state or as an Islamic one. Remember that a Muslim state has a Muslim majority but does not base its government, educational and legal systems, family life, and economic affairs solely on Islamic ideology, holy texts, and clerical leadership. Islamic states are societies that are founded on Islam and should reflect Islamic beliefs and practices in all areas of life. Be alert to developing patterns in the country you investigate. In what ways has the relationship between church and state changed in the recent past? How has the government responded to Islamic militants? What can you find out about Islamic activities inside the country or emanating from it?

Country, Muslim or Islamic, Predominant Sect	Features of Government	Features of Society, Education, Gender Roles, Dress	Patterns of Change and Recent History
Afghanistan			
Algeria			
Egypt			
Iraq			
Iran			
Jordan			
Lebanon			
Libya			
Oman			
Saudi Arabia			
Turkey			
United Arab Emirates			
Morocco			
Yemen			

When you have collected your data, determine where, on a continuum from secular to Islamist, the country you researched would be placed. Prepare a poster with key points to justify your placement, and be ready to present your case to the class.

Secular-----Islamist

Activity Two: Why Did Islam Gain Popularity as a Political Ideology at the End of the 20th Century and to Whom (If at All) Is It a Threat?

Objectives for Day One

- Students will explain the emergence and popularity of Islamism in the 20th century.
- Students will work independently and collaboratively to draft “claims” in written form in response to the central question of the lesson.

Objectives for Day Two)

- Students will categorize different levels of expression of Muslim identity.
- Students will evaluate whether political Islam (the ideology that aspires to establish a theocratic government based on Islam) poses a threat to Muslim and Western states.
- Students will reflect on the efficacy and ethics of methods to reduce the tensions between Islamists and other states.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: **Handout 3.13–Why I Am an Islamist. Handout 3.14–A Continuum of Muslim Identity and Expression.**

Step-by-Step Instructions: Day One

1. Begin this lesson by asking students to write down a description of an Islamist in terms of background, home state, education, and employment history. Compare perceptions and discuss where most of our perceptions originate. Although Westerners think that radical Muslims come from the poor and uneducated sectors of society, the opposite is often true. Most Islamists are from lower middle/middle class families, and many have university education and are professionals.
2. Distribute **Handout 3.13–Why I Am an Islamist** to students. Students are tasked with reading profiles and developing a claim that synthesizes information and explains multiple causes for the emergence of militant Islam.
3. Activists include Islamic supporters from a variety of countries. Students should see that the motives and intended goals for supporting Islamist movements may differ from place to place and from individual to individual depending on economic conditions, class, historical factors, and political developments in the past and present.
4. In their claims, students should highlight the reasons they believe Islamism has grown in popularity in the last 30 years.
5. Students, after drafting their own individual claims or drafting their claims as a small group, should pool ideas to construct a perfected claim for the group to share with the class.
6. Debrief. What questions are raised? For example, do claims emphasize local problems or international ones as causes? To what extent is Islamism seen as a threat?

Step-by-Step Instructions: Day Two

- Using **Handout 3.14** and the profiles and claims from day one, decide where each of the Islamists should be placed on a continuum of least to most radical. Students should be able to describe the behaviors that distinguish the labels from one another. For example, a practicing Muslim might celebrate holidays such as Ramadan and attend prayers at the mosque, while an Islamist activist might seek ways to increase depth of their personal practice of the faith and that of others as well. The most extreme, militant Islamist would justify use of terror in the name of God and advocate rapid change to an Islamist state by force, if necessary.
- Engage students in a discussion of how they arrived at their placements.
- Discuss student analysis of the degree and targets of the Islamic Fundamentalist threat. Who is most threatened: Israel, the U.S., Muslim states, Russia?)
- Brainstorm all the steps Muslim and Western nations can take to combat any threat that might exist. Possible steps include declaring Islamist political parties illegal, registering Islamic activists with their respective governments, increasing surveillance throughout the country, involving the UN in fighting terror, reducing immigration quotas from specific countries, providing foreign aid to nations at risk, educating for cultural understanding, supporting efforts to bring an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and finding ways to allow fundamentalists avenues of expression to neutralize radicalism.
- Divide the class into small response groups to discuss the positive and negative consequences of the five most popular steps suggested during the brainstorming session.
- Each group presents its analysis to the class.
- The teacher facilitates a discussion of the efficacy and ethics of the steps considered.

Student Handout 3.13

Why I Am an Islamist

(Profiles are fictitious composites although references are made to historical personalities and events.)

Profile 1: Ahmad Busala, a Palestinian Member of Hamas

I come from Jenin, a city in the West Bank, but my grandfather came from Jaffa. In the 1948 war with the Jews, the war we call “*al-Nakba*” (“the catastrophe”), my family was forced to flee Jaffa, and we settled in Jenin. Between 1948 and 1967, we lived under Jordanian rule. Then Israel defeated Jordan in the June War and occupied the West Bank. My grandfather believed that the Arab countries would win our homes back for us, but this didn’t happen. My father believed that Yassir Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization would win our homes back for us, but he failed as well. Hamas has emerged as a result of these failures and recognition of the decay in Muslim values. I believe that all of Palestine is sacred land that must be liberated from the control of infidel people. This is the duty of all Muslims. The secular liberation movements such as the PLO have failed in their mission to win independence and the restoration of lands to the Palestinian people, failed because they have strayed from Allah’s path. The peace process in which agreements were signed represented compromises over Islamic lands that were an affront to Allah. We give praise that these agreements have failed. Our goal is to reestablish an Islamic society. This is our jihad, or holy struggle. We are prepared to achieve our goal, whatever it takes. To sacrifice ourselves and to kill others, when necessary, is justified in this jihad. The cities of Palestine are filled with young men and women so embittered by Israeli occupation that they are ready to volunteer as suicide bombers who, with their own deaths, will strike a blow against the enemy.

Profile 2: Ismail Farida, an Egyptian Member of the Muslim Brotherhood

I come from Cairo, the son of a civil servant who was raised on stories of Egypt’s suffering. First, at the hands of European powers who exploited our labor and strategic position, and second, by Egyptian leaders such as Gamal Abdul Nasser and Anwar Sadat. National liberation from European imperialism was accomplished by Nasser after the Revolution of 1952 and the Suez War of 1956, but his socialist model of government pushed Islam out of our minds. Nasser arrested, tortured, and executed members of the Muslim Brotherhood out of fear that they would endanger his regime. It is no wonder that he, and our country together with him, suffered a humiliating and shameful defeat in the June 1967 war against Israel. Sadat courted American and Western approval, opening up markets and investment opportunities to them. The bread riots in the streets of Cairo were a signal to Sadat that something had to be done to improve the economy. Instead, Egypt’s poor grew increasingly more impoverished as a few corrupt businessmen and bureaucrats became richer still. Signing the peace treaty with Israel was hailed in the West, but to us, Sadat was a traitor to the Muslim world. The fact that he created media events where he was filmed at prayer fooled no one. His assassination was richly deserved. My hope is that one day all Egyptians will abstain from lewd behavior and will dress with modesty. Women will wear the hijab and alcohol will be unobtainable. We will conduct ourselves as Allah would wish,

observing the Five Pillars of Islam with scrupulous devotion and following the laws in the Sharia. In such a society, righteousness will prevail.

Profile 3: Ibrahim Issiye, an Islamist Disciple of Sayyid Qutb (1906–66)

I am a revolutionary struggling to liberate the Muslim mind from the shackles of Western power. Our once great civilization allowed itself to become contaminated by foreign ideas whose danger was cleverly hidden behind a mask called modernism. In coveting progress, we have adopted the secularism of Dar al-Harb rather than bringing the message of Dar al-Islam to all. Modern technologies such as satellite broadcasts and the Internet should be exploited to accomplish this. Instead, Muslim people are jealous of the Western products, lifestyles, and affluence they can experience virtually on the computer screen but not enjoy in real life. This secularism is at the root of our misfortunes and must be reversed. If it isn't, we will come to realize when it is too late that the Western powers are afflicted with "crusaderism," that is, a desire to subordinate and eradicate Islam. The only way to combat this evil is by attacking the enemy!

Profile 4: Majid Babelpour, an Iranian Islamist

I rejoiced when Muhammad Reza Pahlavi fled in disgrace from Iran in 1979 and the Ayatollah Khomeini made his triumphant return to our country. The Shah's "White Revolution" had attempted to force modernization programs upon us in ways that challenged our traditional way of life. The Savak (secret police) became the Shah's "eyes and ears," arresting, torturing, and executing citizens who came under suspicion of opposing his regime. I have always believed that the taking of American hostages by Iranian students in 1979, holding them for 444 days, was wrong. I can understand, however, that the motivation for such a deed stemmed from a desire to strike back against the power we call "the Great Satan." America had supported the Shah and continues to protect Israel, both enemies of Islam. Americans continue to swagger through the world, protecting their interests at the expense of weaker states. There is no end to their arrogance.

Profile 5: Samir Fuarra, a Lebanese Islamist

I believe with all my heart that only Islam can restore our tarnished pride and self-respect. How did we lose it, you ask? By being humiliated and shamed. In the past, we lost control of our economies and our governments. Our contribution to world civilization has been denigrated or ignored. Alien values have seeped into the fabric of our culture, and most recently our authority in our own homes has been challenged by Western notions of feminism and permissive child rearing. Yes, I am an Islamist, but I am not a terrorist! Osama bin Laden may be a Muslim, but he does not represent Islam! He does not understand that violence in Islam must conform to the rules of the Sharia. While we believe in dutifully obeying Muslim rulers, Muhammad commands us, "Do not obey a creature against his creator." In other words, no leader can order a Muslim to disobey God. This idea paved the way for political assassinations in our history. The murder of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1981 would fall into this category. However, the bloodshed today, in which civilians are randomly targeted for death to bring pressure on governments to change their policies and strike fear in the hearts of innocent citizens, is not what Islam teaches. These tactics have been adopted from National Liberation groups such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (and, likewise, the Irish Republican Army) and are not Islamist!

Profile 6: Mila Nashibi, an Algerian Teacher

I am an Islamist, though I do not carry a gun. My jihad began within myself, and modeling for others is my strongest weapon. While at university, I studied with a professor who changed my entire outlook. Originally, I felt dissatisfaction and disappointment in my life most of the time. I was unable to afford many of the things that seemed so important to me then. I worried about finding a husband, building a career, and looking my best. All around me, I saw poor people who had no hope of bettering their lives. This made me feel even more guilty and ashamed of my worries that seemed so trivial in comparison to the problems of others. My professor encouraged me to read the Qur'an in order to better understand what is truly important in life. He urged me to wear a hijab, explaining to me that the beauty of the individual comes from the soul, not the body. One's face is really all that need show for beauty to shine and be visible. This made sense to me. When I wear Islamic dress I feel more respected by others and proud of who I am. My Islamism has helped me to focus my efforts on helping others rather than being preoccupied with myself. I decided to become a teacher because this is the way I am best able to help a new generation to learn skills and values that will enrich them their entire lives.

Profile 7: Umar Rujab, a Saudi Arabian Journalist

The Islamism feared by the West is a construct of Westerners' own minds. Although there are Islamic states, they take many forms and defy classification into a single group. My country is a royal monarchy; Iran is an Islamic Republic ruled by clerics. A clash of civilizations between the West and Islam is not inevitable. Saudi Arabia and the USA have a long history of cooperation and alliance. I prefer to view Islamists as revivalists working for positive change in their societies through social action and increased political participation. Western cultures similarly distinguish between radical dissenters who use violence to achieve goals and peaceful reformers who go about building support for their program through legal methods. The West plays into the hands of governments that withhold democratic rights from their citizenry under the excuse that Islamic activists are inciting violence that will lead to national and regional instability. By all means, seek ways to protect both Islamic and secular nation states from perpetrators of violence who seek to undermine the stability and security of these nations, but don't make the mistake of confusing Islamism with the network of Islamic terrorism. They are two different things.

Student Handout 3.14**A Continuum of Muslim Identity and Expression****Secular Muslim—Practicing Muslim—Muslim Activist—Islamist—Militant Islamist**

- Describe the defining behaviors of a person at each point on the continuum. How is a practicing Muslim, for example, different from a secular Muslim, an Islamist activist, or a militant Islamist?
- Place each of the Islamists in **Student Handout 3.13** on the continuum.
- Use this continuum and **Student Handout 3.13** to help you evaluate whether or not Islamism presents a threat in today's world.

Assessments for Topic Three

The first assessment offered here calls upon students to apply, by participating in a problem-solving situation, what they have learned about the domestic challenges Islamic fundamentalism poses for Muslim countries. The second assessment calls upon students to analyze the international challenge Islamism presents to the world. Consider offering your students a choice of assessments, or you may decide which is most appropriate for your class.

Assessment One: Istahad Forms a New Government

In this assessment based on **Student Handout 3.15**, students play the role of Muslim or Western advisors to Istahad, a recently independent fictitious country in the Middle East. Students receive information about the demographic and cultural profile of the population as well as a description of the economy and the country's recent political past. Students are tasked with developing a proposal for structuring a new government for Istahad. This problem-solving situation requires students to make decisions regarding the character of the new government they will recommend. To what extent will Islam play a role in the government? What ideology will underpin the government? How will the government resolve differences regarding education and family law? How much compromise between Islamists, secularists, and Muslim moderates will the government reflect? Students will write their proposals and debate them in class. Proposals must include detailed explanations and rationales supported by historical or other evidence.

Assessment Two: The United Nations Debates the Resolution, "Islamic Fundamentalism Is a Threat to World Security"

In this assessment, students develop position papers on the resolution: "Islamic fundamentalism is a threat to world security." Student teams for the "yea" and "nay" positions are formed and debate the resolution in class. Materials on how to plan, structure, and teach debate appear elsewhere in this book.

Student Handout 3.15

Istahad Forms a New Government

In our discussion of political Islam, we have learned that there is a great deal of diversity in how Muslims view the role of Islam in their lives. In this assessment, you are asked to analyze facts about Istahad, a fictitious Arab country that is in the process of creating a new government after a long period of colonization by Great Britain.

In this assessment, you will play the role of an advisor who has been invited to develop a proposal to present to the provisional government that is ready to step down in favor of a permanent one. You may choose to be either a Muslim advisor or a Western advisor. Of course, whichever identity you choose for yourself will influence your view and your proposal's content. Bear in mind that this is taking place today, in a time when political Islam is a controversial issue. The results of September 11 and the Taliban rule in Afghanistan are vivid in people's minds. At the same time, there is an ongoing controversy over whether political Islam is an ideology that endangers or gives legitimate expression to an authentic political identity.

Address These Issues in Your Proposal

Identify the key facts that influenced you most importantly in developing your proposal.

- Will you advise Istahad to structure a government that is founded on the separation of church and state, or a government that incorporates and is influenced by Islam, and why?
- How will your proposal address the issue of local autonomy versus centralized government?
- What process, practices, or institutions are included in your proposal to ensure that Istahadians will accept it, and that revolution or civil war will not erupt?
- What needs to take place in the future for your plan to work?
- Make a prediction for the future of Istahad.

Be sure to bring examples from our study of political Islam or any other section of our study of Islam to elaborate or to support the claims that you make. Be prepared to present your proposal to the class and to offer explanations or a defense if necessary.

Background Information on Istahad

Overview

For generations, traditional people with a strong tribal culture have populated the island of Istahad. The nomads in the desert are all members of the Dawani tribe, while the villages in the southwest are populated by a few loosely connected families. Most of the people are Sunni Muslims, although there is a small population of Shias living in the eastern section of the island. Most of the laws remained unchanged and bear a close resemblance to Islamic law. Istahadians managed to sustain themselves through subsistence agriculture irrigated by underground springs. There are a few home industries such as pottery, textiles, and herbal medicines. Recently, tourists have begun visiting the island to enjoy its pristine beaches. The mountain regions are rich

in copper and zinc. In 1930, Great Britain intervened in Istahad and established a colony that lasted 60 years.

Demography

There are five prominent tribal families in Istahad. Three are located in the rural region of the country and make up the nomadic and village populations. Two are located in two urban centers named Mura and Subaville. Villagers make up 45 percent of the population and have four children per family on an average. The Dawani Bedouin represent five percent of the population while the city folk number 40 percent.

Attitudes and Expectations by Sector

Villagers are loyal to tribal sheiks and village elders. The mosque is the center of village life, and children learn to recite the Qur'an starting at age six. During the colonial period of their history, these Istahadians were suspicious of the British and distanced themselves from the administration as much as possible. Today, they are overjoyed that the British have left and want to participate in the new government as long as it is respectful of their traditions and way of life.

The Dawani Bedouin graze their flocks wherever they can find water and pastureland. They are quite isolated from the villages and cities, and have developed their own tribal customs and laws. When unable to feed their flocks, they have on occasion strayed from their usual lands and encroached on the villages and even the cities. Dawani children do not attend school. This group is relatively unfamiliar with the concept of any political identity other than their tribal one.

The city dwellers are the most educated and Westernized of Istahad's people. Their children attend British or missionary schools, and this sector is well acquainted with modern technology and Western forms of government. Most of them are merchants, civil servants, professionals, and service industry workers. They are excited about prospects for Istahad's new government but are fearful that the traditional sectors will reject any proposal that is not Islamist in character. The city dwellers are more inclined to a Western style democracy.

Chapter 4

Teaching About Modern Egypt

The story of modern Egypt is an excellent case study for understanding essential themes in Middle Eastern history, such as modernization, colonialism, nationalism, and leadership. In this chapter, these themes will be elaborated upon through a study of:

- Egypt's struggle to modernize in the 19th century and occupation as a colony of Great Britain.
- The development of nationalist ideology in Egypt.
- The successes and failures of Gamal Abdul Nasser's socialist model for Egyptian development and nationhood.
- Egypt's foreign policy during the Nasser years.
- Changes in Egypt under the rule of Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak.

The most populous state in the region, Egypt was among the first to actively improve its economy, military, and agricultural and educational systems through contacts with European governments and private companies. The dynasty of ruling Khedives, founded by Muhammad Ali, a modernizing pioneer who governed Egypt from 1805–40, oversaw the negotiation and building of the Suez Canal and an ambitious development program. Burgeoning debts to foreign interests during the reign of Ismail resulted in Egypt's loss of control of the Suez Canal, increased European influence, local rebellion, and, ultimately, the transformation of Egypt from an autonomous state to that of a British Protectorate. This first “act” in our Egyptian drama creates opportunities for examining and understanding the meaning of modernity and colonialism, as well as for evaluating the reign of the Khedives, Egyptian dissident movements, and European policies.

In the 20th century, Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser, who led the Egyptian Revolution in 1952, became the model for leadership in the Arab world. Overthrowing King Farouk, he established a secular, socialist state that earnestly pursued industrialization and modernity while maintaining political nonalignment during the “chilly” years of the Cold War. The building of the Aswan Dam with Soviet assistance precipitated withdrawal of United States funding and Nasser's response, the nationalization of the Suez Canal. Once again, a giant engineering project changed the course of Western-Egyptian relations, but this time, it was Egypt who would deal the defining blow. The Suez War of 1956 resulted in British and French failures to recapture control of the Canal and unseat Nasser. The unlikely cooperation of the USSR with the USA in halting the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt makes the Suez War an interesting case study in foreign policy from the American and Soviet as well as the Egyptian points of view.

Nasser became the unqualified hero of the Middle East, the man who had liberated Arab people from the yoke of British imperialism. Nasser believed that economic equality could be achieved through what he called “Arab Socialism.” This socialism, unlike the Soviet brand, allowed for traditional practice of Islam.

Nasser promoted a political vision that went beyond Egyptian nationalism. In his *Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*, Nasser identifies three circles of identity to which Egypt is linked: the Arab circle, the Muslim circle, and the African circle. His attempts to popularize and implement the ideology of Pan-Arabism that would connect the Arab world into a political unit resulted in the establishment of the United Arab Republic that unified Egypt, Syria, and Yemen into a single state for a brief time.

Egypt's foreign policy ricocheted from political success in the Suez War to catastrophic defeat in the June 1967 Six Day War with Israel. The Six Day War altered the Middle East in profound ways that continue to resonate today in the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Arab-Israeli conflict at large. In order to understand Nasser's leadership and the changed direction Egypt would follow after his death, looking into the causes of this cataclysmic war is essential.

Like the 19th century "first act," this mid-20th-century "second act" is dominated by the process of modernization and the actualization of nationalism under the charismatic and innovative influence of Gamal Abdul Nasser. Here are some examples of questions that are worth considering in light of today's current events:

- How were European and American interventions in Egyptian affairs similar or different?
- How do the careers and goals of Gamal Abdul Nasser and Saddam Hussein compare? Are there Arab leaders in today's world who have inherited the "mantle of leadership" from Nasser?
- How does the story of Egypt connect to the rise of Islamism in the Muslim world?

Egypt after Nasser is a tale of shifting allegiances as Anwar Sadat abandoned an alliance with the USSR in favor of the United States and signed the first peace treaty between an Arab country and Israel. This historic event took place in 1979, six years after Egypt, together with Syria, attacked Israel in the October War (Yom Kippur War/Ramadan War) of 1973. Thereafter, in Sadat's "October Paper," he proclaimed that Egypt would pursue an open economy that would allow private investment and democratization of the political system. The result was a rapid accumulation of wealth by the elite, accompanied by a growing socioeconomic gap and economic inequality nationwide. Sadat's assassination in 1981 by Islamists can be attributed as much to dissatisfaction with his domestic policies as to his reconciliation with Israel and seeming betrayal of Arab values and interests in order to achieve more narrow Egyptian goals. While Sadat became popular in the West, his picture adorning the cover of *Time* as the "Man of the Year," at home his showmanship, his feigned religiosity, and the growing economic distress of the majority of Egyptians were a continual source of anger and frustration.

President Hosni Mubarak, Sadat's successor, was a key figure in Middle East politics and Egypt, an important country in United States foreign policy. Mubarak was successful in restoring Egypt's membership in the Arab League following her ostracism after making peace with Israel in 1979. While Egypt made economic and

social progress during Mubarak's early years, evidenced by a 5.1 percent economic growth rate, \$89 billion GDP, and significant drop in infant mortality, the country continued to be plagued by poverty, lack of industry, and political threats from extreme Islamist groups. By February 2011, when Mubarak was forced to resign by popular protests after 30 years of dictatorship, Egypt was suffering from economic stagnation and political oppression.

By comparing and contrasting the leadership and contexts of the Khedives, Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak, students begin to acquire perspective and understanding of the dilemmas, pitfalls, and difficulties inherent in the process of modernization and formation of national policy. Throughout this history, the problem of finding a balance between traditional patterns of life and modern global ones becomes apparent, as do the important roles of Western interventions and regional conflicts. Egypt's experiences can be used as a baseline from which to compare the development of other Arab states that have passed through similar phases of traditional rule, colonial domination, and movements of national liberation, such as Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Tunisia.

The content outlined above can be framed for students through many types of activities. One approach organizes the content chronologically around essential questions such as:

- ◆ How do we define modernity and how does a country modernize?
- ◆ What are the characteristics of responsible leadership and rule?
- ◆ When is foreign intervention in another country's affairs justifiable?

Here are some examples of content indicators that are appropriate for teaching these three themes:

1. Students will distinguish between traditional and modern societies and understand that the Middle East today is a region in cultural transition.
2. Students will trace the process whereby Egypt developed into a modern society, pointing out factors that enhanced or inhibited the success of this process, and assess the level of modernity in Egypt today.
3. Students will articulate general lessons to be learned from Egypt's experiences that could be applied to other developing countries.
4. Students will develop criteria for evaluating Egyptian leadership and assess the performance of both 19th- and 20th-century leaders accordingly.
5. Students will compare and contrast examples of foreign intervention in Egyptian affairs and evaluate the justifiability of these actions.
6. Students will analyze the causes and outcomes of the Suez war (1956) and the Six Day War (June 1967) in order to understand how leadership and decision making can impact an entire region.

Sample Unit Plan

Topic One: Distinguishing Tradition From Modernity

Activity One: Defining Tradition and Modernity

Topic Two: Nineteenth-Century Egypt, From Partner to Protectorate

Activity One: Negotiating the Building of the Suez Canal

Activity Two: Evaluating Egyptian Leaders

Topic Three: Nasser's Revolution

Activity One: Gamal Abdul Nasser's Reforms

Activity Two: Nasser's Foreign Policy, 1952–70

Lesson One: The Suez War

Lesson Two: The Six Day War

Activity Three: Nasser on Trial (Assessment)

Topic Four: Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak—New Directions for Egypt?

Activity One: Press Conference

Topic 1: Distinguishing Tradition From Modernity

It is impossible to understand the Middle East without comprehending the content and importance of its traditional culture and the complexity of the process of modernization that it has experienced. While this process began in earnest in the 19th century, the globalization and technological communications that accompanied it have served to emphasize the enduring differences between tradition and modernity almost as much as they have furthered the diffusion of Western culture within the Middle East. While many countries in the region can point to parliaments, electronic banking systems, oil rigs, and university students dressed in Levi Strauss jeans as evidence of their modernity, growing Islamist movements and controversy over cultural norms indicate that modernity refers to much more than material progress.

This opening activity leads students through the process of identifying the content of traditional and modern societies, exploring their own attitudes to these two different worldviews, and predicting the difficulties and dilemmas inherent in the process of change from one to the other. Ultimately, students will begin to recognize that the Middle East and much of our world continues to be in a state of transition from tradition to modernity, and they are encouraged to evaluate the idea that both worldviews may simultaneously play a part in our lives.

Activity One: Defining Tradition and Modernity

Objectives:

- Students will distinguish between modern and traditional worldviews, values, and material culture.
- Students will identify examples of the traditional and modern worldviews in their own lives.
- Students will predict the difficulties that accompany the modernization process.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: A selection of texts that illustrate the traditional/modern worldview, such as **Handout 4.1–Traditional and Modern Worldviews** and **Handout 4.2–The Story of Taha and Ahmad**, and visual images depicting life in the Middle East or other parts of the world. Photographs from *National Geographic* are especially useful.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Have students create and submit two lists of words that they associate with the concepts of tradition and modernity. The words may be objects, institutions, or values, as long as they represent symbols of modernity or tradition. The class should do this at the end of a lesson so that the teacher can create one set of words on cards or slips of paper for each student work group that will form the next day. In addition, ask students to bring into class examples of visual images that illustrate tradition and modernity. Suggest that students look for images that show a combination of both concepts. To what extent do the visual images depict tradition and modernity in a positive or negative way? Assign

Handout 4.1–Traditional and Modern Worldviews and **Handout 4.2–The Story of Taha and Ahmad**, or read them in class the following day.

- In class, divide students into groups of three to five people and distribute one set of “symbolic buzzwords” to each group. Students will determine which words represent modernity and tradition, and then proceed to create categories within each of these two worldviews. For example, women’s rights, industrial goods, family, education, religion, authority, technology, gender roles, and the role of the elderly are typical categories that students develop.
- Have each group articulate a definition of tradition and modernity.
- Students share visual images they have brought to class (teacher should have a few on hand) and discuss whether they reflect a blend, clash, or exclusivity of traditional and/or modern lifestyles.
- Some questions to consider are: Why might some traditions be able to easily adopt modern elements, and others not? In what ways is your own lifestyle reflective of tradition or modernity or both?

Student Handout 4.1

Traditional and Modern Worldviews

In today's technologically connected world, travelers, businessmen, international students, and government workers are increasingly experiencing how cultural differences can interfere with communication and understanding. While we have no difficulty recognizing that the food, customs, and dress in the Middle East belong to a culture that is different from our own, it may be more difficult to appreciate how the worldview or values of Middle Easterners are distinguished from ours. Without an appreciation of these differences, misunderstandings are bound to happen. How would you, for example, interpret the following story?

Two boys are helping their father harvest the crop from the family plot. As the noon-day sun beats down upon the three, the father lifts his head from his work and, mopping his brow, asks his sons to bring him the water skin [canteen] lying under a tree a short distance away from where they are working. One son answers: "Yes father, I will," but he continues his work, making no move to fulfill his father's request. The second son answers: "No father, I must finish this job." That evening, in their modest home, the father spoke to his wife about how their son had disappointed him. Which son do you think he was referring to?⁵²

In order to answer the question, you need to know a great deal about the values and worldview of the culture this family belongs to. If such a situation were to take place in your own family, would your father be disappointed with a son who refuses to follow his instructions or proud of him for being hardworking, industrious, and responsible? Would he be disappointed in a son who said one thing ("Yes, father"), but did another (continued working rather than keep his word)? In our story, the father was disappointed with the son who answered honestly but made the mistake of behaving in a way that was perceived as disrespectful. In this society, respect for parents comes first, and to refuse a father's request, even if for a good reason, is wrong behavior. The society in this story is a traditional one, similar to the culture in many Middle Eastern countries. Although Middle Eastern societies have been modernizing since their contacts with the West began, traditional ways of viewing the world continue to exercise a powerful influence on life. This reading explores some of the characteristics of traditional and modern societies.

Modernity and Progress Defined

In the Western world, progress has been highly valued, and change has been viewed as something desirable. Modernity in the West is associated with industrialization, a series of technological changes in how goods were produced that had profound impacts on every aspect of society. With industrialization came specialization of labor, urban lifestyles, a mobile population, loosening of extended family ties, and placing a priority on the individual rather than on the collective good. General rules drawn from reason and science became the guiding principles of society. An arrow pointing upwards at a forty-five degree angle is a good symbol of the Western

⁵² This story is adapted from John Laffin, *The Arab Mind* (New York: Tupper Press), 1975, p. 1.

worldview that sees the future in terms of perpetual improvement and forward-moving progress.

In other parts of the world, the changes that the West experienced came more slowly. Here, values and social patterns of family, government, and economy were rooted in well-kept traditions that were passed down from one generation to the next. Typically, these traditional societies were agricultural, linked to the cycles of the seasons, and came to view the world as an unending cycle of repeated patterns. If one believes that events are but repetitions of the past, surely the answers and solutions to questions and problems are hidden in the past as well. A visual symbol of this society would be a wheel forever turning in the same direction. The traditional society looks to the past for direction in the present. Although there is great cultural diversity amongst traditional societies throughout the world, they share some common values, such as:

- Respect for elders as authority figures in the family, government, and economy.
- Importance of religious ritual and values.
- Centrality of the family.
- Obedience to authority.
- Distinct gender roles.
- Viewing the collective good as more important than the individual.
- Accepting and adapting to life as it is rather than seeking to change it.
- A flexible attitude towards time.

As the Middle East and other parts of the world became increasingly exposed to Western values, trade, communication, and governments, these regions commenced a rigorous and difficult process of modernization that sometimes was voluntary and sometimes forced. Frequently, there was consensus about a need to incorporate modern technologies, equipment, and scientific knowledge into the traditional culture, but violent controversy over the resulting impact of these changes on family life, governmental structure, and belief systems. Sometimes, the changes that were introduced created dislocating generation gaps or political rebellions, or necessitated great personal sacrifice. Leaders who may have been eager to bring the benefits of modern life to their people found that they were inexperienced in the administration of such a society or lacked necessary skills and education to make it work. Disappointment with failed or difficult attempts at modernizing has in some instances resulted in a resurgence of loyalty to traditional social patterns. The rise of Islamism is a relevant example. Middle Eastern countries continue to search for an appropriate balance between tradition and modernity in their societies, and an optimum pace at which to progress towards their goals.

Check your understanding of the concepts and information here by completing the following activities:

Which of the following would most likely be found in a modern society and which in a traditional one?

- An arranged marriage.
- Strong national loyalty.
- Professional mobility.
- Frequent geographical relocation.
- Rote memorization of religious texts.
- Consulting senior citizens for advice.
- Rewarding of innovative behavior.

How would each of these problems be resolved in a traditional society and in a modern society?

- Aged parents are no longer able to care for themselves.
- Your parents forbid you to spend time with a friend they disapprove of.
- Members of the community become ill with a mysterious disease whose origin is unknown.
- A husband and wife are having marital difficulties.
- A young and inexperienced mother is worried about her new baby's health.
- A group of people in the community decides that a law is unjust.
- A daughter decides to marry someone that her parents do not know.

What are the advantages or disadvantages of a traditional or modern worldview?

In what ways do your own lifestyle and value system reflect a traditional or modern worldview?

Student Handout 4.2

The Story of Taha and Ahmad

This story tells how one Egyptian family living outside of Cairo in the mid-19th century was affected when modern ways of looking at the world began to penetrate their culture. After you have read the story, consider what it teaches us about the process and costs of modernization. What made the process so difficult for each of the family members? Are there alternative endings to this story and, if so, what might bring them about?

To Taha, the son of an Egyptian laborer, it seemed as if a New World had begun. He was awed and drawn to the foreigners who milled about the streets of Cairo in their Western clothing, conversing together in the clipped language Taha couldn't understand. They seemed so confident and knowledgeable. When Taha glimpsed their way of life, he felt ashamed of Egypt and her people. Only last week, the French doctor had come to their village and explained to them the reason why the villagers suffered an outbreak of cholera each year. Taha and the villagers had not understood the connection between the drinking water and the awful sickness that claimed lives each year. He could not believe that so much suffering had come from ignorance. His father had always told him that it had been Allah's will.

Throughout the country, construction projects were started, canals and irrigation systems dug, schools and hospitals built. Egypt was changing; the government was urging her to change. With the help of Western nations, Egypt could become a great power. In the villages, the people weren't so sure. Taha's father had already had several violent arguments with his elder son, Ahmad, who wanted to leave the village and work in a newly constructed mill. The argument finally reached a crisis.

"If you go, who will help me with the work? You know how much we depend on you. What do you know about factories and machines?"

"I want to be part of the New World father," Ahmad answered back. "There is more to life than this village, and I will never learn about it unless I follow the ways of the West. How will we ever improve ourselves if we don't learn new ways?"

"If you leave this house, you will be turning your back on all that the Qur'an teaches us. Where is your respect for your father and mother? What about your duty? We have lived in this place for a century. You belong here! I forbid you to leave!"

The family stood in disbelief as Ahmad gathered up a few belongings and left the house. There was total silence as the family stared at one another in shock. Had it really happened? A son had defied his father, turned his back on his village, and insulted his father's judgment? Taha was sure his father had never dreamed such a thing could happen. The children had always been taught to respect their parents. How often had they been shamed until they learned this

lesson? Taha could hear his mother crying in the next room. If Western ways could lure Ahmad away from home, family, and village, away from religious teachings he had grown up with, and cause his parents so much pain, perhaps they were indeed dangerous.

The night after Ahmad's departure, Taha went on an errand for his mother and once again came into contact with the "New World." All the thoughts of the previous day's events flooded back to him and he felt confused. In his heart, he wished Ahmad well.

Taha's brother, Ahmad, returned to the village one night while the family was eating supper. He was very humble, asked for forgiveness, and took his place next to Taha. No one asked any questions, but his mother breathed a silent prayer to herself, blessing Allah for her son's return. Taha was pleased to have his brother back, but was also disappointed.

"Why did you return?" he asked.

"I felt lost and lonely all the time I was away," Ahmad began. "I couldn't get used to life in the city and the tediousness of the job. It seemed that nobody was especially happy. I gave up all that as dear to me and gained very little in return. The Europeans regarded us as uncivilized beasts. I am only thankful that I had a place to return to. Many others are not so lucky."

"But Ahmad, what of the new ways and progress?" interrupted Taha.

"By God, I don't know."

Topic 2: Nineteenth-Century Egypt, From Partner to Protectorate

During the nineteenth century, Egypt's rulers adopted programs and projects designed to promote modernity in the country and augment Egypt's geopolitical significance in the eyes of the world. As a result of partnership with European companies, Egypt's future at mid-century seemed bright with promise. The building of the Suez Canal and the development programs that followed, however, created financial crises that paved the way for Egypt losing its independence and becoming a protectorate of Great Britain. Egypt's new geopolitical importance had earned it European intervention that went far beyond anything its leaders had anticipated. The reasons why this happened lie in Egyptian mismanagement and European colonial aspirations. An additional contributory factor was the awakening of Egypt's political awareness, the growing dissent that finally expressed itself in a soldier's rebellion steeped in nationalistic rhetoric. The two activities suggested here challenge students to address the essential questions:

- What are the characteristics of responsible leadership?
- When is outside intervention in a state's internal affairs justified?

In addition, students will define colonialism by examining the “slippery slope” that Egypt traversed between 1859 and 1882 in her quest after modernity and political independence.

Activity One: Negotiating the Suez Canal

Objectives:

- Students will empathize with European and Egyptian positions in negotiation over the Suez Canal contract.
- Students will explain the importance of the canal for Egypt, Europe, and world trade.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Map of the world, **Handout 4.3–Negotiation Work Sheet.**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

In this lesson, one team of students role-plays the Egyptian Khedive Saeed and his advisors, while another impersonates representatives of the Ferdinand de Lesseps Engineering Company. Divide the class into several pairs of negotiating teams with five students on each team. During the lesson, pairs of teams will negotiate the Suez Canal contract simultaneously. During the debriefing session, each set of teams will report on the sticking points in their negotiations, whether or not problems were resolved, and how the sides felt at the conclusion of the simulation. Alternatively, you can assign a number of students to act as observers during the negotiation and contribute their perspectives during the debriefing.

1. Before negotiations begin, distribute **Handout 4.3–Negotiation Worksheet** to each team. This handout contains instructions to students as well as a grid that indicates the issues and enables team members to keep track of proposals, offers, and final agreements.
2. Allow time before negotiations begin (10 minutes) for teams to discuss their strategy, preliminary offers, and absolute minimum terms.
3. Teams will meet to discuss and bargain the terms of an agreement. If necessary, negotiations may be held in rounds separated by time-outs for teams to confer privately.
4. Each pair of teams will write up a summary of the agreement or an explanation of why a contract was not signed in the time allotted.
5. During the debriefing session teams and/or observers report on the process of negotiating the contract. Some questions to discuss include:
 - To what extent do you believe the sides in this negotiation were equal?
 - Do you believe the contracts negotiated contained fair terms?
6. Provide the class with the following terms of the actual treaty signed in 1859.
 - A company will be formed that will issue stock to investors.
 - The Company will provide the engineering plan and technology.
 - Egypt will provide the workers for the project.
 - Control of the canal and distribution of profits will be determined by ownership of shares in the Company.
 - Egypt will cede the territory to be dug for the canal to the Company.
 - Egypt will share in 50 percent of the cost of the canal.
6. Students can compare the contracts they negotiated with the terms of the original contract signed. Tips: Students usually argue over how profits from the canal will be shared. They most often do this by offering percentages (e.g., 60–40 percent or 30–70 percent, almost never 50–50). Sometimes, an agreement contains a time element such as “free passage to Britain and France for 50 years,” etc. Similarly, Egyptian teams are generally wary of relinquishing their territory and control of the canal to foreign powers. Rarely does either side suggest distributing profits and allocating control based on the number of shares owned. Encourage teams to be as persuasive as possible in the negotiation. Each side should work to get the other to see the fairness and rationale behind its individual point of view.
7. Take some time at the conclusion of the debriefing to discuss how the sides felt while playing their respective roles. Did the Egyptian team feel respected by the other side? Did they feel the Europeans were patronizing or taking advantage of them? Did the representatives of the company feel that they were being fair and respectful or manipulative and condescending? What factors might have influenced the tone of the negotiations from the very beginning?

Student Handout 4.3

Negotiation Worksheet

In this activity, you will play the role of either the Khedive Saeed and his advisors or the representatives of the Ferdinand de Lesseps Engineering Company. In 1856, the French engineering company approached the Egyptian government with a proposal to build a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf of Suez that leads to the Red Sea. This canal, to be called the Suez Canal, would create a shortcut for European shipping sailing to or from Asia and eliminate the necessity to round the African continent. With trade a major priority for the European powers that already control colonies in Asia, the rapid transportation of goods, supplies, and troops, if necessary, is an important consideration. Of course, the company wants to keep the cost of the project as low as possible. At the same time, it is eager to enjoy a significant share of the profits to be made off shipping lines that will pay substantial fees for the privilege of passing through the canal on their way to Europe or Asia.

The Egyptian government also views the building of a canal as an important opportunity to further Egypt's development and importance. Ever since Napoleon landed in Alexandria in 1799, archaeologists and missionaries have recognized the importance of Egypt. This canal would bring a wealth of trade to the ports and cities of Egypt that would become major tourist and trading centers. Finally, the canal tolls will generate significant income that can be used to fund the vigorous modernization program commenced by Muhammad Ali and continued by his successors. Khedive Saeed recognizes that the Suez Canal would bring Egypt into the orbit of the modern world and make her a center of the modern Middle East! Egypt realizes that it needs the European technological knowledge in order to make this dream possible.

Both sides in this negotiation are concerned with maximizing benefits for their side while maintaining the other side's interest in the project. Neither side can move forward without the other.

Your first meeting will be with your own team to plan your opening proposal. Your proposal should address each of the issues that appear on the attached chart.

Suez Canal Negotiation Chart

Team_____	First Proposal	Counter Proposal	Negotiation Round #1	Negotiation Round #2
Ownership of Territory Used for Canal				
Labor Costs				
Planning and Engineering Design for the Canal, Technological Support				
Distribution of Profits From Tolls Collected				
Administration of the Canal				

Activity Two: Evaluating Egyptian Leaders

The 19th-century leaders Muhammad Ali, Saeed, and Ismail were three Khedives who placed the transformation of Egypt from an important province within the Ottoman Empire to a major, modern Middle Eastern power at the top of their “to do” list. Tewfiq, Ismail’s son, inherited a debt-ridden and emasculated nation politically and economically dominated by European powers. Ahmad Urabi, an officer in the Egyptian army, led an insurrection in 1882 that attempted to regain control of Egypt’s government from Britain and France, as well as redress the grievances of soldiers whose salaries went unpaid and promotions restricted. The threat of chaotic disorder in the vicinity of the Suez Canal created a perfect chance for Great Britain to intervene and suppress Urabi’s revolt. At the conclusion of the conflict, Egypt became a Protectorate of Great Britain, a colony of Britain in all but name.

The programs promoted by these Egyptian personalities, the crises they confronted, and the consequences that resulted from their actions provide exceptional opportunities for analyzing leadership, justification for foreign intervention, the dynamics of colonialism, and independence movements. This lesson also enables students to draw tentative conclusions regarding the process of modernization.

Objectives:

- Students will construct criteria for evaluating leadership and rule.
- Students will evaluate the performance of Egypt’s 19th-century leaders and determine responsibility for the country’s loss of political and economic independence.
- Students will discuss when it is justified for outside powers to intervene in the affairs of another state.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Handout 4.4–Egyptian Leaders (1805-1882)

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Distribute **Handout 4.4 –Egyptian Leaders (1805-1882)** that surveys political and economic developments in Egypt during the 19th century.
- In class, ask half of the students to construct criteria for evaluating leaders. Typical criteria include:
 - Ability to handle crises.
 - Putting the well-being of the nation first.
 - Making decisions that improve the quality of life for citizens.
 - Behaving honestly and ethically.
 - Protecting the interests of his nation (political, economic, social).
 - Seeking advice when necessary.
- Divide this group into smaller sections and have each rank Ismail, Tewfiq, and Urabi in terms of their leadership (0–3 = poor, 4–6 = mediocre, 7–8 = good, 9–10 = excellent).

Here is a summary of these leaders' accomplishments and/or failures:

Ismail	Tewfiq	Urabi
Completed building of the Suez Canal	Cooperated with Britain	Led rebellion against Tewfiq and British
Extravagant spending; concerned with Egypt's public image	Tried to buy time with Urabi	Protested inequality and colonial domination; inspired nationalism
Crafted a multi-dimensional development program; good intentions		Tried diplomacy; resorted to force of arms
Sold shares in the canal to Great Britain		Promoted Representative Assembly

- The other half of the class should develop criteria for determining when intervention by foreign powers in a state's affairs is justified. Conditions for intervention might include:
 - The intervention is taking place with the permission of the local state.
 - Citizens of the foreign power have been harmed or, without intervention, are likely to be harmed.
 - Property belonging to the foreign power has been destroyed or is in danger of being harmed.
 - There is a humanitarian purpose in intervening (e.g., to save lives, stop genocide, or alleviate famine or epidemic).
 - To prevent spread of the conflict.
- Once these criteria are articulated, students divide into smaller sections to analyze Britain's intervention and discover whether there is agreement on whether or not this military intervention was justified. Students might consider what other forms of intervention might have been appropriate.
- After groups have worked together, they present their determinations to the class for discussion. Debriefing may include consideration of questions such as:
 - Who was responsible for Egypt becoming a protectorate?
 - Was the Urabi revolt a domestic or an international crisis, and why?
 - What should happen when a debtor nation cannot repay its debts to foreign banks or governments?
 - Was Britain's intervention in Egypt in 1882 analogous to examples of U.S. intervention abroad?

Extension activities and assessments for this segment on 19th-century Egypt that have been successful include:

- Write an obituary column for Tewfiq, Ismail, or Urabi to be published in a British or an Egyptian newspaper.
- Write an essay that answers the question: What do we learn about the process of modernization from the case study of Egypt in the 19th century? For example, contact with the West can accelerate change; the financial and human costs of modernization may be very high; colonialism can unintentionally inspire the formation of a modern national identity. What factors may determine whether modernization is a success or failure?
- Compare Egypt's descent to the status of protectorate with the history of another Arab nation's experience with colonialism (Algeria, for example). How were they the same or different?

Student Handout 4.4

Egyptian Leaders (1805–1882)

Modernization Led to Loss of Independence

Muhammad Ali, who ruled Egypt from 1805–48, was the founder of a dynasty of Khedives (rulers) that sought to modernize Egypt by importing modern agriculture, infrastructure, education, medicine, and industry. Saeed initiated the Suez Canal project through negotiations with the Ferdinand de Lesseps Engineering Company based in France. An agreement signed in 1856 enabled work on the canal to begin. At great sacrifice to their personal well-being and the economy of their villages, 2500 Egyptian laborers were rounded up each month to toil at digging the canal under the direction of the foreign engineering company. The canal's completion promised to make Egypt a magnet port for shipping between Europe and the Far East. No longer would it be necessary to make the 85-day voyage around Africa's Cape of Good Hope in order to reach Bombay from Great Britain. The canal would revolutionize shipping. In 1869, Khedive Ismail presided over the extravagant ceremonies that celebrated the opening of the Suez Canal. Ismail, however, had no intention of pausing in his development plans for Egypt. His ambitious goals included the modification of the judicial system, increasing Egypt's autonomy from the Ottoman Empire, military development, the building of railroad and telegraph networks, and increasing Egypt's influence and power in Central Africa. Ismail's program could not be carried out without substantial financial resources. The loans Ismail took from European banking institutions became bigger and bigger until, in order to repay them, he was forced to sell all the shares of the Suez Canal Company owned by Egypt in 1874. Even then, the debts could not be paid back, and eventually European creditors became, together with their governments, increasingly involved in Egypt's internal affairs. In 1878, for example, a plan was drawn up to reduce the authority of the Egyptian Khedive and create a new government in which a British and French citizen would fill cabinet posts, becoming ministers in the Egyptian government. Ismail's attempts to avoid this resulted in his being deposed by Ottoman authorities and replaced by his son Tewfiq. Tewfiq's reign was characterized by efforts to maintain good relations with British and French representatives who increasingly controlled Egypt's economy and government.

Economic and Political Instability leads to Nationalism

The economic and political troubles inside Egypt began to stir rebellion, especially in the army, which was suffering from unpaid salaries and lack of promotion opportunities for Egyptian officers. As Egyptian discontent mounted in the general population, the army became increasingly identified with hope for change. Ahmad Urabi was an officer in the Egyptian army who began to protest conditions in the country and actively work to bring change. His demands for reform included a ministry responsive to grievances and the establishment of a national assembly that would become the lawmaking organ of the Egyptian government. Finally, Urabi called for an end to discrimination against Egyptian army officers. At first, these demands were graciously received by Tewfiq, but suspicion and distrust grew until a worried Great Britain intervened on Tewfiq's side to maintain the status quo. Great Britain and France dispatched war ships to Alexandria to intimidate Egypt and demanded that Urabi leave the country. In July of 1882, Britain fired on Egyptian ports while Urabi's troops retreated to prepare for further attack. British forces landed

in the Suez Canal zone in September and battled Urabi's army until it was defeated and Urabi was exiled. Throughout this period, Tewfiq supported British efforts to defeat the rebels. At the conclusion of the fighting, Britain argued that the chaotic and unstable political situation in Egypt endangered the security of the Suez Canal which, by now, was owned and managed by Europeans. In their view, recent events clearly dictated that Egypt was unable to manage her economic and political affairs and maintain security in the region. In this way, a weak and politically frustrated Egypt formally became a protectorate of the British Empire, losing her independence in 1882. In the years that followed, the economic development envisioned by Egypt's 19th-century rulers stagnated. Egypt served British interests, producing cotton as a cash crop for British textile mills.

Topic Three: Nasser's Revolution

In this teaching segment, students analyze conditions in pre- and post-revolutionary Egypt in order to evaluate the nature of Egypt's political culture, determine her national priorities, and evaluate her leadership. This topic presents:

1. An introduction to several of Egypt's and the Muslim world's intellectuals in order to understand the ideological choices confronting Egypt as the country makes a bid for increased independence.
2. Nasser's revolution and the reforms he implemented domestically (Arab socialism) and in foreign policy (pan-Arabism).
3. The Suez War (1956) and the Six Day War (1967).
4. Instructions for conducting a mock trial in which President Gamal Abdul Nasser is indicted for "crimes" against the Egyptian people.

Activity One: Gamal Abdul Nasser's Reforms

Objectives:

1. Students will understand the political status of Egypt before the Revolution of 1952, and the content of competing political ideologies during this time.
2. Students will analyze Nasser's ideology and program in light of popular contemporary ideologies, and evaluate it.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: one to two lesson periods

Materials: **Handout 4.5–Nasser's Revolution** and **Handout 4.6–Group Instructions**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Assign **Handout 4.5–Nasser's Revolution** as homework reading. This narrative provides factual information on events in Egyptian history and Nasser's biography. It will be useful for identifying Egyptian problems and national priorities.
2. In class, distribute **Handout 4.6–Group Instructions**. Divide the class into four groups. Each group is assigned a question to answer after investigating the topic using recommended Web sites.
3. Students will work together to formulate an answer to the question posed and create a short presentation, role play, or poster to communicate their answer to the class. **The questions are on Handout 4.6.**
4. Remind students that they will be applying what they have learned about this period in Egypt's history when the class conducts a mock trial of President Nasser. Thus, they should pay careful attention to the details about the political, economic, and intellectual climate in Egypt, as well as information about Gamal Abdul Nasser and his program.

Student Handout 4.5

Nasser's Revolution

Emerging Egyptian Nationalism

The transfer of ownership of stock in the Suez Canal from Egypt to European interests in 1874 and the failure of Ahmad Urabi's rebellion in 1882 resulted in Egypt's domination by Great Britain, although Egypt was never officially declared a colony. The importance of the Suez Canal for European shipping, as well as Egypt's strategic location and suitability for growing cotton for British textile mills, made Egypt an important part of the British Empire.

World War One and the impending breakup of the Ottoman Empire created an opportunity for Egyptians to make a bid for independence from British control. In 1919, diplomatic efforts to achieve this goal were made by a new political party called the Wafd (or "Delegation") Party. The Wafd planned to attend the Versailles Conference at which many national groups aspiring to independence were making their case to the big powers. Saad Zaghlul (1857–1927), a prominent figure in Egyptian government and a nationalist leader who headed the Wafd party, was prevented from attending the Versailles Conference. Instead, Britain intended to increase her control over the country. The Revolution of 1919 was an explosion of violence in urban centers and rural provinces in protest against these policies. You can read more about the revolution and the people who played a role in it by reading "Right Above Might" and "The Republic of Zifta," both by Fayza Hassan.⁵³ The Revolution of 1919 played a role in convincing the British to grant formal independence in 1922, creating a monarchy and placing on the throne descendants from the earlier dynasty established by Muhammad Ali back in the beginning of the 19th century.

This new government was independent in name only and was constrained by a treaty with Britain that gave the old colonial masters control over all matters that affected British political, economic, or strategic interests. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, for example, gave Britain's presence in Egypt legal status although Britain agreed to withdraw all troops to the Suez Canal zone. During World War Two, however, Egypt became an important headquarters for British troops and intelligence. The Suez Canal was vital for victory and had to be protected from Axis attack. After the war, the inept parliamentary government continued to be plagued by factionalism and an incompetent monarch who did Britain's bidding. Corruption, poverty, and inept government increased political instability and prevented economic and social development.

Most of Egypt's population lived as impoverished fellaheen, i.e., peasants who farmed the Nile valley using antiquated methods of agriculture. Most of the land was held by a few wealthy landowners, many of whom lived abroad. The health of the population was sapped by nutritional deficiencies and diseases already conquered in developed parts of the world. The British continued to operate and profit from the

⁵³ <http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/1999/423/fo1.htm> and <http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/1999/423/fo2.htm>.

canal. More and more Egyptians began to ask themselves how long it would be before the Egyptian people would take the reins of its political and economic life and function as an independent country rather than as an exploited one?

Ideological Choices

In the aftermath of World War One, intellectual and educated Egyptians were aware that ideological choices needed to be made as Egypt began to chart its future as an independent country. An ideology can be defined as a set of controlling beliefs that, once accepted, provide a focus and plan for the structure of the society. The United States, for example, was founded on the ideology of liberal democracy that is characterized by a belief in equality, representative government, and civil liberties and freedoms that include the right to own private property. European countries such as Britain and France also developed democratic governments. Other ideologies that developed in the twentieth century include communism and fascism. Communism, based on the ideas of Karl Marx, subscribes to the belief that history unfolds as a result of economic causes that inevitably boil down to a conflict between the classes who control the means of production (such as factories, banks, and natural resources) and the classes who don't. Marx predicted that violent revolution between competing classes is unavoidable and would result in the establishment of a socialist society in which the means of production are owned by all the people in common and are administered by the state. Marx also claimed that in such a classless society there would be complete equality and ultimately it would become unnecessary to have a government at all. In Marx's words, government would "wither away," but until that time, government would be a dictatorship by the proletariat or working class.

While the Russian Revolution brought the first government based on Marxist theory into being in 1917, by 1920, a third ideological choice called fascism was beginning to gain popularity in Europe. Fascist ideology is based on extreme nationalism and complete devotion to the state. Fascists believed that democracy was a weak, inefficient, and divisive ideology that encouraged conflicts rather than the singular unity needed for a strong nation state to succeed. Fascist governments in Mussolini's Italy and Nazi Germany encouraged commitment to the nation-state by emphasizing the superiority of their respective national heritages and glorifying the military tasked with carrying out aggressive foreign policies whose goal was the aggrandizement of national power at the expense of other states. In Nazi Germany, fanatic nationalism was also expressed through a vicious and rabid anti-Semitism that stripped German Jews of citizenship, excluding them from the economic, political, and social life of the country, deporting them during World War Two to extermination centers and concentration camps, and ultimately depriving them of life. Fascist states are single-party political systems in which voters have no choice of candidate and in which political freedom and civil liberties are limited. The right to own private property in a fascist state is protected as long as all the classes recognize the need to cooperate economically with their fellow countrymen and the government for the well-being and strength of the nation-state. Egyptian intellectuals were well aware of Western ideologies. The Wafd Party itself was modeled on Western-style democracy, as were the reforms that they were suggesting. The Young Egyptians movement, popular in the 1930s, looked to the Hitler Youth as its model. At the same time, Egyptians recognized the importance of their own Muslim heritage. Perhaps Islam would provide the best ideological structure upon which to build a new Egypt.

In 1922, an Egyptian teacher named Hassan al Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood advocated that Islam, the Qur'an, and the Sharia created the best foundation for building a new independent political structure. Mamun al-Hudeibi, a leader of the movement, explains:

We belong to the ranks of Muslims and cannot depart from Islamic principles and Islamic doctrine. We cannot think of doing anything which is not permitted by the Islamic Sharia. We demand to be governed according to the Islamic Sharia.⁵⁴

Within the group advocating Islam as the ideological basis for government, there was a diversity of views. Some leaders argued for revolution and fundamentalist practices while others sought ways to blend Islam with modernity and rational principles.

Nasser's Leadership

Nasser, born in 1918 to a poor family, sought his future in the military, much like Ahmad Urabi had done in the nineteenth century. His participation in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 was a disillusioning experience for the young Egyptian officer, who felt that his government's mismanagement of the military effort was indicative of its ineptitude and corruption. The defeat of the Egyptian and other Arab armies was a blemish on Arab pride and a betrayal of Arab Palestinians. Israel's victory in its war for independence was a further sign of Arab weakness and helplessness against Western interests.

Wherever Nasser looked, he saw Egypt's failure to better its political, social, and economic conditions, and vowed to do something about it. The crisis came to a head in December of 1951, when violence between British troops and Egyptian police erupted over construction of military installations and the necessary destruction of Egyptian property. By January 1952, mobs were attacking British interests and disorder was spreading.

In July 1952, Nasser's Free Officers organization carried out a military coup deposing King Farouk. General Muhammad Neguib, who was the titular leader of the revolution, addressed the nation, justifying the takeover by asserting that corruption and poor command of the army were responsible for Egypt's defeat in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. Chastising King Farouk for irresponsible and scandalous personal behavior, excessive wealth, and disdain for the needs of the Egyptian people, Neguib demanded the abdication of the king in the name of the army representing the people. Neguib also couched his words to the people in traditional terms by invoking God's blessing for the army's endeavor and calling upon the people to pray to God to lead the country in its quest to better itself in every way.

By 1954, it was clear that Gamal Adbul Nasser, and not Muhammad Neguib, was the guiding force behind the revolution and the program of reform it set into motion. Nasser's goals included eliminating corruption and the economic social gap. Nasser believed that "economic democracy" or equality was more important than political

⁵⁴ Mamun al-Hudeibi, <http://www.nmhtthornton.com/hudeybi.php>.

democracy. A strong benevolent dictator was preferable, he felt, to a Western democracy at a time when the nation was plagued by so many problems. His Six Point Program included the elimination of colonialism, the feudal agricultural system, domination by capitalism, and social inequality. His program also included striving to build a powerful army and what he called a healthy democratic life. The methods whereby Nasser hoped to achieve his goals included the following measures:

- Setting a limit on the amount of land that could be owned.
- Setting minimum prices for the sale of large land estates.
- Setting the rates for renting land.
- Establishing agricultural cooperatives in villages where peasants would share equipment and support one another.
- Guaranteeing a minimum wage to workers.
- Instituting a heavy income tax.
- Establishing a single legal political party.
- Confiscating the wealth of the 600 richest families in the country.
- Placing the press and radio (media) under governmental control.
- Nationalizing all import and export trades.

Opposition to Nasser's program or challenges to his ideological orientation, made most frequently by the Muslim Brotherhood, were ruthlessly crushed with the help of a secret police and the army. Nothing would stand in Nasser's way as he worked to build the new Egypt.

Nasser's Pan-Arabism

President Nasser was keen on fulfilling the first two points of his program, eliminating colonialism and modern feudalism from Egyptian soil. Restoring Egyptian pride and independence, however, was intimately connected to the future of the entire Arab people, not just Egypt. As Muhammad had replaced tribal identities with Muslim identity, creating an Umma, Nasser promoted the idea of pan-Arabism, or the unification of Arab people into a single political entity based upon common history, shared language, and religion. The political boundaries that separated the Arab states from one another had been borders drawn by European mapmakers at the end of World War One, and were consequently reminders of colonial domination. Clearly, President Nasser viewed himself and Egypt as the natural leader and dominant power of the pan-Arab movement. Only through unity, Nasser believed, could the Arab world improve its political, economic, and social condition. The creation of the United Arab Republic, with Egypt, Syria, and later Yemen joining into a single political domain, was an experiment in pan-Arabism that lasted from 1958 to 1961.

Nasser's regime, beginning in 1952 with the revolution and lasting till his death in 1970, opened a new era for the Arab world that continues to be of importance. His staunch Egyptian nationalism that broadened into pan-Arabism, his Arab socialism that made gallant efforts to bring about social equality and economic modernity while eliminating corruption and inefficiency, are worthy of note. His policies went a long way toward restoring Arab pride and self-esteem, especially in his relations with

Britain and the United States. On the other hand, as we shall see, Nasser made critical mistakes in the area of foreign policy, mistakes that nearly cost him his rule.

Student Handout 4.6

Group Instructions

Activity 1: Emerging Nationalism

In this activity, you will investigate an issue pertaining to emerging nationalism in Egypt and/or Nasser's ideology and program. Once you have decided upon the answer to the question that is posed, decide within your group how best to present what you have learned to the class. You may choose to do a role play, poster, "rap," or dialogue. There are suggested Web sites and "key words" to help you with your investigation.

Group 1: Egypt's relationship with Great Britain was both similar and different from other examples of colonies. Your task is to answer the question, "To what extent was Egypt a colony of Great Britain, and what were the consequences of this relationship?" Ideas for presentation include a dialogue between a colonial official and an Egyptian character such as Saad Zaghlul. Alternatively, you might prepare a comparative chart that shows how the Egyptian experience is similar or different from another British colony such as India or British East Africa (Uganda).

Web sites: Al Ahram Weekly On-Line, "Right Above Might," by Fayza Hassan (<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/1999/423/fo1.htm>).
Al Ahram Weekly On-Line, "The Republic of Zifta," by Fayza Hassan (<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/1999/423/fo2.htm>).

Group 2: Student Handout 4.5 includes a description of ideological choices available to Egyptians in the 20th century. What are the pros and cons of these ideologies, and which was best suited to Egypt in the early 20th century? This group should distinguish among Egyptian ideologues by focusing on personalities such as Sati al-Husri, Muhammad Abduh, Sayyid Qutb, Saad Zaghlul, and Hassan al-Banna.

Web site: "Models of Islamic Revivalism" (<http://www.nmhtthorton.com/revivalism.php>).

Group 3: What influenced Nasser's ideological choices? Does he adopt a single ideological approach or does he entwine different threads together to weave the "fabric" of his ideology?

Web site: Britain's Small Wars, 1945–1992, "El Rayess: The Story of the Leader" (<http://britains-smallwars.com/Yahia2/Nasser.htm>).

Group 4: What are the advantages and disadvantages of pan-Arabism and federations among countries that hold an Arab identity. Create a convincing ad campaign to popularize this movement and overcome opposition to it. To do this, you will need to find out more about the United Arab Republic and why it fell apart in 1962.

Activity 2: Nasser's Foreign Policy, 1952–1970

President Nasser's foreign policy was consistently characterized by:

1. A continuing rejection of Israel's claim to legitimate statehood.
2. Staunch refusal to align Egypt with the Western or Eastern Bloc nations in the Cold War (nonalignment).
3. A commitment to eliminating European influence in his country (anticolonialism).
4. Steps to enhance Egypt's reputation as the leader of the Arab world (pan Arabism).

Nasser expressed verbal support for the 700,000 Palestinian people living scattered throughout the region and provided a launching pad for fedayeen (commando) attacks on Israeli kibbutzim (collective farms) and settlements in the Negev near the Egyptian border and the Gaza Strip occupied by Egypt. Nasser's negotiation with the United States, the World Bank, and the Soviet Union for aid in building the Aswan Dam, as well as Egypt's refusal to enter into the CENTO (Baghdad Pact) defense alliance, illustrate Egypt's pursuance of nonalignment. The story of the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt and the ensuing Suez War show how the individual national interests of the countries involved, and their vision of the future, motivated the actions that brought about a profound change in the region. As a result of this war, Britain was banished from the Canal Zone, signaling the end to its domination of Egypt. France, the colonial ruler of Algeria, was given a warning that the era of European colonial power was indeed coming to an end. Nasser, who had achieved his goal of capturing control of the Canal and expelling foreign forces, emerged as a symbol of Arab independence, self-esteem, and pride, boosting the popularity of pan-Arabism.

The Six Day War

This June 1967 military engagement has been interpreted as a war that neither side wanted, yet it broke out as a result of aggressive decisions made by Nasser and countered by Israeli responses. Nasser's deployment of troops in the Sinai Peninsula, his requests that UN Secretary General U Thant remove the UNEF from the Sinai, and the closing of the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping were perceived by Israel as signals of an imminent Egyptian attack. Israel reacted by launching a preemptive strike that destroyed Egypt's air force on the ground and resulted in the closing of the Suez Canal and the occupation of the Gaza Strip. Fighting in the north and center against Egypt's allies, Syria and Jordan, resulted in Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights and Israeli capture of the West Bank, including the Old City of Jerusalem and the eastern quarters of the city that had been occupied by Jordan since 1948. Analysis of the Six Day War illustrates the important roles perception and "face" played in influencing decision-making and shaping the outcomes of the war.

Students are led through a study of these two seminal military confrontations in several ways.

- They will reflect on the role that the Middle East plays in the foreign policy of the big powers, the U.S. and the USSR.

- In the case of the Six Day War, students research the chronology of events that led to the conflict, assess responsibility, and create news broadcasts from the point of view of news stations in different countries.
- An overview of Egyptian foreign policy is presented in a student handout to enable learners to get a head start in understanding this complex material.

Lesson One: The Suez War (1956)

Objectives:

Students will explain how the Suez War influenced geopolitics in terms of relations among Arab countries, relations among Western powers, and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 4.7–Nasser’s Foreign Policy** and **Handout 4.8–Chronology of the Suez Crisis and Personalities Who Shaped It**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Students read **Handout 4.7**.
- Distribute **Handout 4.8–Chronology of the Suez Crisis and Personalities Who Shaped It** to students. Students research sources related to diplomacy in the Suez Crisis and look for an answer to the question: What motivated the major players to act as they did in the Suez Crisis and Suez War?
- Class discussion of the Suez War can go in several directions. By all means, discuss the causes, the results of the war, and the role pride and perception played. How, for example, could both the Egyptians and the Israelis claim victory in this war? Why did the USSR and the USA “cooperate” by not intervening on either side in spite of Cold War animosity? Do students agree or disagree with the decisions and actions taken by the major players, and why? How consistent or inconsistent are nations in formulating policy? What distinctions do students find between public and private communications? Why were the Suez Crisis and the events that led up to it important for global politics as much as it was for regional politics?

Student Handout 4.7

Nasser's Foreign Policy

Prelude to War (1956)

The man who had once been a disgruntled officer in the Egyptian army had led his followers to the pinnacle of power in Egypt. As his regime struggled to bring progress to his people, Nasser vowed to maintain Egyptian independence. In foreign policy, he looked both to the United States and Western Europe for help, as well as to the Soviet Union and the communist bloc. Nasser proclaimed that Egypt would remain nonaligned, a state that refused to be pulled into one of the bipolar blocks of the Cold War at the expense of relations with the opposing side. Nasser's commitment to this position at a time when the big powers, the USA and USSR, were engaged in Cold War hostilities created an opportunity for him to achieve his greatest dream, eviction of the British from the Suez Canal Zone.

Nasser requested help from the USSR in building the Aswan Dam at a time when the Western nations had already promised aid. This so angered the United States that the World Bank reneged on its promise to loan Egypt the necessary funds. This sanction provoked Nasser to physically nationalize, or take over, the Suez Canal. Britain and France sought an ally against Egypt in their struggle and found one in Israel. In 1956, Israel was but eight years old and suffering from attacks by Palestinian fedayeen infiltrators over its southern border with Egypt. Nasser continued to promise the destruction of the Zionist entity and was Israel's sworn enemy. Together, the British, French, and Israelis launched a coordinated attack on Egypt—the Suez War.

Outcomes of the Suez War

For Nasser, this conflict was a resounding success in spite of the fact that Israel defeated the Egyptian armies in the Sinai Desert and retreated only after the demilitarization of the area and the installation of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Sinai to maintain peace. For one thing, the USSR and the U.S. used joint pressure in the United Nations to halt the hostilities, and England lost control of the canal once and for all. Nasser emerged as a great national hero who had defeated the European imperialists. His prestige and stature soared throughout the third world. In addition, Nasser completed the building of the Aswan Dam with Soviet help and, in the process, proved his independence of the United States and the Western powers.

Throughout the 1950s and 60s, Gamal Abdul Nasser remained the undisputed leader of Egypt and a major spokesman for the Arab world. His vision included an alliance or unity among all Arab people which he called pan-Arabism. Although pan-Arabism remained a distant goal, Nasser remained the most prominent leader in the Arab World even after the trauma of the 1967 Six Day War.

The Six Day War (1967)

On June 5, 1967, the Israelis launched a preemptive strike against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, which resulted in a resounding victory for Israel and changed the course of events for the people in the Middle East. For two weeks prior to the attack, Nasser made decisions and took actions which provoked a war that he was unready to fight and that ended in a military defeat.

Nasser began the escalation of hostilities when he moved Egyptian troops up to the border between Egypt and Israel. Perhaps he hoped that this show of strength would deter any anticipated attack by Israel against Syrian bases on the northern border. Instead, this decision had the exact opposite effect. In order to make his forces appear more threatening, he requested that the UNEF forces deployed in the Sinai be shifted. U Thant, the Secretary General of the UN, believed that moving his forces would reduce their effectiveness. The troops would either stay where they were or President Nasser could request that they be removed. In an effort to save face, Nasser asked that the troops be removed. To the Israelis, all signs pointed to war. With the Egyptian troops close by and the UNEF gone, what else could follow? Nasser then made his third move.

Since 1956, when Egypt gained control of the canal, the UN forces had kept the Straits of Tiran open to Israeli shipping. Once the UN peacekeeping forces were no longer in the Sinai, it may have been difficult for Nasser to allow Israeli ships to pass. For one thing, Nasser had repeatedly referred to Israel as a hostile enemy. As a champion in the Arab world of pan-Arabism and Palestinian rights, he may have felt that his reputation as a strong leader would be tarnished by now allowing Israeli ships to pass. On May 27, 1967, Nasser announced the blockade of the Straits of Tiran with these words:

Yesterday the armed forces [of Egypt] occupied Sharm el-Sheikh. What does this mean? It is an affirmation of our rights, of our sovereignty over the Gulf of Aqaba, which constitutes Egyptian territorial waters. Under no circumstances can we permit the Israeli flag to pass through the Gulf of Aqaba. The Jews threaten war. We say that they are welcome to war, we are ready for war, our armed forces, our people, all of us are ready for war, but under no circumstances shall we abandon our rights. These are our waters....

This closing of the Straits of Tiran was an act of war according to international law. President Nasser's final invitation to King Hussein of Jordan to meet in Cairo seemed to the Israelis to be the final proof that war was imminent. Under no circumstances could Israel, with its "narrow waistline" only nine to eleven miles across, risk a two-front war with Jordan on the east and Egypt on the south. Militant radio broadcasts from Cairo, calling for the destruction of the Zionists, were an additional encouragement to strike first in a defensive attack.

Initially, Israel destroyed nearly all of Egypt's air force while most of the planes were on landing strips in the Sinai desert. In spite of this setback, the Egyptian high command continued to report victories against the Israelis, claiming to have destroyed 75 percent of the Israeli air force. By the end of the Six Day War, it was no longer possible for the Egyptians to save face. Their defeat, together with that of Jordan and Syria, was clear.

Outcomes of the Six Day War

The results of this war had a profound impact upon the power structure, psychology, and map of the Middle East. Israel occupied the Sinai, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. By doing so, Israel gained control of Sinai oil fields and a strategic buffer zone in the south, strategic mountainous terrain in the north, and widened its “narrow waist” eastward to the Jordan River. Perhaps most dramatic was Israel’s newly won jurisdiction over East Jerusalem and the Old City which, since 1949, had been off limits as part of Jordan’s Hashemite Kingdom. With the West Bank, Old City, and East Jerusalem came access to innumerable holy sites, including the Western Wall (Wailing Wall), Mount of Olives, and the Temple Mount/Haram al Sharif with the Dome of the Rock and al Aksa Mosque.

With victory for Israel and defeat for Nasser and his Arab allies came a psychological transformation. Israel, the perennial underdog, had suddenly proven to be a military power; euphoric happiness spread throughout Israel. For the Arab community, 1967 was a sobering catastrophe, a painful trauma that seemed to bring shame upon the Arab name. For Palestinians, the war was a rude awakening to the reality that the Arab armies surrounding Israel had been unable to restore their lands to them. In fact, the opposite had been the case. As a result of the defeat, the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza were now to be governed by an Israeli administration. For Palestinians everywhere, the Six Day War helped develop recognition for the necessity of independent action on their own behalf rather than reliance on Arab regimes to champion their cause. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) would fill this role in the coming years.

In spite of Egypt’s setback and trauma in 1967, Nasser maintained his control over the country. When Nasser died in 1970, Anwar Sadat, his successor, took up the reins of leadership. While Sadat remained true to Nasser’s larger legacy of progress and prestige for Egypt, he sought new methods, new allies, and new means to achieve his goals.

Student Handout 4.8

Chronology of the Suez Crisis and Personalities Who Shaped It

- 1951 Iran nationalizes the oil industry previously controlled by private European companies.
- 1952 Colonel Nasser leads a revolution in Egypt, expelling King Farouk. President Gamal Abdul Nasser takes control of the government in 1954 after an interim period in which General Muhammad Neguib acts as president.
- 1954 Britain agrees to withdraw troops from the Suez Canal Zone by 1956.
- 1955 Newly independent nations in Asia and Africa meet at the Bandung Conference and announce a policy of nonalignment with either the Soviet Union or the Western Bloc.
- 1955 Great Britain and the USA offer to finance the building of the Aswan Dam project that will increase hydroelectric power in Egypt and enable more efficient irrigation of cropland.
- 1955 The USSR supplies Egypt with weapons via Czechoslovakia.
- 1956 Egypt withdraws recognition from Nationalist China (Taiwan) and recognizes the People's Republic of China led by Mao Zedong.
- 1956 The USA and Britain withdraw their offer to finance construction of the Aswan Dam.
- 1956 In July, Nasser announces the nationalization of the Suez Canal. On October 29, Israel invades the Sinai Peninsula, reaching the Canal. On November 5, Anglo-French forces land in Egypt, but withdraw ten days later after the arrival of the United Nations Emergency Force.

Research to find out how the following personalities shaped the developing crisis. What motivated the decisions they made, and how was the crisis affected by them?

President Gamal Abdul Nasser (Egypt)
President Dwight D. Eisenhower (USA)
Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (USA)
Prime Minister Anthony Eden (UK)
Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (Israel)
Minister of Foreign Affairs Abba Eban (Israel)
Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army General Abd al Hakim Amer (Egypt)
Prime Minister Nikolai Bulganin (USSR)

Lesson 2: The Six Day War (1967) Radio Broadcasts

Objectives:

- Students will analyze the causes of the Six Day War.
- Students will distinguish points of view of the causes of the conflict.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One-and-a-half lesson periods

Materials: Students will need **Handout 4.7–Nasser’s Foreign Policy** (distributed earlier in this two-lesson teaching segment) and **Handout 4.9–What Caused the Six Day War?** Optional materials: Nasser’s Speech to the Egyptian National Assembly on May 29, 1967, and Speech by Abba Eban to the Security Council on Israel’s Reasons for Going to War, June 6, 1967, available in Bickerton and Klausner, *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Third Edition* (Prentice Hall), 1998, pp. 157–158.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Students read **Handout 4.7–Nasser’s Foreign Policy** before class.
- Distribute **Handout 4.9–What Caused the Six Day War?**
- Students complete work chart by hypothesizing about the motives for Egypt’s foreign policy decisions and predicting Israel’s response.
- Discuss student responses to develop an accurate understanding of the events that led up to Israel’s preemptive strike.
- Discuss how these events are likely to be perceived around the world.
- Divide the class into “radio stations” and have each group write a script for a news broadcast that presents expert analysis of the crisis and its aftermath by addressing the following questions:
 - What caused the war?
 - What is your assessment of President Gamal Abdul Nasser?
 - What is your assessment of the outcomes and the opportunities or challenges that lie ahead?
- Encourage students to organize their broadcast in a variety of formats, such as a single interview, multiple interviews, or a panel presentation.
- Radio stations should be from around the world, such as the Voice of Israel, the BBC, Radio Palestine, the Voice of Egypt, and Radio Free Europe (an American-sponsored station). Students may tape their broadcasts if they wish. Take time to play and discuss broadcasts the following day. Compare and contrast the different stations’ interpretations of the events.
- Discuss the territorial, psychological, and political outcomes of the war for Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians.

Student Handout 4.9

What Caused the Six Day War?

The Situation: President Gamal Abdul Nasser is a national hero and spokesman for pan-Arabism in the Middle East. Nevertheless, by 1967, he is challenged by Syria and Jordan. The United Arab Republic, a first step toward Arab unity, fell apart in 1961 with Syria withdrawing from what they felt was Egyptian pressure and control. At this time, Yemen is fighting a civil war and Egypt has sent 40,000 troops to take part in that conflict. Syria and Israel are in conflict over water rights in the north, and the Palestinian refugees continue to live in squalid refugee camps as stateless people counting on support from Arab states to eliminate Israel and restore their lost lands and homes. The UNEF peacekeeping forces have been located in the Sinai Peninsula since the end of the Suez War in 1956 and Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Desert. Israeli shipping passes through the Straits of Tiran at the southern tip of the Peninsula, but is not allowed to use the Suez Canal.

Chronology of Events	Motives Behind the Action	Israeli Response
From positions on the Golan Heights, Syria shells Israeli kibbutzim and villages located in Galilee.		
Nasser orders troops to move into the Sinai Peninsula and up to the Israeli border.		
UN Secretary General U Thant asks President Nasser if he wishes the UNEF troops to remain as peacekeepers, and Nasser asks the UNEF to leave Egyptian soil.		
President Nasser places a blockade at the Straits of Tiran, preventing Israeli shipping from exiting the Gulf of Aqaba. This paralyzes Israel's port of Eilat.		
President Nasser invites King Hussein of Jordan to come to Cairo for a consultation.		
Egyptian Radio continues to broadcast martial music and calls to war against Israel.		Israel launches a preemptive strike.

Activity Three: Nasser on Trial

This activity involves students in evaluating Gamal Abdul Nasser's leadership in both domestic and foreign policy, applying what they have learned from lessons presented in Topic Three, Nasser's Revolution. It can serve as a performance-based assessment or as a reinforcement activity. The format for this mock trial simulation can be adapted for use in other contexts as well.

Objectives:

1. Students will describe and evaluate the leadership of Gamal Abdul Nasser in the areas of both domestic and foreign policy.
2. Students will work independently and collaboratively to develop their cases.
3. Students will role-play the historical and fictional characters that take part in the trial as witnesses, defendants, attorneys, and jurors.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Four lesson periods

Materials: Handout 4.10–Instructions for Students. Class notes from previous lessons, articles, or sites that critically evaluate Nasser's leadership. (See: "On the Failure of Nasser's Land Reforms," by Adrian Jones, June 25, 1999, (<http://www.innogize.com/papers/egypt.html>).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Review the generic instructions to teachers for conducting mock trials in the classroom to familiarize yourself with the trial format.
- Review the student handout for the *People v. Gamal Abdul Nasser* mock trial with the class.
- Allow time for students on the prosecution and defense teams to meet, research, and outline the case.
- Students will decide who will play roles of witnesses, attorneys, and defendant.
- Students script questions to be posed to witnesses, and the answers to the questions.
- Encourage students to practice interrogation of witnesses before the trial.
- Each team will submit to the opposing side a witness sheet listing the witnesses they intend to call.
- Teacher assigns the role of jurors to students from each team once the case is prepared. This step insures that all students on the team will be involved with the material. More than one student needs to be familiar with the role of witnesses in case one is selected to serve as juror.
- Students are graded on participation and fulfillment of the tasks associated with their role.
- Jurors will write a report to the judge (the teacher) following the rendering of a verdict. In their report, jurors will review the arguments and provide a rationale for the decision reached.

Generic Instructions for a Mock Trial

You will need:

- One defendant (controversial leader, personality/government)
- Student attorneys for prosecution and defense
- Four witnesses for each side
- Five to six jurors
- One judge (teacher)
- Four lesson periods

Preparation:

- Phrase the charge against the defendant. Defendants may be literary characters, politicians, common citizens, or historical personalities.
- Design an instruction sheet that states the charge, defines student roles and responsibilities, and explains what will happen in “court.” (See model attached.)
 - Prepare a witness sheet in which each side, before the trial, submits names of witnesses, real or fabricated, to the opposing side and to the judge.

Method:

- Divide the class into defense and prosecution teams. Tell groups that you will select the jurors later on; everyone prepares the case.
- Brainstorm arguments.
- Support arguments with evidence.
- Identify witnesses to deliver testimony.
- Prepare the witness by writing questions and reviewing responses.
- Groups should self-select attorneys and witnesses. Make sure all roles are appropriately assigned.
- Each side submits names of witnesses and occupations to the opposing side and the judge.
- Defense and prosecuting attorneys write their opening and closing statements to the jury.

The Trial:

- Attorneys for each side share responsibility for questioning witnesses.
- Allow cross-examination of each witness by the opposing side.
- The judge (teacher) will rule on objections.
- The jury renders a verdict after deliberation. Each juror writes a rationale for his personal judgment.

Hints:

Trials can be sticky activities if the class gets too involved in courtroom procedure. Emphasize the importance of logic in the defense and prosecution lines of argument. Phrase the charges carefully so that the groups will have something tangible to prove or refute. Allow for surprise witnesses and character witnesses. It is important to model how to phrase questions for witnesses so that the attorneys do not rely on continuous leading of witnesses to get their points across. This is challenging, but students really enjoy it.

Student Handout 4.10

People v. Gamal Abdul Nasser

In this courtroom simulation we will conduct a trial of Gamal Abdul Nasser. Here is the indictment:

In the case of the People v. Gamal Abdul Nasser, the court will show that between 1952 and 1970 the accused did purposefully abuse and deny basic human rights to the people of Egypt. He pursued unrealistic foreign policies that created international disorder in the region and led his people and other Arab states into a war, whose fruits were defeat for his own country and military occupation by Israel of Arab lands.

The prosecution team will consist of ten students initially. Attorneys for the prosecution are tasked with developing a case to prove the charges outlined in the indictment. Other team members will play the role of witnesses, or jurors, if selected by the teacher to do so.

- Develop a list of witnesses to testify on Nasser's performance as a revolutionary leader and President of Egypt. Be sure to consider both foreign and domestic policies. You might call, for example, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, a Palestinian refugee, U Thant, King Hussein, a representative of the 600 wealthiest families in Egypt in 1952, and Anthony Eden. You are required to submit to the defense team and the judge a list of the witnesses you will call.
- Prepare questions for each witness to develop your case. Keep in mind Nasser's contribution as a national leader, the affect of his policies on national pride, modernization, independence, and Egypt's reputation in the eyes of the world.
- Write an opening statement in which you tell the court what you will prove.
- Anticipate defense arguments and practice cross-examination with the witness list to guide you.
- Write a closing statement to the jury.

The defense team will initially consist of ten students. Follow the same instructions stated above in order to prepare a case to defend G.A. Nasser.

Both teams: Consider how you may use these points to either prosecute or defend Nasser.

- Nasser's rise to power
- Pan-Arabism
- The Revolution of 1952
- Arab socialism
- Nasser's goals for Egypt
- The building of the Aswan Dam
- The Suez War
- The United Arab Republic
- The Six Day War (causes and results)

- The Muslim Brotherhood
- Egypt's political system

Each team will have three attorneys and call four witnesses to testify. Three students from each team will serve as jurors at the trial. The role of judge will be played by your teacher. Each participating student will be graded on the basis of his/her contribution to the success of the activity through demonstration of research, oral delivery, written reports, and knowledge level.

Topic Four: Anwar Sadat (1970–1981) and Hosni Mubarak (1981–2011), New Directions for Egypt?

This teaching segment examines the policies and leadership of Nasser’s successors, Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak. Assassinated in 1981 by members of Islamic Jihad, Sadat is most remembered in the West for signing the peace treaty with Israel six years after the October 1973 war, and for abandoning Nasser’s socialist policies, opening up Egypt economically and politically. Following in Sadat’s footsteps, Mubarak preserved the peace with Israel, suppressed Islamist groups, and maintained a tight grip on security. Hosni Mubarak’s 30-year presidency ended on January 25, 2011, when he was deposed following a grass roots revolution that protested the poverty, economic stagnation, unemployment, oppression, and corruption that had become a hallmark of Mubarak’s regime, especially since 2000.

As this curriculum goes to press, Egypt is experiencing political instability. Islamist groups have gained popularity at the polls, the provisional government headed by the military seeks to maintain control, and citizens fear the freedoms they won in the Arab Spring demonstrations are in danger of being undermined.

Activity 1: Press Conference

Objectives:

- Students will compare and contrast the policies of Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak.
- Students will research the state of Egypt’s economy, society, and political climate since the Arab Spring demonstrations of 2011.
- Students will make an educated guess about Egypt’s future.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: **Handout 4.11–Egypt Since Nasser.** Research materials, Internet sites.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Distribute Handout **4.11–Egypt Since Nasser** to the class.
- Develop a Venn diagram that compares and contrasts Nasser’s and Sadat’s domestic and foreign policies.
- Research information about Egyptian society, economy, and politics today.
- Assign the preparation of visual aids to post vital statistics of contemporary Egypt today.
- Divide the class into groups and have each one write “press conference questions” for Sadat and Mubarak. These questions may challenge the leaders’ policies or ask for clarifying information about them. Questions should demonstrate student understanding of Nasser’s policies and how these leaders compare. Questions specific to Mubarak may refer to his response to the Arab Spring protests in Tahrir Square.

- When questions are written, select three students to play the roles of Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak for a few minutes.
- Students ask press conference questions which role-playing leaders answer.
- Time out can be called if students get stuck and are unsure how to answer.
- After a few minutes, call for three new students to take the place of the leaders and occupy the “hot seat.”
- By the end of the session, students should have demonstrated their understanding of how these three important 20th-century leaders were similar or different, and they should be able to make predictions about Egypt’s future challenges and opportunities.

Student Handout 4.11

Egypt Since Nasser

Were President Nasser able to return to Egypt today, how would he react? In 1970, the year of his death, Egypt was still at war with Israel, while today these countries have signed a peace treaty. During Nasser's presidency, the Soviet Union was Egypt's staunchest ally. Today, the United States is Egypt's benefactor. The leader who presided over these changes was Nasser's handpicked successor, who nevertheless chose a different path down which to lead his country between 1970 and 1981.

Sadat's Foreign Policy

Determined to recover the Sinai Desert, occupied by Israel since 1967, Anwar Sadat made war on Israel in 1973 in a surprise attack that began on Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, and during the holy month of Ramadan. Although by war's end Israel had lost no territory and had encircled the Egyptian army, there were over 2000 Israeli casualties, and a fearful sense of vulnerability and doubt began to worry Israel. Sadat had succeeded in redeeming Egyptian pride that had been so tarnished by defeat in 1967. Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, was convinced that Sadat's military attack proved that Egypt, together with Arab allies, were intent on destroying Israel. Others, such as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, believed that it was Egypt's success that enabled it to make overtures for peace talks in 1977.

The signing of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979 jeopardized Egypt's position in the Arab world. Syria and Jordan, who had lost territory in 1967, were not included in the treaty. The Palestinians felt betrayed by the Egyptians, who had secured return of the Sinai with its oil and tourist sites for themselves but had won no concrete benefits for the Palestinians. Though the world hailed Sadat as a peacemaker and hero, the wealthy oil states of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia cut off desperately needed financial aid and suspended Egypt from the Arab League.

Sadat's Domestic Policy

In an announcement that has come to be known as "The October Paper," Sadat articulated a new plan for Egypt's economy. Instead of pursuing a socialist policy, Egypt would encourage Western investment from the United States and Europe and allow private business concerns in Egypt to emerge and flourish. It was hoped that this plan would stimulate the economy, create jobs, and alleviate economic distress. The policy was called the "Open Door" because it hoped to attract foreign capital from outside Egypt. This shift towards a freer, more capitalist economy was accompanied by an alliance with the United States, and by making the political system slightly more tolerant of diversity within Egypt. Unlike Nasser, Sadat allowed more political freedom; opposition parties were able to express their views, and a multiparty system began to slowly emerge. For want of a better name, observers came to call Sadat's program de-Nasserization, since he was dismantling Nasser's old institutions and practices that had been established after the 1952 revolution.

Sadat's program was not, however, well received by many Egyptians. Instead of remedying Egypt's extensive poverty, the program benefited the wealthy class. Costly consumer products flooded the Egyptian market without the economy developing in

more fundamental ways. The new, more Westernized and worldly Egypt insulted the sensibilities of more traditional Egyptians who looked to Islam as the model for daily life. Although Sadat attended religious services in Cairo's great mosques and made trips to his birthplace to worship with the peasants living there, these appearances were viewed as public relations stunts rather than as real piety. Sadat staunchly defended the principle of separation of church and state; Egypt would be a Muslim country, not an Islamist one.

Why Was Sadat Assassinated?

The Muslim Brotherhood, founded in 1922 by Hassan al-Banna, had long been an important political force in Egypt. President Anwar and Mrs. Jihan Sadat seemed to represent values and a vision that contradicted that of the Brotherhood. The persistent problems of poverty, inflation, housing shortages, and unemployment created discontent that encouraged people to search for solutions from within Islamic institutions. The Qur'an provided people with a guide for daily life, and Islamic organizations began to offer alternative educational and medical facilities that rivaled those supported by the government. On October 6, 1981, President Anwar Sadat was assassinated while reviewing a parade in honor of the anniversary of the October 1973 War. Those responsible for his death were protesting more than Egypt's peace with Israel. Their violent action was symptomatic of the frustration with the modernization program whose results were insufficient, and that seemed to be undermining and insulting Islamic values.

President Hosni Mubarak

When President Hosni Mubarak took over for Anwar Sadat in 1981, he had a difficult job ahead of him. One of his top priorities was to restore Egypt's respect and leadership in the Arab world after having been ostracized from the Arab League following Egypt's signing a peace treaty with Israel in 1979. Slowly but surely, he succeeded in this task. He also maintained the now long-standing peace treaty with Israel signed by his predecessor, and he served as a middleman in peace overtures between Israel and the Palestinian leadership. While some segments of Egyptian society and the international community applauded his tight control of politics and suppression of groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood because they feared violence and hoped Mubarak would maintain stability in the country, others opposed his authoritarian grip on Egypt's economy, politics, and civil freedoms. In spite of some economic improvement, Egypt continued to be plagued by problems and to rely heavily on financial aid. The majority of Egypt's population (51 percent) work in services, and unemployment is at nine percent. Balance of trade is poor, with 25 billion dollars of goods exported, compared with 51.5 billion dollars worth of imports. 20 percent of Egypt's population lives below the poverty line. While it is true that President Mubarak oversaw the administration of some economic reforms and building programs that improved infrastructure, after 2000 his leadership declined. As poverty increased, job opportunities shrank, even for the educated middle class. Corruption throughout the society and the government, together with severely restrictive emergency laws that were holdovers from the Nasser and Sadat regimes, abused civil liberties and forbade political dissent.⁵⁵ These abuses contributed mightily to the onset of the January 25th, 2011, grassroots protest and revolution that

⁵⁵ *The World Factbook*, 2006 (www.cia.gov/cia/publication/factbook/geos/eg.html#Econ).

has come to be symbolized by the mass demonstrations in Tahrir Square, and that ultimately led to President Hosni Mubarak's resignation from power and his arrest and trial.⁵⁶

Conclusion

Egypt's story has been one of struggle; struggle to forge a modern political state from a traditional society and monarchy dismantled by colonial occupation and economic domination. Relations with Western nations, communist countries, and Arab states have all contributed to the shaping of Egypt's development. Egypt's leadership, beginning with Muhammed Ali in the first half of the nineteenth century, has had a major impact on charting the course of the country's economic, political, and social direction. Finally, Islam continues to influence Egyptians in profound ways. The Tahrir revolution followed on the heels of a successful citizens' uprising and protest in Tunisia (December 2010) that led to the fall of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in January 2011. Egypt, as the largest nation in the region, continues to represent an example of an Arab state whose history reflects the problems, challenges, and themes representative of the region as a whole. At this time, Egypt has replaced the Mubarak regime with a provisional government with a strong military character. Throughout the Middle East, citizens of other nation states, such as Syria, Yemen, and Libya, have followed the examples of Tunisia and Egypt, and have risen in rebellion in a surge of hope fueled and orchestrated by the power of human communication through social networking media. While the fall of dictators raised hopes for more freedoms, opportunities, and progress, the outcomes of Arab Spring 2011 are uncertain, and it is far from clear what direction the new governments that emerge will take. (For more on the Arab Spring and politics in the region, see Chapter 10, Teaching About Politics in the Middle East, page 323.)

Assessments

Students create a special "supplement" to the "Egyptian Gazette" that documents the stages of Egypt's development from a traditional to a modern nation. Students decide which events and individuals contributed most significantly to this process. They may include statistical information, features on particular individuals, cartoons, advertisements, etc.

Students write an essay that compares and contrasts two 19th-century Egyptian leaders with two 20th-century ones, evaluating the leaders' performance in terms of goals and accomplishments.

Students role-play Egyptian delegates at an international forum entitled "Lessons From Egypt's Past That the Arab World Should Learn." Each student prepares a speech that showcases an important period or event in Egypt's political, economic, military, or social history, and that represents something worthy of attention for building a better future. Speeches could be delivered to the entire class or to small groups of students who choose different areas of focus. Each group might select the best speech and explain its choice.

⁵⁶ An excellent article evaluating Hosni Mubarak's regime is Michael Slackman's analysis of Mubarak's downfall in the *New York Times* article "A Brittle Leader, Appearing Strong" (http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/12/world/middleeast/12mubarak.html?_r=1&sq=mi).

Chapter 5

Teaching About Zionism

Zionism is the national and political expression of Jewish identity that emerged in 19th-century Europe. The goal of this movement was the return of the scattered Jewish people to their ancestral homeland and the development of a modern political state in Palestine. Teaching about Zionism is essential for students to understand the origins of modern Israel and the development of the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis. This chapter will:

1. Define and explain the origins and different expressions of Zionism.
2. Introduce Zionist leaders through primary sources.
3. Examine the nature of Jewish identity in the 19th century.
4. Provide a working timeline of Jewish history.
5. Raise ethical questions about Zionist-Arab relations at the beginning of the Zionist movement.

Think of Zionism as Jewish nationalism. This national movement appeared at a time when nationalism as an ideology had succeeded in capturing the European imagination throughout the continent. By the time Theodore Herzl began his efforts to secure a national homeland for Jews in Palestine (1897), the national revolutions of 1848 had occurred, Germany and Italy were newly unified states, and subjugated peoples throughout the Ottoman, Austrian-Hungarian, and Russian empires were clamoring for national independence. Surrounded by European societies that were deeply invested in colonial enterprises abroad, the early Zionists paid small attention to the fact that by 1881 the land they envisioned as their national home-to-be was already populated by approximately 457,000 people, of whom 400,000 were Muslim Arabs, 42,000 Christians, and 20,000 Jews. Although there is disagreement among scholars as to whether Palestinian nationalism emerged before the commencement of Zionist immigration in response to Egyptian and Ottoman rule in the nineteenth century, there is consensus that the arrival of Jewish immigrants during the First Aliya (literally *ascent*, referring to a wave of immigration in 1882) and the Second Aliya (1905–1914) promoted an awakening of political consciousness amongst local Arabs that would soon grow into a struggle against the Jewish community, the Yishuv. The materials in Chapter 5, “Teaching About Zionism,” and Chapter 6, “Teaching About The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict,” develop both the Zionist and Palestinian contexts and narratives for students, and both are equally important for understanding the conflict today. I suggest reviewing both of these chapters before selecting the lessons or materials to adapt and present to your class.

Nineteenth-Century Jewish Identity Dilemmas

The Jews, scattered and living as a minority throughout Europe, were faced with perplexing questions. In countries such as France, Britain, and Germany, where the Jewish community was afforded the rights of citizens, Jews were faced with the dilemma of defining for themselves the extent to which they would retain their religious observance and identification with the Jewish community. Some middle class families in these countries converted to Christianity to acquire full acceptance, often assimilating very successfully into the majority. Others chose to modify their religious observance in ways that enabled them to take full advantage of European

citizenship while maintaining their affiliation and participation in Jewish community life. The Reform and Conservative movements within Judaism fractured traditional practice and were a response to the modern world.

In Eastern Europe, where the Enlightenment had not yet penetrated, and church and state were far less separate, Jews lived oppressed lives. In 1881, Czar Alexander II, who in 1861 had freed the serfs, liberalized the justice system, and attempted economic reforms, was assassinated by revolutionaries bent on destroying the Romanov dynasty and bringing socialism to Russia. The policies of Alexander II had briefly opened a doorway to Jewish equality, but the pogroms (anti-Jewish riots) which followed his death convinced disillusioned Jewish intellectuals who had recently gained entry to Russian universities that they would never be accepted in Russian society. In the years that followed, a repressive regime continued to sanction violence and discrimination against Russia's millions of Jews. While most Jews remained in their shtetls, or market towns, approximately two million made their way to the United States, where they hoped to find personal security and opportunities for economic betterment. A small minority, however, recognized a connection between their plight and the attractive nationalist ideology so popular in 19th-century Europe. Persecution and anti-Semitism, they reasoned, were a result of centuries of superstition, misunderstanding, and homelessness. As an unwanted minority, Jews could find security only by returning to Zion, the homeland they lost in 70 CE following their defeat and exile from Judea by Rome. Leon Pinsker articulated these ideas in his book *Auto-Emancipation*, which asserted that the Jewish people could no longer rely on the good graces of European governments to grant equal rights, for as easily as rights could be bestowed, they could be rescinded. In 1882, the Lovers of Zion (Hovevei Zion), a small group of immigrants, arrived in Palestine with intentions of purchasing and settling plots of land.

The virulent anti-Semitism unleashed across Europe during the prosecution and aftermath of the Dreyfus case between 1894 and 1906 raised serious questions about the well-being of Jewish communities throughout the liberal states of Western Europe. Theodore Herzl's book *The Jewish State* reiterated many of Pinsker's arguments. Herzl called anti-Semitism "Judeophobia," an incurable disease that only a successful Zionist movement and a Jewish national home could cure. Zionism was born with the first World Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland in 1897.

The story of Jewish nationalism provides students with an opportunity to explore the social dynamics of minorities and majorities, as well as the distinction between civic and national identity. Students will learn that the roots of Jewish nationalism lie not only in periodic outbreaks of persecution by the majority. Instead, they can be traced throughout Jewish history and are shaped by a combination of intellectual, political, religious, and cultural forces. The identity dilemmas confronted by Jews in the 19th century, and the solutions found, can be understood in terms of the community's struggle to find its place in an increasingly modern world. Finally, through role play, students explore the diversity, strengths, and weaknesses of Zionist ideology as it was conceived and practiced between 1882 and 1905.

Content indicators for this segment include:

1. Students will explain the difference between civic and national identity.

2. Students will analyze interaction between majority and minority populations.
3. Students will identify the features of national groups and evaluate national claims.
4. Students will explain the roots of the Zionist movement.
5. Students will compare, contrast, and evaluate ideological streams and leaders within the Zionist movement.
6. Students will understand the dilemmas that confronted Jewish communities in the 19th century and the numerous solutions and remedies that were found.

Sample Unit Plan

Topic One: Distinguishing National and Civic Identity

Activity One: Can Minorities and Majorities Coexist? (simulation)

Topic Two: Jewish Identity and the Origins of Jewish Nationalism

Activity One: The Jewish People—Religious or National Group?

Activity Two: Jewish Life in the 19th Century—Identity Dilemmas and Solutions

Topic Three: Zionism

Activity One: Varieties of Zionism

Activity Two: The Unseen Question

Topic One: Distinguishing National and Civil Identity

This activity was adapted and modified with permission from the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE). SPICE defines civic identity as one's citizenship or "state identity." Citizenship includes both obligations such as military service and paying taxes, and privileges such as the right to vote. But a citizen of a multinational state may belong to one of several national groups, depending on the language they speak, their religion, customs, their group's history, and perception of self. In this activity, students are grouped to create a unique identity for themselves. The simulation entails arbitrarily mixing the groups in a way that students who represented majorities suddenly find themselves a minority, while others turn into majorities. The interactions that follow reveal a number of processes that may take place when minorities and majorities come into contact, such as accommodation of one another, persecution of the minority, amalgamation (blending), or assimilation. During the debriefing that follows the simulation, students are guided in a discussion of the processes observed in the class, and they make predictions about the conditions that enable one or more of the processes to take place. This lesson serves as an introduction for learning about the interplay of majorities and minorities in general, and for understanding the social dynamics that are applicable to the cases of the Jewish minority in European history, the Jewish minority in Mandatory Palestine, and the Palestinian minority in Israel today.

Activity One: Can Minorities and Majorities Coexist?

Objectives:

- Students will distinguish between civic and national identity.
- Students will empathize with the identity dilemmas confronting minorities.
- Students will identify processes that may take place when minorities and majorities come into contact with one another, and they will make predictions about conditions under which each process is most likely to take place.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One or two lesson periods

Materials: SPICE curriculum unit *Nationalism and Identity in a European Context*, 1993, or a teacher-made instruction sheet based on the step-by-step instructions below. Yellow, red, and blue markers, and poster paper.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Ask students to write down the first five words that come to mind in answer to the question, "What are the five most important elements that make up your identity?" Students are likely to refer to their nationality, gender, religion, club memberships, team or after-school activities, family role, etc.
- Focus on responses or absence of responses that pertain to nationality and ethnic group.

- Engage students in a discussion to distinguish national and civic identity. Is it difficult to decide which of the two is a more important part of who you are? Why is that so? (20 minutes)
- Explain to the class that they will be divided into three separate groups and that each group will have some time to create and develop a common identity.
- Do not tell the class that their groups will be redivided later on.
- Select three students to be observers and then divide the remainder.
- One group should be composed of 60 percent of the class
- A second group should be composed of 25 percent of the class.
- A third group should be composed of 15 percent of the class.
- Give each group several colored pens of the same color (red, yellow, or blue) and say that this is their group's favorite color.
- Each group sits together for about 15 minutes and develops a list of common values or concepts that are very important to their group. Values could include friendship, loyalty, athletic prowess, beauty, power, and so on.
- Once each group has decided on its values, students should create a poster or visual representation of the values they share, using their own special and favored colored pen. Each poster represents the group's "banner." (15 minutes).
- Once the banners are finished, or nearly so, call a time-out. This is the moment when you redivide the groups, thus destroying the homogeneity of the groups and creating new majorities and minorities.
- Regroup the students as follows: Split the largest group into three and distribute two thirds of them among the two other smaller groups, leaving one third on its own.
- Tell the groups that they must now decide what kind of banner will represent their group and how they will respond to one another's value statements.
- Here is where observers need to listen very carefully to the conversation that takes place among the group members they are observing.
- When I have conducted this simulation in my class, groups have argued long and hard about whether and how much to compromise on values and banners.
- Sometimes, students are so attached to their "identities" that they threaten one another or go on "strike." In other sessions, groups have amalgamated their identities by including two colors in the banner or adding symbols to accommodate the new "ethnic" group. Usually, this requires negotiation, and observers should be watchful about how the relative power structure within the group is given expression. Have students complete their "new banner" and get ready to describe what happened in their encounter with another group.
- Observers should be ready to report on what they have observed.
- During the debriefing, ask students to express how they felt while in their homogeneous groups and after they were separated from their original group? How did the minorities feel they were treated by the majorities?
- To what extent did the different groups remain distinct but peaceful (accommodation), adopt the "culture" of the majority (assimilation), or attempt to persecute or discriminate against the minority?
- Can students account for why one particular process developed rather than another? Did the content of the values, their similarity or difference, have an

influence? Was there difference of opinion over how to resolve the issue of the banner after groups were redivided, or was there consensus?

- Conclude the lesson by explaining that this unit deals with the issue of Jewish identity and its evolution into a political movement. Remind students to be on the lookout for processes similar to the ones that took place in the simulation.

Topic Two: Jewish Identity and the Origins of Jewish Nationalism

In this segment, students are introduced to the origins of the Jewish people according to biblical tradition, and they evaluate the claim that Jews represent a national group as much as a religious one. Three PowerPoint® presentations provide input on the development of Jewish identity in the ancient, medieval, and modern world. The dilemmas Jews faced as they struggled to find their place in modern Europe highlight both the anti-Semitism of Eastern Europe and the developing social and economic opportunities of Western Europe. These conditions catalyzed multiple expressions of Jewish identity, including the political movement called Zionism.

Activity One: The Jewish People—Religious or National Group?

Objectives:

1. Students will identify the characteristics of a national group.
2. Students will identify the historical periods in which the Jewish people most resembled a national group during the ancient and medieval world.
3. Students will describe how the Jewish minority was treated by the majority.
4. Students will explain how this identity was preserved over 2000 years.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: PowerPoint® presentations: *The Jewish People: Religious or National Group? Part I and Part II*. **Handout 5.1—Timeline of Jewish Nationalism**. Optional Biblical passages: Genesis 12: 1–2 (God’s Covenant with Abram), Genesis 35: 10–12 (Repetition of Covenant to Jacob), Exodus 6: 2–9 (God reiterates Covenant to Moses at time of exodus from Egypt), Deuteronomy 30:3–6 (God’s promise to gather exiles), Deuteronomy 5:1–21 (The Ten Commandments), I Samuel 10:24–25 (The call for a King), I Samuel 5:4–5, 9–10 (David’s kingdom and founding of Jerusalem), I Kings 4:20–21 (King Solomon), I Kings 5:3–5 (Solomon builds the Temple), Psalm 137 (“By the rivers of Babylon,” yearning to return from exile), Ezekiel 37:1–14 (The prophecy of the dry bones).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Screen slides 1–25 of the PowerPoint® presentation *The Jewish People: Religious or National Group? Part I. National Origins*.
- Pause at title of first slide and brainstorm answers with the class.
- Continue to screen the “show,” which develops the story of the Jewish people from Abraham through 70 CE, the destruction of Jerusalem and the onset of the Diaspora.
- Identify the characteristics of the Jewish experience that match the criteria the class established for identifying national groups. Do the Jewish people match criteria for defining a national group and, if so, when?
- Students may extend this activity by checking Biblical references. What are the themes that repeat themselves in these excerpts?

- *The Jewish People: Religious or National Group? Part II* PowerPoint® presentation introduces the concept of identity dilemmas faced by minorities in the context of medieval anti-Semitism. Screen this “show” or have students view it in small groups. Develop the content of the generic slides on identity and dilemmas before continuing.
- Screen the slides on anti-Semitism in medieval Europe.
- Ask: What do we learn about how the Jewish minority was treated in Europe, and why they were treated that way?
- Ask: How did Jewish identity survive in spite of the group being dispersed throughout so many lands and cultures for 2000 years?
- Close with a discussion of the questions posed at the conclusion of the show.

Handout 5.1

Timeline of Jewish Nationalism

Who Ruled?	Time Period	Famous Personalities
Tribal Peoples	Patriarchs of the Bible, 1800 BCE	Abraham, Isaac, Jacob Sarah
	Hebrew Exodus From Egypt, 1200 BCE	Moses, Joshua
	Monarchy, 1000 BCE	King Saul, King David, King Solomon
Assyrians	Babylonian Exile, 586 BCE	
Persians	Hebrews Return under Persian Protection, 536 BCE	King Cyrus
Greeks	167 BCE	
	Hasmonean Rule, (A Jewish Commonwealth), 67 BCE	The Hanukkah Story
Romans	Judea a Client State of Rome, First Century CE	Jesus, King Herod
	The Jewish War, 66 CE	
	Jerusalem Destroyed and Diaspora Begins, 70 CE	
Muslims	7th Century AD	Muhammad
Ottomans	14th Century	Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566)
	Renaissance in Europe	
Consolidation of European States	Enlightenment, 18th Century	
	Nationalism, Zionist Movement Formed, 19th Century	Theodore Herzl, Leon Pinsker, A.D. Gordon
British and French Mandates in the Middle East After Ottoman Defeat in World War One.		
	Modern State of Israel, 1948	David Ben-Gurion, Chaim Weizmann

1. Circle the periods during which the Jewish people most resembled or least resembled a national group.
2. When on this timeline did the Jewish people have a single civic and national identity?

Activity Two: Jewish Life in the 19th Century—Identity Dilemmas and Solutions**Objectives:**

- Students will describe why the 19th century created identity dilemmas for European Jews.
- Students will describe the variety of Jewish responses to the conditions of life they experienced in 19th century Europe.
- Students will explain the origins of the Zionist movement.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: PowerPoint® presentation slides 26–39. **Handout 5.2—Jewish Life in Nineteenth-Century Europe**

Step-By-Step Instructions:

1. Screen the PowerPoint® presentation for students. Decide beforehand which slides you might wish to discuss or develop together with the class.
2. Some questions to ask: “Why were the Jews more accepted in Western Europe than in Eastern Europe?” “What dilemmas or problems confronted Jewish communities, and how did they resolve them?”
3. Discuss questions at the end of the presentation.
4. Distribute identity cards to students, each with fictitious names, locations, and occupations. (e.g., Mendel Kaplan, Russia, Shoemaker, or Pierre La Rou, Paris, Medical Doctor) Include traditional occupations such as rabbi and scholar and modern ones such as lawyer, import-export merchant, and university student. Include upper, middle, and lower class personalities, men and women. Have students write or orally present their character’s points of view on the future of Jewish life in Europe and which alternative response they would choose for themselves—emigration, revolution, Bund (Jewish socialist organization), Zionism, assimilation, accommodation, Reform Judaism.
5. Ask students how they would have reacted to the Dreyfus case if they had been living in France as Jews at the time. Would the case have influenced them to become Zionists? Why or why not?
6. Students may read **Handout 5.2** either in preparation or as reinforcement for this lesson.

Student Handout 5.2

Jewish Life in 19th-Century Europe

In 1825, more than 80 percent of world Jewry was located in Europe. These Jews were the descendants of people who had been exiled from the land of Israel in 70 CE, and who had made their homes in the Diaspora⁵⁷. During the Middle Ages, Jewish communities throughout Europe were refused permission to own land, join guilds, or live in neighborhoods with Christians. It was customary to confine them to ghettos that were locked at night. Jews were required to wear an identifying badge on their clothing. Discrimination was a by-product of an intolerant Church and deep superstition regarding Jewish traditions.

The rise of modern nation-states and the spread of 18th-century enlightenment values that preached the separation of church and state, religious toleration, civil liberties, and equality for all created a more hospitable environment for European Jews.

Wherever this new philosophy took root, new social, political, and economic opportunities developed for Jews. In England, France, and Germany, Jews joined the ranks of a rising middle class. Whereas before they had been denied permission to join the professions, now they became doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and academics. Whereas citizenship previously had been withheld, now they became proud participants in a more open political process. The winning of political, social, and economic equality by Jews during the 19th century came to be called Emancipation. Jews came to be recognized as respected members of the nation-state who practiced a different faith rather than a second-class racial group, alien and foreign to the majority culture.

The emancipation process was most pronounced in the states of Western Europe, where enlightenment ideals were strengthened by the French Revolution and Napoleon's empire. But even in democratic and liberal England, Lionel Rothschild, a Jew duly elected to the House of Commons, was denied his seat year after year because he refused to swear an oath on the New Testament. Similarly, in Vienna, a blatantly anti-Semitic mayor, Karl Lueger, was elected over and over again, indicating the popularity and appeal of his viewpoint.

The new Europe, with its political revolutions, industrializing economy, and intensifying nationalism, confronted Jewish communities everywhere with confusing dilemmas. If the nation-states were ready and willing to accept Jews on equal terms, what then did it mean to be a Jew? To what extent should a Jew be ready to adopt the majority culture. Jewish law, or *Halacha*, contains behavioral codes for all aspects of life. Which laws and regulations should the individual continue to obey, and which should give way to a more modern lifestyle? Should the individual assimilate or retain his unique tradition? These dilemmas often created difficult choices for individuals who found themselves choosing between a traditional or secular education,

⁵⁷ Diaspora is the term used to refer to places of Jewish habitation outside of the land of Israel—in other words, in lands to which the Jewish people were dispersed or scattered after their exile from their ancestral homeland, Zion.

compromising religious principles previously unquestioned, and trying on new identities.

The solutions Jews found for their new dilemma took various forms. There were those who viewed their Jewish background as a burden finally to be cast off. The identity which for centuries had choked off opportunity and marked them for discrimination no longer held any positive meaning for them, and if it could be jettisoned, all the better. These Jews sought to make their membership in the new society complete by converting to Christianity. Intermarriage with Christian countrymen was a logical expression of these individuals' complete assimilation. For others, this was far too extreme, though they acknowledged that Judaism was in need of modernization. The Reform branch of Judaism was an effort to modify traditional faith. Reform synagogues in Europe adopted the local language instead of Hebrew for prayer and debated shifting the Sabbath day to Sunday instead of Saturday. At the opposite end of the spectrum were those who remained steadfast in their traditional beliefs and practices. One could be French, German, or English and a member of a traditional Jewish community at the same time. To modern orthodox Jews, these two identities held no contradiction.

The gradual process of emancipation and growing equality for Jews, however, was primarily a Western European phenomenon. The people of Eastern Europe, Jews and non-Jews alike, lived under a far more oppressive political regime. In Czarist Russia, a privileged aristocracy occupied the top of a social order supported by a large peasant class. Whereas Western states were humming with industrial activity, Russia was still a feudal society. The notions of natural law, universal manhood suffrage, and equality were only beginning to penetrate Eastern Europe, where absolute autocracy and traditional superstitions were strong.

In the small towns and villages of Russia, Poland, and Eastern Europe, most Jews were traditional; the laws of the Torah and the Talmud were their guide to daily life. They earned a living as peddlers, artisans, and middlemen selling manufactured goods to the inhabitants of the region. Jews were confined to a large area called the Pale (today's Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldavia, Poland, and western Russia) that included many small villages where both Jews and non-Jews lived. Anti-Semitism was promoted by the Czarist government, which encouraged violent pogroms or anti-Jewish riots. Blood libel cases, in which Jews were falsely prosecuted for the murder of Christian children in order to use their blood in the baking of Passover Matzo (bread), were examples of vicious anti-Semitism.

Many Russian Jews found security by emigrating to America, the "golden land of freedom." By the last quarter of the 19th century, however, the spirit of revolution was penetrating Russia. The writings of Karl Marx, published in 1848 in Germany, preached the inevitability of class struggle, violent revolution, and the coming of a new society which would be characterized by justice and equality for all. Economic security and political freedom would be the hallmarks of this classless society. Marxist ideology won support among peasants, industrial workers, intellectuals, and some Jews who believed that their suffering would be eliminated by a revolution that would sweep away all forms of injustice and persecution that had been common under the Czarist regime. These Jews were ready to give up their Jewish identity in

exchange for a revolutionary identity. Many Jews became Marxists or socialists. Less radical were Jews who believed in becoming modern socialists while maintaining their Jewish ethnicity. This group called themselves the Bund and believed that they could be Russians, socialists, and Jews all at the same time.

For Jews who did not leave Russia, become revolutionaries, or cast off their identity, there was an additional solution that was beginning to capture Jewish attention. The writings of Zionist leaders such as Leon Pinsker and Theodore Herzl asserted that only the establishment of a Jewish nation-state in Palestine, the ancient Jewish homeland, would secure the future of the Jewish people. In such a state, Jews would become the majority and no longer be subject to the capricious laws and policies of other nations. Although the Zionists would soon be in disagreement over the best way to achieve their goal, and also over the future character of the Jewish state, they all believed in the unity of the Jewish people, securing its safety, and the importance of maintaining Jewish identity. For Zionists, being Jewish was more than a religion or ethnicity; it became a political identity.

Topic Three: Zionism

By having students role-play a variety of personalities at a World Zionist Congress, this segment examines the diversity within the Zionist movement and the issues over which Zionists became divided. The activity entails researching Zionist points of view and crafting speeches to be delivered at the conference. There is also an opportunity to play the roles of representatives from different Jewish communities. These uncommitted delegates have an opportunity to express their views on the issues debated at the Congress and on the views of their fellow delegates. The segment concludes with a story in dialogue that challenges the Zionist narrative and perspective, laying the foundation for a critical evaluation of Zionism in the context of the early 20th century.

Activity One: Varieties of Zionism

Objectives:

- Students will compare and contrast types of Zionism, such as Political Zionism (Theodore Herzl), Labor Zionism (A.D. Gordon), Territorial Zionism (Israel Zangwill), Cultural Zionism (Ahad Ha'am), and Religious Zionism, in terms of goals, methods, and successes.
- Students will evaluate the claim that Zionism is a form of colonialism.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lessons periods

Materials: **Handout 5.3—Description of Delegates to the World Zionist Congress.** **Handout 5.4—Agenda for World Zionist Congress.** **Handout 5.5—Source Documents.** **Handout 5.6—Comparative Chart.**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Distribute **Handout 5.5—Source Documents** in class or for homework and task students with determining the content of three Zionist groups: the Lovers of Zion, the Political Zionists, and the Practical Zionists. Students can begin to develop a comparative chart of these groups (**Handout 5.6**). Internet searches can supplement sources distributed.
- Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each of the groups.
- Distribute **Handout 5.3—Description of Delegates to the World Zionist Congress** and **Handout 5.4—Agenda for World Zionist Congress**. Explain that each student will be assigned a role to play at the Congress.
- Make sure that students understand the agenda items to be discussed.
- Each student will write a speech addressing the issues at the Congress. Leaders of organizations may use this platform to express their interpretation of Zionism. Students find the information for this speech in **Handout 5.3—Description of Delegates to the World Zionist Congress**. As issues come up for a vote, the chairman of the Congress can call on delegates to debate their colleagues' proposals and positions.

- In the course of the Congress, students will debate goals of the world Zionist movement (different streams will advocate different goals) and Israel Zangwill's territorial proposal to accept Great Britain's Uganda Plan (1903).
- By the close of the Congress, students will participate in debates on Zionist issues of the time and will demonstrate their understanding of the leader or organization they represent.
- At the very end of the role play, the teacher can raise the issue of Zionist obliviousness to the presence of a local Arab population. Yitzchak Epstein was a Zionist attending one of the Congresses in the early 20th century who raised what he called "the unseen question." The next lesson deals with this question.

Student Handout 5.3

Description of Delegates to the World Zionist Congress

Introduction

In 1897, the First Zionist Congress was held in Basel, Switzerland. The Congress was the brainchild of Theodore Herzl. Delegates came from all over Europe to discuss and craft a platform that stated the organization's goals. There was much to discuss. Many of the delegates disagreed over the direction the movement should take. Some delegates were Labor Zionists (socialists), while others favored Herzl's Political Zionism. Some Zionists believed that there was much groundwork to be done before actually settling in Palestine, while others wanted to go right away. Still other Zionists were religious and aspired to build a national home based on the Torah; secularists wanted no part of this plan. After the first congress, subsequent congresses were held every few years, at which time specific issues came up for discussion. One such issue was the British plan to offer their colony in British East Africa, Uganda, to the Zionists as a national home for the Jews. This offer came at a time when the Kishinev Jewish community in the Ukraine had suffered heavy casualties during pogroms. The need to find a safe haven for Jews was especially acute, and some thought that the Uganda plan was a good idea.

At our simulated Congress, you will role-play one of the Zionist leaders or organizations listed below, or represent unaffiliated delegates from the Jewish communities in the USA, Germany, France, and Britain. Use this description sheet to learn more about your role.

During the first part of the simulation, each delegate will have an opportunity to make a one- to three-minute speech in which you state your position on the Zionist movement. Address issues such as: 1) Why the movement is necessary? 2) What its goal should be? 3) What methods do you suggest be used to achieve the stated goal? 4) What problems or dangers do you see in the movement?

After each delegate has spoken, the Chairman, Dr. Max Nordau, will call for platform proposals, and delegates will vote on proposals made.

In the following portion of the Congress, Dr. Israel Zangwill will present a territorial proposal, the Congress will debate the proposal, and delegates will vote on its content. At the conclusion of the Congress, we will discuss your reactions to, and evaluations of, the Zionist Movement.

How to Begin

Read the description of your role. If you are part of a country delegation rather than an individual, sit with your group to discuss your alternative positions. When you have understood your role, begin to work on your short speech. Make sure you address all the questions in this instruction sheet, and be sure that your speech has a beginning in which you make your main claim, a middle in which you give convincing evidence for what you say, and a conclusion.

Profiles of the Delegates

Mr. Theodore Herzl: Mr. Herzl is the architect of the World Zionist Organization's First Zionist Congress. At the meeting, he will present his idea for a platform that has come to be called the "Basel Program." Herzl believes that in order to succeed, the Zionists require the support of the major powers in the world. Herzl wants to receive a "Charter," or formal document from heads of state, acknowledging the legitimacy of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Thus, Herzl has traveled throughout the continent, visiting Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid, Czar Nicholas II of Russia, and King Edward VII of Great Britain, as well as assorted prime ministers, in an effort to win support for the Zionist movement. Herzl's program rests on attaining a charter and establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine. Because of this, his branch of Zionism is called Political Zionism. He envisions collecting money for the purposes of funding the immigration of Jews and the purchase of land in Palestine. Although Palestine is Herzl's first choice, when Israel Zangwill proposes the Uganda Plan, Herzl will endorse it, believing that, when Jewish lives are in danger, land anywhere is better than land nowhere.

Dr. Max Nordau: Dr. Nordau, a respected sociologist and physician, is a good friend of Herzl's and considers himself a Political Zionist. At the Congress, Dr. Nordau will chair the meeting and be responsible for calling the delegates to the podium to speak, keeping track of proposals, and calling for a vote when necessary. While you will not be making a speech, you need to familiarize yourself with the agenda, the delegates, and procedure.

The Labor Zionist Delegation: The Labor Zionists come, for the most part, from Eastern Europe, and are socialists whose ideology is based on Marxism and Zionism. Their goal is to build a Jewish state in Palestine founded on the values of equality and cooperative ownership. They believe in the dignity of labor and that the act of building and cultivating the land will reestablish the Jewish connection to it that was lost so long ago. The Labor Zionists are inspired by the teachings of A.D. Gordon, a poet and Zionist who moved to Palestine in his later years and became a role model for young Labor Zionists. They differentiate themselves from the Lovers of Zion (led by Leon Pinsker), who immigrated to Palestine in 1882, but failed in their efforts to build agricultural communities. The Labor Zionists believe they will succeed where the Lovers of Zion failed, because they will be better prepared physically and mentally, and will have a clear ideology to sustain and guide them. This delegation will present a platform that is revolutionary in tone, focuses on Palestine, and shows why alternative movements such as the Bund or Revolutionary Socialism are inadequate attempts to solve the Jewish community's problems.

Mr. Asher Ginsberg: Asher Ginsberg is a writer who goes by his pen name, Ahad Ha'am, or "One of the People." Ginsberg is a strong believer in Cultural Zionism. He believes it is premature to attempt the establishment of a homeland in Palestine because the Jewish people have lived scattered around the world for so long that they are out of touch with the content of their own identity. Ginsberg claims that a Zionist experiment without proper cultural preparation will be bound to fail, since the immigrants who arrive will all be so different from one another. Instead, he advocates fostering Jewish identity in the Diaspora by building institutions of Jewish education

that will reconnect the communities with Jewish history, literature, philosophy, and culture. Ginsberg's goal is to foster Jewish unity but not build a homeland at this stage.

Dr. Israel Zangwill: Dr. Zangwill and the Territorial Zionists are ready to accept any territory as a national home for Jewish people. They believe that the danger to Jewish lives is so acute that to refuse an offer of a territory outside Palestine is a grievous mistake. In other words, Jewish lives take precedence over historical roots and origins. Dr. Zangwill will propose the Uganda Plan during the second half of the Congress.

Rabbi Kook: The Religious Zionists led by Rabbi Kook call themselves the Mizrahi (Eastern) Party. While some religious Jews reject Zionism on the grounds that it is sacrilegious to attempt a return to the Land of Israel for the political purpose of building a state, the Mizrahi Party disagrees. Their purpose is legitimate, they claim, because they are working to build a homeland that would be based on the Torah and its laws. There is no need, they continue, to await the prerequisite arrival of the Messiah as the ultra-orthodox rejectionists claim is necessary before returning to the land of Israel.

National Delegations from Germany, France, USA, and Great Britain:

Jews in these countries enjoy a significant degree of equality. The American delegation is the most sheltered from anti-Semitism, since the USA has no tradition of official, state-sanctioned discrimination against Jews. The Western Europeans don't have to look far into history to find memorable examples in their home countries of persecution. In France, the Dreyfus Affair is still in progress (1894–1906). These delegates will have to weigh the importance of achieving the Zionist ideal against the importance of preserving Jewish rights at home. While these Jews may feel a responsibility to help their persecuted brethren in Russia, they may fear that open advocacy of Zionism could awaken anti-Jewish attitudes where they live. After all, if a Jewish homeland is secured, what would prevent the governments from ordering the Jewish population within their borders to move there! Students role-playing citizens from these countries should sit together by country to discuss these issues. If there is no consensus, the group delegates may state positions individually.

The Bund (Union): (Optional), The Bundists are not Zionists, since they offer an alternative to Zionism. Though socialist and committed to maintaining a Jewish identity, the Bundists believe this goal could be fulfilled on European soil, and that immigration to Palestine is unnecessary. Instead, they foster Jewish identity within their European communities through social, cultural, athletic, and community activities such as Yiddish literary clubs, drama groups, sports leagues, scouting, holiday celebrations, and lecture series.

The Religious Anti-Zionists: (Optional), These ultra-religious Jews are opponents of Zionism, since they believe that it is heresy to return to the land of Israel out of political motives before the arrival of the Messiah. Traditional Judaism teaches that Israel will be restored when, and only when, God ordains the plan and the Messiah's arrival heralds its coming. This group is vehemently opposed to Herzl and all the other "misguided" Zionists.

Student Handout 5.4

Agenda for World Zionist Congress

Agenda

Chairman Dr. Max Nordau: Welcoming remarks.

Delegates' Statements: Delegates in turn are invited to make opening statements expressing their views on Zionism (one to two minutes each).

Platform Proposals: Chairman Dr. Max Nordau calls for platform proposals from the delegates. Platform proposals should include statements of purpose, goals, and action plans.

Voting: Chairman Nordau will call for a vote on the platform proposals.

Territorialism—Dr. Israel Zangwill will address the Congress on the Uganda Plan. Delegates will have an opportunity to debate the plan and vote on it.

Closing Remarks: Mr. Theodore Herzl.

Student Handout 5.5

Source Documents

***Auto-Emancipation*, Leon Pinsker, 1882**

In this document, Pinsker discusses a strange malady he calls “Judeophobia,” or fear of Jews, claiming that it is incurable and ever-present. He argues that the only solution to the Jewish Question is Auto-Emancipation, or self-liberation, through securing a homeland and becoming a majority there. You can find excerpts from this book, one of Zionism’s founding texts, by looking in a documentary reader on the Middle East or a text that contains documents together with historical narrative. You will find Leon Pinsker at <http://www.geocities.com/Vienna/6640/zion/pinsker>.

***The Jewish State*, Theodore Herzl, 1887**

Theodore Herzl agreed with much of what Pinsker had to say, but wrote it all down anyway in *Der Judenstaat*, or *The Jewish State*. Read an excerpt in *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* by Ian Bickerton and Clara Klausner (Prentice Hall, 1998) or go to <http://www.geocities.com/Vienna/6640/zion/judenstchpt1.html>.

A.D. Gordon (A Practical Zionist)

A.D. Gordon, a poet and spiritual mentor to young people, emigrated to Palestine at the age of 47 with members of the group he founded, the Lovers of Zion. Gordon came to Palestine to work as an agricultural laborer. He believed that only through toil and work could a people so long disconnected from its roots reestablish a relationship with its ancestral homeland. See if you can find an excerpt from Gordon’s writings. Try Amos Elon’s book: *Israelis: Founders and Sons*, 1972, pp. 120–121.

The Basel Declaration

At the first World Zionist Congress, the delegates adopted the Basel Declaration, or a statement of the Zionist purpose (1897). Locate this statement in a documentary reader or at <http://www.wzo.org.il/home/movement/first.htm>.

Ahad Ha’am, 1891

Ahad Ha’Am disagreed with many contemporary Zionists. Find out why by examining his writings at <http://jewishhistory.huji.ac.il/links/texts.htm#zionism>.

Was Zionism Colonialism?

Historians, supporters, and critics of Zionism debate whether Zionism is a form of colonialism. Find examples of both points of view. If your library has Amos Elon’s book, *Israelis: Founders and Sons*, 1972, see page 116. *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–1999*, by Benny Morris (1999), p. 42, is another good source. For “Zionism and Imperialism: The Historical Origins,” by Abdul Wahab Kayyili, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (University of California Press, Spring, 1977), pp. 98–112, see <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2535582.pdf>.

Handout 5.6

Comparative Chart

	Leaders and Personalities	Goals	Methods	Achievements and Failures?
Lovers of Zion				
Practical Zionists (Labor Zionists)				
Political Zionism				
Territorial Zionism				
Religious Zionism (Mizrahi Party)				

Activity Two: The Unseen Question**Objectives:**

- Students will evaluate the Zionist rationale for settling Palestine in the early years of the Zionist movement (1881–1914)

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Handout 5.7–Arabs and Jews in 1910. This handout is a fictionalized account of a kibbutz member who discerns a developing conflict between the local Arab community and his fellow Zionists’ approach to settlement, and who hopes to do something about it.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Distribute **Handout 5.7–Arabs and Jews in 1910** for homework or in class.
2. Students read the story and, in two columns, list all the arguments presented by the main character, Yitzhak, and his peers.
3. Students discuss in small groups. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments presented? Is it inevitable that there will be conflict between these two groups? Can conflict be avoided and, if so, how?

Assessments: Students could do any of the following:

- Compare and contrast Zionist thinkers in terms of goals and practices.
- Debate the proposition: “This House believes that Zionism is colonialism.”
- Provide students with profiles of stateless national groups in the world today and have students evaluate national claims.

Student Handout 5.7

Arabs and Jews in 1910

Yitzhak came in from the summer heat, feeling as though he carried the weight of the world on his shoulders. Only his hoe rested there, but the wooden handle bit into his aching muscles. A shiver ran through his body as the sweat cooled on his skin. He would have to hurry if he wanted to be on time for the council meeting that evening. Arab villagers from Kfar Daba had attacked three days ago, and the issue was bound to be discussed at the meeting tonight. Yitzhak wanted to be there, for he had some things to say.

The dining room, now converted into a meeting hall, was filled with kibbutz members by the time Yitzhak arrived. All thirty-five men and women were present and listening attentively to the chairman of the meeting, who was reading the announcements.

“Work details will be reassigned next Monday. We will have to transfer five members from communal household duties to fieldwork so that we will be able to cultivate the additional ten *dunam* (two-and-a-half acres) of land recently purchased by the Jewish National Fund (JNF) for our kibbutz.”

A murmur rippled through those present. To most of the members, this new area was a welcome addition to the kibbutz. Now they would be able to diversify their crop and allocate a large space for the settlers’ needs. A few women were expecting children. They would need a children’s house and a nursery soon.

“As a result of the attack three days ago, we will be adding some people to the defense patrol that is responsible for guarding the settlement from future Arab attacks.”

Yitzhak raised his hand and was recognized.

“I am concerned that these additional *dunam* will only deepen the angry feelings of the Arabs of Kfar Daba towards us. We all know that last week’s attack was not the first, nor will a stronger guard detail prevent future attacks. Isn’t it time that we gave some thought to evaluating our plans and our situation?”

“What do you mean, Yitzhak? Are you suggesting that we should abandon our plans to develop our community? Shall we remain a small struggling farm settlement always? If so, Yitzhak, in ten years you will be forced to give up what you toiled to build.”

“I don’t see what your objection is, Yitzhak,” chimed in David. “The JNF bought these ten *dunam* with hard cash, and bought from Arabs who were willing to sell it to us. The land is a swamp and infested with mosquitoes. As it is, it will take us months to clear it before we can begin to plant. The money used to buy this bargain was painfully collected over time, donated by rich and poor Jews who share our ideals. We aren’t doing anything wrong or illegal.”

“Don’t you see it doesn’t matter that we hold the deed to these ten *dunam* in our hand? The people of Kfar Daba resent us. The JNF bought the land from landlords who live in Beirut and Damascus. The villagers don’t understand why they no longer have access to the land. All they see is that strangers have come onto their land and are changing its character.”

A tall man in the back of the room rose and spoke quietly.

“Yitzhak, what would you have us do? Go back to Russia? Go to America? We came here to become a self-reliant people, secure within borders. This is something we have not known for 2000 years. Who sits in this room who has not known suffering and fear? Who is willing to go back, or on to some other unknown and strange place?”

“I don’t have an answer for you, but I believe we have to wake up to the fact that this land is not an empty place awaiting our arrival. If we survive here, we will have to accommodate and get along with the Arabs who live here. We are newcomers.”

“What do you mean, newcomers? We have no right to be here? What about our history, our holidays, are they not rooted in this place? Haven’t there always been Jews in Palestine?”

“Of course we belong here, but we will never become welcome unless....”

“And how should we win their welcome? When the First *Aliyah* arrived and employed Arab workers, we were accused of exploiting them. Now that we are committed to the ideal of self-labor and self-help, we are accused of stealing their land and jobs!”

“When we arrived, the place was barren, neglected, and disease-ridden. We are transforming the land into a fruitful, green land. Our efforts and achievements prove our devotion and attachment to this patch of territory. Because we care and have built it into something to be proud of, we have a moral right to be here.”

“We have to face the fact that this land was not empty and barren before we arrived. On the contrary, the Arabs have made their homes here for generations. They have an agricultural and small manufacturing economy of their own. We have to open our eyes and see the full reality.”

“No one ever cared about the Jew. We have suffered enough. It is time to think of ourselves now. It took courage to leave Russia and come this far. Who here lacks the courage to fight for what we have?”

“I have courage, but not enough to follow a path that will lead to inevitable and interminable conflict. I am not strong enough to face that! When Herzl conceived the Jewish state, he wanted to have permission to come here. He chased after the Sultan and the Kaiser and the Queen, but he never consulted the inhabitants of the place, the people who now attack us.”

“Did you expect that Herzl could have gained anything by meeting with village leaders who have no legal control over the land they occupy? Could they have ever given Herzl the assurances he needed?”

“Nevertheless, in the Arabs’ minds, we are an alien people streaming into a land which they have lived in as a majority for centuries. We should be thinking of ways to deal with this reality rather than hiding our heads in the sand.”

“We are not hiding our heads in the sand. We are taking action by protecting ourselves against attack. In time, don’t you believe that the Arabs will see the benefits they can gain by learning from us? Can we build friendship by sharing our good fortune with them? I think you paint too bleak a picture, Yitzhak. Our first concern must be to survive.”

“I agree, but I don’t believe that we are doing it the right way.”

Yitzhak stood up to leave the room. He felt feverish and unsteady. He knew that most of the kibbutz members disagreed with him, or at best felt that his good intentions were completely impractical. Thirty-five pairs of eyes burned into his back as he closed the door behind him. What troubled him most was that while he understood the problem clearly, the dilemma remained, and the answer to the unseen question eluded him.

Questions

1. Why is Yitzhak upset by the decision to cultivate an additional parcel of land recently purchased from Arab landowners?
2. Make a list of all the arguments put forward by Yitzhak and his fellow kibbutz members. Which arguments do you believe are most persuasive and least persuasive, and why?
3. Can you suggest a solution to Yitzhak’s dilemma?
4. Note: in 1910, there were Zionists such as Yitzhak Epstein, who challenged his Zionist peers by asking the “unseen question.”
5. Do you believe that conflict between the groups is inevitable or avoidable, and why?

Chapter 6

Teaching About the Palestinian/Israeli Conflict

The conflict between Arabs and Jews that began to crystallize in the years before World War One intensified during the years between the World Wars and during the aftermath of the Holocaust of European Jewry. The years between 1914 and 1948 are the critical period during which the Palestinian community and the Yishuv (as the Jewish community was known before it became a state) became locked in a fierce struggle. By 1949 and the conclusion of the first Arab-Israeli War, the State of Israel had succeeded in achieving its goal, while the majority of Palestinian Arabs were dispersed to surrounding Arab states and suffered bitter frustration over the inability of their efforts to prevent the foundation of a Jewish state and to establish their own. Why was this so? Answering the essential question, “Why was the Yishuv successful while the Palestinians were not?,” leads students to explore a complex period of history during which both internal economic, social, and political forces interacted with global powers and regional events. The interplay of national interests, diplomacy, war, and personal leadership, as well as cultural attitudes, was of profound importance in shaping the development of the conflict and its outcomes. This chapter explores:

- The nature, efficacy, and legitimacy of British policies in the Middle East during the first half of the 20th century.
- The relationship between Palestinians and Jews living in Mandatory Palestine.
- The development of Palestinian society and the origins of Palestinian nationalism.
- The ideological dilemmas faced by the leadership of both Zionists and Palestinians between the World Wars.
- The legitimacy of the United Nations partition plan for Palestine.
- The significance of diverging historical narratives.

British Policies in Palestine

World War One altered the geopolitical face of the Middle East in ways that gave rise to the modern map we are familiar with today. Throughout the war, Britain engaged in clandestine and open diplomacy to further its national interests and, in the process, played a role in the escalation of conflict in the region. Britain, France, and Russia, members of the Triple Entente, planned for the division of the defeated Ottoman Empire into autonomous states that in essence would be clients of Britain and France. The de Bunsen plan, formulated in 1915, provided for a decentralized Turkish state with self-governing areas. Strategic Palestine and oil-rich Iraq were slated to come under British jurisdiction. The secret Sykes-Picot Agreement signed in 1916 planned to assign the midsection of Palestine, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, to a joint Russian, French, and British administration with Britain maintaining an enclave in the port region of Haifa. These plans and agreements demonstrate the importance of Palestine to Britain’s geopolitical strategy.

The famous correspondence conducted between 1914 and 1915 by Great Britain with the Sherif of Mecca, Hussein Ibn Ali, is an excellent example of British ambiguity in the pursuit of national interest. The Hashemite family, tracing descent from

Muhammad and ruling in the Hejaz, approached Britain for support in establishing an Arab state that would unite the Arab people throughout the Middle East under Hashemite leadership. Eager to secure an ally in the Middle East to divert the Turkish attack on British forces, Henry McMahon, the High Commissioner in Egypt, wrote to Hussein Ibn Ali that Britain was prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in the regions demanded by the Sherif of Mecca, albeit with certain stipulations and territorial adjustments. The confusion begins when we attempt to reconcile the McMahon Pledge of 1915, the Sykes-Picot Agreement signed in 1916 and publicized in 1917, and the Balfour Declaration of 1917. How could Great Britain support Hussein's independent Arab state while carrying out its promises to its allies and the Zionists? Was Palestine a "thrice promised land?" Students wrestle with these problems through the process of document analysis and a comparison of verbal declarations and historical maps. Had Palestine been an area excluded from Britain's promise in the McMahon Pledge? Ultimately, students must come to their own conclusions as to whether Britain acted duplicitously or in good faith. Could the creation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan and the placement of Feisal on the throne of Iraq be seen as fulfillments of Britain's promise? This case study also underscores the difference between Arab nationalism (whether stemming from Mecca or later, after the war, from Syria) and Palestinian nationalism that grew during the Mandate years.

The British Mandate

At the Versailles Conference in 1919, Britain and France divided up the remnants of the dismantled Ottoman Empire despite the petitions by the General Syrian Congress to establish an Arab national state, and despite the Zionist representatives' plea to fulfill the spirit of the Balfour Declaration with a Jewish state. The League of Nations granted mandatory power in Palestine to Great Britain, outlining in Articles Two and Four that Britain would facilitate the establishment of a Jewish homeland, encouraging immigration and Jewish settlement while safeguarding the rights of non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine.

Herbert Samuel, the first high commissioner of Palestine, had visions of establishing a representative council in which Arabs and Jews would sit together to decide issues of local governance, but by 1920, when the Mandate commenced, neither side trusted the other nor felt that such cooperation was in their best interests. Instead, the Arab community relied on the Supreme Muslim Council and the Arab High Committee to represent local interests, while the Yishuv had its Executive Committee (Vaad Leumi) and the Jewish Agency. The Mandate years can be viewed as a triangle of interests and players. The British government experienced an internal struggle between the Foreign Office with its Zionist sympathies and the Colonial Office that believed that Britain's best interests lay in appeasing the Arab world, especially as World War Two loomed on the horizon. Britain, in the colonial tradition, aspired to maintaining peace and order in the Mandate, but was to find this goal increasingly difficult to attain as Jews and Arabs quarreled over land sales, holy sites, and immigration quotas. Periods of relative calm were interspersed with outbreaks of violence during the 1920s and 1930s at flash points such as the Wailing Wall, Hebron, and settlements throughout the countryside. The Arab Revolt that represents a major collective response to what was perceived as both British and Jewish opposition ultimately resulted in the promulgation of the MacDonald White Paper of 1939. This proclamation limited

Jewish immigration to 75,000 people over the next five years, after which, immigration would require Arab consent. It required the High Commissioner's permission for land to be transferred from Arabs to Jewish ownership and announced that Palestine would become an independent state within ten years, provided that agreement between the sides could be reached. Barring that, the British would continue to rule. This White Paper, issued in May, only months before the outbreak of World War Two and when atrocities against Jews in Nazi Germany were already public knowledge, incensed the Yishuv. Had not the League of Nations earmarked Palestine as a national home for Jewish people precisely because of the dangers of anti-Semitism? Was not the current Nazi threat a perfect example of a situation that demanded increased Jewish immigration to a safe haven now under administration by the British government? Britain's decision to close the gates to Palestine at precisely this sensitive moment in time, and to continue this policy following World War Two and the liberation of survivors from the Nazi concentration and death camps, is one worthy of student evaluation and discussion.

Palestinian Society

Palestinian Arabs were aware that their world was changing before mass Jewish immigration came to be perceived as a threat to the fabric of their lives. Already, an 1834 uprising against the temporary rule of Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt had helped to create a collective identity. The reinstatement of centralized Turkish control over Palestine in 1840 was a second step towards building national identity. The onerous land registration laws imposed in 1858 by the Ottoman government as part of the Tanzimat reforms made it more difficult for Palestinian farmers to avoid taxation. Lands that were left unregistered were purchased by wealthy Arabs, thus threatening the cooperative village system (called the *musha*) that provided property holdings for extended families. A modernizing economy in the 19th century brought Palestine into the regional and global network of trade that advantaged coastal citrus farmers to the detriment of village dwellers in the hilly interior of the country. New technologies and infrastructure began to make their mark on a province of the empire that had been wholly traditional for centuries. In spite of the changing economy, the bonds of family, clan, village, town, and religious affiliation continued to be essential ingredients of the Palestinian identity. The arrival of Zionist immigrants, together with their purchase of lands, alerted Palestinian Arabs to new, unanticipated changes. The new immigrants were perceived as a Western intrusion that threatened the cultural, economic, and political future of Arab Palestine. The growing numbers of immigrants, arriving in successive waves of immigration that corresponded to outbreaks of anti-Semitism and pogroms in Russia, were a source of concern for Palestinians who began to protest through the press and sometimes violent confrontation.

The Arab Revolt, 1936–1939

In the mid 1930s, the Arab community in Palestine became increasingly nationalistic as Jewish immigration in the wake of the Nazi rise to power in 1933 increased. As fascism in Germany and Italy gained strength and challenges to the geopolitical status quo took place in Europe and the Horn of Africa, the Arab world recognized that a shift in power was possible. While newly independent states in Syria and Iraq had been established and the Saud tribe had successfully united the Arabian Peninsula under their control, Palestinians were no closer to securing control of the mandatory

territory they shared with the growing Yishuv. Instead, Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald had backtracked from the Passfield White Paper in 1930 that had recommended establishing a limitation on Jewish immigration into Palestine. The Istiqlal, a new political party, demanded noncooperation with the British, who were soon turned into targets of violence as much as were the Jews.

The Arab Revolt, sparked by a retaliatory attack by Jews for the murder of two of their own by Arabs, included a general strike, street demonstrations, and armed rebellion. Although it was an important turning point in the solidification of Palestinian national identity, it also splintered the fragile unity just beginning to form within the society. The eminent Palestinian historian George Antoninus pointed out at the time of the revolt that

The rebellion today is, to a greater extent than ever before, a revolt of villagers.... The moving spirit in the revolt is not the national institute leaders, most of whom are now in exile, but men of the working and agricultural classes.... Far from its being engineered by the leaders, the revolt is, in a very marked way, a challenge to their authority and an indictment of their methods.⁵⁸

The grass roots character of the revolt is, in itself, an important benchmark in Palestinian history. The general strike of Arab workers in cities such as Jaffa soon spread to merchants and agricultural workers throughout the territory. The traditional leadership, made up of the most prestigious *a'yan* (notable) families, played little part in the unfolding events as leadership shifted from their strongholds in Jerusalem and Jaffa to the rural population and the inland cities. Armed bands demanded that Palestinians pay a levy to support the revolt, and the wealthy were expected to contribute the most. Many moderates, who had successfully maintained good relations with the British, feared the shifting political structure within Palestinian society.

The Arab Revolt created a cultural revolution within the community as national symbols such as the *kaffiye* headdress replaced the Ottoman fez, and women, both Christian and Muslim, were encouraged to don the veil as a symbol of national identification. Militarily, the armed militias lacked a hierarchical chain of command, although Abd al Qadir al-Husseini and Fawzi al-Din-al Qauqji were commanders who distinguished themselves. In the end, the common British and Zionist enemy were insufficient motivators to enable Palestinians to overcome their class differences and internecine conflicts amongst the leadership. Although the revolt furnished heroes, martyrs, and a collective memory of a valiant people's uprising, the cost to the community was extensive. The leadership was exiled or executed, and village life was disrupted and in chaos; the revolt had turned on the Arabs themselves, targeting moderates suspected of collaboration with the British authority or the Yishuv, such as the Arab mayor of Haifa and Arab leaders of labor unions. Twenty-five percent of the Arab casualties in the revolt (5000 dead, 15,000 wounded) were a result of actions taken by Arabs against other Palestinians.⁵⁹ In the wake of a decimated Arab leadership, the British began to consult with surrounding Arab governments rather

⁵⁸ Baruch Kimmerling and Joel Migdal, *Palestinians: The Making of a People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), p. 114.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 123.

than the Palestinians themselves. The Yishuv came to the conclusion that it must strengthen the independence of its economy and increase its ability to conduct illegal military operations. When, in the aftermath of the Arab Revolt, the British adopted the McDonald White Paper of 1939, laying out for the Mandate a future plan that favored Palestinian interests, ironically, the Palestinian community failed to respond positively to this opportunity to move closer to their goal of independent statehood.

The study of Palestinian society and the formation of Palestinian national and political identity is an essential ingredient for understanding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, past and present. In the lessons included here, students learn about both through a PowerPoint® presentation and an examination of the case of the Arab Revolt.

Dilemmas of Leadership

The deteriorating conditions in Palestine created dilemmas for both the leadership of the Yishuv and the Palestinian community. Labor Zionist ideology, with spokesmen such as the fiery, iron-willed David Ben-Gurion and the cosmopolitan, urbane, well-spoken Chaim Weitzmann, represented mainstream Zionism. Ultimately, this group would become the founding fathers of the State of Israel. Opposition, however, led by Binyamin Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky till 1942, and then by Menachem Begin, maintained that Zionism needed "revision" from the Labor Zionist approach: hence the label Revisionist Zionism. An issue of conflict between these groups was their respective attitudes towards partition of Palestine into two states, first proposed by the British and later by the United Nations. While the Labor camp was prepared to accept partition in the interests of attaining statehood, the Revisionists claimed that compromise was unrealistic. It was a false hope, they claimed, to believe that the Arabs would accept a territorial compromise. Furthermore, to Jabotinsky's thinking, there already were numerous Arab states on the planet, while not a single Jewish one existed. The original Palestine Mandate had already been partitioned once to create the Kingdom of Jordan in 1922. This, in itself, was a breach of the promise made in the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate document. Finally, the Revisionists expected a military confrontation with the Arabs in order to attain statehood. It was unrealistic to expect Arabs to willingly step aside for the Jews; they would have to fight and defeat their adversary to fulfill the Zionist goal. If the Labor Zionists were prepared to compromise on territory but not ideology, the Revisionists would compromise on neither. On the ideological left wing and in the minority was the organization Brit Shalom, or Covenant of Peace, led by Judah Magnes and Shlomo Kaplansky, who advocated establishment of a binational state. This group was compromising on ideology but not territory. The different positions expressed by these Jewish parties were given expression in their attitude towards the British Government, the use of violence in self-defense or proactively to achieve aims, and their relations with one another and with the Palestinians.

On the Palestinian side, leadership was dominated by Haj Amin-el Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. This was a religious position that also carried great political weight. The Husseini and Nashashibi Palestinian families were among the most influential and powerful groups, but remained in competition with one another, the former being more radical, consistently rejecting offers to resolve the conflict and resorting to violence, the latter, more moderate and ready to work with the British to seek resolution. The question of territorial compromise in pursuit of statehood is as

relevant for the Palestinians as it was for the Jews. Analysis and evaluation of the decisions made by Zionist and Palestinian leaders is a worthwhile exercise for better understanding the triangle of conflict faced by all sides during the Mandate period and its aftermath.

Divergent Narratives of History

Study of the Mandate years demonstrates abundantly that in any conflict there are multiple versions of history depending on the writer's point of view and status. The most striking example of this in the period under discussion is the way in which Palestinians and Jews frame the first Arab-Israeli War in their collective memories. For Palestinians, the 1948 war was *al-Nakba*, "the catastrophe," that resulted in the transformation of the Palestinian people into exiled refugees, dismembered families faced with economic disaster and political abandonment. A terrible price exacted by the Zionist "invaders" who had been "stealing" Palestinian land since the First *Aliyah* had begun in 1882. For Jews, the war was a bitter fight in which one percent of the population sacrificed their lives in a quest for independence. In the context of the recent destruction of six million Jews during the Holocaust and centuries of anti-Semitism before that, the cause for which they died seemed eminently justified. The fact that all attempts to reach a compromise with the Palestinian community had been rejected, as well as the opposition of Muslim and Arab UN members in 1947 to UN Resolution 181 that guaranteed the establishment of a Palestinian state, convinced the Yishuv that they had no choice other than to fight for survival and defeat the enemy.

Many have argued that one man's history is another man's myth. However, myths are not to be dismissed lightly, and play an important role in national narratives. Indeed they are reflective of humankind's desire to simplify the world we confront. The following quotation aptly describes the emotional and cognitive situation of both the Jewish people and the Palestinian people during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Groups struggling towards self consciousness and groups whose accustomed status seems threatened are likely to demand (and get) vivid simplified portraits of their admirable virtues and undeserved sufferings.⁶⁰

In the years since 1948, both sides in the conflict have drawn on events preceding and following the war to give credence to their respective national narratives. Israelis, for example, emphasize in their account of history that the fledgling State of Israel with its Jewish population of 650,000 was invaded by Arab states with a population totaling 40 million. The myth of the miraculous victory by a beleaguered population is an example of classical Zionist framing of the war. Palestinians, on the other hand, point out that Israel's 35,000 regular soldiers were matched against 40,000 Arab troops among whom only 4500 were "battle ready" and 10,000 were members of the British-trained Arab Legion. Instead of a miraculous victory by the few over the many, Palestinians see themselves as victimized though valiant fighters who were let down by Arab irregulars and soldiers from other countries who were disorganized, poorly commanded, and less than fully committed to preserving Palestinian rights to

⁶⁰ William McNeill "Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians," Presidential Address to the American Historical Association in New York City, New York, delivered December 27, 1985.

the land. Responsibility for causing the transformation of the majority of the Palestinian population into refugees is another core issue over which disagreement has raged, and which is worthy of analysis.

Today, Web sites representing one-sided Israeli and Palestinian points of view continue to promote nationalistic versions of their history in the interest of national solidarity, moral justification, and simplicity. Recently, however, Israeli historians have taken a revisionist look at this problematic period in their history, and some who have abandoned long-held myths have been called “New Historians,” earning the ire of some of their countrymen. Palestinians, who have not yet achieved statehood, have been far less ready to adopt a more critical and multidimensional view of the events that have contributed to their ongoing suffering and political disenfranchisement.

While McNeill recognizes the origin and role of “mythistory” in our lives—that is, to create a sense of identity and belonging that differentiates us from the “other”—he acknowledges that some myths are more dangerous than others. The historian’s task, in his view, is to “help the group he or she addresses and celebrates to survive and prosper in a treacherous and changing world by knowing more about itself and others.”⁶¹ The ability to recognize and appreciate the origin of divergent historical narratives is an imperative skill for bridging the divide between groups in conflict. Learning to listen and hear two sides of an historical conflict helps to explain its intractability and gives both parties human faces, encouraging empathy for both sides.

Content indicators for a learning strand on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (1914–1949) include:

- Students will describe Palestinian society and explain how its features and characteristics enhanced or obstructed the development of Palestinian nationalism.
- Students will identify and analyze events that contributed to the strengthening of Palestinian nationalism.
- Students will evaluate the effectiveness and morality of British policy during World War One and their administration of the Palestine Mandate.
- Students will evaluate the effectiveness and morality of the decisions by the Zionist, Palestinian, and world leadership in response to the UNSCOP plan to partition Palestine (1947).
- Students will identify, construct, and explain the origin and significance of divergent historical narratives.
- Students will reflect on why the Jews achieved their national independence and the Palestinians did not.

Essential Question: How do national groups become independent countries?

Sample Unit Plan

Topic One: British Policy—Responsible or Irresponsible?

Activity One: Simulating Secret Diplomacy

⁶¹ William McNeill “Mythistory, or Truth, Myth and Historians,” American Historical Association December 1985, p 22.

Activity Two: Document Analysis

Topic Two: Palestinian Society and Politics

Activity One : Analyzing Palestinian Society

Activity Two: What Are the Origins of Palestinian National Identity?

Topic Three: Dilemmas of Leadership

Activity One : The Partition of Palestine

Activity Two: Leaders Respond to Partition of Palestine

Topic Four: Divergent Historical Narratives

Activity One : Independence and al-Nakba

Activity Two: Objectivity and Bias Regarding the First Arab-Israeli War

Activity Three: The Case of Deir Yassin

Topic One: British Policy—Responsible or Irresponsible?

Students examine British policy in the Middle East and Palestine during World War One, between the World Wars, and prior to turning the Palestine problem over to the United Nations in 1947. Role-playing stakeholders in the Middle East, students conduct a close analysis of primary source documents before simulating secret diplomacy aimed at advancing the interests of the various stakeholders and achieving a more stable Middle East. Along the way, students come to conclusions about the motivation, morality, and efficacy of British policies.

Activity 1: Simulating Secret Diplomacy

Objectives:

- Students will identify goals of the Hashemites, Jews, British, Palestinians, and Ottomans during World War One.
- Students will understand how the dynamics of secret diplomacy and the formation of alliances may act as a catalyst to conflict.
- Students will discuss the role of ethics in international diplomacy.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: Textbook reading on Allied and Central powers in World War One. Create a handout or orally explain the goals of the Hashemite rulers in Mecca and the Yishuv (Jewish) and Arab communities of Palestine. Here is a summary of the main points to include:

- Hashemite sheiks were eager to become the leaders of a large Arab state that would encompass the territories ruled by the Ottoman Turks.
- The Yishuv aspired to obtaining support for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.
- The Arab population of Palestine was in the process of economic and social modernization and beginning to develop a national identity.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Assign a textbook reading on alliances during World War One and the goals and/or difficulties of the Allies in conducting the war. Students should understand that Britain and France, in 1914, are imperial powers with extensive colonial territories in Africa and Asia, although not in the Middle East.
- Discuss why the Allies would be interested in creating alliances with the peoples of the Middle East (e.g., to oppose the Ottoman Turks and facilitate the defeat of the enemy, secure trade routes to the east, control ports and naval bases in the eastern Mediterranean, and obtain access to oil in Mosul, located in present day Iraq).

- Divide students into groups that represent the Hashemites, Yishuv, Palestinian Arabs, and Ottomans during World War One. Students role-players discuss their vision of a post-World War One Middle East and together brainstorm strategies for achieving their goals. Students should consider:
 - To whom should each group turn for help?
 - What can they offer in exchange for help in securing their goals and interests?
 - Is it ethical to approach groups who are in opposition to one another and simultaneously offer support for their causes?
- Once groups have decided whom to approach and what offers to make, allow students to send group messages (closed diplomacy) to one another via the teacher-courier. Messages would express their vision of a new Middle East and might include offers to establish alliances, make territorial deals, or render military, financial, or political assistance toward achieving goals.
- After two or three rounds of diplomatic communication, have groups report their understanding of what they have achieved. Are they closer to their goal now than they were before diplomatic initiatives began? Share the contents of the latest round of messages. Ask to what extent did the players behave honestly and ethically in their communication? Is this important?
- Close with students writing a reflective response to the prompt: Will the diplomatic initiatives we experienced create a more stable or more conflict-filled Middle East, and why?

Lesson 2: Document Analysis

Objectives:

- Students will evaluate the efficacy, ethics, and anticipated outcomes of British diplomacy during World War One.
- Students will analyze primary source documents for motivation, purpose, audience, language, and content.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: This lesson is based on documents readily available at the Web sites indicated or through a search. Download documents for students or have them locate them on the Internet.

- The McMahon Letter, 1915 (<http://www.iap.org/mcmahon.htm>)
- The Balfour Declaration, 1917 (<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/History/balfour.html>.)
- The Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916 (see <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm>)
- The League of Nations Mandate, 1919 (see <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm>)
- The Sykes-Picot Agreement map (<http://www.usisrael.org/jsource/image/maps/sykes1.gif>.)

Handout 6.1–Document Analysis Worksheet. For a map of Palestine in 1915, see a historical atlas of the Middle East.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Each of the documents in this exercise is an example of public or private diplomacy during and after the conclusion of World War One. Students will be able to compare them to the examples of diplomacy they role-played in class in the previous lesson and will discover that real documents are often ambiguous and open to contradictory interpretations.
- Divide the class into small groups, assign each group one of the above documents, and distribute **Handout 6.1–Document Analysis Worksheet** to each student.
- Students read and analyze their document together, filling out the worksheet.
- When this step is completed, redivide students so each is sitting in a group in which each document is represented.
- Students share findings. It should become apparent that:
 - The boundaries in the McMahon Letter are not clear.
 - The Balfour Declaration could be construed to contradict the McMahon Letter.
 - The Sykes-Picot Agreement could be construed to contradict both the McMahon Letter and the Balfour Declaration.
- Class discussion can focus on British motivations and the wisdom of issuing both the Balfour and McMahon documents. Other documents highlight the

fault lines between the European powers and their Hashemite allies and expose the manner in which the establishment of the Mandate system enabled Britain and France to retain control of the Middle East in keeping with the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Finally, the absence of diplomatic attention to the Arabs of Palestine is suggestive of the big powers' perception of Palestinians' secondary role during the war years.

Student Handout 6.1**Document Analysis Worksheet**

Title of Document: _____

Date of Document: _____

Author: _____

Immediate Audience (Public or Private?): _____

Purpose of Document:

Summary of Document: _____

Tricky Language:

How does the vocabulary used or phraseology affect the meaning of the document? Is there potential for ambiguity or misunderstanding? Explain.

What interest groups would support or oppose this document and why?

If the document speaks about territory, consult an historical atlas. Are the boundaries clear or ambiguous? Explain.

Consult with students who analyzed a document different from yours. What similarities or contradictions do you discover when you compare the documents?

How would this document affect the political climate in the Middle East if its provisions were put into effect?

Activity Two: Debating British Policy During the Mandate Years (1920–1947)

The British government soon found itself administering a Palestine Mandate fraught with conflict. Although there were periods of calm and equilibrium between the Jewish and Palestinian factions, the waves of Jewish immigration, the British statement of commitment to fulfilling the Balfour Declaration, and the clashes over holy sites and the sale of land to Jewish settlers made it difficult for Britain to maintain peace and order. In this activity, students evaluate the British policies followed at key points in the developing conflict. This can be done by examining a chronology of events, by presenting policy through students role-playing key personalities, or by conducting mini debates.

Objectives:

- Students will become familiar with the dilemmas Britain faced as the mandatory power in Palestine, attempting to maintain peace in a region of ethnic conflict.
- Students will evaluate the solutions Britain found for these dilemmas.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Handout 6.2–A Chronology of Events. Handout 6.3–Personality List and British Dilemma List. Handout 6.4–Background Reading

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Students should read the background reading before class.
- Select one of the classroom options for teaching this segment.
 - Option 1: Assign personalities to students. Students research their personality and present the policy dilemma to the class along with their proposed solution. Students playing the role of historians interview the personality for more information and prepare their evaluation of the policies proposed. Evaluators must explain the rationale they used in making their judgment. The class can critique the proposal by writing newspaper editorials on the proposed policies.
 - Option 2: Student groups receive a description of dilemmas facing British administrators. Group members prepare two opposing responses which they deliver as “Poster Talks” on a specific issue such as holy sites, immigration, or land sales. After each side has presented their solution to the dilemma, the class votes on which one it would have supported and discusses why.

Assessments:

- Write an essay that answers the question: How did British policy contribute to the intensification and fulfillment of nationalistic goals in Palestine.
- Debate the proposition: This “house” believes that the British government was a responsible ruler of Palestine during the Mandate years.

Student Handout 6.2

A Chronology of Events

- 1917–1920 Occupied Enemy Territory Administration governs Palestine.
- 1920–1925 High Commissioner Herbert Samuel governs the Palestine Mandate. A Zionist and a Jew, Samuel is committed to fulfilling the goal of the Balfour Declaration while maintaining the integrity of Arab rights and interests. He attempts to establish a joint representative assembly of Palestinians and Jews, but neither side is ready to cooperate, the Jewish community because they are a minority in the country and the Palestinians because they reject the notion of sharing governance with the Jews.
- 1919–1923 A third wave of Jewish immigration, numbering 37,000, enters Palestine. Riots, violence and disorders follow. Herbert Samuel appoints Haj Amin el-Husseini Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. A charismatic and radical religious leader and politician, Haj Amin el Husseini announces that the goal of the Supreme Muslim Council is the destruction of the Yishuv community.
- 1922 Winston Churchill announces a White Paper, or policy decision:
- i. England is committed to fulfilling the Balfour Declaration.
 - ii. The Jewish people have a right to return to Palestine. Immigration is to be controlled by the economic capacity of the country to absorb new immigrants.
 - iii. The Balfour Declaration does not stipulate that all of Palestine is to be set aside as a Jewish homeland.
 - iv. The territory of Transjordan is to be separated from Palestine and closed to Jewish immigration.
- Fourth *Aliyah* (78,000 immigrants) arrive from Russia and Poland.
- 1929 Hebron Riots in which 500 Jews and 116 Arabs are killed or injured. The Shaw Commission convenes to investigate the riots. It concludes that the cause was animosity resulting from Palestinian disappointment over their economic and political future. The commission recommends reviewing immigration policy, formulating new land policy, safeguarding the rights of non-Jews, and holding an inquiry into the rights and claims to the Western Wall. Colonial Secretary Passfield limits Jewish immigration following the recommendations of the Shaw Commission, but Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald blocks implementation.
- 1931 Pan-Islamic Congress held in Jerusalem.

- 1933 Arab Executive Committee protests Jewish purchase of land. The Nazi Party comes to power in Germany, winning 44 percent of the popular vote.
- 1936–1939 The Arab Revolt, in the form of general strikes and armed rebellion by Palestinians, targets the Jews and the British. Britain suppresses the rebellion. Palestinian nationalism is strengthened, but leadership is exiled or executed, and competing elites struggle with new leadership arising from the rural and working class. Haj Amin el Husseini is exiled and flees, first to Damascus and later to Nazi Germany.
- 1937 The Peel Commission studies the feasibility of partition and recommends it. According to the Peel plan, the Jewish state would occupy 20 percent of the territory.
- 1938 Kristallnacht, or the “Night of Broken Glass,” takes place throughout Germany. Jewish synagogues, homes, and businesses are destroyed in a planned attack on Jewish communities by the Nazi government. These pogroms receive wide publicity throughout the world.
- May, 1939 In a controversial White Paper put out by Prime Minister MacDonald, the government of Britain announced that:
- The Balfour Declaration is considered fulfilled.
 - Jewish immigration is to be limited to 75,000 for the next five years. Further immigration will be subject to Arab consent.
 - Jewish purchase of land will require the consent of the High Commissioner.
 - An independent Palestine would be established in ten years, provided that agreement is reached. In the event that no agreement is reached, the British will continue to administer the Mandate.
- September, 1939 World War Two begins with Germany’s invasion of Poland.

Student Handout 6.3

Personality List and British Dilemma List

Personalities

- **Herbert Samuel:** The first High Commissioner appointed to govern in the Palestine Mandate. Herbert Samuel was a Jew who supported the Balfour Declaration.
- **Winston Churchill:** An official in the Colonial Office during the Mandate years, Churchill sympathized with Zionism but issued the White Paper of 1922.
- **Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald:** MacDonald was faced with deciding what British policy on Jewish immigration and land sales should be during the period following the Hebron Riots in 1929 and the 1936–39 Arab Revolt. Following an appeal by Dr. Chaim Weitzmann, a Zionist leader, MacDonald decided not to implement the restrictions recommended by Lord Passfield in 1930 that limited Jewish immigration and land sales. In 1939, his administration published the MacDonald White Paper.
- **Haj Amin el-Husseini:** Trained in Cairo as a religious scholar and cleric, Haj Amin el Husseini was a fierce opponent of the Yishuv and competing notable families. Sentenced in 1920 for inciting riots, he was pardoned in 1921 and appointed by Herbert Samuel to be the President of the Supreme Muslim Council (1922–37). Later, he became the President of the Arab Higher Committee and an initial organizer of the Arab Revolt. In 1937, he was exiled from Palestine and spent time in Nazi Germany as a guest of Adolph Hitler.
- **Ragheb Nashashibi:** Trained as an engineer, Ragheb Nashashibi held important posts during the Ottoman administration and during the Mandate. He was a delegate to the General Syrian Congress in 1919 and served as the mayor of Jerusalem between 1920 and 1934. He was also a leader in the Palestine National Party. The influential Nashashibi family, well-known for its moderation and willingness to cooperate with the ruling powers, was an opponent of the Husseini family.
- **David Ben-Gurion:** The Labor Zionist leader of the Yishuv and head of the Vaad Leumi (National Committee/Jewish Agency), Ben-Gurion maintained that the Balfour Declaration, written into the Mandate document by the League of Nations, had legal standing. Ben-Gurion was determined to do everything possible to enable Jewish immigrants to enter Palestine and to establish at least a national home in Palestine for the Jews, at best, a Jewish state. Ben-Gurion and other Zionist leaders such as Golda Meir were ready to compromise on territory and accept partition, but not to give up on the idea of a Jewish majority in its own land. These mainstream leaders advocated a policy of self-restraint, avoiding violence unless necessary for self-defense.

- **Chaim Weitzmann:** A cosmopolitan figure and scientist, Weitzmann became a leader of the Zionist cause. He was well-received in diplomatic circles around the world and became a spokesman for the Zionist community. During World War One, he aided the British war effort by developing acetylene, used in the making of weapons. His persuasive eloquence and moderation made him well-respected.
- **Binyamin Zeev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky:** A Revisionist Zionist who believed that the entire Palestine Mandate, including the sector partitioned off in 1922 into the Kingdom of Transjordan, belonged to the Jewish people, Jabotinsky repudiated the notion of territorial compromise and advocated Jewish settlement on both sides of the Jordan River. Jabotinsky recognized that it would be necessary to fight for this endeavor and hence advocated the formation of aggressive military units.

British Dilemma List

The British Government has always considered Palestine to be of strategic importance to the Empire. Already during World War One, British strategists were planning for Britain's eventual control of the region. The local inhabitants—the Arab majority and the Jewish minority—represent different cultures, ideologies, levels of modernity, and religious affiliations. Conflict surrounds the question of land sales to Jews, levels of Jewish immigration, administration and preservation of the right to worship at holy sites, and the maintenance of law and order when violent clashes occur. Although the Foreign Office of His Majesty's Government has evidenced public sympathy for the Zionist cause through such declarations as the Balfour Letter, the Colonial Office has traditionally been pro-Arab, pointing out that there are more Arabs in the region than Jews, and that outside of Palestine, Middle Eastern oil is in Arab territory. There are major clashes in the 1920s and, as instability in Europe worsens during the 1930s, the Arab Revolt breaks out, during which British and Jewish institutions and people are targeted.

Your task is to develop a policy that deals with the difficult issues that threaten the peace and security of Palestine and its people as well as British colonial interests. List the main points of your policy on a chart and be ready to defend your solution. After your presentation, the government will vote on the proposals.

Student Handout 6.4

Background Reading on the British Mandate in Palestine

During the years following World War One, Britain governed Palestine. Between 1918 and 1920, Britain ruled the area under the Occupied Enemy Territory Act since it had been captured from the Ottoman Turks. From 1920–47 it was called the Palestine Mandate, and Britain's rule was authorized by the League of Nations as laid out in the Mandate document.

At first (1920–29), the Mandate was characterized by general equilibrium, and each community developed a great deal of autonomy. The Jewish Yishuv was represented by the Vaad Leumi, or Jewish Agency, with David Ben-Gurion at its head. The Palestinian Arabs were represented by the Supreme Muslim Council led by Haj Amin el-Husseini. Although the first High Commissioner, Herbert Samuel, envisioned a joint Arab-Jewish legislative council making laws for the local population, neither side would agree to this. The Jews, realizing that they were a minority, feared being outnumbered, and the Arabs refused to cooperate in a government that recognized Jewish claims to Palestine as a national homeland.

During this period of equilibrium, there were sporadic outbreaks of violence as Haj Amin el-Husseini openly announced that the Arab goal should be the destruction of the Yishuv community. In 1922, the Kingdom of Transjordan was created out of the eastern portion of Palestine, and Abdullah, son of Hussein Ibn Ali (the Hashemite Sherif of Mecca to whom Britain had promised a kingdom), was placed on the throne. In 1929, there was a major riot in Hebron that spread to Jerusalem and killed or injured 500 Jews and 116 Arabs. Recognizing that the issues of Jewish immigration to Palestine, land sales, and development were critical problems, the British began to rethink the practicality of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

During the 1930s, increasing violence culminated in an Arab Revolt that lasted from 1936 to 1939 and encompassed the entire territory. Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and the outbreak of World War Two in 1939 contributed to the deteriorating situation in Palestine as more and more Jews requested permission to enter Palestine. In 1939, Great Britain altered its immigration policy by issuing the MacDonald White Paper.

When the war ended in 1945 and the full horror of the Holocaust was exposed to the world, the Yishuv applied mounting pressure on Britain to allow survivors to enter Palestine and to turn the Jewish national homeland into an independent state. Palestinian Arabs rejected this formula, maintaining that the Holocaust and a growing Jewish presence in Palestine could not justify the creation of a Jewish state on Palestinian lands. Britain stood firm on its policy of restricting immigration of Jews. Refugees captured attempting to enter Palestine illegally were held in detention camps on the island of Cyprus. The government claimed that entry of Jewish survivors in mass numbers would result in civil war in Palestine and must be avoided at all costs.

The situation deteriorated after 1945 as Palestinians and Jews increasingly attacked one another. Illegal Haganah military units provided defense against Palestinian attacks; the Lehi and Etzel militias were followers of Jabotinsky's Revisionist

ideology and were more extreme in their tactics. Violent raids on British installations such as the railroad yards and Mandate headquarters at the King David Hotel left a bloody trail in their wake. The Lehi and Etzel hoped that these attacks would force the British out of Palestine. Meanwhile, the Yishuv conducted a program of illegal immigration by which they spirited boatloads of Holocaust survivors into the country clandestinely.

Although previous plans to partition Palestine had been studied by Britain in 1937 and been rejected, by February 1947, Britain was looking for a way out of Palestine. On November 29, 1947, the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two separate states, one Jewish and one Palestinian. Simultaneously, Britain began to make plans to leave Palestine.

Topic 2: Palestinian Society and Politics

This segment provides students with an opportunity to study the socioeconomic features of Palestinian society and the experiences that contributed to the formation of their national identity. Some clues regarding the Yishuv's advantaged position in state-building emerge when comparing leaderships, experience in government, and levels of modernity.

Activity 1: Analyzing Palestinian Society

Objectives:

- Students will describe the socioeconomic features of Palestinian society.
- Students will reflect on and predict the impact of these features on the process of building a nation-state.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Handout 6.5–Statistical Tables Documenting Employment, Population, and Distribution. Handout 6.6–Arab Leadership in Palestine Before 1948.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Distribute **Handouts 6.5** and **6.6**.
- Task students with inferring levels of modernity within the Palestinian sector, the strength of the economy, the nature of leadership, and degree of unity.
- Have students write a preliminary statement of how these features will influence Palestinian efforts to prevent expansion of the Yishuv's power and importance in Palestine.
- If time remains, screen the PowerPoint® presentation “What Are the Origins of Palestinian National Identity,” or at least the early frames that provide background on Palestinian history and society.
- Remind students that data gathered and (and discussion based on that data) will be applied to answering this unit's central question: How do national groups secure status as a recognized country?

Student Handout 6.5

Statistical Tables Documenting Employment, Population, and Distribution

Use the following tables to draw conclusions about the strength of the Palestinian economy before 1948, and the character of its society. Notice the comparisons with the Jewish Yishuv where they appear. How might these characteristics have influenced the outcome of the Palestinian community's struggle with the Yishuv?

Palestine Before 1948

Information compiled from *The Birth of the Palestine Refugee Problem, 1947–1949* by Benny Morris (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 7–11.

Arab Population by Residence in 1947

Population	1.2–1.3 million
Ethnicity	1.1 million Muslims; 150,000 Christians
Residents of Villages	65–70% in 800–850 villages
Residents of Towns or Cities	30–35%
Bedouin (Non-Settled)	5%

Arab Employment Before 1948

Agricultural Peasants (Fellaheen)	60–62%
Urban Arab Workers	40–38%
Light Industry	30–35%
Transportation	15%
Commerce	20–23%
Professions	5–7%
Public Service	5–7%
Other	6–9%

- Total number of Arab workers employed in industry: 35,000 workers
- Total number of Jews employed in industry 38,000 workers
- Total number of Arab industrial workshops: 1500, employing 9000 workers. Palestine Arab industries produced soap, olive oil, clothes, cigarettes, shoes, and bread

Handout 6.6

Arab Leadership in Palestine Before 1948

Use the following table to identify the character of Palestinian leadership before 1948. How might these patterns of leadership have influenced the outcome of the Palestinian community's struggle with the Yishuv?

Leadership in the Palestinian community came from an elite group of urban families. Members of these families held the positions of landowners, professionals, merchants, mayors, religious leaders, and intellectuals. Power and influence depended more on local or regional loyalties than on unified Palestinian ones. The Arab Higher Committee that numbered 32 members in 1940 had 24 members from this privileged group. The remaining members were middle class or lower middle class. There were no members who represented the working class or peasant classes.

Notable Family	Organization/ Party	Region of Control	Leader/Comments
Husseini Family	Supreme Muslim Council (in charge of holy sites, mosques, schools and orphanages) Palestine Arab Party	Jerusalem, with allies in surrounding villages and in Samaria and Gaza	Haj Amin el Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem; the Husseini family supported an end to the Mandate, formation of an Arab state, civil and religious rights for the Jewish minority, no Jewish immigration to Palestine
Nashashibi Family	National Defense Party	Jerusalem, opposing the Husseini family, with allies among the powerful families of Nablus, Hebron, and Nazareth	The Nashashibi family, opposed to the militant tactics of the Husseinis, were moderates who cooperated with the British and the Yishuv
Abd al Hadis Family	Istiqlal Party, a pan-Arab party also known as the Independence Party	Opponents of the Husseini family, connected to influential groups in Syria	Called for non-cooperation with the British, an end to the Mandate, and resistance to Zionism

Khalidi Family	Reform Party	Focused on preserving Khalidi family interests in Jerusalem, moderate in orientation	Advocated unification of Palestine and Jordan
Christian Palestinian Leaders		Haifa, Jaffa	Typically urban, well-educated, less hostile to Yishuv, and more closely linked to the British Mandate than Muslims were

A note about political parties in Palestine before 1948: All the parties except for the Istqlal (Pan-Arab) Party called for Palestinian independence, although their attitudes towards the Yishuv varied. None of the parties maintained internal institutions such as dues collection or periodical elections. Most of the notable families were affiliated with the Husseini or the Nashashibi families. Regionalism and local loyalties were of primary importance amongst the leadership.

Activity 2: What Are the Origins of Palestinian National Identity?**Objectives:**

- Students will understand that Palestinian national identity is the product of a complex interplay of economic, political, and social forces shaped by events in Palestine, the Middle East, and the world.
- Students will compare and contrast the development of Palestinian nationalism with that of Jewish nationalism.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: PowerPoint® presentation “What Are the Origins of Palestinian National Identity?”

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Screen the PowerPoint® presentation that examines Palestinian society and the development of nationalism from the 19th century through 2011. This presentation dispels the myth that there was no national inspiration amongst the Palestinians by documenting early expressions of nationalism before and after 1880. Students understand that Palestinian nationalism was connected to the economic modernization and reform taking place in the Ottoman Empire, the rise of Arab Nationalism elsewhere in the region, the arrival and settlement of Zionist immigrants, and the clash of European powers during the World Wars.
- Teachers should discuss slides that require clarification or that ask for student interactive responses.
- At the conclusion of the show, have students reflect on what they have learned from the statistical evidence and the slide show. What contradictions or corroboration do they discover?

Assessment:

Have students compare and contrast the formation of Palestinian and Jewish national identities.

Topic 3: Dilemmas of Leadership

Just as the British faced dilemmas in their administration of the Mandate, the leaders of the Yishuv and the Palestinian community faced tough decisions that would shape the developing conflict. In this segment, students wrestle with the questions of how much compromise is too much and whether some compromises should be made at all. The focus of the decision making is the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine's plan to partition Palestine into two separate countries, one Arab and one Jewish. Students look at this question from the point of view of different expressions of Zionism, Palestinian activist groups, members of the UNSCOP Committee, and other members of the UN.

Activity 1: The Partition of Palestine

Objectives:

- Students will experience the inherent difficulties in dividing the Palestine Mandate into separate states by creating their own partition plan as if they were the UNSCOP Committee.
- Students will discuss the merits and deficiencies of Partition as a solution to the conflict over Palestine.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

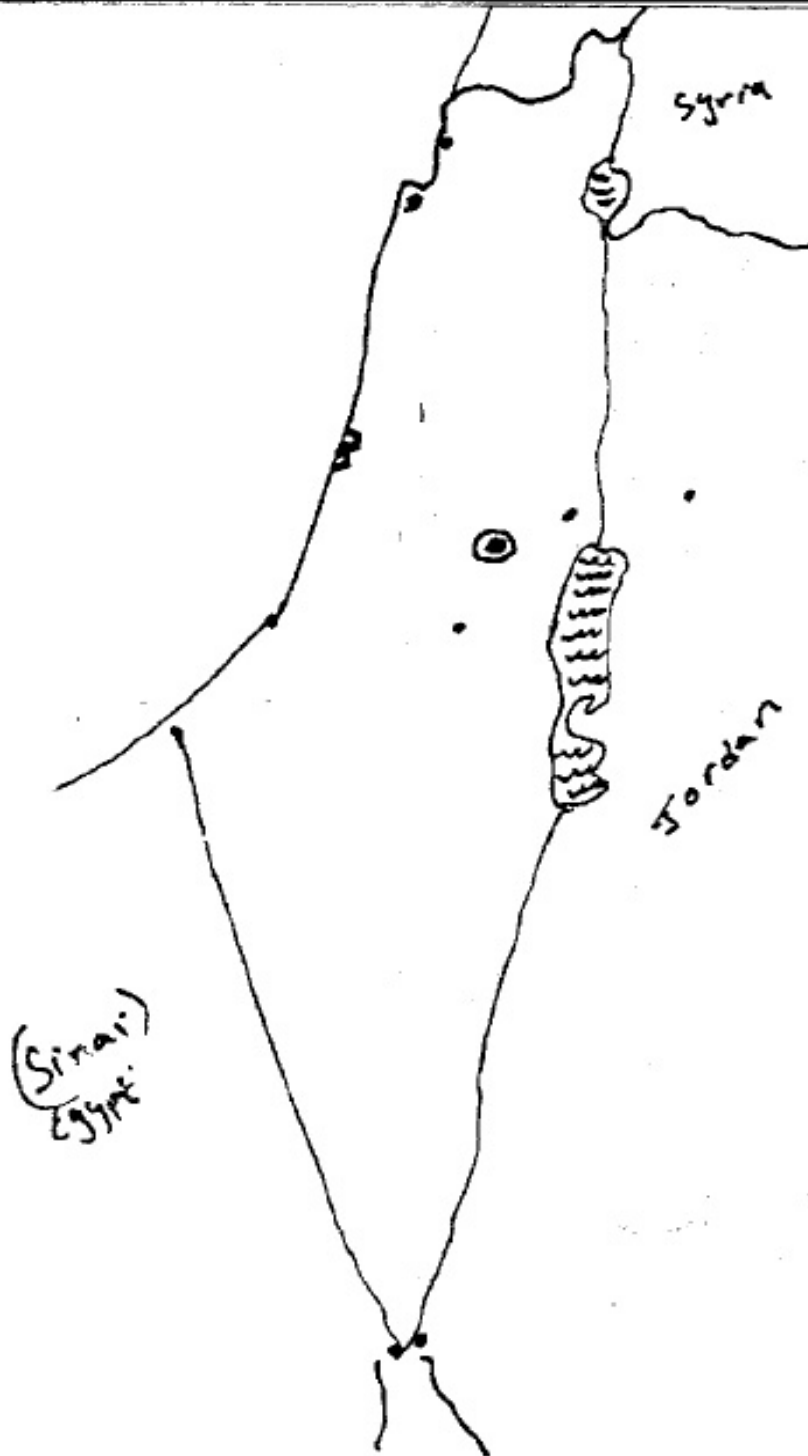
Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 6.7–Blank Map of Palestine Before Partition.** Atlas with detailed maps of Palestine in 1947 and Israel and the Palestine Authority (West Bank) today.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Tell the class that in 1947 the British government turned the Palestine problem over to the recently established United Nations to resolve the conflict.
2. The UN appointed a Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to study the problem closely and to develop a proposal for resolving the crisis.
3. UNSCOP recommended partitioning Palestine into two countries, one Arab and one Jewish.
4. Ask the class what the committee would need to consider before drawing a proposed boundary (e.g., geographic factors like seaports and areas of fertile land, economic factors like availability of water and other natural resources, cultural factors like locations of holy sites, and demographic factors like concentrations of ethnic populations).
5. Locate the towns that were predominantly Arab in 1947 on a map (Hebron, Lod, Ramle, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jaffa, Ramallah, Nablus, Acre).
6. Locate the cities that were predominantly Jewish in 1947 on a map (Tel Aviv, Ashkelon, Tiberias, Haifa, Rishon Le Zion, Petah Tikva, Netanya).

7. Find out the demography of Jerusalem, including the Old City and neighborhoods outside the Old City walls. What should the Committee plan for Jerusalem in light of the partition?
8. Have students work on designing their own partition plan.
9. When the student plans are complete, display a few and discuss them with the class. What criteria were easiest to fulfill, and why? What were the difficulties in drawing the map? Are the maps practical and fair? Do you think the Palestinians and Jews would be ready to accept these plans? Why or why not?

Student Handout 6.7 Blank Map of Palestine Before Partition (1946)**6.7****Activity 2: Leaders Respond to Partition of Palestine**

Objectives:

- Students will understand the provisions of the UNSCOP partition plan.
- Students will understand the dilemmas confronting Palestinians, Zionists, and world leaders when they voted on the partition plan.
- Analyzing and evaluating UN General Assembly Resolution 181, students will debate the ethics of United Nations intervention in a regional conflict such as Palestine.
- Students will predict and analyze the results of the United Nations General Assembly vote.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: UN Resolution 181 on the Partition of Palestine (available online and in documentary readers such as *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* by Ian Bickerton and Carla Klausner, 1999. **Handout 7.8–Chart of General Assembly Voting Results.** Optional material: online information assembled by Ben-Gurion University in conjunction with online simulation *Crucial Decisions: Israel's Struggle for Independence* (<http://www.netdays.org.il/projects/pr31.htm>).

Step-by-Step Directions:

1. Distribute copies of the map drawn by the UNSCOP in 1947 that proposed partition of Palestine. Discuss the features of the plan. (Two separate states with contiguous borders; the comparative the geographical characteristics, advantages and disadvantages of each state; Jerusalem as an international city surrounded by territory controlled by the Arab state.) Evaluate the plan using the same criteria students used to develop their own maps.
2. Divide the class into roles such as David Ben-Gurion, Menachem Begin (revisionist and leader of the violent underground Irgun movement), Chaim Weitzmann, supporters of the Husseini family, supporters of the Nashashibi family, the United States, the Soviet Union, and assorted UN members from different continents of the world.
3. Students may consult personality sheets already used in previous lessons or research their figure's view on partition.
4. Foreign governments must establish operative criteria for coming to a decision on how to vote. For example, will they vote on the moral issues involved, the practicality of the plan, ethnic loyalties, or the political or economic interests of the country they represent?
5. Call the roll of nations represented in the classroom and conduct a mock vote.
6. Students can debrief by discussing the merits of voting for or against the plan.
7. Compare the mock vote with the actual vote. Convert **Handout 6.8–Chart of General Assembly Voting** to a transparency or IWB file and project it for the class.
8. Discuss whether or not there was a pattern to the voting in the General Assembly. Students will notice that Western Europe and North America voted for partition; Muslim and Arab countries opposed partition; the Soviet Bloc

supported partition, except for non-aligned Yugoslavia; Latin American countries were divided; and the United Kingdom abstained.

Handout 6.8

Chart of General Assembly Voting

Country	Yes	No	Abstain	Country	Yes	No	Abstain
Afghanistan		X		Lebanon		X	
Argentina			X	Liberia	X		
Australia	X			Luxembourg	X		
Belgium	X			Mexico			X
Bolivia	X			Netherlands	X		
Brazil	X			New Zealand	X		
Byelorussia	X			Nicaragua	X		
Canada	X			Norway	X		
Chile			X	Pakistan		X	
China			X	Panama	X		
Colombia			X	Paraguay	X		
Costa Rica	X			Peru	X		
Cuba		X		Philippines	X		
Czechoslovakia	X			Poland	X		
Denmark	X			Saudi Arabia		X	
Dominican Republic	X			Siam			X
Ecuador	X			Sweden	X		
Egypt		X		Syria		X	
El Salvador			X	Turkey		X	
Ethiopia			X	Ukraine	X		
France	X			Union of South Africa	X		
Greece		X		USSR	X		
Guatemala	X			United Kingdom (Britain)			X
Haiti	X			USA	X		
Honduras			X	Uruguay	X		
Iceland	X			Venezuela	X		
India		X		Yemen		X	
Iran		X		Yugoslavia			X
Iraq		X		Total	33	13	10

Topic Four: Divergent Historical Narrative

This segment challenges students to confront differing versions of the same historical events and to appreciate the role that historical narrative plays in forming identities and perpetuating or resolving conflicts. The problem of discovering the truth about the past, written about extensively by historiographers and philosophers, hinges on the strain between the belief that meticulous research and the scientific method can go a long way toward reconstructing the past and the recognition that the necessarily incomplete historical record can justifiably lead to diverging perceptions of events.

Infatuated with scientific and modern processes of inquiry, the historicist school of the 19th century attempted to raise history to the level of science, albeit more akin to the social sciences than the physical or biological ones. Today we recognize the limitations of historical inquiry and focus on interpreting events as we perceive them and revisiting the viewpoints of historians who present the “truth” as they see it to the public and readership. That historical truth is elusive, and that there are connections between the men and women who write history and the times that they live in, is an important lesson for students to learn. Furthermore, our goal should be to teach students the skills they need to read primary and secondary sources critically, and to identify point of view and detect bias, whether a result of omission, exaggeration, or commission.

Examining divergent historical narratives, however, also provides important clues to the identities of the individuals who lived through the events and the meaning these events hold for the generations who follow. Historical narratives, retold orally, learned in school, presented in the popular media, commemorated in ceremonies, and immortalized in memorial sculptures, museums, literature, and the arts, take on a life of their own and merit analysis. While it is important to point out similarities and differences in historical accounts, the purpose of the analysis is not simply to discover rightness or wrongness. Our conclusions, after all, are necessarily shaped by our own biases and assumptions. Another purpose in examining diverging accounts is to understand the differing perceptions engendering the accounts and to acquire empathy for the human beings who experienced the events described.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is an outstanding case in which divergent historical narratives have had a major impact on the conduct of the conflict and will continue to exercise influence on its outcome in the future. Awareness of these narratives will deepen student appreciation of the complexity and intractability of the conflict, as well as building empathy. Finally, it is from these divergent narratives, if we learn to listen and comprehend them, that we may be able to locate the thread that will lead out of the labyrinth of conflict to resolution.

Activity 1: Independence and *al-Nakba*

Objectives:

- Students will identify the significant features of the Israeli and Palestinian narratives of history.

- Students will predict the impact of these narratives on attitudes, relations, and political futures of these two groups.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: The Israeli Declaration of Independence, available online through the Avalon Project (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/israel.htm>) and in documentary source books. Palestine Declaration of Independence, 1988 (<http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/pal/pal3.htm>).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Begin this lesson by demonstrating how different individuals experience events in different ways. This can be achieved by staging an event in the classroom and comparing eyewitness accounts, or by conducting a few perceptual exercises that demonstrate how perceptions can vary as a result of physiology (brain function), culture, past experiences, and expectations. This lesson is based on close textual analysis of the Israeli Declaration of Independence and the Palestine Declaration of Independence.
2. Begin with a review of the tools of analysis.
3. What is the main point of the document? Who is the audience it is intended for? What is the tone of the language and word choice? Have students distinguish the sections of the document that address the historical past, the rationale for independence, and the future of the new country. What values are expressed? How do the different circumstances under which the documents were drafted affect the nature of the content? Create a chart that tracks different perceptions of the same events.
4. Brainstorm with students all the reasons why the accounts differ (such as different experiences that formed the viewpoint, cultures, religious beliefs, personal suffering).
5. Develop class discussion by assigning “response groups” questions such as: How would attitudes of Palestinian and Israeli teenagers be affected by close study of these documents? Does the content of the documents suggest that there can be peaceful resolution of the conflict? Why or why not?
6. Optional: Assign Mahmoud Abbas’ statement to the UN on September 23, 2011, regarding Palestinian statehood (http://gadebate.un.org/sites/default/files/gastatements/66/PS_en.pdf).
7. Compare and contrast the two Palestinian statements?

Activity Two: Objectivity and Bias Regarding the First Arab-Israeli War (1948)

Objectives:

- Students will compare accounts of the 1948 war to identify point of view.
- Students will identify the controversial issues over which there is divergence of historical narrative.
- Students will understand the conduct of the war and its results.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 6.9–The Arab-Israeli War of 1948.** Additional accounts of the war available on the Internet or in library resources.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. This lesson achieves the dual purpose of both elaborating upon the first Arab-Israeli War from a source that purports to be objective and encouraging students to be critical readers. It differs from the previous assignments that presented texts from each of the sides in the conflict.
2. Distribute the text and do the analysis.
3. Compare this narrative with other sources in library books or sources on the Internet.
4. What are the issues that distinguish the reportage in these sources?
5. Conduct a discussion about the problems created or resolved by the 1948 war: e.g., responsibility for the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem, setting of borders, peace and violence in the region, the status of Jerusalem, the future of the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and the legitimacy of government by Hamas.

Student Handout 6.9

The Arab-Israeli War of 1948

The Partition Decision

For the Arabs throughout the Middle East, the UN decision to partition Palestine was viewed as an illegitimate attempt to find a compromise solution to a thorny problem that had already exacted a staggering toll in human terms. In Arab eyes, it was an affront to Islam as well as a colonial ploy that robbed the Palestinian people of land and self-determination. At best, it could be seen as a misguided effort by Western nations to atone at Arab expense for failing to prevent or alleviate Jewish suffering during the Holocaust. Neither interpretation was accepted by the Arab world. There would be no compromise—only war.

In Jewish eyes, the Arab point of view was unreasonable and stubborn. Surely the Jewish claim to a state in the Middle East was as valid as the Arab one? Palestine originally comprised lands east and west of the Jordan River. The creation of Transjordan in 1922 as the first partition, they argued, guaranteed Palestinian Arabs a sovereign state. The 1947 plan further divided the remaining territory, creating an additional Arab state in the Middle East. Should a single Jewish state in so small a corner of the region be so objectionable?

Arab refusal to accept the compromise plan voted by the UN, encountering Jewish determination to realize the statehood now legitimized by the world community, took immediate expression in sporadic civil war between Palestinian Arabs and Jews and culminated in an invasion by neighboring Arab states after Israel declared independence on May 15, 1948. As you read the following account of the war, consider:

- What enabled Israel to survive a war against multiple Arab states?
- How was the Middle East changed as a result of this war?
- What problems were solved or created by the war?

Strengths and Weaknesses of Arabs and Israelis

In comparing strengths and weaknesses of warring armies, it is difficult to measure the relative importance of factors that will determine the outcome. Is it weaponry or morale that gives one side the advantage? Is it manpower, strategic location, tactics, or timing that makes the critical difference?

The Arab-Israeli war that followed the euphoria of independence and the departure of the British turned on these factors. An Israeli population of 650,000 contributed 30,000 armed troops and 2800 fighters from right-wing militias. Facing them were 24,000 Arab regulars from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, in addition to the Palestinian fighters. Inferior Israeli armaments and limited resources for purchasing additional weapons were menacing realities. In 1948, the prophets of doom who predicted the quick destruction of Israel failed to consider the impact of variables besides manpower and weaponry.

Perhaps Israel's greatest advantage was its well-defined goal: survival. The civilians and soldiers who battled the invading armies and local Palestinian militias fought to preserve Jewish lives as well as national integrity. If defeated, there would be no retreat; with backs to the sea, it was either win or die. There was no choice. The impact of the "no alternative" attitude was tremendously significant in building determination and morale. In spite of their common Muslim and Arab backgrounds, the Syrian, Egyptian, Lebanese, and Iraqi armies could not muster commitment equal to that of the Israelis.

The Arab armies were also detached tactically. Mistrustful of each other and without a unified goal beyond the destruction of Israel, the Arab armies failed to coordinate their efforts effectively. Although the Jordanian Arab Legion, whose training as a fighting force had been perfected with the help of British military man John "Glubb Pasha" Glubb, presented a formidable enemy as they battled to secure the interests of King Abdullah of Jordan, the Palestinian fighting force was divided by conflicting rivalries amongst notable families.

Outcomes

Finally, the war that began in May 1948 and ended in January 1949 was conducted in a series of rounds interrupted by periods of truce during which both sides regrouped and rearmed. For Israel, this pacing was critically important.

The armistice of the first Arab-Israeli War left 4000 soldiers and 2000 civilians dead on the Israeli side, or one percent of the population. The new Jewish state was preserved, but not in the form the UN had proposed. The final truce came after bitter fighting in which Jordan occupied the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Israel also occupied greater sections in the north than had been allotted, and a wider strip of the coastal plain. Egypt occupied the territory known as the Gaza Strip. As a result of the invasion and subsequent fighting, the Palestinian state drawn by the UNSCOP committee never became a reality. An estimated 700,000 Palestinian Arabs left their homes and moved south to Egypt, east to Jordan, or north to Lebanon and Syria in search of safety. At the close of the war, these Palestinians found themselves living in refugee camps, sometimes only a few miles from their old homes, villages, and towns. Today, more than 60 years since the war, most refugees remain living in camps, their lands confiscated.

The Palestinian Refugee Issue

Since 1948, assigning responsibility for the creation of the refugee problem has played a central role in the historical narratives of both sides in the conflict. The Israeli position, until recently, has been that refugees fled because Arab leaders urged them to do so, and that the Israeli government actually encouraged them to remain. In the city of Haifa, where a large Arab population lived alongside the Jewish one, this is largely true. Records show, however, that many Palestinian refugees fled before the advancing Jewish army out of fear for their lives following the massacre in the village of Deir Yassin (April 10, 1948) and rumors of atrocities in other villages. In other sections of the country, the Israel Defense Forces showed up at Arab villages and ordered inhabitants to move out of the area. Thus, a combination of forces worked together to create the refugees. A history of intermittent violence between Arab and Jew, absolute Arab rejection of the proposed Jewish state, and the enormous losses of

Jewish lives and property sustained during the Holocaust convinced the Israeli government that the fewer Arabs in the infant state, the better. Only Arabs who were unable to retreat before the arrival of fast moving Israel Defense Forces remained in the country.

For the Arab world, their defeat and failure to destroy Israel was humiliating. No Arab state was prepared to recognize the legitimacy of Israel or to sign a peace treaty. The territorial gains by Egypt, Jordan, and Israel swallowed up the intended Palestinian state, and the displaced Palestinians turned into refugees living in political limbo in camps administered by the United Nations. Over the years, the refugees in Jordan and the West Bank were granted Jordanian citizenship, but this country was the only one to do so. Israelis had achieved Herzl's dream of establishing a state with a Jewish majority and character, but the Palestinian catastrophe would continue to haunt its existence. The coming years would bring Palestinian bomb attacks against Israeli and Jewish civilians inside and outside Israel, as well as terror attacks against international airliners and an economic boycott. Israel countered with reprisal attacks on Palestinian leadership and military actions in Palestinian towns, villages, and refugee camps after 1967.

Activity Three: The Case of Deir Yassin

The case of Deir Yassin, now recognized as an atrocity committed against Arab villagers by Irgun militias, is a pivotal event in the 1948 war. At this stage of the war, the fighting force was composed of the several military groups that had operated during the last years of the Mandate and that included the Lehi and Irgun (right wing revisionist militias) and the Haganah (the more moderate underground defense force of the Yishuv). For Palestinians, it is the most publicized example of an Israeli attack on civilians, an attack that ended in the deaths of 254 men, women, and children in a maneuver that took place on April 9th, 1948. This case is important because the Arab population, fearing a similar fate, was quick to abandon their homes after it occurred. Historians continue to ponder why a village with good relations with surrounding Jewish settlements was targeted for attack before the declaration of Israeli independence had taken place? Was it of strategic importance? Was the attack a reprisal for Arab attacks elsewhere? Was the village harboring Iraqi and Palestinian fighters? Mainstream leaders such as David Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir condemned the murders and disassociated the defenders of the Yishuv from the extreme actions of the Irgun. This case, once again, raises the question of how events are interpreted and enshrined in the collective memory. In this activity, students venture out into the Internet to assess perspectives on Deir Yassin and to come to conclusions of their own.

Objectives:

- Students will analyze and evaluate Web sites that present the case of Deir Yassin.
- Students will reflect on the motives behind the particular presentations they find.
- Students will experience the writing of historical narratives.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Several Web sites that present the story of Deir Yassin from different perspectives: e.g., the World Zionist Organization (www.zoa.org/pubs/DeirYassin.html). The Peace Encyclopedia (www.yahoodi.com/peace/deiryassin.html). The Peace Middle East Dialogue Group (www.ariga.com/peacewatch/dy/). Deir Yassin Remembered (www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/1998/1948/373_zbyg.htm).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Prepare an instruction sheet for students that includes selected Web sites and criteria for evaluating them. Be sure to visit the sites you select before sending your students to do so.
- Criteria may include: How authoritative is the source? Does the site have a commercial or educational purpose? How accurate is the information? Is the information verifiable? Who is the intended audience? Is bias detectable?

- Students should take substantive notes from the sites they analyze, and compare results with one another.
- Ask students whether the Web sites perpetuate one of the historical narratives we have studied or present an alternative interpretation. Bring examples from the site to illustrate.
- Students should attempt to write and compare their own historical narratives of Deir Yassin without notes in front of them.
- Classmates read the narratives and detect the points of view that are reflected there.

Assessments:

The Essential Question: How can we explain the fact that the Jewish people were successful in attaining statehood in 1948 while the Palestinian people failed?

Students write essays analyzing which of the following components of nation building were most responsible for the outcomes in 1948: 1) leadership, 2) training and experience, 3) Big Power support, 4) public opinion, 5) military power, 6) economic and social development, 7) ideology.

Design a Collage That Answers the Essential Question

Students create collages that compare the origins of Jewish and Palestinian nationalism and explain why one was successful in achieving its goals and the other was not.

Design a Postage Stamp for Mandatory Palestine

Between 1920 and 1947, the Mandatory government issued postage stamps for Palestine. There was great controversy over what language and imagery should appear on the stamps and how the territory should be named. Develop designs for two stamps to be printed in 1930. Adopt a different identity as the developer of each of the stamps. The identities to choose from include the British Colonial Office in Palestine, a member of the Supreme Muslim Council, and the Jewish Agency for Israel. Decide on the terminology and language you will use, as well as the images you will opt to engrave on your stamp. Images may be drawn from events in history, geography, personalities, holy sites, or recent events. Create your stamp by drawing, cutting and pasting, lettering text, etc. Accompany your stamps with written statements that explain your rationales. Your stamp may be conciliatory and compromising, nationalistic, or neutral and apolitical. You decide. When completed, compare and contrast your stamp with authentic Mandatory stamps that you find on the Internet.

A Chronology of Divergent History

Develop a chronology of ten significant turning points in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict between 1914 and 1948. Place the key events in a center column. On the right and left sides of the event, in separate columns, explain how each side in the conflict would interpret and understand the particular event differently, and why?

Chapter 7

Teaching About the Search for Peace

Conflict in the Middle East is not confined to the struggle between Israel and its neighbors, nor is the search for peace a recent development. The Gulf War (1991), the War in Iraq (2003–11), the Kurdish bid for autonomy, the Iran-Iraq war that ended in 1988, and the Lebanese Civil War (1975–90) are examples of conflicts engendered by a combination of disputes over interests and values rooted in economic and geopolitical agendas as well as culture and religion. Nevertheless, when we talk about the “search for peace” or the “peace process,” ten to one we are referring to a long history of diplomatic efforts that have ebbed and flowed through currents of war and violence between Arabs and Jews.

Students are bombarded with heart-rending media reports of terror throughout the world and often respond to a discussion about conflict with comments such as “Why can’t they just get along?” or “Why can’t the Jews and the Muslims share Jerusalem?” When a conflict has endured for so long, it appears to be a hopeless struggle. Students are sometimes impatient with the Arab-Israeli dilemma, a sentiment that may be reflective of popular opinion in segments of America’s population. Teaching about the search for peace, however, is an opportunity to teach not only about the history of the Middle East since 1948, but also about conflict management and resolution. Rather than completing their study with a sense of frustration and disillusionment, students can become empowered with knowledge and understanding of the process of conflict resolution, while at the same time learning about the patterns of development the conflict and the search for peace have taken in recent history. This chapter discusses:

- The profound impact of the Six Day War on Arabs, Israelis, and on the nature of the conflict between them.
- An overview of the progress and setbacks in the search for peace in the Middle East between Arabs (Palestinians and Arab governments) and Israelis.
- Alternative approaches to teaching about conflict resolution.

Why Was the Six Day War (1967) a Profound Turning Point in the Middle East?

A good place to embark on a study of the search for peace is the June War of 1967, the Six Day War. When Israel defeated the armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, it shattered the geopolitical status quo, changed the course of history for the Palestinian people, altered the map of the Middle East, and changed the nature of the conflict between Arabs and Jews in the region. These monumental changes engendered a search for peace that has twisted and turned through a labyrinth marked with violence, diplomacy, negotiation, and agreements ever since.

The capture by Israel of the Sinai Desert, the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and East Jerusalem transformed the Palestinian-Israeli conflict into a full-blown Arab-Israeli one. No longer were the major Arab states only sympathetic supporters of Palestinian efforts to dislodge Israel from the region, launching pads for terror operations against Israel, or powers wrangling with Israel over water rights. Now they claimed to be injured parties who had lost strategically important territory in war, a result considered by many to be inadmissible and illegitimate in the second half of the

20th century. Even countries not directly involved in the confrontation felt the common wound inflicted against Arab pride. Although Palestinian refugees had lived in United Nations Relief Works Administration (UNRWA) camps since 1948, after 1967 there was increased urgency to find a solution for their statelessness and humanitarian plight. The Khartoum Statement (1967) flatly rejected reconciliation, negotiation, or recognition of Israel after 1967, but the United Nations, in its landmark Security Council Resolution 242, articulated a guiding framework for achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East. A peace settlement would need to be comprehensive, addressing the needs of all the parties in the conflict. The main points included recognition of the sovereignty of all the states in the region (including Israel), open waterways, withdrawal by Israel from occupied territory, and a solution for the Palestinian refugee problem. Since 1967, this resolution and Resolution 338, passed at the time of the October War (Yom Kippur War/Ramadan War) of 1973 and reiterating a similar formula, have been the beacons ostensibly pointing the road to peace. Thus, the widening of the conflict to a broader Arab-Israeli (rather than strictly Arab-Palestinian) issue and the intervention of the UN are two important changes that followed in the wake of the June 1967 War.

Egyptian and Israeli Steps Toward Peace

Although President Nasser succeeded in remaining in control of Egypt following the catastrophic defeat of 1967, his role as a pan-Arab leader was definitely eclipsed. The War of Attrition with Israel along the Suez Canal in 1969 was his attempt to save national face. His death in 1970 paved the way for new leadership, that of his successor Anwar Sadat. Sadat shifted both his foreign and domestic policies in new directions. Abandoning Arab socialism, Sadat turned toward the United States as an ally and source of development aid. In the area of international politics, he, together with Syria, made war on Israel in 1973, and subsequently made peace overtures in 1977 after securing disengagement of his troops under the auspices of U.S. diplomacy brokered by Henry Kissinger. Although Sadat's goal had been to regain control of the Sinai and restore honor and pride to Egypt, Itamar Rabinovich, in his book *Waging Peace*, explains why and how the 1973 war contributed to peacemaking efforts.

Given the war's ambiguous outcome and the danger of resumed hostilities, the chief protagonists sought an accommodation, and their early agreements became the starting points for a new Arab-Israeli diplomacy led and driven by President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, whose sense of urgency derived from several sources: the energy crisis, the quadrupling of oil prices by Iran and the principal Arab oil producing states (which clearly took advantage of the war to effect a change they had been planning for some time), and the danger of a confrontation with the Soviet Union if war broke out again.⁶²

Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 was followed by the 1978 Camp David meeting between Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Sadat, hosted by U.S. President Jimmy Carter. Ultimately, in March 1979, the first

⁶² Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century* (New York: Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 1999), p. 19.

peace treaty between Israel and an Arab country was signed, i.e. the peace treaty with Egypt. Thus we can see that, in no small way, the June War led to the 1973 War that in turn contributed to breaking the deadlock on the road to peace. This first treaty, however, failed to resolve the problems of the Palestinian people in a meaningful way, and it is to the Palestinian connection to the June War that we now turn.

Palestinian Nationalism

For the Palestinians, the 1967 War altered their status and daily lives, and compounded their plight beyond *al Nakba* (the catastrophe) of 1948. Those who had lived under Egyptian, Jordanian, or Syrian control were now suddenly once again living under the jurisdiction of their nemesis, Israel. Clearly, the Arab governments' promises to fight for the liberation of Palestine were now ringing hollow. Although the Palestine Liberation Organization (Fatah) was already organized in 1964, after 1967 it took on new significance and authority. No longer would Palestinians wait patiently for liberation; they would conduct armed struggle against the "Zionist Entity" and assume responsibility for securing freedom for themselves and their country. Yassir Arafat emerged as the national leader of Fatah in the years after 1967, and Palestinian militancy took on new meaning around the world as they conducted terror attacks against Israeli, Jewish, and Western targets, including international airlines and the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games (1972). The rise of Palestinian nationalism following the war could not be ignored by Israel, but the war had an even deeper significance for the development of Israeli society.

The Six Day War and Israeli Society

Israeli society and perceptions were profoundly altered by the June 1967 War in ways that would impact on the search for peace; however, in this case, the changes the war brought were double edged and more difficult to interpret. The immediate reaction to the swift victory that came almost as a surprise after a month of military buildup and the blockade of the Straits of Tiran was one of euphoria. Israelis felt they could breathe easier, having secured the Golan Heights from which Syrian troops had lobbed missiles on agricultural communities and kibbutzim in the north. Control of the West Bank expanded Israel's territorial depth between the Mediterranean coast and the Jordan River that made the Israeli population centers more secure.. The victory also afforded Israelis access to holy sites such as the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, Rachel's Tomb near Bethlehem, and most importantly, the Western Wall in Jerusalem. The Old City had maintained a Jewish quarter throughout history, and the fact that the ancient capital, surrendered to the Arab Legion in 1948, was now accessible was exhilarating. These sites held deep cultural significance for Israelis and Jews around the world, even among the nonreligious. The Jews were the descendents of the biblical "Children of Israel," and now for the first time in 19 years, the heartland of the biblical "Land of Israel" (distinguished from the State of Israel) was in Jewish hands. Initially, there were those who seriously considered returning the occupied territory in exchange for peace; however, the way to do so was fraught with difficulty. Could the Jewish people surrender Jerusalem, a city most Israelis viewed as liberated rather than occupied? What about security? Finally, there were those who viewed the control of biblical Israel as an invitation to continue the redemptive enterprise of Zionist resettlement with renewed vigor. The unexpected outbreak of the 1973 War with its more than 2000 fatalities, sobered the Israeli population. Still, while some concluded that a real peace with concessions was preferable to ongoing

war, others believed that the war proved that the Arabs were untrustworthy and pursued a hard line position. By 2005, there were 371,000 Israeli settlers living in 149 communities within the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The occupation of these lands, and the Israeli communities established there, are issues that divide the Israeli public and infuriate the Palestinian community. Any attempt to resolve the conflict must address these issues.

Starts and Setbacks on the Road to Peace

The progress and setbacks along the road to peace since the late 1980s can be viewed through this same lens of the Six Day War. The Intifada (1987–91), a grassroots civilian Palestinian uprising, represents a further development of Palestinian identity that began after 1967. The Madrid Conference of 1991, the first time Israelis and Arabs convened to talk about peace at an international conference, grew out of intensive international diplomacy rooted in efforts begun by the United Nations and pursued by the United States. A high point in the peace process was the signing of the Declaration of Principles in 1993, in which Israelis and Palestinians agreed to mutually recognize one another and to work toward a two-state solution to the conflict. The Oslo II Accords⁶³ that followed in 1995 worked out a process for transferring governmental powers to the Palestinian Authority that would include holding free elections and substantial withdrawals by Israel from Palestinian cities and rural areas in the West Bank. It was understood that this gradual but steady transfer of power would ultimately require final status negotiations to resolve outstanding issues such as the Right of Return for Palestinian refugees and the future of Jerusalem. The faces most frequently associated with these momentous events were the very same two veteran leaders from the 1967 era, Yitzhak Rabin, who had been military Chief of Staff in 1967, and Yassir Arafat, who had vowed to wage armed struggle to liberate Palestine!

Between 1987 and 2000, regional and global geopolitical earthquakes helped to increase momentum along the road to peace. The Intifada pushed many Israelis to question the legitimacy of their occupation. The demise of communism and the instability of the Soviet Union dried up Arab sources of weaponry and economic aid, encouraging them to seek alliances with the United States in spite of its support for Israel. Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 made plain that the Gulf states need American protection, and the Gulf War was the first time a coalition made up of a Western nation and Arab states turned against a fellow Arab leader. By 1994, a second peace treaty between Israel and an Arab state had been signed, i.e., the treaty with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. At the same time, however, forces undermining the quest for peace were also at work.

Even as Yassir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin were at the peace table, coming to agreement on the Oslo II Accords in 1995, extreme Islamists were vowing to do everything possible to destroy the fruits of their efforts. The Islamic Revolution in Iran and Islamist groups such as Hizbullah and Amal in Lebanon became sources and supporters of terror tactics. Hamas, the Palestinian Islamist organization, began a

⁶³ The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was a detailed document outlining a timetable for redeployment of Israeli forces and departure from the occupied territories in stages, as well as agreements on infrastructure, education, economics, resources, government, security arrangements, and more.

series of terror attacks inside Israel that shook Israeli confidence in their Palestinian peace partners. When a young Israeli student assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on November 5, 1995, the country reeled in grief and self recrimination. Assassin Yigal Amir was a religious extremist who wanted to prevent a peace agreement. He opposed Israeli withdrawal from the “Greater Land of Israel” and believed that removal of settlements went against the biblical promises made by God. Israelis had a difficult time comprehending how one of their own could commit so heinous a crime against a revered national son and hero. Yigal Amir, now serving life imprisonment, is a single individual. Hamas is an organization (one of several) that preaches the destruction of the Jewish state and the establishment of an independent, Islamist Palestine. Although Hamas has a sophisticated and complex infrastructure that includes schools, military personnel, medical facilities, and terror cells, what they have in common with Amir is a desire to prevent a moderate peace settlement from coming into being. Amir and Hamas both relied on violence to achieve their aims.

Although some terms of the Oslo Accords were implemented (for example, Israel’s withdrawal from towns and cities of the West Bank, and the democratic Palestinian election), frustration over the Israeli settlements and lack of full autonomy continued. Political upheaval in Israel in the wake of Rabin’s assassination resulted in a succession of governments, led by Benjamin Netanyahu and followed by Ehud Barak. In July 2000, Yassir Arafat, Ehud Barak, and their respective negotiating teams met for a round of talks at Camp David under President William Clinton’s auspices. Although this was the first time that Israel actually placed the issue of Jerusalem on the negotiating table and made an unprecedented offer to withdraw from 95 percent of the West Bank, the talks became deadlocked. Much has been written about Yassir Arafat’s refusal to accept Barak’s offer at Camp David. Israelis interpret his behavior as being unable to make hard decisions that would create a better future for both peoples. On the other hand, Palestinians claim that Barak’s offer left a great deal to be desired, fearing that without removal of the settlements their future state would never be more than a series of disconnected communities.

In October 2000, the al-Aksa Intifada broke out. A continuation of Palestinian terror inside both Israel and the occupied territories eroded much of the good will and fragile trust that began to grow during the early 1990s. Zeev Schiff, a respected Israeli journalist writing in *Ha’aretz*, summarized the mistakes of Oslo by citing Palestinian failure to meet obligations to limit the size of security forces and the distribution of weapons to militias. Rather than desisting from vicious propaganda against Israel, Palestinian schoolbooks actually promoted the hatred of Israel. The deliberate delays and failure to meet the Oslo timetables, together with expansion of settlements, infuriated Palestinians who came to believe that the promise of independence would never be fulfilled. Finally, Schiff criticizes the American government for not pressuring the Palestine Authority to stop the attacks against Israel emanating from its territories and the incitement that helped to fuel violence. More American pressure on Israel to meet commitments in a timely manner, he believes, would have been productive.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Zeev Schiff, *Ha’aretz*, November 24, 2000.

The Israeli response to Palestinian violence included the reoccupation of cities and areas from which they had withdrawn. Curfews, restrictions on the movement of civilian populations, checkpoints, and detentions have seriously disrupted normal life. Military operations aimed at eliminating suicide bombers who successfully infiltrated Israel, claiming civilian lives, have resulted in armed conflict between Israeli soldiers and Palestinians, the killing of militants who have masterminded bomb attacks, and the loss of Palestinian civilians. Mahmoud Abbas's election (Abbas is also known as Abu Mazen) as prime minister was at first perceived by Israel and the West as a step that could open a channel to peace, but the growing popularity of radical Hamas Islamists at the Palestinian polls in Gaza suggested Mahmoud Abbas's growing weakness.

Israel's government under Ariel Sharon adopted a policy of disengagement from Gaza that entailed the removal of all Israeli settlers from Jewish communities in the Gaza Strip (about 7000 in number). Carried out in August 2005, this disengagement set a significant precedent of withdrawal from territory occupied in the 1967 War, and Sharon promised that more evacuations, this time from the West Bank, would follow.

Ariel Sharon's incapacitating stroke in January 2006, the election of Hamas to the Palestinian legislature, and the continued smuggling of arms into Gaza and firing of rockets from there into Israel's southern sector makes the prospect of peace at this time ever dimmer. September 11, 2001, taught America that the unimaginable can happen and that the future is always uncertain. The peace process, now in disarray, will be shaped by complex and multiple forces that may become clear and understandable only in the future.

The Search for Peace and Conflict Resolution

This overview of the search for peace began with the Six Day War as its point of departure and demonstrated how, between 1967 and 2006, governments, superpowers, armies, international organizations, high profile leaders, and grassroots movements pushed the peace process along fitfully or plotted its failure. Examining different approaches to conflict resolution with secondary students, however, provides a second, empowering tool by which to study this complex topic. Congruent problem solving through negotiation, transformative mediation, and teaching coexistence through the Seeds of Peace model are presented in this unit with the expectation that these approaches demonstrate alternative responses to a conflict that has produced so much violence. The content indicators that follow address the peace process from both of these points of view.

Content Indicators:

- Students will explain why the Six Day War is a portal for understanding the peace process in the Middle East.
- Students will identify the core issues that remain unresolved.
- Students will become familiar with and reflect on the mediation, negotiation, and Seeds of Peace models for resolving conflict.
- Students will demonstrate empowerment to cope with conflict in their own lives.

Sample Unit Plan

Essential Question: What are the necessary ingredients for a successful peace process?

Topic One: The Search for Peace–Content and Process

Activity One: Can War Bring Peace?

Activity Two: What Issues Remain Unresolved?

Activity Three: The Negotiation Model–“Can Both Sides Really Win?”

Activity Four: The Mediation Model–“What Do I Really Need?”

Activity Five: The Seeds of Peace Model–“Can Hate Be Overcome?”

Topic One: The Search for Peace–Content and Process

The five activities grouped under this single topic bring students up to date on recent history in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. A major focus of the unit, however, is also to acquaint young people with alternative methods of working through conflicts in the macrocosm of the Middle East and the microcosm of their own lives.

- **Activity One** challenges students to research and reflect on five violent episodes in the wider Arab-Israeli conflict, analyzing how each altered the status quo significantly, promoting or inhibiting the peace process.
- **Activity Two** introduces students to the outstanding issues that remain to be resolved and the impact of these issues on people's lives.
- **Activities Three, Four and Five** present alternative models of conflict resolution.

The problem-solving negotiation model is best remembered for its win-win formula. An excellent reference for teachers in this area is *Coping With International Conflict: A Systematic Approach to Influence in International Negotiation*.⁶⁵ In this lesson, students will discuss the dos and don'ts of negotiation and assess their application to conflict in the Middle East. Transformative mediation is a process whereby a neutral third party listens actively as both sides present their case and then reflects back, as accurately as possible, what each side has articulated. Working with each side independently, the mediator then asks open questions about the sensitive and important issues touched upon in the presentation of the conflict. The goal of the mediator is to facilitate each side's recognition of its broadest and most fundamental needs, such as safety, belonging, respect, appreciation, pride, empowerment, and self-actualization—values both sides share. Ultimately, recognition of common ground can lead to the generation of possible solutions and, ultimately, an end to the conflict. **Activity Four** acquaints students with this process through guided practice and engages them in discussion of the value and application of this conflict resolution model. Seeds of Peace is an organization whose mission is to enable coexistence by educating teenagers from countries in conflict. Beginning on a personal level within the Seeds of Peace program, the model emphasizes interpersonal interactions, acknowledgement of differences, and the profound importance of recognizing that “the enemy has a face.” In a world that continues to suffer intolerance, ethnic conflict, and genocide, this inspirational organization provides students with proof that the hatreds of intractable and painful conflicts can be overcome. At the conclusion of this teaching segment, students answer the essential question: “What are the essential ingredients of a successful peace process?” This assessment activity may take the form of an essay question, a symposium, or a poster, collage, or installation.

The more familiar approach to teaching about the peace process in the Middle East is that of the mock peace conference in which students research the personalities and interest groups, past or present, active in the process. The role play suggested in this chapter challenges students to examine the spectrum of opinions on unsettled issues that are held by rank-and-file Israelis and Palestinians and their leaders.

⁶⁵Roger Fisher, et. al., *Coping With International Conflict: A Systematic Approach to Influence in International Negotiation* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997).

Activity One: Can War Bring Peace?

Objective:

Students will explain how five episodes of violent conflict altered the geopolitical status quo in the Middle East, and will evaluate the impact of those episodes on the search for peace.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two to three lesson periods

Materials: Access to research materials on the recent history of the Middle East (1967 to today). Historical atlas of the Middle East. Poster paper and markers.

Handout 7.1—Can War Bring Peace?

Step-by-Step Instructions:

Lesson One:

- Brainstorm answers to the question, “Can war bring peace?” Encourage students to base their answers on historical examples that they are familiar with. The cases of World War One, World War Two, the Vietnam War, and the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 will probably be mentioned. Other examples of violence include terrorism, mob violence, and genocide. Some students may suggest that violent confrontation can be the only way to bring about peace (e.g., the Nazi regime and/or Saddam Hussein).
- Develop the discussion by exploring student opinion on whether violence solves or creates problems for the victims and perpetrators. Use a visual organizer (e.g., a cause-and-effect table or a least-to-most spectrum) to keep track of responses and categorize them.
- Divide the class into five groups and provide each with a copy of **Handout 7.1—Can War Bring Peace?** Assign an episode of violence. In groups, students will research their assigned episode, completing the tasks on the instruction sheet.

Lesson Two:

After the posters from **Lesson One** have been completed, develop a discussion that revisits the original motivating question. Display posters and have each group present conclusions to the class. Students should raise points covered in the opening narrative to this chapter, or the teacher can present some of these ideas for discussion if necessary. Before the conclusion of the lesson, have students formulate a thesis statement or substantive, arguable, and well-developed claim that answers the original question.

Student Handout 7.1

Can War Bring Peace?

The search for peace in the Middle East has been long and difficult. Diplomatic efforts, both public and secret, have helped to drive the peace process forward, but violent episodes have continued throughout these years. Armies have made war on one another, the military wings of political organizations and civilian populations have engaged in violent activities. In these episodes, innocent people on both sides of the conflict have been victimized. To what extent does violence contribute to or impede the search for peace? This is the question we will investigate by examining five different violent episodes in the Arab- Israeli conflict: 1) the Six Day War (1967), 2) the 1973 October War (Yom Kippur War/Ramadan War), 3) the Intifada (1987–91), 4) the al Aksa Intifada (2000 to the present), and 5) Israeli civilian violence against Palestinians (2000 to the present).

Here are instructions to guide your investigation and analysis:

Research the episode assigned to your group. Look for answers to these questions:

- Was the episode a turning point in some way?
- Did it change people's perceptions or attitudes?
- Did it change territorial borders?
- Focus on the "Big Picture," but bring specific evidence in the form of examples to back up what you claim.
- Did the episode promote or inhibit peace efforts in either the short run or the long run?

Summarize your conclusions visually in a poster and be ready to present to the class.

Activity Two: What Issues Remain Unresolved?

Objectives:

- Students will identify, categorize, and explain the significance of unresolved issues in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- Students will empathize with the points of view of both sides in the conflict.
- Students will make predictions regarding possibilities for resolution of these unresolved issues.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 7.2–Analysis Chart and Personal Profile Sheet.** Additional library or Internet materials to support student understanding of the issues. Suggested titles include: *Palestine/Israel: The Long Conflict* by James Ciment (New York: Facts on File, 1997), *The Arab-Israeli Dispute* by Don Peretz (New York: Facts on File, 1996), *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* by Ian Bickerton and Carla Klausner (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1999), **Peacemaking Between Israelis and Palestinians** by Dr. John Rossi, United States Institute of Peace. **Handout 7.3–Unresolved Issues in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.**

Step-by-Step Instructions

- Students should already have background in the origins of the conflict and, minimally, an understanding of the results of the 1948 and 1967 wars.
- Distribute **Handouts 7.2 and 7.3.** Discuss the difference between a conflict over interests (for example: territory, natural resources, economic aid, military power, strategic sites) and values (national pride, ancestral traditions, family honor, sovereignty, dignity, cultural expression, religious beliefs).
- Students work in groups discussing one of outstanding issues: 1) Borders and sovereignty, 2) Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, 3) Right of return of refugees, 4) Status of Jerusalem, or 5) Security.
- Students will decide in what ways the issue is a conflict over values or over interests.
- Students will select an identity from the **Personal Profile Sheet** and create narratives or short written statements that “tell the story” of the issue, first from the point of view of one side, and then from the point of view of the other.
- Caution students not to evaluate the legitimacy of the points of view—just to understand and narrate them as accurately as possible.
- Finally, students should assign a percentage (e.g., 50–50, 40–60, or 20–80) that reflects their assessment of the likelihood of resolving this issue, explaining the rationale behind their assessment.
- Debriefing should provide opportunities to:

- Reflect on the reasons why this conflict has remained unresolved for so long.
- Discuss the intractability of conflicts that involve values.
- Recognize the diversity of viewpoints within the Palestinian and Israeli populations.
- Brainstorm suggestions for resolving one or more of the outstanding issues.

Student Handout 7.2

Analysis Chart and Personal Profile Sheet)

Throughout many long years, the search for peace in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has revolved around the same issues. In this activity, we will analyze each of these issues from the Israeli and Palestinian perspectives.

- When you are assigned an issue, work with your group to decide whether it is a conflict over interests or values.
- Identify as many reasons as possible to explain why this issue is important for Israelis and Palestinians respectively. The reasons might include both interests and values. Be as concrete and specific as you can.
- Put your ideas down on the chart in this handout.
- Select an identity from the Israeli and Palestinian sides and write a narrative or story which tells how they see the issue from their perspective. You may research in order to include more details about their past lives or day-to-day experiences.
- Be ready to read your group narratives to the class.

Unresolved Issue	Conflict Over Interests?	Conflict Over Values?	Palestinian Viewpoint (Use these points to write narrative)	Israeli Viewpoint (Use these points to write narrative)
Status of Jerusalem				
Borders and Sovereignty				
Israeli Settlements in Occupied Territory				
Security				
Right of Return of Refugees				

Personal Profile Sheet

The Palestinian and Israeli people are made up of diverse groups who may agree with one another on some issues but disagree on others. Here is a list of personalities from

both sides. Historical figures appear in italics. If you choose a fictional character, pay attention to his/her profession, residence, education, political affiliation, and personal experience in constructing your narrative. If you choose a historical figure, be sure to research his/her background before constructing the narrative.

Israeli Personalities

Dr. Sharim Aflek (age 48): An Arab doctor living in Nazareth, Israel. Most of your relatives left Palestine in 1948 and live today in Jordan.

Mr. Avi Cohen (age 25): You are an orthodox Jew who immigrated to Israel from the U.S. and lived in Kfar Darom. This small settlement, located in the Gaza Strip, was evacuated in the disengagement of 2005. Kfar Darom was infiltrated by Hamas suicide bombers, and Palestinians killed members of the community.

Dr. Leah Gafni (age 52): You are a Professor of Hebrew literature teaching at Tel Aviv University. Your parents lived on a collective farm, or kibbutz, in the Negev (south) for most of their working lives. Today you live in Kfar Saba, a city in the Sharon region of Israel not far from the West Bank. Kfar Saba has suffered a number of terror attacks in the past, especially during the al-Aksa Intifada. You have been a long supporter of the Labor Party and had high hopes for the peace process after the signing of the Oslo Accords.

Mr. Samuel Salim (age 38): You own a falafel stand in Jerusalem. Your parents immigrated from Algeria to Israel in 1952. Born in 1965, you have no recollection of the Israel before 1967. Your parents observe traditional Judaism strictly, but you consider yourself somewhat traditional in outlook.

Current Prime Minister of Israel: find out the personal and political background of the current prime minister. What is this leader's position on the unresolved issues between Israelis and Palestinians?

Palestinian Personalities

Mrs. Maryam Khalidi (age 45): You are a Christian Arab teacher living in Bethlehem. You have experienced the siege of your home city by Israeli forces. Your neighbors have had their home razed by Israeli bulldozers because army intelligence reported that Palestinians were storing explosives there. Your children have been unable to attend school regularly during the past two years because of the Intifada and Israeli reprisals.

Mr. Fuad Halabi (age 28): You work as a garage mechanic in Gaza. Conditions in Gaza have never been good, although after the signing of Oslo, a building program commenced and Israeli forces withdrew from the territory. You had hopes that your personal situation would improve as the Palestine Authority was becoming more established. Before 1948, your family farmed near the town of Ramle, which today is in Israel. Today, most of your relatives live in refugee camps in the territories. They rely on UNWRA and Hamas to supply their basic needs for life.

Mr. Mahmoud Elias (age 40): You own a restaurant in Ramallah, a major Palestinian city near Jerusalem. You remember when Israelis would come to your establishment for lunch. Today, you are not making ends meet as curfews, checkpoints, and military operations have all but paralyzed your business. You voted for Yassir Arafat in the elections held in 1996, but today you believe the situation is going from bad to worse and something must be done!

Mr. Marwan Barghouti (born 1958): You have been closely connected to both the Intifada movements of 1987 and 2000. A charismatic and articulate leader who appeals to the grassroots movement amongst Palestinians; you are seen by many as a future political leader. You have campaigned against human rights abuses within the Palestine Authority. Convicted of terrorism and the murder of Israeli civilians, you are serving a life sentence in an Israeli jail.

Dr. Mahmoud Abbas (aka “Abu Mazen,” born 1935): You are a prominent Palestinian leader who served as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization since 2004 and was elected to be president of the Palestine Authority in 2005. You have worked with Israelis in the past to draft a framework for a final status agreement between the Palestinians and Israelis. Viewed as a moderate proponent of an independent Palestine, you have been active as a parliamentarian and have taken part in all aspects of the peace process as a member of the Fatah party.

Current Palestinian Hamas Leadership: Find out the personal and political background of a current Hamas leader. What is this leader’s position on the unresolved issues between Israelis and Palestinians?

Student Handout 7.3

Unresolved Issues in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Borders and Sovereignty

Although Yassir Arafat declared independence in 1988, the Palestinian people have no sovereignty over a defined territory that is internationally recognized and in their control. Between 1993 and 2005, Palestinians began to gain control over significant portions of the occupied territories as a result of Israeli withdrawal, but their autonomy is by no means complete. Israel controls access to the territory of the Gaza strip although they evacuated it in 2005. The West Bank continues to be occupied, which is humiliating and has stymied economic progress. What territory will be part of the Palestinian state? Where will the border be? This outstanding issue is linked to others that follow.

Security

The security of Israel is of prime importance to all Israelis. Having suffered persecution and genocide, the Jewish people and Israelis require that any peace agreement contain guarantees for their survival. The ongoing violence has made Israel mistrustful of Palestinians as peace partners. For example, after the 1993 Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles On Interim Self-Government Arrangements in which each side recognized the political legitimacy of the other, there was an increase in suicide bombings throughout the country, making many Israelis skeptical about the possibility of negotiating a lasting peace. Similarly, the fact that Hamas, now controlling the Gaza territory, has publicly stated (2011) its unwillingness to recognize Israel, adds to Israeli mistrust. The fact that hateful and vicious anti-Israel propaganda continues to emanate from the Palestine Authority, and to be taught to Palestinian children and youth, reinforces Israeli doubts. Related to issues of both borders and security is that of the “wall” or “security barrier” partially built and under construction by Israel. While the stated purpose of the combination of concrete, barbed wire, and electronic fencing is to prevent terrorists from crossing the porous West Bank–Israel border to commit violence against Israeli civilians, Palestinians assert that the Israeli government is creating new facts on the ground by building this barrier on Palestinian lands inside the 1967 border.

The Settlements

In 2006, there were (approximately) 267,000 Israelis living in Jewish settlements (excluding East Jerusalem) in the occupied territories. Palestinians assert that these settlements must go if their state is to be a viable and integrated one. While some of the settlers are not ideologically committed to retaining these communities, most of the people relocated there out of a desire to reclaim “sacred land” which they believe belongs to the historical heartland of Greater Israel that dates from biblical times. Still other Israelis believe that settlements may be evacuated as long as essential security needs are met. Although the disengagement from Gaza that took place in August 2005 set a precedent for evacuating other settlements in the West Bank, the deterioration of the peace process, the election of Hamas, and the shelling of the Negev by Palestinian combatants in Gaza and northern of Israel during the Lebanon War of 2006 have cooled off discussions of territorial concessions by Israel.

The Right of Return of Palestinian Refugees

After 1948, Israel considered compensating refugees, provided that a global sum would be paid, the compensation would be linked to a complete settlement of all disputes, and consideration would be given to the property lost by Jews forced to flee Arab lands around the same time. There is no question that Palestinians who fled or were forced to leave during 1948 lost property that became incorporated into the State of Israel. Israelis are unwilling to recognize the rights of Palestinian refugees to return. If they did, the Jewish character of the country would be seriously compromised, as Arabs would soon outnumber Jews, thus undermining the ideological purpose of Zionism.

The Status of Jerusalem/al-Quds

Jerusalem/al Quds was an open city until 1948, when it was divided into East and West Jerusalem. In 1967, Israel defeated Jordan and took control of East Jerusalem and the Old City. Both Palestinians and Israelis claim Jerusalem/al Quds as their historical and traditional capital city. Complicating the issue is the fact that East Jerusalem and the Old City have an Arab majority, although they encompass sites holy to Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike and are located in close proximity to one another.

Activity Three: The Negotiation Model–“Can Both Sides Really Win?”**Objectives:**

- Students will understand and apply principles of “Congruent Problem Solving.”
- Students will distinguish hard bargaining from friendly bargaining and evaluate the effectiveness of these bargaining styles.
- Students will reflect on the applicability of Congruent Problem Solving in the Middle East conflict.
- Students will draw tentative conclusions about the conditions necessary for successful conflict resolution.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: Handout 7.4–The Negotiation Model–“Can Both Sides Win?”

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Distribute **Handout 7.4– The Negotiation Model–“Can Both Sides Win?”** the previous day for homework.
2. Begin the lesson by asking students to think of examples of conflicts in their lives; for example, conflicts with friends, parents, teachers, siblings.
3. Break up into groups and have students role-play conversations or vignettes that present the conflict to the class.
4. Tell the class that sometimes conflicts are resolved in the courts, as a result of other governmental intervention or by force. A peaceful way to resolve conflicts in which the parties play an important role is negotiation.
5. Ask the students whether they think that the conflicts they presented can be resolved through negotiation and why?
6. Present definition of Conflict Resolution: “Conflict resolution takes place when disagreement over interests is peacefully settled to the sides’ mutual satisfaction.”
7. Ask the class: “What kind of behaviors, statements, or attitudes expressed by the parties will be most likely to result in successful resolution of the conflict?”
8. Write student responses on the board. Discuss and look at examples from the reading.
9. Make sure students understand the principles of congruent problem solving (separating people from the problem; focusing on interests, not on positions; generating options, and using objective standards to evaluate them) and the definition and pitfalls of friendly and hard bargaining.
10. Revisit the outstanding issues in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Choose one or assign one to each group of 4–5 students.

11. For the issue assigned, differentiate between interests and positions of each side. Suggest three options for resolving the conflict in which the interests of both sides are met.
12. Close the lesson by having students reflect on identifying the ingredients of a successful negotiation in writing.

Student Handout 7.4

The Negotiation Model–“Can Both Sides Win?”

Have you ever tried to arm wrestle with a friend? What is the goal of such a contest? Write your answer here:_____.

Now think, what if the goal were to succeed in accumulating as many points as possible in 30 seconds, and the way to earn points is by pushing the other side down. Would you play the game differently? Write your answer here:_____.

The first case is an example of what we call a zero-sum game because only one person can win while the other player loses. In the second case, in order to win as many points as possible, you have to allow the other side to accumulate points also. You can't push your opponent's arm down a second time, until your opponent's arm comes up and pushes yours down, and so on. This kind of a situation is what we call win-win because both sides can get what they want, although maybe not everything. In this case as many points as possible. Of course, neither side will accumulate many points if they do not cooperate with each other. In this reading, we will be learning about a process of conflict resolution that is called congruent problem solving, a model that seeks to maximize success by enabling the parties to recognize win-win situations.

In this model of conflict resolution,⁶⁶ the parties or sides focus on a conflict or problem. Most probably, before they get together to talk about it, they have thought long and hard about how they feel, what they want the solution to look like, and what they hope to get. We call these their respective positions. What is the likelihood of the conflict over Jerusalem being resolved if the parties sit down and begin with a statement of the following positions?

Israel: Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

Palestine: al Quds (Jerusalem) must be the capital of the independent State of Palestine.

One of the principles of congruent (overlapping) problem solving is to focus on interests rather than positions. Let's see how this works.

In 1967, Israel occupied the Egyptian Sinai Desert. In 1973, after the October War, an opportunity presented itself for Egypt to get the Sinai back. Israel, however was in no hurry to return it. We could say Egypt's position was: The Sinai must be returned! Israel's position was: We will occupy the Sinai until further notice. But why did

⁶⁶ Material on congruent problem solving is based on Roger Fisher, et. al., *Coping With International Conflict: A Systematic Approach to Influence in International Negotiation* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall), 1997, pp. 138–142.

Egypt want the Sinai returned, and why was Israel unwilling to withdraw? It is not hard to understand Egypt's position. There was oil in the Sinai, it was Egypt's sovereign territory, and, it was humiliating that Israel had stripped Egypt of it in 1967. These points reveal Egypt's interests that were connected to its economy, national pride, and position in the Arab world. Why was Israel so attached to Egypt's land? In 1967, its shipping had been blockaded by Nasser, and Israel had fought a war. In 1973, Egypt had launched a surprise attack that had cost over 2000 Israeli lives. Israel wanted a territorial buffer that would augment security and safety from Egyptian attack. Now that we know the interests underpinning the positions, we can begin to think about resolving the conflict in a way that addresses the interests of both sides. Think about the Sinai example. How might this be accomplished? Write your answer here:

In the 1979 agreement reached by Egypt and Israel, the Sinai was returned to Egypt, but Israel's security was guaranteed.

Another principle of congruent problem solving is to remember to focus on the problem and not on the people who are negotiating the solution. In a negotiation, you may find that the person on the other side is someone you do not like or someone who symbolizes ideals you oppose. Nevertheless, it is important not to allow feelings about the individuals at the negotiating table to get in the way of making progress on the issues. Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, the Israeli and Egyptian leaders respectively, were adversaries. When they met at Camp David, the American President Jimmy Carter did everything he could to prevent their personalities from impeding the negotiation. In the end, he was successful.

The last two principles of congruent problem solving are concerned with alternative solutions. First, it is important to come up with a number of creative possible solutions to the conflict. Second, objective criteria should be used to evaluate their usefulness and viability. For example, are there other examples where similar agreements have worked in the past? Are there objective standards laid down by international organizations, nongovernmental institutions, or other neutral bodies? The more objective the standards, the more likely the agreement will last. Now that we are familiar with the principles of congruent problem solving, let's turn to negotiating strategies.

Is it better to be a friendly or hard negotiator when sitting at the negotiating table? A friendly negotiator makes an effort to show good will and is eager to make concessions to the other side. Right from the beginning, he lets the other side know what his bottom line is and trusts that the other side will do the same. This negotiator has decided that the conflict will be resolved by the end no matter what! The tough negotiator drives a hard bargain. He insists that the other side give in, and he is wedded to his position. Whatever the other side dishes out, he gives back in return. If they deceive, then he deceives. If they are not listening, he won't listen to them. The tough negotiator can be ruthless and gives in only under severest of pressure. Which

negotiating style will best facilitate resolving the conflict? Which strategy would you use, and why? Write your answer here:

The two negotiating styles presented here each have weaknesses, as you could probably detect. The first may not enable you to protect your interests, and the second may alienate your partner. In either case, the negotiation will not be a successful one. The middle ground is a strategy that is unconditionally constructive. That means that, whatever the other side does, you make decisions and statements that try to build good relations and protect your interests. For example, to continue to listen to their side, even if they don't reciprocate. To not give in to force nor resort to force. To stick to principles, make sure you act with a purpose in mind, and when differences occur, to respond to them as you would to an additional problem to be solved.

If you were the Israeli government or the Palestinian Authority selecting a negotiating team tasked with working towards resolution of the conflict, what would be the personal and professional qualities and characteristics of the individuals you would select to represent your side at the negotiating table.

Write your list of qualities here: _____

Activity Four: The Mediation Model–“What Do I Really Need?”

Objectives:

- Students will understand a mediation process (transformative mediation) that focuses on discovering fundamental needs that may be mutually shared rather than focusing on the detailed specifics of the particular conflict.
- Students will sharpen their listening skills and ability to empathize with others.
- Students will learn more about the day-to-day experiences of Israeli and Palestinian teenagers living in the conflict.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One to two lessons periods

Materials: **Handout 7.5–The Mediation Model: “What Do I Really Need?”**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Distribute **Handout 7.5** for homework before teaching this lesson.
2. Tell the class the following story: Two former business partners found themselves in court one day, presenting their case before an arbitrator whose job was to hear both sides and come up with a solution to the problem. Each side claimed to have been financially harmed by the other and demanded significant monetary compensation. After hearing the case, the arbitrator went into an explanation of his decision. Both sides had contributed to creating the conflict by the decisions they had made and the actions they had taken. Therefore, the arbitrator recommended that both sides contribute to the solution. A long document detailed how the costs and damages would be shared. The decision was a true compromise. The two businessmen left the courthouse; neither was smiling. While standing on the courthouse steps, one looked to the other and said, “What I really wanted was an apology!”
3. Ask the class what is the significance of this story? (That compromise over money and a “just” solution may not meet the “needs” of the parties in the end.)
4. Discuss the mediation process outlined in their homework reading.
5. Have students practice presenting the side and reflecting back as accurately as possible by pairing them together.
6. Using the excerpt in **Handout 7.5**, model how the mediator conducts reflection, framing and, reframing through Q&A sessions.
7. Have students share the examples of questions they wrote for Raya’s narrative.
8. Discuss the importance of identifying basic needs. Can students remember a conflict in their own lives where fundamental needs to feel safe, appreciated, valued and, respected were in jeopardy?
9. Review the list of unresolved issues in the conflict (see **Handout 7.3** from Activity Two–Outstanding Issues and discuss which of Maslow’s hierarchy of needs are operative or underpin these outstanding issues).

10. Explain to students that the next step in this type of mediation is the brainstorming of solutions to meet the needs that have been identified. Solutions are not imposed by the mediator, but rather are suggested by the sides and ultimately the mutually acceptable ones that can be implemented are agreed upon.
11. Solicit student comments on how this model of conflict resolution compares and contrasts to congruent problem solving.

Student Handout 7.5

The Mediation Model–“What Do I Really Need?”

Two sides in conflict may decide to call in a mediator to help them resolve their differences. In the style of mediation described here, the mediator’s job is to help the sides discover what needs must be met in order for the conflict to be successfully and permanently resolved.

Abraham Maslow, a psychologist, classified human needs into categories such as physical needs (emergency care, rescue), security needs (shelter, food, safety), social needs (belonging, friendship) ego needs (appreciation, self-worth, pride, dignity) and self-actualization (fulfilling your potential, being successful in your chosen vocation or role). He believed that all human beings share these basic needs, and that conflicts have as their root cause the failure to fulfill these needs.⁶⁷

In mediation, if the two sides can be guided to look beyond the immediate problem and recognize which of their most basic needs are not being met, they will come to recognize that they have much in common with the other side, and that together they will be empowered to arrive at creative solutions that meet the needs of both sides. This approach is similar to the win-win model in congruent problem solving, but different in that it focuses on the feelings of the parties about the conflict rather than on the details of the problem itself. Let’s look at how the process works.

Step One: Reporting the Case from Different Perspectives

In this type of mediation (transformative mediation), we begin with each side reporting to the mediator his/her version of the conflict. The mediator takes careful notes of what is being said. When the side is finished telling the story, the mediator reflects, or retells, the facts in the case as accurately as possible. The mediator must be careful not to give opinions about what he has heard or make any judgments. The mediator’s job is simply to listen and report back. The same procedure is followed with the other side. Now both sides have told their story and, as a result of the reflection process, can know that they have been listened to and heard!

Step Two: Identifying Needs

The mediator will begin to focus on the information expressed aloud by asking open questions that probe for more information about how the person feels or what the experiences recounted mean to him. To get a better idea of how this works, read a short fictional Q&A passage based on the real experiences of an Israeli teen who found himself in the midst of a terror incident. One of the most difficult tasks the mediator faces is to know what to ask in the Q&A segment of the process. Try to identify sensitive issues and ask the respondent to elaborate or tell more about his feelings. The responses will give you clues about what the person really wants. As you read the account, try to identify the conflict(s) in his life.

⁶⁷ Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (<http://www.connect.net/georgen/maslow.htm>).

Echoes of the Explosion

By Ariel Tal (Givon Hahadasha)

Two months ago my friend David and I went downtown after watching a movie. We went down Ben Yehuda Street towards Zion Square, where everyone hangs out in the center of the city. I saw several friends from my town on the street. David and I went into an ice cream shop, and just before we left, an explosion rocked the ground so powerfully that we could not move for minutes afterwards. The blood all over the street, the crowds screaming and running, and the thick smell of explosives made it hard to concentrate.

When we came to our senses we realized that the shop wall had saved us from being the people the ambulances took away. We ran from downtown as fast as we could. On the way home we heard another explosion. I was confused, and wearing my Seeds of Peace sweatshirt did not help me realize what will come next.

My entire family and the whole community became worried about me from the minute I got home. Everything looks different since then. One of the kids from my town was killed immediately, and the rest were hospitalized until 2 weeks ago. The funeral took place the day after and everyone came. Seeing people cry over dead relatives is always the hardest thing, but this time the screaming of the mother for her child was even more intense for me because in my head I knew it could have been me. Since then, the house of that particular family had been filled with the youth of the village almost every day. The mourning was not regular because the child that had been killed was 14 years old, and everyone felt like the same, that it could have been them....

I was different; I became apathetic to whatever is going on. I tried to move on with my life without freaking out all the time because of warnings of another attack. But pushing aside and inside what I hear on the news can't last forever. I went to the Seeds open house in Haifa, and after seeing old friends I started to get back to being myself. Now I'm trying to listen to the news once in a while, though I usually can't keep at it and turn the radio off. Wherever I go I try to avoid conversations about the situation, because they bring back awful feelings. I am against this apathy that I feel is becoming a part of me and everyone around me. The people of Israel have to stop denying and pushing aside everything or this horrible situation will never end. We have to take responsibility. People have to leave their houses and call for a cease-fire, not to stay in fear. The situation has gone on so long because people are not trying to make a difference. I can't say that this is easy, or that I've been working day and night for it, but there is no other way. To see this stupid war end, we have to make the people in charge understand that by playing chicken and waiting for the other side to drive off the road we will get nowhere. So Israelis and others, please make your voice be heard, we can't keep living like this.⁶⁸

Q. You speak about being confused at the scene of the terror attack. What else can you tell me about how you felt at that time or afterwards? (open question)

⁶⁸Ariel Tal, "Echoes of the Explosion" (<http://www.seedsofpeace.org/olivebranch>). Used with permission.

A. I felt angry that my life had been jeopardized. At the moment, I was angry at the stupidity of someone blowing up innocent kids who were out to have a good time. Then I felt incredibly sad for all those poor people and their families. Finally, I just felt empty. I wanted to blame someone.

Q. You say you tried to get on with your life without freaking out over warnings of attacks. What else can you tell me about that? (open question)

A. I failed at that. I went through the motions but I felt afraid a lot of the time. The uncertainty of knowing when and where an attack might happen is really hard to live with. My parents don't want me to go to get pizza or go to the mall. They are afraid I'll get blown up.

Q. You say "we have to take responsibility." What does responsibility mean to you? (open question)

A. It means doing something to make things better, owning up to a need for action, not just sitting around and waiting for others to do the job.

Q. Would it be fair to say that you are disturbed by being personally threatened by the current violence? (framing)

A. Absolutely, I even dream about it.

Q. Am I correct when I say you have a need to feel safe? (reframing)

A. Yes.

Q. Is it correct to say that you are bothered by apathy to this situation? (framing)

A. At first in myself, and then in others.

Q. Would it be right to say that you need to feel you are taking action to improve things? (reframing)

A. Yes, each person has to contribute something to help this madness stop!

Q. Would it be OK to write down that you have a need to feel safe and to "make a difference?"

A. Yes, I would feel a whole lot better about myself and life if I could.

The security situation in Israel creates many conflicts for Ariel. There is the conflict with the Palestinians that endangers his well-being, a conflict with his parents over how he spends his time, a conflict with Israeli and Palestinian leadership that has been unable to resolve the dispute, and finally a conflict with apathetic people who make no effort to change the status quo. In this Q&A period, the mediator guided Ariel toward recognizing that his fears for his safety (security) and his need to contribute positively to improving things (self-actualization) were fundamental needs to be addressed. Read Raya's story that follows and decide what guiding questions you would ask her if you were facilitating mediation between her and Ariel.

Not What Someone Wants to Hear by Raya Yusuf (Ramallah)⁶⁹

There are a lot of things going on in Palestine that you don't know about, so I'm going to tell you what I think. I'm going to be honest, and tell you what I believe and not what I think you want to hear. I feel like the world's gone crazy, that the meaning of some words have been changed for the good of the strong that control everything. That's why I started ignoring some of the things I hear and read, and instead believe in what I think, feel, and experience.

Every day, when I go to university I go through a checkpoint. My mom goes through at least three each day. Why are there checkpoints? I'm sure you think that they're in order to protect Israelis. It seems to me, however, that they don't care for Israeli safety as much as humiliating us. Why don't they check every car, or even the bags, the right way? All I see is Israeli soldiers aiming their guns at us or making fun of us.

On my way to university, the soldiers make us walk on foot, don't ask me why. One week, they wouldn't let us pass. They made us walk from the mountains. In front of me I saw an old lady with her husband. Both could hardly walk. The soldiers didn't let them pass either. I couldn't bear it, so I asked the soldier, "Why wouldn't you let us pass?"

"There is a closure around Ramallah," the soldier said.

"That's not true," I protested. "People leave Ramallah in front of you and you know it," (you can see people walking beside the checkpoint).

"I don't care, and I don't see them, because I only look in front of me. The important thing is that they're not walking on the road," he said.

"They are leaving Ramallah anyway, so let them use the road. At least old and sick people," I pleaded.

"You are terrorist," he replied.

Think of the word "terrorist" and how people interpret it. It seems that for the American and Israeli governments, a terrorist is an Arab or Muslim or anyone against them, and an innocent person is a person who is strong who is an American or Israeli. Israeli troops have killed in the past year and a half more than 900 Palestinians and injured twenty-eight thousand, not to mention the shellings, closures, and humiliation. I am against killing Israeli[s] or any civilian. The same way, I believe we have to defend our own civilians as well. I am not violent or a terrorist; I am an innocent person who desperately wants to live in peace. When I went down the hill next to the checkpoint to go to university, the soldier threw a sound bomb to scare us. He thinks these little things still scare us. He doesn't know if I see a tank in front of me I keep on walking, because it's a normal thing, and I'm not afraid of anything. I know that

⁶⁹Raya Yusuf, ([http://www.seedsofpeace.org/olive branch](http://www.seedsofpeace.org/olive%20branch)). Used with permission.

what I want is right: To stop what they are doing to us, and to live with all my people in a country at peace.

Write your facilitating questions for Raya here. Remember, just as you “click” on links when surfing the World Wide Web for more information, you will decide which topics or issues in her story need further elaboration for her to better understand her own feelings. Phrase questions for Raya that touch on these issues. Use the questions modeled above to help you phrase them.

Q.1:

Q.2:

Q.3:

Can you identify the basic needs that are not being met in Raya’s life?

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has six major unresolved issues at its core. Each of these issues impacts on Israelis and Palestinians in ways that affect how they feel about themselves, their futures, and how they live their daily lives. Examine the list of issues expressed here in question form and consider how they connect to the individuals’ basic needs that Maslow has identified (See **Student Handout 7.5**). If you are unfamiliar with these issues, a detailed description of each is reprinted here to help you.

Issues:

- How will the security of Israeli citizens be ensured?
- What will be the borders of Israel and Palestine after a settlement is reached, and how will the sovereignty of both nations be guaranteed?
- What will be the future of Israeli settlements in the West Bank?
- What will be the status of Jerusalem?
- What rights will the Palestinians who became refugees have to recover property or be compensated for their loss?
- What guarantee will there be that anti-Israel propaganda emanating from the Palestinian community will cease?

Activity Five: The Seeds of Peace Model–“Can Hate Be Overcome?”

Objectives:

- Students will understand that efforts to resolve conflicts can take place on many levels.
- Students will examine the Seeds of Peace model for conflict resolution and reflect on its benefits and drawbacks.
- Students will identify situations in their own lives in which the Seeds of Peace model could be applied beneficially.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Internet access to <http://www.seedsofpeace.org>. **Handout 7.6–A Meeting at the Jerusalem Center.** **Handout 7.7–An Israeli and a Palestinian Teen on Two Sides of the Conflict.**

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Instruct students to visit the Seeds of Peace Web site and to take notes on the goals of the organization, its mission, and a summary description of its methods. Students should write a reflection of their reaction to what they learned.
2. Ask students to consider what are the best ways of working to achieve peace amongst peoples in conflict? What are the benefits and drawbacks, for example, of working towards peace at the government level or the grass roots interpersonal level? Have student groups report their responses and discuss what are the best ways of producing equitable, long lasting, efficient, and acceptable solutions to conflict?
3. In class distribute **Handout 7.6–A Meeting at the Jerusalem Center.** Use this handout to review the Seeds of Peace program. A description of the program follows for your convenience. Seeds of Peace focuses on helping youth growing up in societies suffering violent conflict to “break the cycle of violence” in their lives. At Seeds of Peace it is believed that teens can be taught how to build friendships with members of “the other side” by recognizing the individual worth of their fellow “Seeds,” respecting the cultures they represent, and demonstrating sensitivity and caring when discussing the difficult political issues that have resulted in pain and suffering for both sides. A comprehensive program of activities brings Palestinians and Israelis together in a camp setting during the summer, and later at the Jerusalem Center for Coexistence. Activities provide opportunities for intense exploration of identity, personal experiences that have resulted from the conflict, fears, perceptions, anger, and hopes. These sessions are facilitated by adults trained in conflict resolution, and in the process, teens learn communication skills, empathy, and acceptance of others. A critical lesson that every Seed learns is that “the enemy has a face.” Recognizing and behaving in ways that affirm the humanity of the other side avoids the danger

of dehumanizing the “other.” Dehumanizing groups leads to the expression of cruelty and hatred. The goal is to foster coexistence. This program emanates from the recognition that youth are keys to the future. The hope is that they will be the future governmental leaders, intellectuals, creators, educators, professionals, heads of families, and builders of society. The Seeds of Peace model strives to maximize the possibilities for coexistence by enhancing personal self-esteem and maximizing opportunities for both sides to share common goals and positive experiences while working through, respecting, or minimally, understanding differences.

4. **Handout 7.6—A Meeting at the Jerusalem Center** describes a three-hour session attended by Palestinian and Israeli teenagers after school. Analyze the timetable in terms of these questions:

- What are the teens learning or experiencing?
- Why do you think they want to attend? What do they get out of it?
- How would you feel if you were a new participant a veteran member?

Read the viewpoints expressed in fictional **Handout 7.7**. Analyze these fictional statements in terms of the following questions:

- What do Munira and Gil agree or disagree about?
- What emotions do they express in their statements?
- Based on what you have read, what are the chances that Munira and Gil could be friends? Why do you think so?
- Do you think belonging to Seeds of Peace would make a difference in how you answer this question? Why yes or why not?

Student Handout 7.6

A Meeting at the Jerusalem Center

Teens who have participated in a Seeds of Peace summer camp session in Maine continue their activities as Seeds by participating in activities at the Seeds of Peace Jerusalem Center for Coexistence. Here is an example of a typical agenda for a three-hour session at the center.

4:00–4:30: Palestinian and Israeli students meet at the center. Teens enjoy refreshments while they socialize. Were we able to eavesdrop on their conversations, we might hear them talking about their latest math test, a recent movie or video, and events taking place in their respective families or those of mutual friends.

4:30–5:15: Seeds break up into uni-national groups of Palestinians or Israeli Jews. With a facilitator, these groups begin to deal with some aspect of the conflict. A recent suicide bombing incident, Israeli military operation in the West Bank, demolition of an Arab neighbor's house, or drive-by shooting of settlers may become a topic of discussion. Sometimes identity issues are raised, or teens might talk about political disagreements with their families or their parents' positive or negative attitudes towards the Seeds of Peace program.

5:15–6:00: Seeds join together in mixed national groups (Palestinians and Israeli Jews together) to discuss issues similar to the ones discussed in the uni-national group. Even though everyone knows one another, there is tension in the room. Sometimes, in presenting their side, a Seed will say something that hurts someone else. "How can you compare?" one person says. "You think that you are open but you really aren't!" says another. Facilitators do a good job helping people to really listen, to remain respectful, and to hear what the other side is trying to express. The texts in **Handout 7.7** by Munira and Gil are examples of statements that Seeds might make on the two sides of the conflict in a meeting which the program calls a "coexistence session."

6:00–7:00: After a break, the Seeds meet to work on a joint project that is in progress. Together they are preparing to perform an original puppet show entitled "The Color of Friendship" that will be performed for elementary age children in both the Arabic and Hebrew languages simultaneously. This project entails script writing, acting, puppetry, music, and more. The real-life experiences of the Seeds members were incorporated into the story, and everyone is excited about the prospects for actually performing it in front of a live audience.

Student Handout 7.7

An Israeli and a Palestinian Teen on Two Sides of the Conflict

Here are two narratives that talk from two points of view about individual feelings and analysis of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Read each narrative and think how you would answer the questions that follow.

Recognize Our Right to Exist Once and For All **by Gil Peleg (Haifa)**

How to solve the problem! This bothers many minds these days. I realize that it isn't easy and that there is no magical solution. Therefore, I would like to discuss what I, as an Israeli, see as one of the biggest obstacles for reaching a solution. In my opinion, before even starting to discuss an agreement, the first step for reaching common ground must be an acknowledgment by both sides of the others' right to have a country.

I feel like, throughout the entire conflict, the Israeli side has been willing to reach an agreement. The UN partition plan in 1947 and Barak's Camp David proposal, in which the Palestinians were offered more than 90 percent of the West Bank and Gaza and a sovereign state. Israel openly and officially declared the right of the Palestinian people to have a country, yet the Palestinian side did not compromise.

Today, the Hamas, an Islamist party, controls the Gaza territory and has openly declared that it does not recognize Israel as a Jewish state. That makes me feel that many Palestinians do not accept Israel's right to exist despite the Declaration of Principles of 1993. At the end of 2011 the Palestine Authority in the West Bank and the Hamas in Gaza pledged unity and are planning for new elections to form a new government. What will be Israel's future if the ideology of the Hamas becomes the dominant way of thinking amongst the Palestinian community? The thing I want to emphasize is that if we want to have peace, none of us can teach our children to discredit the legitimacy of the other side.

More important than anything is to preserve our safety. I have a brother who is serving in the army. I have no interest in my brother getting killed, and it is possible that he could. Any person—not just my brother—it's friends, it's family it's so many people.

What do I have to gain from this conflict? Nothing.

We want to have peace. Up to now many Palestinians have felt that Israel is the enemy—mentally, that is the easy choice. To accept the challenge that we Israelis deserve a country is the hard thing to do. Now it is up to the Palestinian Authority to take up the challenge.

Israel Must End the Occupation Now!

By Munira Walid (Ramallah)

How to solve the problem? We may ask the same question but have totally different answers. In 1947, the UN decided to partition Palestine into two states, creating a Jewish state when the Palestinian people were the overwhelming majority in the country at the time. It is hard to acknowledge that Israel has a right to exist when it was created at the expense of my people, by an international organization dominated by countries outside of the Middle East. But the Palestinians did accept a two-state solution to the conflict in the Declaration of Principles of 1993. At the very least, Israel must now acknowledge its role in turning the Palestinian people into refugees and make restitution for the property it expropriated and the lives it disrupted. As far as [Ehud] Barak's offer goes, is it in the spirit of a two-state solution to continue to build settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, in the territories destined to become the independent state of Palestine? Doesn't this continued building of Jewish communities in the future Palestinian state contradict the claim that Israel has no territorial objectives? What kind of independent country will we be with Jewish settlers living on our side of the border calling our nation the sacred land of Greater Israel!

You talk about the safety of your brother, your family, friends, and community. You are convinced that Israel acts out of a need to preserve her security. But why does your security come at the expense of my people's property, dignity, education, livelihood, and homes. Why do soldiers humiliate people when they question them? Why are women in labor prevented from getting to hospital? Why have hundreds of Palestinian men, women, and children lost their lives? These are the painful questions I ask myself each day. I hoped that the peace process would bear fruit. But the deadlines for progress passed, the settlements continued to sprout, the occupation continues, and lives continue to be lost. The Intifada that began in 2000 was a result of desperation, frustration, and fear that the occupation would never end. Tanks in Bethlehem—where will it end? Since September 11, Arab people everywhere are suspected of being terrorists. I want the same opportunities everyone wants. I want to live in peace, in freedom, not because it is a privilege, but because it is a right! Israel must end the occupation now!

Questions:

- What do Munira and Gil agree or disagree about?
- What emotions do they express in their statements?
- Based on what you have read, what are the chances that Munira and Gil could be friends? Why do you think so?
- Do you think belonging to Seeds of Peace would make a difference in how you answer this question? Why or why not?

Assessment

The essential question of this unit was “What are the ingredients of a successful peace process?” Any assessment should revisit this question and encourage students to synthesize an answer based on knowledge acquired during the five lessons comprising this exploration of the search for peace. Student products should demonstrate competent understanding of the factual events that took place during the course of the peace process following the June War of 1967 and the unresolved issues. In addition, the topic lends itself to authentic and performance-based assessment that could include identification of conflicts in the school environment and application of one of the conflict resolution methods presented here. Here are some examples of possible assessment activities.

1. Students will participate in a mock symposium during which historical and fictional characters present their views on why the peace process in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has stalled and what the ingredients are for success.
2. Students clip articles (new articles, editorials, paid ads) from the press to create a scrapbook documenting current events in the conflict. How do the events and opinions reflect examples of needs in Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy? Choose examples from the needs you have identified, and show how better understanding of a side’s needs could help to lead to finding a solution to the conflict.
3. Students identify a conflict in the school community and demonstrate listening skills and the ability to reflect back to the speaker by playing the role of facilitator with representatives of the sides in the conflict.
4. Students write an essay comparing and contrasting methods of conflict resolution that assesses their usefulness and application.
5. Students write a reflection on how they might apply in their own lives what they have learned about the search for peace.

Chapter 8

Teaching About Current Events

Hot spots in the Middle East may smolder far from the public's eye or ignite into conflagrations that rivet the world's attention. The current events whose headlines splash across the front page of newspapers or dominate the nightly TV news nearly always represent the newest dramatic chapter in a long unfolding story. The task of equipping and enabling students to make sense of these rapidly evolving developments, when less than well-versed in the topic, is the first challenge a teacher faces in preparing to teach current events. What is the best way to fill in students' knowledge gaps when presenting a contemporary issue? How much background do students need to understand the present? Finally how much class time should you devote to teaching about current events, and how can this content connect to topics that are already part of the curriculum? Each of these problems needs to be overcome in order to teach effectively.

Teaching current events, however, also has its rewards. Unlike history, in which events remain fixed while interpretations may change, current events are like a novel without an ending. If the issue is receiving extensive coverage in the media, students will be energized to want to know more. Perhaps it is these distinguishing features that augment student interest in current events compared to the study of history. But while we feel a duty to help our students unravel and explain the intricacies of whatever is "going on" in the news, providing a structure for examining the events behind the headlines can be difficult. In this chapter, we will:

- Demonstrate how topics in the news can be reframed into issues for classroom instruction.
- Examine a variety of approaches to teaching current events, such as student-led discussions of articles in the contemporary press, deconstructing complex news events through group research assignments, and comparing and contrasting front-page news coverage in newspapers around the world.

Become familiar with Web sites especially well designed for teaching current events.

Student-Led Discussions

A familiar approach requiring little investment of teacher time is to have students clip out an article and bring it to class, prepared to report on it. Without establishing a context for the student report or providing some background, this activity is often an unsatisfactory use of precious class time. Upper level students can succeed in teaching their peers about current events using the "Text and Talk" model, however, if a few basic guidelines that increase student responsibility and enhance their classmates' participation are followed.

Guidelines for Student-Led Current Events Discussion

- Designate an individual student to be responsible for presenting a current events issue to the class within a week's time. This puts responsibility on a single student who knows that only they will be reporting. This gentle raising of the level of concern will improve the quality of the student's performance.
- Before coming to class, the student will clip, copy, and distribute the article to the teacher and the class, and complete these tasks:
 - Create a chronology of important events that shed light on the current event in question.

- Summarize the article's main point.
- Identify and write down three questions that are posed, answered, or raised by the article.
- In class, the student will lead a 10- to 15-minute discussion (with teacher help if necessary) that provides background, explains the choice of article or issue (Why is it important? Why should we care about it?), addresses the questions identified, and makes predictions about the future.
- Depending upon the nature of the issue, it might be appropriate to include a discussion that answers the question, "What can we do?"
- In order for this activity to be successful, it is a good idea for the teacher to model it for the class the first time by choosing an article and conducting the discussion.
- After the first time a student has performed, tell the class that, in order to improve the quality of the discussions, it is important to reflect on what went well and how the discussion could have been improved.
- Explore the possibility of conducting the class discussion in two ways:
 - 1) Students discuss the article face to face.
 - 2) Students access the site <http://todaysmeet.com/>, which allows the teacher to set up a real time chat forum for the duration of the class discussion. Using todaysmeet.com, students can post comments and questions through a "back channel" medium while some students conduct a traditional discussion at the same time. This enables everyone to be engaged and accountable for having read the article and for participating in the discussion. Teachers can print a transcript of the todaysmeet.com conversation for review, analysis, and assessment.
- Close the segment by selecting a new student to assume the responsibilities of discussion leader for the next current events session.

Transforming Hot Topics Into Issues

While this minimalist, press-based approach may be useful in some classrooms, you may prefer to identify opportunities within the curriculum for introducing teacher designed mini-units that deal with current events issues in a more purposeful manner. In this model for delivering instruction on current events, teachers set aside three to five lessons in the framework of their regular curriculum to teach about a particular current event in more depth. Here is a list of current hot topics that fit well in any number of broader curriculum areas.

Hot Topic	Curriculum Context
Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East, the Case of Iran	International Relations, Disarmament, Human Rights, Environmental Geography
The War in Iraq	U.S. Foreign Policy, U.S. History, U.S. Government
U.S. War on Terror	International Relations, U.S. Government, U.S. History
Women and Islam	Comparative Religion, Women's Studies, Human Rights
The War in Lebanon (2006)	International Relations, Global Politics, Media Studies

These hot topics are case studies that can be compared with historical examples already taught in the context of the curriculum. In the article “Designing Issue-Based Unit Plans” by Joseph Onosko and Lee Swenson, the authors provide teachers with important criteria for selecting issues around which to structure units of study.⁷⁰ These same criteria may be applied in crafting current events segments. First, let us translate the topics in the chart above into issues, and then check whether they meet Onosko’s and Swensen’s criteria.

Hot Topic	Issue
Nuclear Proliferation	Should the US intervene to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon?
The War in Iraq	Was the USA correct to go to war with Iraq?
The War on Terror	Can the USA win the war on terror?
Women and Islam	Does feminism have a role in Muslim and Islamist countries?
The War in Lebanon (2006)	Are there limits on how much force to use in wartime?
Reconstructing Iraq	What is the best way to go about reconstructing Iraq, and what are your predictions for the country’s future?

According to Onosko and Swenson, an issue is best suited to the classroom when it is controversial, important, and will contribute to students’ growth. Importance can be assessed by considering whether the issue has been debated in society over time and the degree to which citizens express public concern over it. Interest level and “researchability” are the remaining criteria. Provocative phrasing of the issue and moral dilemmas enhance interest. Finally, investigate the availability of research materials for students before selecting the central issue for the mini-unit. The following sample current events lessons deal with Iraq and Lebanon respectively. Both include research, group work, and peer teaching.

Crafting a Mini-Unit on Iraq

The mini-unit on American foreign policy in Iraq presented here consists of two parts. The first is a research activity that provides a context for understanding the case. The second is a study of recent American policy in Iraq and an exploration of policy alternatives. Students are assessed by completing an assignment in which they draw conclusions about U.S. policy decisions. Debriefing should provide an opportunity for students to reflect on the issues from their own point of view, weighing and measuring what they consider most important in coming to personal conclusions about the topics they have studied. This paradigm can be adapted for many different current events cases.

⁷⁰ Joseph Onosko and Lee Swenson, “Designing Issue-Based Unit Plans,” *Handbook on Teaching Social Issues*, by R.W. Evans and D.W. Saxe (Washington D.C.: National Council Social on Studies), 1996.

Mini-Unit 1: A Case Study in American Foreign Policy–War in Iraq

Activity 1: Creating Data Packs

Activity 2: Critiquing US Foreign Policy in Iraq

Assessment Essays

Activity One: Creating Data Packs

Objectives:

- Students will become familiar with the physical, cultural, economic, and military geography of Iraq.
- Students will identify defining themes and patterns that have recurred in Iraq's recent history.
- Students will search for connections that link information they have discovered with recent news events.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials:

A selection of recent news magazine articles on Iraq for student reference in class. Atlas of the Middle East. Internet access for research. Poster paper and markers.

Handout 8.1—Creating Data Packs

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Tell students to bring three different articles on Iraq to class. One may be an encyclopedia or reference article, one a news story, and one an editorial. Students should come to class having read their articles and prepared to discuss them with peers.
2. Divide students into small groups. Prepare a question sheet with items to identify and basic questions about the conflict with Iraq. Students will pool their information and answer as many questions as they can.
3. Assign each group the task of collecting and representing data about one aspect of Iraq's history or society.
4. Students will research information and prepare maps, charts, and diagrams that display critical information for understanding the case study.
5. When students have collected their information and are near completing their finished products, have each group decide what is most important to teach their peers. What does all the information they have discovered add up to? Is there a pattern that emerges?
6. Groups will identify three words that encapsulate and describe Iraq from the perspective they investigated.
7. As a class, discuss how the information presented helps us understand why the United States and Britain went to war against Iraq in March 2003, and what American future policy in Iraq should be.

Student Handout 8.1

Creating Data Packs

How much do you know about Iraq? This handout will guide your investigation. In this activity, each group will research information on one aspect of Iraqi culture. Your final product will consist of a “data pack” made up of maps, charts, or graphs that depict what you have learned. You will also be expected to identify three words that you feel best communicate a critical theme or pattern in the Iraqi experience to the rest of the class. The information you present will become important background material for understanding the current events we have been reading about. Here is a list of the different groups and the topics they will investigate.

Physical Geography: This includes climate, major cities, resources, rivers, and deserts. Where are Iraq’s oil fields and pipelines, port cities, and major population and industrial centers? Prepare a map of Iraq that contains this information. Include also neighboring countries. How has the war affected the physical geography of Iraq? Have United States Agency for International Development (USAID) projects addressed Iraq’s oil and water issues?

Cultural Geography: What ethnic and religious groups are represented? What languages are spoken? What is the social-status hierarchy among the different cultural groups in Iraq? Include population and population density statistics. Are the cultural groups in Iraq represented elsewhere in the Middle East in significant numbers and, if so, where? Find out and create a chart that shows the literacy rate, birth rate, infant mortality rate, and life expectancy for Iraq today. How did vital statistics during Saddam Hussein’s regime compare with the same statistics today?

Economic Geography: What is Iraq’s economic profile? Create a chart that shows Iraq’s GNP/GDP, main products, and trading partners. Create a line graph indicating the growth and contraction of Iraq’s economy. When and why have times been good or hard for Iraq’s citizens? Oil is the keystone in Iraq’s economy. Where are Iraq’s oil fields and pipelines? How has membership in OPEC influenced the oil industry in Iraq? What is the status of Iraq’s oil industry today? How has the war affected Iraq’s economy? What evidence can you find to support or refute the claim that the USA and other countries are only interested in Iraq because of its oil?

Military Geography: Create a map that documents Iraq’s military history in the 20th century. What countries are Iraq’s opponents or allies, and the reasons why? Indicate on your map where Iraq has had disputes or wars with its neighboring countries. Where, when, and why has Iraq’s government used force against her own people? Make a chart of Iraq’s military arsenal, and its strengths and weaknesses as a military power. When has the USA been a friend or foe of Iraq in the past? Who is fighting whom in Iraq today, and what is the most recent pattern of conflict and outcomes?

Historical/Political Map of Iraq: Create a map that shows who has ruled Iraq in the past and summarizes the recent political history of the country (for example, when have there been revolutions or coups?). What has been the pattern of government in Iraq? What creates or undermines political unity in Iraq? How successful have recent

attempts to establish a new government to replace Saddam Hussein's dictatorship been, and why?

Activity Two: Critiquing U.S. Foreign Policy

Objectives:

Students will evaluate recent U.S. foreign policy in Iraq and evaluate the policy decisions the U.S. made.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: **Handout 8.2–Recent U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East.** Video on Iraq or Saddam Hussein, if available. Download copies of *The U.S. in Iraq: Confronting Alternative Policy Options* (http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/twtn_iraq06_options_000.pdf).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Introduce the topic by brainstorming America's foreign policy goals in the Middle East.
2. Distribute **Handout 8.2–Recent U.S. Foreign Policy in Iraq** and *The U.S. in Iraq: Confronting Alternative Policy Options* (http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/twtn_iraq06_options_000.pdf). These materials, developed by the Choices for the 21st Century education program at Brown University, outline three policy options: 1) Increase U.S. presence in Iraq, 2) Provide Iraq with means to succeed while setting a time table to withdraw, and 3) Immediate withdrawal from Iraq. Each option is accompanied by detailed exposition and discussion of U.S. goals, plus rationale and implementation strategies. Students analyze policy options and consider them in light of the policies actually followed by the U.S. Another highly recommended site is <http://usiraq.procon.org/>. This site, developed by ProCon.org, explores the war in detail, providing contrasting opinions, reference material, timelines, and background. Finally, this BBC site on Iraq is useful: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14542954>.

Student Handout 8.2

Recent U.S. Foreign Policy in Iraq

The United States has been increasingly involved in the Middle East ever since the close of World War Two. A dominant theme of U.S. policy has been the search for regional stability. A peaceful Middle East, in America's view, will enable oil supplies to flow freely for the benefit of the entire world. Enduring governments that establish friendly, long-lasting relationships are preferable to shaky, unstable ones prone to revolution. The quest for peace and stability in a region fraught with religious, ethnic, and political tensions has been difficult to achieve. During the years of the Cold War, the U.S. followed a policy of "containment" that sought to prevent the communist USSR from expanding its influence into the Middle East, a region strategically important because it bridged the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, and contained critical oil resources. The Eisenhower Doctrine that pledged to protect Middle Eastern nations from spreading communism, and the Baghdad Pact that created a defense alliance in which Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan were members, shows how Western countries were keen to build a bulwark against the USSR.

In the 1960s, the Ba'ath Party became the dominant party in Iraq, and Saddam Hussein emerged as the leader of the country. Following socialist policies, Iraq tilted toward the Soviet Union following the model of an Arab socialist state that Gamal Abdul Nasser had established in Egypt.

Iran, a previous ally of the United States, became an Islamist state that ousted the Shah who had been supported by the U.S. Instability in the Persian Gulf threatened to disrupt oil supplies to the West and Far East when Iraq attacked Iran in 1980, beginning what turned out to be a disastrous, bloody, and indecisive eight-year war. This war provided an example of how instability in the Persian Gulf could affect the world. When Iraq began attacking tankers carrying Iranian and Kuwaiti oil through the Straits of Hormuz, the United States began to escort and "loan" its flag to foreign vessels to enable them to pass through the Gulf. The USS Stark, an American war ship, was hit by Iraqi missiles and 37 crewmen were killed. Saddam Hussein's use of chemical weapons in that war, and in 1988 against Kurdish citizens of Iraq, alerted the United States and the world community to the dangers the Iraqi leadership presented.

Saddam Hussein's invasion and annexation of Kuwait in August 1990 resulted in a major war called Operation Desert Storm, also known as the Gulf War, between Iraq and a United States-led coalition of nations. President George H.W. Bush refused to allow Iraq to seize Kuwait through an act of aggression and to destabilize the Persian Gulf. The war, which began on January 16, 1991, ended in the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and major economic and military devastation inside Iraq. After the end of Operation Desert Storm, Saddam Hussein dodged U.S. and UN demands for reform. Here is a chronology of some of the recent developments that contributed to the crisis between Iraq and the U.S. on the eve of the second Persian Gulf war in March 2003.

Chronology

1990: Iraq invades and annexes Kuwait, UN imposes economic sanctions on Iraq.

1991: Operation Desert Storm, Iraq attacks Israel with missiles.

1991–92:

Iraq attacks Iraqi Kurds, creating more than a million Kurdish refugees.

June 1991, a UN Special Commission is established to oversee disarming Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.

July 1991, a northern No-Fly Zone is created and policed by the U.S. and Britain in order to protect Iraqi Kurds.

April 1992, A southern No-Fly Zone is created to protect Iraqi Shiias from Iraqi attack.

1993: Saddam Hussein attempts to assassinate former President George H.W. Bush

1995: UN supports food-for-oil plan that enables Iraq to sell oil to boost income to meet humanitarian needs. The U.S. dislikes this policy but agrees.

1998: U.S. launches Operation Desert Fox, a series of bombing attacks against Iraqi weapons sites.

2002: President George W. Bush terms Iraq a member of the “Axis of Evil” and a sponsor of state terrorism. UN inspectors return to Iraq after having withdrawn since 1998. Saddam Hussein agrees to comply with UN demands to disclose all weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical, and atomic).

Noncompliance would result in an attack on Iraq to force compliance. Policy makers in the US discuss the feasibility of “regime change” in Iraq.

2003: Coalition forces (USA, Britain, Australia) invade Iraq and Saddam Hussein’s regime ends.

2003–2011: US troops continue to be actively engaged in warfare until withdrawal in December 2011. U.S. Casualties 4,486 Dead and 33,184 wounded.

The 2003 war against Saddam Hussein conducted by the USA and Britain was originally presented as a war to eliminate Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and liberate the Iraqi people from a ruthless and cruel despot. The Bush government linked Saddam’s regime to al Qaeda, responsible for the 9/11 terror attack. While America has achieved the goal of removing Saddam, it has become clear that there were neither stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction nor an al-Qaeda connection.

The U.S. worked to encourage the establishment of a democratic government in Iraq in place of Saddam Hussein’s dictatorship that would reflect Iraq’s different ethnic and religious groups but sectarian violence between Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish groups prevented this smooth transition. Eventually, in 2005 the first multi party election was held and a new constitution written. Kurdistan developed into an autonomous region rich in oil resources and in the March 2010 election won 57 of the 325 seat parliament. Coalition politics in Iraq continues to be fragile with ongoing conflict, sometimes violent between Sunni and Shiite parties. Challenges to authority within the coalition government have opened the way for Iranian backed Shia militias to enter Iraqi politics in support of the Shiite leader, Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki.

Questions:

- List the policies the United States followed in her relations with Iraq. What motivated these specific policies and to what extent did they achieve their goals?
- What were the arguments for and against going to war with Iraq?

- Which of the policy options discussed in the “Choices” reading guided U.S. policy?
- What is your evaluation of U.S. policy toward Iraq, and why?

Assessments

- Have students write an essay which evaluates the appropriateness of going to war with Iraq. Include moral, as well as political and military arguments in the essay. Submit the essay to the editor of the school newspaper for possible publication.
- Write an essay comparing America's policy in Iraq in 1991 with the situation today. How are they the same or different?
- Analyze three Web sites that comment on America's policy in Iraq. To what extent do you feel they accurately portray the facts in the case study? What bias do you detect? Consider writing an e-mail to the site, expressing and explaining your views.

Lebanon became the focus of world attention as the result of Israel's war with Hizbullah in 2006. Lebanon is an excellent case study of a small nation that has struggled with a history of sectarian civil war, occupation by Syria and Israel, and the provocation of militias that have used its soil as a launching pad for violence.

Lebanon's history raises important questions regarding the process of the building of a nation, government's ability to protect its citizens, and the role of the international community. In this current events mini-unit, students explore Lebanon's recent past and contemporary headlines through group research that searches for answers to issue-oriented questions.

Mini-Unit 2: Lebanon

Activity 1: Why Has Lebanon Been a State Caught in Conflict?

Activity 2: Symposium on Lebanon

Activity One: Why Has Lebanon Been a State Caught in Conflict?

Objectives:

- Students will identify the different religious and ethnic groups that make up Lebanese society.
- Students will evaluate how Lebanon has sought to reconcile sectarian differences, and will identify when reconciliation has succeeded or failed.
- Students will draw conclusions about why it has been difficult to build national unity in Lebanon, and will suggest approaches for the future.
- Students will understand the roles Syria, Hizbullah, and Israel have played in Lebanon's recent past.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two to three lesson periods

Materials:

"Distribution of Religious Groups" map of Lebanon, Perry Casteneda Library Map Collection

(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/lebanon_religions_83.jpg)

"Lebanon's Religious Mix" by Kate Seelye, available at FRONTLINE/World (www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/dispatches/lebanon.syria/seelye2.html).

"Syria's Role in the Middle East," an Interactive Map (http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/middle_east/syria/map_flash.html).

"Syria's Role in the Middle East" from PBS's Syria Archives to 2008 (http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/syria/archive.html)

"Lebanon's History of Occupation" by Kate Seelye, available at FRONTLINE/World (<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/dispatches/lebanon.syria/seelye1.html>).

"Backgrounder on Hizbullah" by the Council on Foreign Relations (<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9155/>)

"Who is Hizbullah?" from BBC News (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4314423.stm)

Student Handout 8.3–Group Investigation of Conflict in Lebanon.

Step by Step Instructions:

Divide students into work groups with the following tasks:

Group 1: The Problem of National Identity (Independence to Civil War)

"Distribution of Religious Groups" map of Lebanon, Perry Casteneda Library Map Collection

(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/lebanon_religions_83.jpg)

“Lebanon’s Religious Mix” by Kate Seelye, available at FRONTLINE/World (www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/dispatches/lebanon.syria/seelye2.html).

1. Identify the most significant religious and ethnic groups in Lebanon. Throughout Lebanon’s history, there has been controversy over control of power in the government by these religious groups. Find out how this problem was resolved in 1943, when Lebanon became independent. *(Note: One answer is that the presidency was reserved for a Maronite Christian; the prime minister, for a Sunni Muslim; and the speaker of the parliament, for a Shi’a Muslim. Parliamentary power was allocated on a 6:5 ratio with the larger number going to the Christian community based on the census of 1932.)*
2. Between 1975 and 1990, a bloody civil war raged in Lebanon. Find out what caused this civil war and how it was resolved. *(Note: Students should discover that shifting demography precipitated the civil war. Muslims demanded that a new division of power in the government be carried out on the basis of a new census (there had been none since 1932.) Christians resisted, fearing loss of power. General chaos and violence increased in Lebanon as religious groups formed sectarian militias that the Lebanese National Army found impossible to control. Complicating the situation was the fact that, in 1970, King Hussein of Jordan attacked the Palestinian fighters using Jordan as a sortie point for attacks on Israel (Black September), and so Yassir Arafat and his forces relocated to southern Lebanon, swelling the numbers of Muslims in the country and controlling the southern portion of the country as a quasi state. Subsequent attacks on Israel by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), now originating from southern Lebanon, drew Israeli fire that resulted in two invasions, the Litani Operation of 1978 and the 1982 War in Lebanon (in Israel, called Operation Peace for Galilee). The violence and chaos created by these developments enabled Syria to play an influential role in Lebanon as Christian, Druze, and Muslim militias created shifting alliances. Throughout this period, Lebanese civilians were the victims of massacres, targeted killings, and bombings, and many were forced to flee their homes, becoming refugees in their own country. The Taif Agreement of National Reconciliation (1989) ended the civil war and contained measures designed to stop the violence and maintain the peace. Specifically, the agreement called for Syrian troops to remain in Lebanon temporarily to keep the peace, and for a restructured Parliament to allocate more seats to all the religious groups, raising Christian representation from 54 to 64 seats, and Muslim representation from 45 to 64 seats.*

Group 2: Lebanon or Southern Syria?

“Syria’s Role in the Middle East,” an Interactive Map (http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/middle_east/syria/map_flash.html).

“Syria’s Role in the Middle East” from PBS’s Syria Archives to 2008 (http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/syria/archive.html).

“Lebanon’s History of Occupation” by Kate Seelye, available at FRONTLINE/World.

Syria traditionally considered Lebanon as part of its sphere of influence. Find out why Syria holds this view, and when, how, and why Syria has intervened in

Lebanese affairs. How has this intervention been received by the Lebanese and their government?

(Note: The above links introduce students to Syria's activities in Lebanon and the region. The interactive map is an especially helpful resource, as it provides easy access to information by clicking the mouse on different countries. Students will understand the nature of Syria's involvement in Lebanon during the civil war and long after the Taif Agreement expected Syria's involvement to end. The assassination of President Rafik Hariri, who opposed the Syrian presence in February 2005, is discussed in Seelye's article as well as in the PBS Archives. Here students can follow the developing reactions to Syria's interventions in the USA and in Lebanon.)

Group 3: Hizbullah—Constructive or Destructive for Lebanon?

“Backgrounder on Hizbullah” by the Council on Foreign Relations (<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9155/>).

“Who is Hizbullah?” from BBC News (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4314423.stm).

“Lebanon’s Religious Mix” by Kate Seelye, available at FRONTLINE/World (www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/dispatches/lebanon.syria/seelye2.html).

The Shi’a Muslim group is the smallest of the three major religious blocs in Lebanon, and is located primarily in the south of the country and in pockets around Beirut and other major cities. The Shi’a are the minority throughout the Muslim world, totaling 7.5 to 11 percent of the Muslim population (although they are the majority in a few countries). They gained prominence with the successful Iranian Islamist Revolution and the establishment of an Islamist republic in Iran. Founded in 1982, Hizbullah conducts continuous armed struggle against Israel by its military wing, and the education and health services it provides Shi’a Muslims in Lebanon have helped to win it considerable popular support. The fact that Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon in 2000 as a result of ongoing Hizbullah pressure was a victory for this organization. Hizbullah is funded by Iran and aims to establish an Islamist government that rules according to the traditions of the Qur’an. As a result of the 2005 elections, Hizbullah representatives have a significant presence in the Lebanese parliament.

Find out how popular Hizbullah is in Lebanon. What segment of the population supports this group? What institutions has Hizbullah established, and what services does Hizbullah provide? How powerful is Hizbullah’s army, and in what operations in Lebanon has it taken part? To what extent does Hizbullah initiate or respond to violence? Why does violence between Israel and Hizbullah continue despite the fact that Israel has withdrawn from Lebanese soil? What caused the war in July and August 2006? Is Hizbullah’s presence in southern Lebanon constructive or destructive for Lebanon’s future, and why?

Note: Students should discover Western and Islamist perspectives on Hizbullah (the Party of God). Is Hizbullah a defender of Lebanon and Muslim interests or an instigator of violence and terror that has brought about Israeli retaliation and military destruction of Lebanese homes, economy, and infrastructure? The differing interpretations of the controversy of the Sha’aba Farms dispute, Hizbullah prisoners in Israeli jails, and the use of assassination and kidnapping will also be important in evaluating Hizbullah’s impact on Lebanon and the

stability of the region. Finally, Hizbullah's methods of operation raise questions about the Lebanese government's ability to govern when an independent army beyond the government's control makes war on a neighbor state and accepts arms and money from another.

Group 4: Israel and Lebanon, Potential Allies or Enemies?

"Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors? Israel and Lebanon After the Withdrawal," by Laura Zittrain Eisenberg
(<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2000/issue3/jv4n3a2.html>).

"The History of Israeli Policy in Lebanon: Lessons Learned and The Future Outlook," by Dr. Reuven Erlich
(<http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articleDET.cfm?articleid=217>).

"Israel authorizes 'severe' response to abductions," by CNN
(<http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/07/12/mideast/>).

"Beirut and Lebanon War Photos,"
(<http://www.habeeb.com/lebanon.photos.18.beirut.war.destruction.html>).

"Second Lebanon War Photo Exhibition,"
(<http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?116055-Second-Lebanon-war-photo-exhibition>).

The military conflicts that Israel has fought on Lebanese soil have typically been responses to military groups acting outside the jurisdiction of the Lebanese government, such as the Palestine Liberation Organization or Hizbullah. Readings in this section review the history of relations between Lebanon and Israel up to 2000, when Israel ended its 18-year occupation of what it claimed was a necessary security zone in southern Lebanon. Additional readings review the causes of the August 2006 war. Finally, a collection of visuals depicts the war from the Lebanese and Israeli perspectives. Students should be encouraged to analyze the photos in terms of denotation (what do we see in the photo?) and connotation (what is the message of the photo?). Find out the history of Lebanese-Israeli relations and Hizbullah's month-long bombardment of Israel's northern region in 2006. Find out when and why the peaceful coexistence between Lebanon and Israel was interrupted. What issues require resolution in order for good, neighborly relations to be restored?

(Note: Students should discover that, although Lebanon never signed a peace treaty with Israel, the mutual northern border was a quiet one until Palestinian fighters led by Yassir Arafat began to occupy southern Lebanon in the aftermath of "Black September" in 1970, adding significant numbers to the Palestinian refugees already encamped on Lebanese territory since the 1948 war. The Palestinian presence in Lebanon not only drew Israeli fire in retaliation for attacks on Israeli civilians launched from Lebanon, but also contributed to the increase in Muslim population and consequent demographic conflict over control of the government, which helped lead to civil war. Operation Litani in 1978, the Lebanon War of 1982, and the Israeli occupation continued until 2000, punctuated by military conflict in 1993 and 1996 between Hizbullah fighters and the Israel Defense Forces. Disputes over the territory "Shaba Farms" (claimed by Syria, Lebanon, and Israel), Hizbullah's capture of Israeli soldiers, and shelling of the Galilee region of Israel all contributed to the outbreak of violence in July 2006.)

Group 5: The International Community: Reactions and Resolutions

Students in this group will investigate the reactions of the United Nations, the U.S., the European Union, and other nations (e.g., Russia, China, India) to the 2006 conflict in Lebanon. Find out the content of UN Resolution 1559 (2005) and the policies of the major powers during and after the war.

Student Handout 8.3

Group Investigation of Conflict in Lebanon

Group 1: The Problem of National Identity (Independence to Civil War)

“Distribution of Religious Groups” map of Lebanon, Perry Casteneda Library Map Collection

(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/lebanon_religions_83.jpg).

“Lebanon’s Religious Mix” by Kate Seelye, available at FRONTLINE/World (www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/dispatches/lebanon.syria/seelye2.html).

1. Identify the most significant religious and ethnic groups in Lebanon. Throughout Lebanon’s history, there has been controversy over control of power in the government by these religious groups. Find out how this problem was resolved in 1943, when Lebanon became independent.
2. Between 1975 and 1990, a bloody civil war raged in Lebanon. Find out what caused this conflict and how it was resolved.

Group 2: Lebanon or Southern Syria?

“Syria’s Role in the Middle East,” an Interactive Map

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“Lebanon’s History of Occupation” by Kate Seelye, available at FRONTLINE/World

Syria traditionally considered Lebanon as part of its sphere of influence. Find out why Syria holds this view, and when, how, and why Syria has intervened in Lebanese affairs. How has this intervention been received by the Lebanese and their government?

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Group 4—Israel and Lebanon: Potential Allies or Enemies?

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 “The History of Israeli Policy in Lebanon: Lessons Learned and the Future Outlook,” by Dr. Reuven Erlich (<http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articleDet.cfm?articleid=217>).
 “Israel authorizes ‘severe’ response to abductions,” by CNN (<http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/07/12/mideast/>).
 “Beirut and Lebanon War Photos,” (<http://www.habeeb.com/lebanon.photos.18.beirut.war.destruction.html>).
 “Second Lebanon War Photo Exhibition,” (<http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?116055-Second-Lebanon-war-photo-exhibition>).

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Group 5: The International Community: Reactions and Resolutions

Students in this group will investigate the reactions of the United Nations, the USA, the European Union and other nations (e.g., Russia, China, India) to the 2006 conflict in Lebanon. Find out the content of UN Resolution 1559 (2005) and the policies of the major powers during and after the war.

Activity 2: Symposium on Lebanon

Objectives:

- Students will demonstrate understanding of the major players' attitudes toward and interpretations of conflict in Lebanon.
- Students will come to a personal understanding of responsibility for the conflict in Lebanon.
- Students will make predictions about necessary steps to reduce conflict in Lebanon.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Four lesson periods

Materials: Internet materials documenting UN resolution 1559 (2005) and policy statements and attitudes of the UN, USA, Russia, EU, and India.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Create groups with representatives from each of the work groups described in **Student Handout 8.3**. In other words, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Hizbullah, and the International Community would each be a separate group for this activity.
2. Each group presents a position paper on their understanding of why Lebanon is caught in conflict and what the next steps for securing the future of Lebanon should be.
3. After groups present and debate their positions, conduct a debriefing session in which students have an opportunity to discuss the validity of the points of view expressed and develop their own personal views of what must happen for Lebanon's future to be secure and prosperous.

Teaching “Breaking News”

The events of the Arab Spring that commenced at the end of 2011 have brought dramatic changes to the Middle East and its peoples. At the same time, for governments and their citizens around the world, unfolding events raise questions about the future of the region and international relations. Happily, in the age of Internet, students are able to access information about epic events in real time. There is so much information available, however, that this abundance can be overwhelming for students and teachers alike.

Newseum.org

(http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/default_archive.asp?tfp_region=Mi) with headquarters in Washington, D.C., is a wonderful site for accessing the daily front pages of print newspapers from around the world. Unlike Procon.org or the New York Times Learning Network (<http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com>), sites that provide background and links to related articles as well as lesson plans that are indexed by category, Newseum.org enables students to compare and contrast front-page news coverage on the day it appeared. The power of these materials is in their global scope and front-page focus. Newspapers are presented in their original front-page format and are searchable, using a visual map or a keyword, by region of the world and by country. Middle Eastern newspapers published in English include *Arab News* (Saudi Arabia), *Kuwait Times*, *Today's Zaman* (Turkey), *Times of Oman*, *Haaretz* (Israel), *The National* (Abu Dhabi, UAE), *The Jerusalem Post* (Israel), and *Arab Times* (Kuwait). Newspapers published in the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia are also indexed on the site. Here are a few examples of current events activities that are supported by Newseum.org:

1. When a major news story breaks, take time in class to navigate to Newseum to study how the story is covered. Here are some questions to guide students in their analysis of a front page.

- Is the story covered on the front page?
- What do you notice about the headline's font, wording, and placement?
- How much space or text is allotted to the story?
- What is the tone of the article? Is it detailed, factual, and objective, or does it contain editorial commentary?
- How is color used; are there accompanying images?
- What is the affect of the image on the viewer? Can you identify hidden messages in the image that was chosen to illustrate the story?

2. Once students become comfortable with this mode of analysis, assign different students one or two newspapers in which to follow the unfolding developments in the story.

3. After completing this process, students can compare and share how the story is presented over time (one or two weeks) in different countries' print media throughout the world. Here are some suggestions for conducting this comparison:

- Compare and contrast coverage within the Middle East.
- Compare and contrast Middle Eastern coverage with European, U.S., Asian, African, or Oceanian coverage.
- Discuss explanations for differences you find in the coverage.

4. Newseum.org also has an archive feature that enables students to view past front pages. There are a considerable number of archived pages pertaining to the war in Iraq and Arab Spring events in Egypt and Libya, as well as September 11.

Round-up of Web sites especially useful for current events lessons:

Procon.org: <http://www.procon.org/>

Newseum.org: <http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/topten.asp>

The Learning Network: <http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/>

The Choices Program: <http://www.choices.edu/resources/current.php>

Todaysmeet.com (a site for holding back-channel discussions in real time on line):
<http://www.choices.edu/resources/current.php>

Tips for Successful Current Events Lessons

Teaching current events will continue to be challenging by its very nature. The activity sequences suggested here work well if the topic is one deserving of examination in more depth. Whatever the framework you choose, keep in mind the following tips for success.

1. Do plan lessons carefully; don't rely on improvisation or "shooting from the hip."
2. Do ground discussion in historical events when possible and have students interpret cause-and-effect connections.
3. Do provide students with a toolbox of skills for assessing the reliability of evidence (primary sources, Web sites, secondary sources).
5. Do help kids acknowledge and understand that people disagree on these issues, and that this is to be expected. They will find evidence of disagreement all around them.
6. Do keep your personal views out of the discussion.
7. Do look at both sides of any issue, and make sure students can express both points of view as well as articulate their own.
8. Do use discussion techniques such as scored discussion and reflective listening to promote respect for all opinions held by students and to foster productive discourse in the classroom.
9. Do create materials that illustrate how sweeping generalizations about peoples, cultures, beliefs, and conflicts usually are not productive either in communicating an accurate picture or in developing solutions to problems.
10. Do call on students to detect point of view in all that they read and view.
11. Do encourage students to reflect on the influences on their own views and opinions.
12. Do introduce students to the concept of narrative in history. When two or more voices tell a story, the story invariably will be different in each case.
12. Do develop techniques for neutralizing emotional confrontations in the classroom.
13. Do diagnostics to find out what your students already know or feel about the issues you plan to teach.

14. If current events elicit a strong emotional reaction in you or in your students (for example, 9/11), it is best to help students express feelings and give voice to worries and pain before launching into a dispassionate analytical discussion. Proceed slowly and with sensitivity.

Chapter 9

Teaching About Israeli Society

Just as the Puritans hoped to found a “New Jerusalem” and build their “City on a Hill,” so too were the early Zionists who journeyed to Palestine aspired to lay the cornerstones of a society based on a brand new vision. The difference, however, was that the Puritans were a close-knit group with congregational communities, ministers, established family patterns, and religious beliefs ready to be transplanted to New England’s rocky soil; the Zionists had an idea, but not much else to begin with. The society that evolved from the Zionist return to Palestine at the turn of the 20th century grew into a modern Israeli society that has been shaped in character and content by both internal and external factors. In this chapter, discover:

- The origins and fault lines of Israeli society.
- The significance of the Six Day War as a shaper of society.
- The identity dilemmas of Israeli citizens of Palestinian descent and stateless Palestinians.
- Multidisciplinary approaches to teaching about Israeli society.

Origins of Israeli Society

The Zionist dream to reconstitute the People of Israel (Am Yisrael) in the Land of Israel (Eretz Yisrael) and achieve an independent State of Israel (Medinat Yisrael) was articulated by inspirational leaders who blended socialism with the expression of Jewish identity. Zionists, however, were the minority within a Jewish population that was scattered throughout Europe and the Middle East. This community spoke the languages of the countries they lived in or mixtures of local language and Hebrew. In Eastern Europe, the best example of this is Yiddish, and in Spain and Mediterranean lands, Ladino. Even the practice of Judaism, the faith that they shared, took many forms.

The spectrum of religious expression at the end of the 19th century ran the gamut from deeply orthodox and traditional to a religious observance and lifestyle that were adapted to European models of enlightenment. Most Zionists were secularists who identified with Jewish ethnicity but rejected religious observance. The institutions that would govern the new society, the language, and the literature they would read and speak remained to be reinvented and learned.

The origins of Israeli society can be traced to this early Zionist and pre-state period in which were laid the foundations of culture and the state that would be born in 1948. It is during this period that an alternative code of values was fashioned, one that drew upon traditional sources such as the Bible and Jewish history, yet at the same time, challenged their meaning.

In pragmatic terms, new socioeconomic organizations, such as kibbutz farming communities, the Histadrut labor organization, and autonomous governing institutions such as the Vaad Leumi (National Committee) and Jewish Agency created a bureaucratic and ideological infrastructure that one day would transform into an operating government.

The flowering of Hebrew as a modern spoken language with its accompanying literature was an emblematic milestone in the building of the new society. The Israeli culture that evolved, however, continued to be shaped by the waves of immigration that arrived, and by the internal and external conflicts in which the country would become embroiled. The presence of an Arab minority within the Jewish state and the cultural diversity of Jewish immigrants after 1948 continually raised questions over the meaning of “Israeliness.”

Immigration to Israel

Just as the United States is a nation of immigrants, so too is Israel. Even before the Zionist movement began at the end of the 19th century, there were Jews who moved to the Land of Israel out of pious devotion. By the time statehood was declared in 1948, five waves of immigration (each called *Aliya*, or “going up,” in Hebrew) had taken place, and the Jewish population of Palestine had grown from 25,000 in 1880 to 650,000.

Zionist leaders like David Ben-Gurion envisioned the Jewish national homeland as a place where the prophecy of ingathering the exiles would be fulfilled. Jews would return to the Land of Israel from all over the world, but especially from the European heartland of Eastern Europe that had the largest Jewish population and that was suffering the most from anti-Semitic persecution. While early waves of immigration reflected the enthusiasm and idealism of a young socialist movement, later waves consisted of an entrepreneurial European class of Jews, and later, refugees from the Nazi regime. After statehood, a mass immigration of 500,000 Jews from Arab lands came to Israel, outnumbering Western immigrants. Initial groups arrived as a result of deteriorating conditions for Jews in Muslim lands following Israel’s declaration of statehood and the outbreak of the 1948 War. Independence movements in the North African states encouraged Jewish immigration from these countries after 1950. Unlike their Western counterparts, these new “*olim*” (immigrants) were more traditional in their practice of Judaism and Middle Eastern in cultural lifestyle. Certainly, they were unfamiliar with socialist ideology and were perplexed by the character of the Jewish community they encountered on arriving in Palestine. The vast wellspring of European Jewish population in Poland and Russia, whom Zionist leaders looked upon as the heirs of Zionist ideology, had been destroyed in the Holocaust, and the mass immigration that arrived in its place was culturally dissonant with the European Yishuv (the pre-state Jewish community in Palestine). To the Ashkenazi Jews of Palestine, the newcomers seemed an obstacle to the Zionist project.

In turn, Oriental Jews from Muslim lands were resentful of the authority wielded by the establishment over their lives, and of their dependency upon the government for housing and employment. The intrusion of Western Zionist culture into the lives of traditional families upset the equilibrium of traditional family patterns, creating further distress. While members of Israel’s government opposed mass immigration, the debate over the quantity and advisability of this mass immigration was won by Ben-Gurion, who advocated supporting it despite the fact that the young state was ill-prepared to absorb the newcomers effectively. The cultural dissonance between the veteran Zionist society and the Sephardic new immigrants of the 1950s and ’60s is but one example of the diversity within Israeli society.

The Secular-Religious Continuum

If the horizontal axis on the “Israeliness” graph is labeled East-West, the vertical axis represents the secular-religious continuum. Zionists saw themselves as an embodiment of the ancient Jewish people of biblical days recovering a lost homeland. While they drew inspiration from heroic figures such as King David, Samson, and Judah Maccabee, they believed in redemption of the Jewish people through settlement and immigration, not through observance of the religious laws. Ultra-Orthodox Jews contested the Zionist project, maintaining that any attempt to establish a Jewish commonwealth in the Land of Israel before the coming of the Messiah was heretical.

Religious Zionism found expression in the teachings of Rabbi Isaac Hacoen Kook, who suggested that the physical return to Zion could actually be understood as a preliminary step in the redemptive process and not a result of its success.⁷¹ But the fact that a major stream of Orthodox Judaism had reconciled with the Zionist movement did not guarantee that the two would now hold congruent world views. Secular Zionists sought to establish a state with a “civil religion” rooted in ancient and historical Judaism but embracing modern enlightenment and democratic values that define citizenship in universal terms.

The Jewish state could encompass within it both Jews and non-Jewish minorities. Religious Zionists defined citizenship along “ethno-national” lines that made Jewish identity a prerequisite for acceptance within the State of Israel, and they harbored the hope of building a Jewish state governed by religious laws and precepts.⁷² Israel’s Declaration of Independence is an excellent representation of the manner in which Zionist leadership, with David Ben-Gurion at the helm, articulated the prevailing Zionist view in 1948. Since then, the secular and religious communities have struggled to attain a series of understandings, compromises, and practices in the areas of education, ritual observance, the Sabbath, personal status, and military service that work to preserve the Jewish character of the state while acknowledging the secular civic values the state is founded upon.

The tug of war between the democratic worldview and the ethno-national one is a perennial feature of Israeli society. It has surfaced in controversies over who may enter the country under the Law of Return⁷³, the right of students in religious academies to be exempted from military service, the importation of nonkosher food products into the country, and more. In order to understand why the dialogue between these groups may have become more strident in recent years, we turn to June 1967, a watershed year, in which to examine the dynamics of Israeli society.

The Six Day War Catalyzes Change

The Six Day War, with its lightning victory against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, and the subsequent occupation of Gaza, the Golan Heights, and, most importantly, the West Bank and East Jerusalem, seemed to validate and confirm the character of modern Israel. Israelis were citizen-soldiers who could protect themselves and defeat the enemy. But

⁷¹Baruch Kimmerling, *The Rise and Decline of Israeliness: State Society and the Military* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p. 109.

⁷²Joel Migdal, *Through the Lens of Israel: Explorations in State and Society* (Albany: State University Press New York, 2001) p. 167, and Baruch Kimmerling, *The Rise and Decline of Israeliness: State Society and the Military* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) p. 109.

⁷³See Activity Two, Lesson 2, later in this chapter.

they were also soldiers with Jewish souls. Who can forget the famous photographs of young paratroopers standing at the Wailing Wall for the first time, with a look of disbelief and awe in their eyes? After nineteen years, the most holy of sites, the Old City of Jerusalem and the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, were open to Israelis and Jews from all over the world. Attaining administrative control over the West Bank, also known by its biblical name, Judea and Samaria, renewed an important link between the Jewish people and their ancient past.

For religious Israelis, the prayers they recited daily that referred to the rebuilding of Zion and the fulfillment of God's promise seemed to be within reach. Between 1948 and 1967, a status quo had been achieved and maintained that had kept the civil-ethnic dialogue in the background, but after the June War, the accessibility of the biblical heartland of the Land of Israel galvanized the religious community into asserting a more spiritual and activist approach to settlement. Now it was possible to revitalize Zionist redemption of the land through the construction of towns and villages in territory that had been prohibited to Israelis since 1949 and the end of the First Arab-Israeli War. The secular-religious divide was thus complicated by the appearance of dedicated activist settlers who were often at odds with the secular government over the future of Judea and Samaria.⁷⁴

Oriental, or Mizrachi, Jews who had been disadvantaged throughout the decades after their arrival as new immigrants began to assert themselves, demanding equal opportunities after the June War. While some believe that this posture was closely linked to the community's participation and sacrifices in the war, others connect it to the increased emphasis on ethno-nationalism after the onset of the occupation. Joel Migdal points out that Israel, the civil nation-state, had been slow to grant de facto equality to Mizrachi citizens on the grounds that they were unready to assume full civic responsibilities. When ethno-national identity, however, becomes the standard for acceptance, this practice becomes increasingly unacceptable.

In his analysis of Israeli society, Migdal points out that shifting boundaries can shake the stability of a state by creating new opportunities for interest groups to express or take action to realize their views. This was certainly the case in the United States when territorial expansion as a result of the Mexican War reopened the question of whether or not slavery could spread into newly acquired territories. In the case of Israel, the Six Day War similarly affected Israeli society. The occupation of territories with spiritual and historical significance injected new life into the religious-secular debate and helped to create a partnership between advocates of an ethno-national society from both Western and Oriental religious and secular communities.

Palestinians in Israeli Society

The Six Day War also had a major impact in shaping the lives of Arab people living in the former Palestine of Mandatory days. The 150,000 Arabs who remained in the new State of Israel after 1948 had been granted citizenship in 1950, although they remained a mistrusted minority. These Arabs were encouraged to develop an Israeli civic identity while studying in Arab schools in both Hebrew and Arabic.⁷⁵ The Six Day War, resulting

⁷⁴Joel Migdal, *Through the Lens of Israel: Explorations in State and Society* (Albany: State University of New York, 2001), pp. 143–144.

⁷⁵Baruch Kimmerling, *The Rise and Decline of Israeliness: State Society and the Military* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001,) p. 134.

in the occupation of the West Bank, created a new link between Arabs living on either side of the border, many of whom shared family ties. In *The Yellow Wind*, David Grossman describes Barta'a, a village bisected by the war of 1948 and "reunited" in 1967. As the people of Barta'a became reacquainted with one another, they were confronted with identity issues. In 1987, Riad Kabha, an Arab from the Israeli side of Barta'a, had this to say:

They [residents of West Bank Barta'a] really see themselves as part of the Palestinian people. We see ourselves as part of the Palestinian people, but also as an integral part of Israel. The sad part of it is the Israelis reject us because we are Arabs, and the Arab countries reject us because we are Israelis. The Arabs in the other Barta'a continue to see us as part of Israel. But despite that, if you write about us, you should write the whole truth: in recent years, the differences between us are starting to blur. After all, twenty years have passed. There are more marriages between them and us. There is more contact. They are beginning to be influenced by our way of life. We've also gained something: our national consciousness has grown stronger as a result of our contact with them. Our economic superiority could not stand up to their political superiority.⁷⁶

The changing perceptions of Arab identity referred to in this quotation have intensified in the wake of the first Intifada (1987–90), the failed Oslo Accords, and al-Aksa Intifada (2000–05), to a point where an increasing number of Arabs living inside Israel no longer call themselves Israeli-Arabs but rather Palestinians with Israeli citizenship. In addition to changing political viewpoints, the Six Day War altered the Israeli economy in ways that have affected the status of the Arab community. As Palestinians from the territories began to work inside Israel in construction and agricultural jobs, Arabs inside Israel began to move into an entrepreneurial sector of small business and start-up industries. Baruch Kimmerling points out that the Arab population in Israel has grown from 7 percent in 1949 to 20 percent in 1999, and that the community has made significant strides economically, culturally, and politically. Ambivalence continues to characterize Arab attitudes to their place in Israeli society, although Sammy Smooha, an Israeli sociologist specializing in Arab affairs, has maintained that:

Israeli Arabs are a Palestinian national minority destined to live permanently in the Jewish state. They avail themselves of Israeli democracy to wage a struggle for greater equality and integration. They are bilingual and bicultural, Israeli Palestinian in identity, and are in solidarity with the submerged Palestinian nation, but loyal to Israel. They support the P.L.O. and a two-state solution to get their people settled and their own national aspirations fulfilled, but their fate and future are firmly linked to Israel.⁷⁷

This overview of Israeli society emphasizes the complexity, diversity, and dynamic interaction of the elements that have shaped it. Israeli culture is not synonymous with Jewish culture, although the impetus for Zionism, the foundation of the Jewish state, and shared cultural features stemmed from the Jewish experience. A young country, the cultural character of Israel has been seasoned by both Jewish, socialist, liberal Western,

⁷⁶David Grossman, *The Yellow Wind* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1988) pp. 125–126

⁷⁷Joel Migdal, *Through the Lens of Israel: Explorations in State and Society* (Albany: State University of New York, 2001) p. 192.

and traditional Middle Eastern values that were brought in successive waves of immigration or were indigenously part of the landscape. The Six Day War resulted in a sharpening of alternative ideological goals and identities for both Arabs and Jews. The definition of “Israeliness” continues to be debated, and when Israelis go to the polls on election days, the array of political parties to choose from is one indication that the character of its culture is still evolving. The teaching segment suggested here examines the central question, “What is Israeli culture?” Through an analysis of literature, statistical evidence, historical documents, national symbols, immigration patterns, folk culture, “synagogue-state” relations, and contemporary political process, students explore the religious-secular divide, ethnic pluralism, and Israel’s present and future identity as a Jewish state.

Content indicators for this segment include:

- Students will define the meaning of culture and describe features of 19th-century Jewish and early Zionist culture during the pre-state period.
- Students will distinguish between ethno-national and civil criteria for determining citizenship, and will discuss to what extent Israel conforms to one or another of these models.
- Students will identify waves of Jewish immigration and reflect on appropriate ways of meeting the needs of mass immigration to a young state.
- Students will make predictions about the future character of Israeli society.

Sample Unit Plan**Essential Question: Is there an Israeli national character?**

Topic One: Are Jewish Culture and Zionist Culture the Same?

Activity One: What Is Culture?

Activity Two: Comparing Diaspora Jewish, Early Zionist, and Modern Israeli Culture Through Literature

Topic Two: What Is Israel's National Character?

Lesson One: Clues to Israel's Cultural Character

Activity One: The Declaration of Independence

Activity One: An Internet Scavenger Hunt

Lesson Two: Who Are the Israeli People?

Activity One: Constructing Israeli Family Trees

Activity Two: The Law of Return

Topic Three: The Political Process as an Expression and Shaper of National Character

Activity One: How Does the Knesset Shape the Character of the State?

Topic One—Are Jewish Culture and Zionist Culture the Same?

Following the Six Day War, there was an increase in immigration of Jewish-Americans to Israel. This wave of immigrants did not make *aliya* (immigrate) because they were insecure politically, socially, or economically. Nor were most of them, at that time, moving to Israel out of religious commitment. There was something, however, drawing them to Israel. No doubt their Jewish identity and a desire to become part of the Zionist enterprise motivated many of them. Despite their professional backgrounds and financial security, they nevertheless experienced the culture shock or sense of dislocation that all immigrants face when they relocate to a new surrounding and culture.

For idealistic and committed *olim* (immigrants), the emotional highs and lows of adjusting to Israeli culture were perplexing. After all, they reasoned, why shouldn't they feel at home in Israel, the Jewish state that had achieved so high a level of technological modernity that it seemed like a little America in the Middle East? Many, however, did not feel at home for some time as they struggled to find their place within Israeli culture. The first reason why is that new immigrants may be familiar with the external, visible features of a culture such as food, holidays, and language without being aware of the submerged features of culture that are less apparent until an upsetting and inexplicable incident creates a minor or major crisis in their lives. The second reason is that new immigrants to Israel mistakenly expect the culture of their new home to be the same as the Jewish culture they left behind.

In this instructional segment, students first become familiar—through activities and a broad discussion of culture—with submerged features of culture that are not visible to the observing eye, and later discover the difference between Jewish and Zionist culture through an analysis of modern Hebrew literary themes and the values they reflect.

Activity One—What Is Culture?

Objectives:

- Students will distinguish between visible culture (e.g., food, greetings, holidays) and more deeply embedded features of culture (e.g., values, concept of self, attitude towards time, and relationship to authority).
- Students will reflect on the connection between values and behaviors.
- Students will draw conclusions about whether or not there is such a thing as a national character.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Background reading for teachers on culture can be found in *Basic Concepts of Intercultural Communication*, edited by Milton J. Bennett (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1998) and *Exploring Culture: Exercises, Stories and Synthetic Cultures* by Hofstede, Pedersen, and Hofstede (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 2002). The materials for this lesson can be found at the Coverdell World Wise Schools Web site Culture Matters, “Linking Values to Behavior”

(<http://www.peacecorps.gov/www/educators/enrichment/culturematters/ch1/linkingvalues.html> and <http://www.peacecorps.gov/www/educators/lessonplans/pdf/bridges.iceberg.a.pdf>).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Ask students to brainstorm definitions of culture.
2. Have students reflect on whether their own homes reflect American culture, some other culture, or a blend of the two, or more.
3. Distribute the “Features of Culture” handout available at <http://www.peacecorps.gov/www/educators/lessonplans/pdf/bridges.iceberg.a.pdf>.
4. Invite students to identify examples of the features of culture listed on the chart that are common in the United States. Let students skip categories that prove to be difficult.
5. Students should sit in groups and pool their answers.
6. What are the features of American culture that emerge from this exercise?
7. Remember, there should be a broad consensus that the examples chosen are common to people in the United States (or other representative national groups).
8. Ask students why some of the categories were hard to work with.
9. What if someone from another culture were observing Americans? Which of these would be readily observable and which would be hidden from view?
10. Help students recognize that features such as worldview, religious beliefs, attitudes towards time, and concept of self are more difficult to perceive but can have a tremendous influence over the behavior of people belonging to a particular culture.
11. In order to demonstrate the connection between values and behaviors, have students complete and discuss the online handout, “Linking Values to Behavior.”
(<http://www.peacecorps.gov/www/educators/enrichment/culturematters/ch1/linkingvalues.html>).

Activity Two: Comparing Diaspora Jewish, Early Zionist, and Modern Israeli Culture Through Literature

Objectives:

1. Students will identify values and behaviors typical of Jewish culture in Europe at the end of the 19th century, in Zionist circles during the pre-state period in Palestine, and in Israel after 1967.
2. Students will draw conclusions about the similarities and differences between these two “cultures.”
3. Students will trace the change in attitudes they detect by examining recent Hebrew literature.
4. Students will become familiar with literary themes in modern Hebrew literature.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two to three lesson periods

Materials: The revival of the Hebrew language and its use, both as a spoken tongue and language of literature, contributed immeasurably to the development and dissemination of Zionist culture. Thus, it is fitting that this lesson be built upon an examination of Hebrew literary texts written between 1890 and 1998. Here is a list of texts that work well, although you may choose to mix and substitute examples depending upon availability. I include a brief summary of their contents and an explanation of how they are to be used.

Mendele Mocher Sforim (Mendele the Bookseller, aka. S.Y. Abramovitz), “Shem and Japeth on the Train,” 1890, in *Modern Hebrew Literature*, edited by Robert Alter (West Orange, N.J.: Behrman House, Inc. 1975), pages 19–38. This volume contains an excellent introduction and editor’s notes. In this story, a Jew, the traditional bookseller, meets up with disheveled, poor Jewish family members and learns about their lives. “Reb” [Rabbi] Moshe is a poor Jew exiled from Bismarck’s Germany. In the course of the story, we also learn about his relationship with a Christian Pole, once an anti-Semite, who is now also exiled from Germany and must learn to cope with his misfortunes by emulating his Jewish companions. This story presents a wonderful exposition of the worldview of a Jew living as an exile in Europe. Students will be able to identify the values and worldview of 19th-century traditional Jews as well as the connection to the Jewish heritage.

Joseph Trumpeldor, the Russian-Jewish military hero, who died defending the Jewish settlement at Tel Hai in Palestine in 1920, quickly became revered and memorialized by Jewish Zionists living in pre-state Palestine. In her book *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*,⁷⁸ Yael Zerubavel recounts the Trumpeldor story with scholarly objectivity, and she develops a thesis explaining why and how Trumpeldor turned into a national hero. Students can extract the Zionist worldview by examining several accounts of the attack on Tel Hai. The version available

⁷⁸Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

at the Tagar Jewish Activist Movement site is linked to the Cleveland State University site (<http://www.csuohio.edu/tagar/uri.htm>), and the contemporary poem by Bertram Joseph, “At the Grave of Joseph Trumpeldor.”⁷⁹ Both of these versions reflect the Zionist heroism, sacrifice, collectivity, and aspiration to build the land that was so much a part of pre-state Jewish Palestine. If available, children’s stories and songs about this hero from the pre-state period would also be good to use. Students should be looking for references to traditional Jewish themes (e.g., Covenant with God, chosen people, origins of Jewish people, redemption, prayer, etc.)

Uri Zvi Greenberg (1896–1981) came to Palestine in 1924 and became affiliated with the Revisionist camp that advocated military combat in order to reclaim the land. In “One Truth and Not Two,”⁸⁰ he contrasts the advice and vision of the traditional rabbis with the fiery and extreme call to national struggle. Students will find it interesting to compare this expression of Zionism to the Trumpeldor examples, and should note the manner in which Greenberg uses biblical images to contrast the present with the past while linking himself to both.

Natan Alterman (1910–70) came to Tel Aviv in 1925. His poem “The Silver Platter” depicts the young female and male Zionist farmer-soldiers who offer an “Independent State” to the Jewish people on the “silver platter” of their sacrificed lives. Associated with the War of Independence (1948), this poem represents a maturing of themes from the pre-state period.

A.B. Yehoshua (born in Israel in 1936) wrote *The Lover*, which takes place in the 1970s. The Choices for the 21st Century education program has excerpted a passage from this novel in *Shifting Sands: Balancing U.S. Interests in the Middle East*.⁸¹ Use this passage to contrast early versus modern Israeli attitudes toward sacrifice.

Yehuda Amichai (1924–2000) is a German-born poet who came to Palestine as a child between 1934 and 1936. In his “Reflections on Israel at 50,” published on *The New Republic*⁸² Web site, you will find both an essay and two poems that offer insights into the poet’s reflection on Zionist values and Israeli cultural development. His account of his biography can be contrasted with the values depicted in the earlier works in terms of the Jewish or Zionist content in his life. Finally, a poem entitled “From Songs of Zion the Beautiful”⁸³ provides us with Amichai’s take on Trumpeldor and the meaning of Israel, bringing us full circle to where we began this exploration.

Note: It might be helpful to screen the slide presentation on Jewish identity to remind students of the biblical and religious connections to the Jewish people and their European experiences.

⁷⁹ Bertram Joseph at Reed (<http://kfar-olami.org.il/resources/landmark/history/trmpldr.htm>), with permission of the publisher David Hermon.

⁸⁰ This poem is available in translation by Laurence Cramer at Tagar, *The Jewish Activist Movement*, Cleveland State University (<http://www.csuohio.edu/tagar/uri.htm>)

⁸¹ A.B. Yehoshua, *The Lover*, excerpted in *Shifting Sands: Balancing U.S. Interests in the Middle East*, Choices for the 21st Century, Brown University, 2002, pp. 40–41.

⁸² Yehuda Amichai, “Reflections on Israel at 50” and “My Nation Lives,” *The New Republic* (<http://www.tnr.com/archive/0598/051198/amichai051198.html>)

⁸³ Yehuda Amichai, “From Songs of Zion the Beautiful” (<http://reed.kfar-olami.org.il/resources/landmark/history/amichai.htm>).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Determine how many literary selections you wish to use and how you will assign them to your students.
2. Students can go directly to Internet sites to find electronic sources mentioned.
3. Students may work in groups to analyze a particular work, or each group may receive two works to compare.
4. In any case, the emphasis should be on extracting evidence of belief systems, values, attitudes towards the future, concept of self (collectivity versus individualism), and references to religious or traditional themes. Students can construct a chart that shows excerpts from the text alongside the value they convey.
5. How is the portrait of *The Zionist* (robust, builder, heroic, tireless, collective identity, sacrificing, linked to antiquity but secular, activist, defending) different from *The Diaspora Jew* (traditional, bent, suffering, pious, obsequious, coping, dependent on others, victimized, wandering, passive)?
6. Is Amichai a Zionist? How would earlier Zionists respond to his poetry? What would Uri Zvi Greenberg say to him?
7. Consider reading some of the poetry or dialogue aloud.
8. Extension activities might include examining how other ideologies have mellowed or become altered as circumstances in the country they formed changed.
9. Close discussion with a Venn diagram that compares Zionist and Jewish cultures.
10. Have students write a brief response to the question, “Does Israel have a national character?” (A more extensive essay on the same topic may be written in response to Topic Two, Lesson One, Activity Two.)

Topic Two—What Is Israel’s National Character?

Lesson One—Clues to Israel’s National Character helps students learn that Israel is a pluralist society that seeks to be both a democracy and a Jewish state. Immigration, the secular-religious divide, and personal life stories become the vehicles for exploring these themes. Activities One and Two engage students in an examination of a collection of “artifacts” that will help students draw conclusions about the nature of Israel’s national character and the extent to which it has been successful in meeting the goals stated in the Declaration of Independence. **Lesson Two—Who Are the Israeli People?** contains two more activities, the first dealing with Israel’s multicultural ethnic profile; the second with the political struggles and socio-ideological implications of the Law of Return.

Lesson One: Clues to Israel’s National Character

Objectives:

- Students will distinguish between citizenship based on ethnic versus civil criteria.
- Students will analyze “artifacts” of Israeli culture and draw conclusions about Israel’s national character.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Three lesson periods

Materials: Israel’s Declaration of Independence, available online and in hard copy in document readers. **Student Handout 9.1—Guide Sheet to Israel’s Declaration of Independence** and **Handout 9.2—Artifacts of Israeli Culture**.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Ask students to read Israel’s Declaration of Independence and to complete **Handout 9.1**. Answer key:
Q 1. May 14, 1948, (5th of Iyar, 5708 in Tel Aviv).
Q 2. Antiquity, period of Jewish exile, late 19th century, post-World War One, and the Holocaust and World War Two are mentioned to establish Jewish physical and emotional attachment to Land of Israel and argue for the need for a homeland. Also, to suggest pride in Jewish contributions to world civilization.
Q 3. Specific events: World Zionist Congress, Balfour Declaration, establishment of the Mandate under the League of Nations, the Holocaust (World War Two), and the UN decision to partition Palestine. These references legitimize Israel’s independence.
Q 4. There are many references to Jewish values and history. The document connects Jewish values of social justice to universal ones, and it refers to the aspiration to meet universal democratic standards of behavior in the new state.
Q 5. Open question.
- Conduct a discussion during which students define ethnic and civil criteria for citizenship. “Ethnic criteria” refers to belonging to a particular cultural group, while civil criteria might include birthplace, residence, loyalty to state, and so forth.

- Make sure students understand Israel’s double goal: to be both a Jewish and a democratic state.

Activity 2: An Internet Scavenger Hunt

Tell the class that they now will examine a series of “artifacts” and documents reflective of Israeli culture, and that they will use their examination in order to draw conclusions about Israeli national character. Remember that these artifacts reflect “de jure” features of Israeli culture, not “de facto” ones.

A list of artifacts is included here:

- Hatikva: The national anthem.
- The Seven-Branch Candelabra or Menorah: Symbol of the State of Israel
- The Israeli Flag: White field with blue stripes and Jewish star.
- National Holidays: Days on which schools, government offices, banks and commercial centers are closed or on which nationwide commemorations take place.
- Demographic Data: Jewish and non-Jewish population statistics.
- Immigration Data: Distribution of nation-states from which Jews have immigrated to Israel.
- List of representative compromises between the Israeli government and the religious establishment.
- An overview of Israel’s government and selected Basic Laws (laws regarding human dignity and liberty, the government, and the Knesset).
- Laws pertaining to the acquisition of Israeli nationality.
- List of minority groups in Israel: Palestinian-Arabs (Christian and Muslim), Bedouin Arabs, Druze, Circassian.
- Findings by the Adva Center for Information on Equality and Social Justice in Israel

Step-by-Step Instructions:

- Distribute **Handout 9.2–Artifacts of Israeli Culture**
- Some of the artifacts are reprinted in the handout while others must be “scavenged for” on the Internet. Create teams of students to do this.
- Post placards with questions such as:
 - “What do we learn about Israeli society and culture from this item?”
 - “Does it reflect the civil or ethnic character of Israel?”
 - “In what ways is Israel a pluralistic society, in what ways homogeneous?”
 - “How do these artifacts help us identify Israel’s national character more clearly?”
- After students have worked through artifacts, conduct a discussion that focuses on Israel’s national character. Students may wish to discuss the extent to which Israel leans towards one or another of the models presented at the beginning of the lesson.
- It might be necessary to review with students the features of democratic government, such as representation, separation of powers, civil liberties, and equality.

In discussion, bring out the following points:

1. Israeli society is pluralistic, both in that it has a Jewish majority and a non-Jewish minority, and that within the Jewish population many cultural groups and ethnicities are represented.
2. Immigration has been a key factor in Israel's developing national character.
3. Many features of Israel's government and political process are democratic.
4. There are many expressions of the Jewish character of the country, while equality for non-Jewish groups is maintained.
5. Minority groups have suffered discrimination.
6. Democracy in the United States, as in Israel, has always fallen short of the ideal.
7. Historical circumstances such as the Holocaust, recent achievement of statehood, and ongoing military conflict have influenced Israel's national character in important ways. Provide students with information on these factors.
8. Complete discussion by having students write an answer to the question: How would you describe Israel's national character? To what extent do you feel that there are contradictions in Israeli society, and what, if anything, could be done about them?

Student Handout 9.1

Guide Sheet to Israel's Declaration of Independence

Comparing Two Declarations of Independence

The Declaration of Independence of the United States, ratified and announced in 1776, is made up of three sections. The preamble states the self-evident truths or unchanging beliefs upon which the declaration was based, the belief in natural law and the inalienable rights of all people. The second section of the document lists many examples of grievances, or King George III's failure to protect Americans' rights. Finally, in the third section, Thomas Jefferson and his fellow authors reasoned that, if the monarch has failed to meet his obligations to protect his subjects' rights, the people have no choice but to sever ties with Britain and declare independence.

We begin a discussion of Israel's Declaration of Independence with a look at the 1776 document for two reasons. The first is that we can compare the structure of the two documents. Does the Israeli document present an ideological basis for independence as the American one does and, if so, what is that basis? Is there an internal, persuasive logic to the argument being made? In 1948, there was considerable doubt over whether or not the provisional government of the Jewish community in Palestine should be taking this step.

For one thing, American support for an independent Jewish state was weak. The Arabs were expected to launch a new offensive in the continuing war while the military forces were not unified under a single command. Finally, Zionist parties themselves were in disagreement over independence. Any declaration of independence would have to be firmly grounded in a strong rationale in order to gain support and recognition.

Second, the declaration of 1776 announced fundamental beliefs and universal values such as freedom, equality, and civil liberties. Nations around the world have modeled themselves after these Western democratic values. What values are contained in Israel's Declaration of Independence? Does the document reflect universal ideals such as those mentioned above, or does it speak to the unique national concerns of the Jewish people, a people with a long history of suffering, most recently in the Holocaust? As you read, look for evidence of Jewish values. When you have finished reading and completing this guide sheet, be ready to discuss how Israel's Declaration of Independence helps us understand Israeli national character.

Guide Sheet Questions:

1. When and where was the declaration announced?
2. Which periods in history does David Ben-Gurion refer to in the Declaration, and why does he choose these specific ones?
3. What historical events does Ben-Gurion use to legitimize the Declaration of Independence?
4. To what extent does the document espouse universal values or Jewish ones?
5. Will Jews and non-Jews enjoy equality under the Declaration?

Student Handout 9.2

Artifacts of Israeli Culture

The “artifacts” for this activity may be provided for you in this handout, or you may have to hunt for them on the Internet. Work in teams. The more artifacts you find, the better you will be able to come to conclusions about Israeli culture. Remember, you are discovering what the character of Israeli society is like. Does it more closely resemble a civil universal society or an ethnic national society?

Artifacts to Find:

- The text of Israel’s National Anthem, “*Hatikvah*,” written by Naftali Hertz Imber.
- The symbol of the State of Israel, a seven-branched candelabra or Menorah (why this symbol?).
- The Israeli flag (symbolic significance?).
- A listing of Israeli national holidays and commemorative days.
- The Israeli work week.
- Law governing Acquisition of Israeli Nationality (<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00mz0>), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spotlight on Israel, Acquisition of Israeli Nationality.
- Demographic data on Jews and non-Jews in Israel.
- European Social Welfare Information Network (<http://www.eswin.nct.il/istats-demo.htm>).
- Immigration to Israel by country, 1948–95 (http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Immigration/imigration_by_country.html).
- Basic Laws of Israel (Knesset, human dignity, and liberty), Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH000b0>).
- Recent social-welfare information on the Arab sector of Israeli society, Adva Center for Information on Equality and Social Justice (<http://www.adva.org/budarabs.html>).
- Minority groups in Israel include Palestinian Arabs who are Muslims or Christians, and also ethnic subgroups of Palestinian Arabs such as Bedouin Arabs; the Druze, who practice a different religion privy only to their members; and Circassians.
- Although the number of religiously observant Israelis is a minority of the overall population, the secular state has accommodated this segment of the population in many ways. Here are some examples:
 - The educational system in Israel provides an opportunity for parents to enroll their children in either religious or secular public schools. Both systems receive government funding.
 - The legal system in Israel is based on a combination of Turkish, British, and Jewish law, the latter being responsible for personal status matters (family law).
 - Religious women may receive exemptions for military service or substitute nonmilitary national service instead.
 - Ultra religious men may be exempted from military service in order to pursue higher Jewish studies.

- Kosher food (food that conforms to orthodox dietary laws) is served in government institutions.
- Saturday (the Sabbath) is the legal day of rest in the country.

Lesson Two: Who Are the Israeli People?

Activity 1: Israeli Family Histories

Objectives:

- Students will understand, through a study of typical Israeli biographical profiles, that Israeli society is pluralistic and multicultural.
- Students will discuss the nature of Israeli national character in the light of the state's demographic make-up.
- Students will draw conclusions about how continual mass immigration has been a challenge and/or strength of Israeli society.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials: Handout 9.3–Six Profiles of Israeli Citizens

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Assign student groups one of the profiles to work with.
2. Students will read the biography and create a family tree of at least three generations that depicts the family's history.
3. Students can map their family members' travels on a world map and a map of Israel.
4. Students select an important vignette or scene from the family history to dramatize for the class. The scene should express an important event, crisis, or experience in the family's story that helps the class to understand something about Israeli culture or national character.
5. Each group presents their dramatization to the class.
6. Alternatively, you can divide the groups into heterogeneous groups and share answers to guiding questions "jigsaw" style.
7. Debriefing after the presentations should discuss questions such as:
 - What conclusions about Israeli society can we draw from these life stories?
 - Is there such a thing as an Israeli national character?
 - What problems remain for Israel to resolve in terms of national identity?
 - What do you think the future of Israeli society will be?
 - How do these personal stories reflect the social, economic, and political problems faced by Israel during her first half-century of independence?

- **Student Handout 9.3**

Six Profiles of Israeli Citizens

In this activity, you will meet an Israeli through a short biographical excerpt. As you read, keep track of the family's story by building a family tree or genealogical diagram. Plot their route to and within Israel on the map your teacher provides.

Discuss the following guiding questions with your group:

- What are the values that the immigrants brought with them to Israel?
- How were they accepted by Israeli citizens when they arrived?
- What problems or hardships did the *olim* encounter?
- What role did the government play in their transportation to Israel or their absorption into the society?
- What motivated their move?
- Find out how many Jews came to Israel under circumstances similar to the ones described in the biography. What might be the impact of this group's arrival in the country in the short run and/or in the long run?
- Identify an experience the immigrant type you studied might have had, and then create a skit that dramatizes it.
- Be ready to present your skit to the class, discuss the answers to the guiding questions, and place geographical place names mentioned in your biography on the map displayed in class.

Chana and George Perel: European Immigrants (Immigrated 1948)

Chana and George had known each other as youngsters in eastern Czechoslovakia before World War Two. They came from middle class families of means. Chana was ten or 11 years old in 1938, George about 16. When the Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia, Chana's father was sent to a labor camp, and Chana and her mother were sent to Auschwitz Birkenau. George survived a number of concentration and work camps. At the conclusion of the war, both Chana and George were alive, but both were completely alone in the world. They met up eventually in a camp for young Jewish survivors, and began planning to make their way to Palestine. In the camp, they received training in farming. In 1948, the Jewish Agency arranged for their transport to Palestine. Soon after their arrival in the country, they married. Almost immediately, George became a fighter in the Israel Defense Forces. After independence, George got a job working for the Egged Bus Company, and became a member in the Histadrut (a labor organization). He drove and maintained vehicles for this transportation cooperative. Chana worked as a cashier in the small food store in their community, a small village not far from Tel Aviv. Chana and George tell how, upon their arrival in the country after statehood, the veteran Zionist Israelis had felt uncomfortable with them. The couple felt they had been treated with contempt for belonging to a generation that had become the victims of Nazi Germany. Chana and George learned Hebrew and celebrated national holidays. They marked the seasons and special feast days in the Jewish calendar, but more in a national than a religious way. They sent their two daughters to secular schools, and both daughters attended college. Today, one is an elementary school principal married to a businessman of Iraqi origin. The other holds an administrative job in an advertising company and is married to the son of an American immigrant to Israel. Since immigrating to Israel,

Chana and George have lived their entire lives in the same Israeli town. Optimistic about the future, Chana and George have tremendous pride in Israel's achievements and are staunch Zionists.⁸⁴

Olga and Boris Lebenzon: Russian Immigrants (Immigrated 1992)

Olga and Boris are Russian immigrants to Israel who arrived in 1992. While Olga's grandmother was Jewish, her grandfather was not. By Jewish law, Olga is also Jewish. Boris has no connection to Jewish heritage, but after the fall of communism, he wanted very much to leave the former USSR. Olga and Boris lived in the Ukraine and were concerned about outbreaks of anti-Semitism following Ukraine's independence and the uncertainty of their economic future in an unstable economy. The idea of immigrating to Israel was not a new idea in Olga's family, however. Twenty years earlier, in 1972, Olga's mother, a Zionist, had requested permission to emigrate from the USSR. Jews who made such an application came to be called "refuseniks" because invariably their request was denied by governmental authorities. Refuseniks often lost their job or their place in educational institutions and were forced to wait for an indefinite number of years before they would be allowed to leave, if at all.

Olga's mother never made it to Israel. Today, Olga and Boris are building a new life in Israel although, if they had been able to get visas to enter the United States, they would have preferred that destination. Upon arriving in Israel, the family received free housing in an immigration absorption center near Afula in the north of the country, where they could learn Hebrew intensively for six months. Olga works as a piano teacher at a neighborhood music conservatory, and Boris is a computer technician. Neither of them observes religious rituals. Their children, when young, attended secular schools. At home, Boris and Olga spoke Russian to their children although the youngsters were known by their Israeli names, Tal and Mor. Today, Boris and Olga make their home in a working class suburb of Haifa on the northern coast, Israel's most industrialized city. Tal and Mor have grown up and work in Israel's high-tech industry. Together, they are developing a new software program that promises to revolutionize computerized identity authentication.

Ibrahim Abusaid—Palestinian Israeli (Born 1936)

The Abusaid family has lived in a village near the city of Acre for generations. Ibrahim's family, considered one of the *Ay'an*, or notable families, were influential in the region and had considerable wealth. There had always been Jewish communities in the Ottoman-administered provinces that today make up Israel and the West Bank, but they had been a small minority. Ibrahim was born in 1936, at the height of the Arab Revolt against the British Mandatory power and Yishuv. Concerned that increased Jewish immigration would result in an erosion of Arab control over lands and decision-making power in Palestine, Arab villagers, townsmen, and notables launched a rebellion that ended in failure. By the time Ibrahim was a teenager, the fight for Jewish statehood was in full swing following World War Two and the Holocaust. The Arab world was determined to prevent the UN decision to partition Palestine from taking place. A few days before Ibrahim's 12th birthday, he and his family, numbering eight people, fled their village and moved in with relatives nearby. A few weeks later, Ibrahim's older sister,

According to Jewish law, a person is Jewish if born to a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism according to orthodox tradition.

who had two small children, decided to move to her parents' household in the West Bank town of Ramallah. Two brothers moved with their wives to their in-laws' village. Later in the war, the entire village had been deported to Jordan by Israeli troops. Other stories, some true, some false, circulated about Israeli atrocities against Arab villagers, and entire villages fled as Israeli soldiers approached. Many crossed the border into Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. At the end of the war, in 1949, 13-year-old Ibrahim found himself living in the State of Israel along with 150,000 other Palestinians who had remained while 700,000 others became refugees.

As Ibrahim grew to adulthood, he struggled with his identity. He became an Israeli citizen, but his identity card distinguished him as an Arab. He went to an Arab school where he studied in Arabic, but as an Israeli citizen he learned Hebrew literature and the history of Zionism. On Yom Hashoa, national Holocaust Commemoration Day, Ibrahim couldn't stop thinking about how sympathy for the victims of the Holocaust had contributed to the UN decision to partition Palestine. On Israeli Independence Day, the country was all a-flurry with unfurled flags emblazoned with the Jewish star. The victory they celebrated had been a catastrophe, or *nakba*, for his own people. The educational system was trying to teach his children, Laila and Daud, to be "Israeli-Arabs." Ibrahim had serious questions about why so many of his relatives were living in Jordan and could not return to their homes that ultimately were confiscated by the Israeli government as abandoned property. The Arab population in Israel continued to live under special military authority until 1966. As the years passed, it became increasingly clear that the socioeconomic level of Israeli-Arabs was considerably lower than that of the Jewish population. The defeat of the Arab armies in the Six Day War awakened Ibrahim to his Palestinian identity. Now the Palestinians living in Arab towns, villages, and refugee camps in Gaza, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights were under Israeli jurisdiction. A military and political organization led by Yassir Arafat, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), became central in the effort to end the Zionist occupation and gain independence through armed struggle. As a Palestinian, Ibrahim identified with his people and their cause. At the same time, he wanted to see conditions in Israel improve for Palestinian people with Israeli citizenship. He became active in Arab political parties in Israel and competed for a seat in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament. On March 31, 1976, Ibrahim and his children marched in a demonstration protesting the Israeli government's confiscation of Arab-owned land. The day, now called Land Day, became an important commemorative occasion in the Abusaid household. Before a peace settlement between Israel and the Palestinian people can be signed, Ibrahim Abusaid believes the sides will have to resolve questions of the Palestinians' right to return to lost lands, sovereign statehood, Jerusalem, final borders, security for both sides, and the future of the Jewish settlements on the West Bank and in Gaza. When you ask Ibrahim what his nationality is, he says, "I am a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship."

Eliyahu Shabazi: Moroccan Immigrant (Immigrated 1950)

Eliyahu Shabazi immigrated to Israel from Fez, Morocco, with his parents when he was 15 years old. There were six other children in the family, three boys and three girls ranging between 15 and two years old. The Shabazi family came to Israel under the auspices of Israel's Ministry of Absorption when they and thousands of other Moroccan Jews feared rising waves of violence in Morocco following Israeli independence. Upon arrival, they were placed in an immigrant camp run by the government. There were dormitory style living arrangements at the camp, and little to do. The Shabazi family had

no financial means of support and was very poor. Eli was sorely disappointed by the gap between his expectations of a new life in Israel and the harsh reality he faced. In their very traditional family, Eli's father expected the children to demonstrate respect through obedience and customs such as kissing his hand on the Sabbath. The family observed religious rituals with great care and were shocked that in the camp there was no provision for Eli to study religious texts. After a while, the family was moved into a temporary housing community (*ma'abara*) that was established for immigrants. These *ma'abarot*, or transit camps, were often outlying neighborhoods within the municipal boundaries of established towns. Authorities hoped that in this environment, new immigrants would be absorbed into Israeli mainstream, but this did not happen. Some citizens worried about the effects of these new immigrant neighborhoods on their lives. The government initiated public works programs to provide income for the newcomers.

In 1954, the Shabazi family was moved to a development town called Yeruham that was located in the southern part of the country, the Negev. It had always been Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's dream to settle the Negev and turn the desert into a blooming garden. The towns in the periphery were meant to fulfill two functions, developing sparsely populated areas of the country and providing new homes for the wave of immigration from North Africa and the Middle East. This time, the communities were going to be permanent ones, not transit camps. Textile industries were opened in Yeruham and, for a time, Sarah Shabazi worked on the assembly line there, and Eli's father became a mechanic maintaining the factory machinery. Yeruham was a small town planted in the middle of the Negev, and the new Israeli citizens living there came to feel isolated. Educational and employment opportunities were meager. The development towns never became prosperous communities that offered a hopeful future to residents. Today, Eli continues to be religious, although his youngest brother Moshe is no longer observant. The Shabazi brothers and their sisters have all served in the military. In the 1970s, two of them became activists in a group that called themselves the Black Panthers. The Black Panthers protested the low social and economic conditions of the Oriental Jewish communities in Israel and blamed the Ashkenazi (or European Israeli) power base for making decisions that resulted in failed absorption and frustrated the socioeconomic improvement of the Shabazi family and other new immigrants like them.

Some of the Shabazi children have left Yeruham, although Eli's parents still live there. Two have married into families of European background, while the others have chosen spouses from Moroccan households. The youngest of the children have attained a higher educational level than Eli and his older siblings. On election day, many of the Shabazis vote for the Likud Party in opposition against the Labor Party that is associated with the heritage of Ben-Gurion and the founders of the state. Recently, some of the religious members of the family have begun voting for the Shas party. Faithful Shas voters are religious Israeli citizens whose families immigrated to the country from North African and Middle Eastern countries in the great waves of immigration that followed statehood.

Carol and Ted Cohen: American Immigrants (Immigrated 1975)

Carol and Ted immigrated to Israel from Boston with their two children, Jenny and Jonathan. Raised in Polish-Jewish homes whose families immigrated to the United States before the World War One, Carol is a teacher and Ted an architect. Carol and Ted make their home in Ra'anana, a bustling suburban town near Tel Aviv. Founded originally by South African immigrants, Ra'anana has attracted a large number of Anglos. Carol and

Ted had long been supporters of Israel, contributing money and visiting the country on vacations. Their immigration was prompted by a desire to give physical expression to their sense of identity as Jews. In America, they had attended a Reform congregation on the Sabbath and on Jewish holidays, but in Israel this branch of Judaism is not formally recognized. Carol and Ted's children have grown up as Israelis, participating in the scouting movement and serving in the army. Today, one is an accountant; the other in medical school. There are lots of things about Israel that bother Carol, like the inability of most Israelis to patiently wait their turn, or the aggressiveness and informality that characterize daily life. On the other hand, she reminds herself that Israelis are ready to help others when needed, and that communities are much closer than what she was familiar with stateside. Carol and Ted both wish that politics were more orderly, and that Israel would adopt a two-party system more like the one in the United States. The several religious parties that draw votes away from the larger ones are especially disturbing to Carol and Ted. Why should 20 percent of the population be able to dictate policies to the remaining 80 percent?

Abaynesh Kesula: Ethiopian Immigrant (Immigrated 1985)

Abaynesh Kesula immigrated to Israel as a little girl of five in 1985. Abaynesh, meaning "like the Nile," signifies generosity. Growing up in a tenant farm family in the Tigre region of Ethiopia, Abaynesh lived in a tightly knit village in which the Qess, or religious leader, held a position of authority. There was no electricity or running water in Abaynesh's village. The Kesula family is traditional, observing religious commandments and Jewish customs that have been practiced by orthodox Jews around the world for centuries. The Ethiopian Jews, or Beta Israel, as they are sometimes called, lived in isolation from other Western and Middle Eastern Jewish communities, and hence their observance omitted some of the practices familiar to most observant Jews.

When civil wars broke out in Ethiopia and the government of Mengistu Haile-Mariam came to power, the new soviet-style Marxist government was hostile to ethnic groups who wanted to retain their character. Ethiopian refugees, both Jewish and non-Jewish, walked for hundreds of kilometers to reach Sudan to escape danger, among them 6000 Jews. Deteriorating conditions in refugee camps in Sudan and concern for the lives of the Ethiopian Jews prompted Israel, with U.S. support, to organize their emigration to Israel in 1985. This secret mission was called Operation Moses. It was rare for so many thousands of Jews to arrive at one time as new immigrants.

At first, the Kesulas were taken to Ashkelon, where they lived in a temporary camp. The new immigrants found everything about Israel strange. They spoke Amharic and had no idea what even the most basic plumbing fixtures and appliances in their new homes were for. Soon after, the immigrants moved into small, temporary homes around the country. Abaynesh's family found themselves in a hotel in Jerusalem no longer used for tourists. An Ethiopian guide began to teach the new immigrants about Israeli culture, and they learned Hebrew. In 1991, more distant family members arrived in another major airlift of immigrants, called Operation Solomon, that brought 14,000 more Ethiopian Jews to Israel.

Throughout the years, Abaynesh's father was frequently unemployed. In Israel, he could not work as a tenant farmer, and the Kesula family, like many other Ethiopians, did not integrate easily into Israeli society. Abaynesh's mother returned to the craftwork that she

did in Ethiopia, producing beautiful embroidery which she sells at the markets near where she lives.

Today, Abaynesh is 29. She served in the Israeli army and studied social work after her service. Today she works in the Ethiopian community, counseling troubled youth. With Ethiopian Israeli citizens numbering 111,000 in 2006, Abaynesh is very aware that she belongs to a racial minority and that there is a great social and economic gap between her and her fellow Israeli citizens, whether they are Jews or Arabs.

Activity Two: The “Law of Return” Controversy

Objectives:

- Students will explain how controversy over the Law of Return illustrates Israel’s struggle to define her own national character.
- Students will analyze and evaluate arguments in favor of retaining, modifying, or repealing the Law of Return.
- Students will reflect on whether the Law of Return is consistent with democratic principles.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: Handout 9.4–The Law of Return. “Acquisition of Israeli Nationality” on the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs Web site (<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00mz0>). Excerpts from David Ben -Gurion’s 1958 Letter on Law of Return and Responses, Prime Minister’s Office (<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/50/act/shvut/18.html>)

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Students read **Handout 9.4** that describes the controversy and guides them through the Internet sites listed in the materials section.
2. Discuss the contents and purpose of the Law of Return with the class. The law is an expression of the Zionist belief that the Land of Israel is the homeland of the Jewish people regardless of where Jews live in the Diaspora. Non-Jewish people may acquire Israeli citizenship, but not under the rules of the Law of Return. Implicit in the law, however, is the requirement to define “who is a Jew.” On this issue, there has been considerable controversy reflecting the different points of view of the secular and religious establishment as well as a variety of streams within Judaism that depart from orthodox observance.
3. Have students make speeches from the point of view of the Israeli citizens they represented in Lesson One, arguing for repealing, maintaining, or reforming the Law of Return.
4. If your students can read Hebrew, consider visiting the Young Knesset site at <http://www.youngknesset.org.il/.item9/work2.html>. There you will find five case studies of applications for citizenship under the Law of Return. Students can debate how they would decide each case, and why. This issue makes an excellent parallel to discussion of criteria for admission under U.S. immigration law, how those criteria have changed, and the economic, social, and political issues behind these changes.
5. Close with a discussion or reflection on how the Law of Return spotlights Israel’s developing national character and its efforts to balance democratic and national or ethnic values.

Student Handout 9.4

The Law of Return

“The Law of Return (1950) grants every Jew, wherever he may be, the right to come to Israel as an *oleh* (a Jew immigrating to Israel) and to become an Israeli citizen. For the purposes of this law, ‘Jew’ means a person who was born of a Jewish mother, or who has converted to Judaism and is not a member of another religion.”

Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Passing the Law of Return is an expression of the State of Israel’s firm belief that Jews everywhere have a home in Israel. The founders of the state were well aware that millions of lives could have been saved, especially during the years of the Holocaust, had the State of Israel existed and been available as a place of refuge. They also believed that Jews who live as a respected and loyal minority in another state may still identify spiritually and ethnically with Israel, its land, history, and people. Although non-Jews can also acquire Israeli citizenship, the process is different and not automatic. On the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs Web site (<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00mz0>), you can find a description of the Law of Return and how it differs from the process of acquiring citizenship through naturalization.

Who Is a Jew?

Almost immediately, a controversy developed over the question, “Who is a Jew?” The rabbis and Jewish scholars used the definition of Jewish law that holds a Jew to be anyone whose mother was Jewish. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion favored a broader definition of Jewish identity. In a letter to the rabbinical authorities, written in 1958, he argued that children born in Israel of mixed parentage should be registered as Jews at birth if their parents choose to do so because:

- As a democratic nation, Israel respects freedom of religion.
- It is important to strengthen the unity of the Jewish people, not create divisions within it by excluding some individuals who define themselves as Jews.
- In Israel, there is no fear of assimilation, since Jews are the majority.
- The Jewish community of Israel identifies with Jews wherever they may be in the world. See Ben-Gurion’s 1958 “Letter on Law of Return and Responses, Prime Minister’s Office” (<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/50/act/shvut/18.html>).

In 1970, the Law of Return was amended to include children and grandchildren of Jewish people, even if their mother was not Jewish. The spirit of the amendment enabled mixed marriage families to immigrate to Israel and maintain family unity.

There have been many challenges to the Law of Return. Some people believe that the law is an important expression of the basic values that are inherent in Zionist ideology. For them, the broadening of the definition of Jewishness is simply a practical measure to enable immigration that ultimately helps individuals and the state as a whole. Religious Israelis oppose a broad interpretation of who is a Jew; they are concerned with preserving the content and integrity of Jewish life in Israel. Will the Jewish state remain Jewish if there is unlimited immigration of people who have only slight (one Jewish grandparent)

connection to the Jewish people? Citizen's rights groups who place high priority on fulfilling the goal of building a democratic society claim that the Law of Return is discriminatory against non-Jews and therefore should be repealed or changed to reflect more equality. See Barbara Weill, "The Law of Return and the Law of Citizenship," summary of definitions on "Who is a Jew?" (<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/50/act/shvut/17.html>).

Topic Three: The Political Process as an Expression and Shaper of National Character

Israel's Political System

In democratic countries, the parliament represents the people and plays an important role in legislating the laws that will define the character of the state. When Israel declared independence in 1948, the founders of the state were in no hurry to write a constitution. For one thing, Ben-Gurion expressed the sentiment that, with only 650,000 citizens and expecting mass immigrations from around the world, it would be premature for an infant state to write the founding laws of the nation. The citizens who were on their way to the shores of Israel should have an opportunity to be represented in so important a process as writing a constitution.

Another reason for the delay was that the leadership anticipated that a controversy between the religious establishment and the secular founders of the nation would develop over the character of the state. The writing of a constitution has still not taken place, although Israel did immediately legislate “Basic Laws” establishing a representative government with separation of powers and protection of civil liberties. Since those early days, waves of immigration, shifting borders, economic crises, threats to security, and the peace process have been agenda items open for parliamentary discussion and debate.

Israel has a multiparty system in which parties compete for seats in the Knesset, the 120-member parliament. The parties that are successful in obtaining a minimum of 1.5 percent of the popular votes are seated in the Knesset according to the proportional number of votes they receive. The leader of the party with the greatest number of seats is generally asked by the president of the state (a ceremonial position) to form a coalition with a number of other parties, thus creating a majority bloc in the Knesset. This system is very different from the two-party system in the United States.

Unlike America, in this system, many religious parties sit in the Knesset, and synagogue and state are far from separate. Although elections are held every four years, a government can fall if coalition members pull out of the government or if a vote of no confidence passes in the legislature, forcing new elections to take place earlier. The election held in January, 2003, for example, was the third in three-and-a-half years. This means that there is more potential for political instability in Israel.

During Israel's first thirty years of existence, the Labor Party (Mapai) governed the country with all other parties either in coalition or opposition. Since 1977, however, Israeli politics has become more turbulent, with shifting coalitions and the passing of the political baton of power back and forth between the Labor and Likud parties. This is partly due to the creation of new parties that have grown out of the assertiveness of the Sephardic religious sector, middle class liberals, the rejection of socialist values, and the creation of new Arab parties.

In this activity, students are introduced to Israel's political system, and they experience the role political parties play in shaping national character. It could stand as a learning opportunity or as a performance-based assessment. In either case, the teacher will provide students with an agenda of platform items currently under discussion that reprise the issues presented in previous lessons. Similarly, teachers should remind students to

consider how the Israeli constituencies represented in the profiles would vote in such an election. Political parties select agenda items and draft a law to present to the Knesset floor for discussion and debate.

Activity One: How Does the Knesset Shape the Character of the State?

Objectives:

- Students will compare and contrast a multiparty democracy with a two-party system.
- Students will identify and discuss the spectrum of opinion within Israel's political constituencies on issues that shape national character.
- Students will predict the future of Israel's national character.

Grade Level: High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: **Student Handout 9.5–The Israeli Political System. Student Handout 9.3–Six Profiles of Israeli Citizens.** Access to Web sites of Israeli political parties. Recent articles from the press about Israeli politics.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Assign students **Handout 9.5** in order to prepare for this activity.
2. Take class time to create a Venn diagram that compares the political system in the U.S. with Israel's multiparty coalition system. Students can compare levels of stability, democratic features that are shared, examples of constituencies in each country, and degree of separation of church and state.
3. Discuss the political parties that are active in Israel today by examining the contemporary political spectrum. Articles in the press and Internet sites describing the prominent parties' platforms will help students understand their similarities and differences.
4. Students form groups representing different parties. Teachers should consider which parties to include so the forum will accurately reflect prominent parties plus a sampling of the minority parties representing a variety of constituencies. (e.g., Labor, Likud, Shas, Meretz, Hadash, National Religious Party, Balad, Yisrael B'Aliya).
5. Students select two issues from the agenda list and, after discussion together in small groups, draft resolutions or laws to present to the Knesset. The laws they draft should be consistent with their party's worldview and general platform.
6. Representatives of each group present the proposed legislation to the Knesset, outlining the law's purpose and benefits in a persuasive speech.
7. After all the laws have been presented, members of the Knesset circulate in the room, lobbying informally for their law or possibly promising mutual cooperation on passage of laws, if appropriate.
8. After a ten-minute lobbying session, the Speaker of the Knesset calls for listing of resolutions. Each group suggests one law based on their success in the lobbying session. Laws that are in opposition to one another should be paired on the

chalkboard. Be sure to place the initials of the sponsoring party alongside each law. If necessary, to limit the number of laws, the Speaker can call for a first vote and allow the law to stand if it wins 30 percent of the votes.

9. The last stage in the role play is the Speaker of the Knesset's call for a vote on the laws.
10. Following the vote, conduct a debriefing session that answers the questions:
 - How democratic was the system?
 - Which issues were most important?
 - Did the simulation accurately represent fault lines in Israeli society today?
 - What are the implications for Israeli society of the laws that were passed?

Student Handout 9.5

The Israeli Political System

In democratic countries, the Parliament represents the people and plays an important role in drafting the laws that will define the character of the state. When Israel declared independence in 1948, the founders of the state were in no hurry to write a constitution. For one thing, Ben-Gurion expressed the sentiment that, with only 650,000 citizens and expecting mass immigrations from around the world, it would be premature for an infant state to write the founding laws of the nation. The citizens who were on their way to the shores of Israel should have an opportunity to be represented in so important a process as writing a constitution.

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Unlike America, in Israel's system many religious parties sit in the Knesset, and synagogue and state are far from separate. Although elections are held every four years, a government can "fall" if coalition members pull out of the reigning coalition or if a vote of no confidence passes in the legislature, forcing new elections to take place. The election held in January, 2003, for example, was the third in three-and-a-half years. This means that there is more potential for instability in Israel.

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Modern Israeli Political Parties

Parties in Israel today are either the descendents of early pre-state political groups or are new ones that reflect changes in Israeli society. For example, the Labor Party today is the descendent of the Socialist Labor Zionist wing of the Zionist movement that was headed by David Ben-Gurion and included Golda Meir, Shimon Peres, and later, Yitzhak Rabin.

The Likud Party grew from the roots of Vladimir Jabotinsky's Revisionist Zionist movement that was more militant, less compromising, and opposed to socialist values. Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir were Likud leaders active in the pre-state period who later served as Prime Ministers.

The National Religious Party, known today as Mafdal, typically joined the labor coalition, and most of its members were Jews from Western countries. The immigrants from Arab countries began to express their frustration with the socialist establishment by voting for Likud. Later on, religious Jews from Arab lands formed the Shas Party, led by rabbinical scholars who opposed Mafdal.

In today's Knesset, there are thirteen different parties represented, spread across the political spectrum. The chart below indicates how many seats some of the major parties held in the 18th Knesset (2009) and how many they held following the 2006 elections (the chart does not include all the parties).

Party	Number of Seats in the 17th Knesset (2006)	Number of Seats in the 18th Knesset (2009)
Kadima	29	28
Labor: Labor Zionist tradition, separation of West Bank from Israel, security	20	8
Likud: Security, limited Palestinian state, privatization of economy	12	27
Meretz: Civil, secular state, democratic values	5	3
Ha'Atzmaut: Independent	5
Shas: Sephardic religious Jews, traditional values, govt. support for separate <i>shas</i> (schools)	12	11
National Religious Party: Habayit HaLeumi, religious values, settlement communities are part of "Greater Israel," narrow definition of who is a Jew?	9	3
United Torah Judaism: Ultra religious values, Sephardic and Western religious Jews, exemptions from military service for Yeshiva students enrolled in religious academies	6	5
National Union: (Russian immigrants), later Yisrael Beiteniu	11	15 Yisrael Beiteniu (Israel, Our Homeland), joining of National Union and Israel B'Aliyah)
Ichud Leumi: Supporting the Greater Israel Movement		***** 4
Balad: (The National Democratic Assembly), Arab party, Palestinian statehood for West Bank and Gaza	3	3
Am Ehad: One Nation Worker's Party, government support for social benefits	3	*****
Hadash: Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, Arab-Jewish party, bi-national state	3	4
United Arab List (Ra'am): Palestinian statehood, equality for Palestinians with Israeli citizenship	4	4

Activity Instructions

In this activity, you will play the role of party leaders who first develop a platform of principles and goals, and then select issues on which to suggest legislation. Follow these instructions during the role play:

1. Once you have your party identity, sit with other party leaders (if any) and discuss the guiding principles of your party and who your constituency is. To understand the principles of your party, you may need to research the party Web site. To understand your constituency (and the rest of the Israeli electorate), you may need to study **Student Handout 9.3–Six Profiles of Israeli Citizens**. You may also want to review the issues discussed in the unit, such as civil-democratic values and national-ethnic ones.
2. Draft a public statement of your party’s fundamental beliefs and goals.
3. Use the chart indicating the relative strengths of parties to identify potential party alliances. What parties might you approach for support?
4. Read over the list of agenda items to be discussed in the Knesset. Select one or two issues on which your party would like to sponsor legislation.
5. Draft a law on the issue. Make sure that you are clear about why your party is sponsoring the law, what values underpin its proposal, and why it is important for Israeli society that it be passed.
6. Once all the parties have drafted laws, the Speaker of the Knesset will call on party members to present their proposals in a formal statement that will be followed by questions from the floor and short debate.
7. After all the presentations of prospective laws have been made, there will be a lobbying session where members of the Knesset will circulate amongst their peers to promote their laws and suggest cooperation when it comes time to vote.
8. After the lobbying session, the Speaker of the Knesset will call for a vote on each law. Any proposed law that receives 30 percent of the vote will be called again for a second vote.
9. The final list of laws is read and a roll-call vote is taken on each one.
10. After the simulation, be ready to discuss how accurately you believe our classroom Knesset reflected Israel’s parliament. What do you think the impact of the laws that were passed in our class would be on the country, and why?

Agenda Items for the Knesset

- Amending the Law of Return
- Defining who is a Jew
- Changing the national flag and anthem so they have more universal meaning, reflecting all of the nation’s people
- Exempting men studying in religious academies from military service
- Establishing an option for civil marriage
- Allocating funds to “development towns” to absorb new immigrants
- Allocating funds to develop transportation and infrastructure
- Allocating funds to new settlements in the West Bank

Assessments

- Compare and contrast democracy in Israel and the United States in terms of pluralism, synagogue-state relations, and political systems.

- Write an essay that evaluates the strengths and weaknesses of the civil and ethno-national points of view. From your study of Israeli society, in which direction do you believe Israel is moving and why?
- Create “postage stamps” from the point of view of different cultural groups or worldviews within Israel.
- Write a letter to an Israeli party leader expressing your opinions on their party’s platform and recent legislation. Be sure to explain the reasons behind your critique.
- Analyze contemporary popular Israeli music in terms of content (Jewish/Zionist values) and cultural form (sound, rhythm, vocal style). What conclusions can you draw about Israeli society from popular music?
- If David Ben-Gurion could return and visit the Knesset today, would he be surprised or familiar with what he would find? Explain.

Chapter 10

Teaching About Politics in the Middle East

Politics in the Middle East has been shaped by traditions, practices, ideologies, and structures stemming from original tribal communities, the emergence of Islam, and cross-cultural encounters with European societies. Long before the discovery of oil in 1900, accelerated contact with Western business and governments had begun. Leaders such as Muhammed Ali in Egypt and the Ottoman sultans began turning to European states to launch modernization programs. These contacts with the West led to experimenting with Western ideologies, falling under colonial domination, and the aspiring to attain independence. The modern state ultimately replaced the caliphate and the Ottoman Empire's models of Islamic and imperial government. The search for a political identity and ideology that went beyond that of family, village, and tribe included many competing ideas. In the early 20th century, Islam as an ideology lost ground while pan-Arabism, Arab socialism and Arab nationalism became popular. Some twentieth century leaders saw communism and fascism as attractive models for their future governments. Western democracy, associated with colonial regimes and the struggles of the Cold War, had a negative stigma. Modern states emerged under the leadership of founding fathers such as Mustafa Kemal Attaturk in Turkey, Gamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt, Muhammed Reza Shah in Iran, and Abdul Ibn Saud in Saudi Arabia. Political change has typically been the result of authoritarian, top-down decision-making or military coup d'états. The military became the ladder to leadership in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Revolutions in Egypt, Algeria, and Iran were instrumental in the evolution of political structures.

The tumultuous events of the Arab Spring movement of 2011 have signaled a change in the political winds of the Middle East. Grassroots protest against repressive and failing policies of authoritarian government, the introduction of social networking technologies to embolden and spread political activism and the participation of youth in Middle Eastern societies have created a "youthquake" that has engendered widespread hope for political, economic, and social reform. Along with this hope comes fear about the political future of states such as Egypt, Bahrain, Tunisia, Morocco, Syria, and Libya. Though Hosni Mubarak has stepped down to stand trial on charges of corruption and responsibility for the death of protesters, Bashar Assad of Syria makes war against Syrian citizens who continue to protest against the authoritarian regime that seeks to silence them.

This unit empowers students to answer the essential question: What drives political change by focusing on the history and process of governance in the Middle East while spotlighting the uprisings in 2011 that ushered in the Arab Spring.

Content indicators for this chapter:

- Students will deconstruct the concept of "political system" in an effort to identify the functions of government.
- Students will survey and analyze historical and contemporary examples of governance in the Middle East in order to draw conclusions about how the present is informed by the past.
- Students will evaluate models of founding fathers in the Arab and Muslim world.

- Students will compare and contrast examples of political revolution and reform in the Middle East.
- Students will identify causes of the Arab Spring of 2011 and recommend reforms to address grievances.

Addressing these topics raises broader questions worthy of consideration, such as: What is the future of politics in the region? What is the appeal of the Islamist model of government, and how will a government blending democracy and Islamism function? What is the best way to bring about social, economic, and political reform?

Note: This unit on politics in the Middle East overlaps with material presented in Chapter Three, “Teaching About Islam”; Chapter Four, “Teaching About Modern Egypt”; Chapter Eight, “Teaching About Current Events”; and Chapter Nine, “Teaching About Israeli Society.” Take advantage of the readings and activities in those chapters where appropriate to support the learning of concepts in this chapter. In addition, review all the activities before beginning the sequence, since here, too, there is overlap, and you may wish to select particular lessons rather than teach them all.

Sample Unit Plan

Topic One: What Is a Political System?

Activity One: Who Has Ruled the Middle East?

Activity Two: What Is Governance All About?

Activity Three: Charting the Founding Fathers of Modern Middle Eastern Nations

Topic Two: Iran’s Revolution—How Did a Muslim Nation Become Islamist?

Activity One: What Caused the Iranian Revolution?

Activity Two: Evaluating the Iranian Revolution

Topic Three: Arab Spring 2011

Activity One: The Arab Spring—Who Is Protesting and Why?

Activity Two: Eye on Egypt After Mubarak

Activity Three: Pros and Cons of Online Political Activism

Topic 1: What Is a Political System?

Tribes, monarchies, empires, and republics are all examples of political systems that vary in their practice of governance according to the values, institutions, traditions, and ideologies that they espouse. For example, a monarchy may be absolute or constitutional; a republic may be theocratic and/or authoritarian or democratic. There are many examples of governance in the Middle East, and while there are some recurring patterns, there has also been dramatic change.

The first activity engages students in examining the sweep of politics in Middle Eastern history. Who ruled the region in the past, and does the political history of the region continue to influence politics today? Students will brainstorm answers to these questions with the help of an animated historical map of the region.

Activity One: Who Has Ruled the Middle East?

Objectives:

- Students will distinguish the different ruling powers that have ruled the Middle East.
- Students will evaluate which historical ruling powers have left an enduring stamp on the region, and support their claim with evidence.
- Students will make predictions about how politics and governance in the region today might be influenced by historical examples of governance in the past.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: “Imperial History of the Middle East,” an animated map on the Maps of War Web site (<http://www.mapsofwar.com/ind/imperial-history.html>). For more information on ruling powers, refer to the following chapters in this curriculum: Chapter Three, topic two (Ottoman Empire); Chapter Three, topic three (Political Islam); Chapter Four, topic two (19th Century Egypt, From Partner to Protectorate); Chapter Four, topic three (Nasser’s Revolution); and Chapter Six, topic one (British Policy—Responsible or Irresponsible).

Step-by-Step Instructions

1. Ask students how many different cultures or empires have ruled in the Middle East since the beginning of recorded history. Ask students if they think these ruling powers have left an enduring legacy on the region? What evidence would an historian bring to support an answer to this question?
2. Screen the animated map for the class and continue the discussion.
3. Which power ruled for the longest period of time?
4. Which power(s) or legacies of former powers continue to be of importance in the region today? What evidence of this importance do we find? Students will have

more of a knowledge base for answering these questions if they have already worked with earlier units and the materials listed above.

5. Alternatively, distribute index cards with the following words to student groups: Islam, Arab empire, Crusader Kingdom, Ottoman Empire, Western colonialism. Ask students to research the meaning of these terms and their importance in Middle Eastern history.
6. Students' "exit ticket" from this class will be their answer to the questions: What kinds of attitudes, beliefs, or practices might result from the experience of being ruled by these powers? To what extent does the past inform the present?

Activity Two: What Is Governance All About?

In this activity, students are introduced to guiding questions to use as criteria for analyzing political systems and how they function. This activity provides a yardstick for evaluating politics, governance, and leadership in Middle Eastern history and today.

Objectives:

- Students will deconstruct the concept of "political system" in an effort to identify its different parts and functions.
- Students will participate in a Read Around activity, reading and analyzing contemporary articles on governance in the Middle East and identifying the political systems exemplified.
- Students will compare and contrast their findings from the Read Around activity in order to identify current trends in Middle Eastern politics.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: **Student Handout 10.1–Read Around Activity.** Selected articles. **Student Handout 10.2–What Is a Political System?**

Step by Step Instructions:

1. If you were a journalist visiting a country for the first time and wanted to know more about its government, what questions would you ask?
2. Compare student answers to the questions on the diagram on **Student Handout 10.2–What Is a Political System?**
 - Do citizens participate in government decision making? Is it representative government, authoritarian regime, dictatorship?
 - How are citizens protected? Are there civil liberties, human rights, economic well being, physical security?
 - How concentrated or distributed is power? Are there checks and balances, a multiparty system, or is it a totalitarian state?

- What institutions get the job done? Courts, legislatures, the executive, the army, local government?
 - How is power to rule transferred? By elections, revolution, military coup d'état, appointment by the leader, family relationship?
 - What gives government legitimacy? A "strong man," military rule, elections, the wisdom or spirituality of the leader, divine right, a dynastic bloodline?
 - What values is the political system based on? Religious values, enlightenment values, Marxist philosophy, fascist ideology?
3. As you review the diagram with the class, fill in examples of what some possible answers to these questions might be (see above). Brainstorm historical governments that exemplified these descriptors of functioning governance.
 4. Explain to students that now they will be assigned (or will select) articles that deal with different political issues in the Middle East today. At the conclusion of the activity, they share what they have learned, develop a list of political trends in Middle Eastern politics, and write a short paper that answers the question, "What are the problems of political governance facing Middle East countries today?"
 5. An extension of this activity could include students presenting their papers in a "Classroom Forum" or debating the question (see Chapter 10, "An Overview of Classroom Debate").

Note: Some of the articles (either preselected by the teacher or student selected) could deal with elections that have taken place or are forthcoming, the issues of women's rights and gender equality in Islam, civil liberty issues in Turkey and Iran, protection of minorities such as the Egyptian Copts or the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq, or the Arab Spring demonstrations and responses of leaders.

Student Handout 10.1**Read Around Activity:
Reading Report Form**

Now that you are familiar with the guiding questions for analyzing political systems, we will conduct a Read Around Activity in which you will find, read, and analyze articles from the contemporary press in order to draw conclusions about the political systems in the countries you are reading about. Ultimately, we will look for trends and directions in Middle Eastern politics today. As you read your selected article, fill in this Reading Report Form.

Your Name_____

Title of Article_____

Author's Name_____

What is the claim or main point of the article?

What evidence does the author bring to support the main point?

Analyze the author's point of view by identifying assumptions or values that you detect in his/her writing.

How does the article assist in answering guiding questions about the government you are reading about?

How does the article help you identify the political problems facing countries in the Middle East today?

Student Handout 10.2: What Is a Political System?

What gives government legitimacy?

To what extent does the government protect citizens' rights and well-being?

To what extent is power in the government concentrated or distributed?

What institutions get the job done?

What are the values the political system is based upon?

How is ruling power transferred?

Do citizens participate in governmental decision making?

Activity Three: Charting the Founding Fathers of Modern Middle Eastern Nations

Middle Eastern countries have developed under the leadership of tribal leaders, military commanders, and clerics who have become presidents, prime ministers, and founders of royal dynasties. This activity introduces students to some of the most important founding fathers of modern countries and engages them in evaluating their leadership and accomplishments through a role-play activity.

Note: If students have already studied topics in Middle Eastern history that deal with Egypt, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, political Islam, or current events lessons, they will have more background to bring to their engagement with this lesson. Feel free to adapt this lesson as necessary.

Objectives:

- Students will research key personalities in 20th-century Middle Eastern politics.
- Students will analyze the contributions and failures of political founding fathers in the Middle East.
- Students will collaborate with peers in the preparation of a role play (a TV talk show) that showcases models of political leadership.
- Students will discuss and summarize typical political patterns in the Middle East.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: Two to three lesson periods

Materials: **Student Handout 10.3–Charting the Founding Fathers** (a similar chart for current or interim leaders could also be constructed and distributed). **Student Handout 10.4–Meet the Founding Fathers.** For additional relevant materials from within this curriculum, see Chapter Four, “Teaching About Egypt” and Chapter Three, topic three, “Islam as a Political Ideology–Is Political Islam a Threat to Security?” For online research materials on Reza Shah, see *Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution* from the Choices Program at Brown University (http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_iran.php).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Ask students to identify criteria for calling a leader a Founding Father. Use American founding fathers such as George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison as examples. What was it about these men that earned them the title Founding Father?
2. Tell students that they will be researching the biographies and leadership of key personalities who have played a role in the founding and/or development of the Middle Eastern nations. You can assign one role to each student or have teams of students working together, depending on size of the class.

Suggested historical founder roles include Gamal Abdul Nasser (see materials in Chapter Four), Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, King Abdulaziz bin Abdelrahman al Saud, Mohammed Reza Shah, Yassir Arafat, David Ben-Gurion, and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

3. Suggested contemporary roles include Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Hosni Mubarak, King Abdulla bin Abdulaziz al Saud, and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (but consider substituting other leaders in the news today, for example, Muammar Kadafi, or other past leaders who were not founders, such as Anwar Sadat.)

4. Assign three to four students to the role of TV producers. Their job will be to orchestrate the TV talk show and ask appropriate questions that give guest leaders a platform for stating their case and being challenged. Producers may also introduce surprise guests or announce breaking newscasts.

5. Assign a few students the role of the international press corps, whose job it is to ask questions of guests at the appropriate time. Teachers may alter the number of roles based on class size and interests.

7. Once roles are assigned, students begin to research their biographies and the policy successes and failures of their governance. Look for answers to these questions:

- How did you come to power? How did you become the legitimate ruler of the country?
- What kind of government is established in your country, and what ideology or value system is it based on?
- What slogans or buzz words are associated with your rule/administration?
- What are your most important successes and failures? Specific reforms, policies, or defeats?
- What challenges did you face as a leader, and how did you respond?
- In the event that you faced failures, how do you account for them?
- What was your attitude toward Western nations? Who were your allies or adversaries?
- What was your greatest contribution to your country?
- How would you describe the political system operative in your nation at the time of your leadership, and why?

8. Alternatively, this information can be charted. See **Student Handout 10.3–Charting the Founding Fathers of Modern Middle Eastern Nations**.

9. Once the research is complete, have student teams or individuals decide how they will present their information in the best possible light. Students should also anticipate questions from the press corps, surprise guests, or TV producers.

10. Here is an outline of a possible structure for the role play:

- A. Producers introduce the program with jingle, theme song, or visual.
- B. Round one: Producers welcome guests, focusing on founding fathers one at a time, making them feel at home and providing a platform for them to express their accomplishments. Guests might support their points by performing a rap, reciting a poem, or explaining a cartoon.
- C. Producers or the press corps ask each leader challenging questions about problems or failures, and leaders respond.
- D. Opportunity for station break or advertisement

- E. Round two: Producer welcomes contemporary generation leaders. Each one has a chance to present.
- F. Round three, open forum: Producers moderate a Q&A amongst all the guests. Leaders ask challenging questions to probe the strengths and weaknesses of their counterparts. Press corps can take part in this forum, as well.
- G. Producers close the program.

11. Debrief the activity. How do the biographies of the leaders represented on the program compare to one another? How did the leaders address the issue of modernization of their countries? What were the results of their modernization programs? What kinds of political systems were most prevalent in the region in the 20th century? What criteria would you apply to evaluate these leaders? For example, how well their leadership served the people, brought progress to their country, or raised their status in the region or world?

Assessment:

Distribute **Student Handout 10.5–Political Patterns in the Middle East** and ask students to support or refute each point with evidence:

- a. Military leaders rise to power following victories as nationalist leaders or through coup d'état.
- b. Political leaders take on the task of transforming the nation from a traditional society to a modern one.
- c. Tribal leaders became heads of governments and create political dynasties.
- d. Western ideologies are blended together and adopted to become the ideology underpinning the government.
- e. Elections provide an opportunity for the voice of the people to be heard.
- f. Politics in the Middle East have been characterized by struggles between Islam and secularism.
- g. Power is exercised by Western standards.
- h. Personal charisma can make or break a political leader.

Student Handout 10.3

Charting the Founding Fathers of Modern Middle Eastern Nations

Founding Father	How did this leader rise to power (source of legitimacy to rule)?	What policies or reforms were implemented; what challenges were faced?	What successes/errors can be attributed to this founding father?	What lessons can be learned from this leader's practice of governance?
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk				
Mohammed Reza Shah				
Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini				
Gamal Abdul Nasser				
Abdulaziz bin Abdelrahman al Saud				
David Ben-Gurion				
Yassir Arafat				

Student Handout 10.4

Meet the Founding Fathers

In this activity, you play the roles of TV producers or reporters, or of “Founding Fathers” of key Middle Eastern countries, going on TV to present your programs, philosophy, successes, and problems. Obviously, Founding Fathers will want to find the best way to spin their shortcomings to the TV producers, since the broadcast will most likely soon be streaming on YouTube. Here are the roles and their tasks:

TV producers are responsible for planning the show and the questions to ask the guests. You may interview them before the show to gather data, and research on your own to inform yourselves about their leadership and their countries’ histories. You may also create jingles, advertisements, and props to enhance your live show.

Founding Fathers: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (Turkey), Mohammed Reza Shah (Iran), Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (Iran), Gamal Abdul Nasser (Egypt), Abdulaziz bin Abdelrahman al Saud (Saudi Arabia), David Ben-Gurion (Israel), and Yassir Arafat (Palestine).

Later or current leaders: Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak (Egypt), Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (Iran), Recep Tayyip Erdogan (Turkey), Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al Saud (Saudi Arabia), Muammar Kadafi (Libya).

Press corps: The press corps (if assigned) will have an opportunity to ask guests questions.

Students role-playing leaders past or present will research their biographies. Look for answers to these questions:

- When and how did you come to power? How did you become the legitimate ruler of the country?
- What kind of government is established in your country, and what ideology or value system is it based on?
- What are the slogans or buzz words associated with your rule/administration?
- What were your most important successes and failures? Specific reforms, policies, defeats?
- What specific challenges did you face as a leader, and how did you respond?
- In the event that you faced failures, how do you account for them?
- What is your attitude towards Western nations? Who were your allies or adversaries?
- What was your greatest contribution to your country?
- How would you describe the political system operative in your country at the time of your leadership, and why?

Develop an opening statement or credo in which you assess your own governance. You may do this in a monologue, rap, or other creative way. Leaders should also be

able to challenge one another and ask questions when given the opportunity during the show.

An outline of the structure of the show:

1. Producers introduce the show with a jingle, song, slogan, or visual.
2. Producers welcome Founding Fathers one at a time, introducing them in turn and inviting them to make their statements.
3. Producers or press corps may ask one to three challenging questions before the (optional) station break.
4. Producers welcome past and contemporary leaders who present themselves.
5. An open forum begins in which the press corps and the leaders may question and challenge one another based on what they have learned through research and the show itself.
6. Producers conclude the program.

Student Handout 10.5

Political Patterns in the Middle East

Which of the political patterns described in these statements are characteristic of the Middle East? Support your answer with factual evidence from our study of political governance in the region's past and present.

- a. Military leaders rise to power following victories as nationalist leaders or through coup d'etat.
- b. Political leaders take on the task of transforming the nation from a traditional society to a modern one.
- c. Tribal leaders became the heads of the government and create political dynasties.
- d. Western ideologies are adopted to become the ideology underpinning the government.
- e. Elections provide an opportunity for the voice of the people to be heard.
- f. Politics in the Middle East have been characterized by struggles between Islam and secularism.
- g. Power is exercised according to Western standards.
- h. Personal charisma can "make or break" a political leader.

Topic Two: Iran's Revolution—How Did a Muslim Nation Become Islamist?

Chapter Three, “Teaching about Islam,” introduced students to the distinction between a Muslim and an Islamist country. While a Muslim country is one where the majority of citizens are followers of the faith of Islam to a lesser or greater extent, in an Islamist state, the guiding ideology, theocracy, informs the state’s institutions, and laws are based on the religious precepts of the Qur’an. The decline in the power of the Ulema, or religious scholars, paralleled the rise of the modern nation state and the modernization programs that leaders encouraged. By the end of the 20th century, however, Islam as a political ideology experienced a resurgence of popularity as secular leaders failed to meet goals, followed authoritarian Western models that repressed freedom, or offended citizens for whom tradition continued at the core of daily life. In 1979, the Iranian Revolution brought the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to power as the Supreme Leader, and Iran turned from being a geopolitical ally of the USA into an Islamist country that rejected Western political alliances and set out to restore a theocracy that permeated all aspects of life. This unit contains two activities that focus on causes and outcomes of the Iranian Revolution.

Activity One: What Caused the Iranian Revolution?

Objectives:

- Students will identify the economic, social, and political causes of the revolution.
- Students will analyze how sectors of Iranian society responded to the coming of the revolution, and why.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: **Handout 10.6—Timeline of Iran’s Political History.** *Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution* (http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_iran.php) from Brown University’s Choices program provides short (two- to three-minute) online video clips of scholars discussing Iranian history, contacts with the West, Reza Shah’s regime, and the revolution and its aftermath. The Annenberg Bridging World History segment on Revolutions (segment 23) includes a resource page (http://www.learner.org/courses/worldhistory/unit_video_23-2.html) and a video about the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (http://www.learner.org/vod/vod_window.html?pid=2166). For literature on how sectors of Iranian society responded to the revolution, see *Persepolis*, Maryam Satrapi’s graphic novel of a little girl’s middle class life in pre- and post-revolutionary Teheran. Also see, from the *New York Times Upfront*, an excerpt from “1979: Iran’s Islamic Revolution,” by Roger Cohen.

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Discuss the meaning of immediate and fundamental causation with students, having them provide examples from other revolutions they may have studied. If they have studied the materials in Chapter Four—Teaching About Modern Egypt, the example of the Egyptian Revolution could be a reference point. Make sure that students can differentiate between social, political, and economic causes or grievances.
2. Create student teams to review the materials suggested in the materials list above. Task each team with answering one of the following questions:
 - 1) What were the fundamental causes of the 1979 revolution? 2) What were the economic causes of the revolution? 3) What were the social causes of the revolution? 4) What were the political causes of the revolution?
3. Students will share information by reconstituting the groups so that each new group has a representative from each of the previous teams (jig-saw technique).
4. Open up discussion to the class as a whole to review the answers the groups developed. Consider whether the revolution was more of a rejection of the Shah's government or an embracing of Islamism?

Assessment:

Assign students one of the following social/political roles and have them write a response to the revolution from the point of view of a person representing the group assigned. Roles include:

- Rural population.
- Members of the Tudeh (Communist Party).
- University students.
- Members of the royal family.
- The Shia clergy.
- The urban middle class
- The urban lower middle class
- The urban poor

Activity Two: Evaluating the Iranian Revolution

Iran's revolution of 1979 became a model for Islamist groups throughout the world. Once again Islam was on the ascendancy, commanding the faithful devotion and allegiance of its believers. Did the revolution succeed in meeting its goals? Are the citizens of Iran protected and well served by the government that was established in 1979? This activity tasks students with answering these questions.

Objectives:

- Students will evaluate outcomes of the Iranian Revolution in light of the revolution's goals.
- Students will reflect on recent political process in Iran and evaluate the political system that is in power.
- If appropriate, students will compare and contrast the Iranian Revolution with the Egyptian Revolution (Chapter Four—Teaching about Modern Egypt).

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: *Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution* (http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_iran.php) from Brown University's Choices program provides short (two- to three-minute) online video clips that examine the goals of the revolution, women's issues in Iran today, and Iran as a geopolitical player. A BBC News page, "Iran: Who Holds the Power," (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/iran_power/html/default.stm) contains a diagram of Iran's governmental power structure, useful for evaluating levels of democracy under the constitution. Also see the Iranian Islamic Republic Constitution (<http://www.iranonline.com/iran/iran-info/government/constitution.html>). For a slide show of visuals from demonstrations and arrests following the disputed presidential election of 2009, see this page from the *Boston Globe* (http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2009/06/irans_disputed_election.html). For a variety of viewpoints of individuals commenting on the disputed election in 2009, see the BBC News story "Iranian Views: Divided Country" (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8183580.stm). From Rick Steves' Iran Journal, see "Iran's Revolution of Values: Living in a Theocracy" (http://www.ricksteves.com/iran/iran_journal_revolution.htm).

Step-by-Step Instructions:

Invite students to select one of the following questions to answer:

- What was the status of women in Iran before and after the revolution?
- How would you describe Iran's political system, and what evidence supports your view?
- Compare the economy before and after the revolution. What has changed for better or worse?
- Do Iranians support their theocracy more than 30 years after the institution of the first modern Islamist republic?
- What are your predictions for Iran's political future?

After working in pairs to explore the suggested resources as they search for answers to these questions, students will share and discuss their findings with one another.

Student Handout 10.6

Timeline of Iran's Political History

- 1905: Mohammed Ali Shah (A Qajar Tribal Leader) institutes a constitution in Iran.
- 1901-1908: Mohammed ali Shah grants a concession to an Australian company to search for oil and when it is discovered Britain buys 51 percent of the shares in the new Anglo-Iranian oil company
- 1919: Iran signs a trade agreement that recognizes Iranian independence but in reality Iran became a protectorate of Britain.
- 1921: The Qajar ruler is overthrown by Reza Shah in a military coup;
- 1925: Reza Shah crowns himself King
- 1941: Iran invaded by Britain and USSR because of pro Nazi sympathies of the government and Reza Shah is deposed. His son Mohammed Reza Shah is crowned.

Post World War II - Cold War Years

- 1951: Public outcry against British control results in Mohammed Reza Shah appointing Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq (National Front Party).
- 1953: P.M. Mossadeq nationalizes the Iranian oil industry; the CIA, with British support, overthrows Prime Minister Mossadeq. Oil companies remain nationalized, but an agreement enables British management and a consortium that divides oil revenues 50-50 with the Iranian government.
- 1961: The White Revolution of the Shah begins. This is a rapid modernization and Westernization program. Oil revenues rise. Opposition to rapid cultural change, corruption, and government spending is crushed by the Shah. Dissenting parties such as the Tudeh (Communist) and Islamic clergy are repressed by the SAVAK secret police that uses brutal force and torture.

Social/Political Groups in Iran at the Time of the Revolution

The rural population

The Tudeh (Communist) Party

University students

The royal family

The Shia clergy

The urban middle class

The urban poor

The lower middle class

Assessment:

Return students to the political systems diagram introduced at the beginning of the unit. Have students use this diagram to analyze Iran's current political system in essay format. They should conclude their essays by commenting on how an understanding of Iran's history (pre- and post-revolution) informs understanding of the current political landscape.

Topic Three: Arab Spring 2011

While the Middle East is no stranger to political turmoil, the unprecedented explosion of grassroots protest and revolutionary movements that began in Tunisia and spread throughout the region captured world attention. Likened to the historic regional European revolutions of 1848, 1968, and 1989, the Arab Spring has been characterized as a wellspring of hope as longstanding authoritarian leaders such as Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and Muammar Kadafi in Libya were toppled from power between February and October of 2011. At the time of this writing, the continued violent struggles in Syria between citizen groups and supporters of Bashar al Assad and the protests in Yemen against Ali Abdullah Salah clearly signal a change in the political winds of the Middle East. The protests that have engendered widespread calls for reform and a new political order in the Arab and Muslim world has been enabled and facilitated by the Internet and the introduction of social networking technology. While the hope for more democracy, freedom, and economic opportunity in Middle Eastern societies is at the heart of the Arab Spring, questions regarding the future character of the new governments that will arise are a source of conflict. Will Mubarak's authoritarian dictatorship ultimately be replaced by a liberal democracy, an Islamist theocracy, or a military dictatorship? Can societies made up of different tribes, Muslim sects, Christians, and other ethnicities succeed in bridging the cultural divide to forge a consensus on a national commitment to reform and progress? These are the still-open questions that will play a vital role in the political future of the region.

The activities on this topic first survey the region's countries to identify centers of protest activity, and then proceed to country profiles in an effort to make causal connections. A second activity showcases the Egyptian story, and a final activity takes a look at the role that social networking has played in transforming reportage and the nature of political activism. Each of the activities raises questions about the future ramifications of the Arab Spring, challenging students to make predictions of long-term outcomes.

Activity One: The Arab Spring—Who Is Protesting and Why?

Objectives:

- Students will locate on an outline map where and when protests have taken place.
- Students will complete country profiles that document economic and political conditions in the nations where protests have taken place, and make comparisons.
- Students will analyze and discuss causes of the Arab Spring and make predictions about its spread in the future.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One or two lesson periods

Materials: Student Handout 10.7—The Arab Spring: Who Is Protesting and Why?

Additionally, there is a wealth of information available on the Internet in the form of interactive media, timelines, and articles that students can use to access information about the scope and variety of protest taking place during the Arab Spring. Here is a selection of worthwhile sites they can use.

- Aljazeera's Spotlight on the Arab Awakening (<http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/spotlight/2011/02/2011222121213770475.html>). Aljazeera is a news bureau headquartered in Doha, Qatar, that broadcasts throughout the world in English and Arabic.
- *The Guardian's* Arab Spring: An Interactive Timeline of Middle East Protests documents the protests as well as government responses, foreign interventions, and humanitarian needs (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>).
- "Why the Arab World is Seething," from the *New York Times's* News of the Week in Review (<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/02/06/weekinreview/06marsh.html>).
- "Arab Spring Turns to Blazing Summer," by Anthony Shadid, originally published in the *International Herald Tribune* (<http://www.pressdisplay.com/pressdisplay/viewer.aspx>).
- Graphic organizer on cause and effect (<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/studentactivity/CauseEffect.pdf>).
- Brown University's Choices Program, "Protest, Revolution, and Democratic Change" (http://www.choices.edu/resources/twnn_middle_east_protests.php).
- Brown University's Choices Program, "Country Profile: Protests in North Africa and the Middle East" (http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/go_protest3.pdf).
- *CIA World Fact Book* (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>).
- Map of the Middle East (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/n_africa_mid_east_pol_95.jpg).

Blank outline maps are available for downloading from the following sites:
<http://www.yourchildlearns.com/megamaps/print-world-maps.html> and
http://er.jsc.nasa.gov/seh/Mission_Geography/Map_Index.pdf

Step-by Step Instructions:

1. Divide students into working groups tasked with researching one of the following countries: Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Yemen, Libya, and others as current events dictate.
2. Distribute copies of the country profile sheet (http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/go_protest3.pdf) for students to complete on their individual country.
3. Have at least one student in the group focus on the economic profile of the country (see the *CIA World Fact Book*).
4. When the profile sheets are complete, post them in your classroom, creating a gallery of information that students can walk about and review.
5. Have students reconvene in their groups to fill out a response sheet to the following questions:
 - Identify the nations that are experiencing an Arab Spring on the map
 - To what extent do countries that experienced protests or revolution share similar economies or governments?
 - What, in your view, are the causes of the Arab Spring protests?
 - To what extent is it legitimate for countries outside the region to become involved and intervene in these events, and why?
6. Have students share their answers to the questions, and discuss.
7. Conclude by having students identify and predict the problems and futures of countries that participated in the revolutions of Arab Spring.

Student Handout 10.7

The Arab Spring: Who Is Protesting and Why)?

In this activity you will research the economic and political conditions in a variety of countries, and compare and contrast the roles they have played in the revolutionary events that have come to be called the Arab Spring.

The countries we will investigate are Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Jordan, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Bahrain. Locate these countries on your group's blank outline map. Students will use the attached list of Web sites to build a profile of the country they are assigned. For example:

- What kind of government do (did) they have? A word of caution: Do not rely on labels such as “republic” or “monarchy” to describe governments. Instead find out how the government functioned. Was it democratic or repressive? How much freedom, civil liberty, and tolerance for ethnic or religious minorities existed?
- What political changes have taken place since January 2011?
- How much wealth is there, and how is it distributed?
- What do the people who live in the country want?

In addition to these questions, fill out the country profile sheet (http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/go_protest3.pdf). Upon completion, these sheets will be posted around the classroom, and you will have an opportunity to circulate through the room to view them. As you do, make notes on how your country compares to the others.

Discuss and respond as a group to these questions, and be ready to share with your classmates:

- What conclusions can you draw regarding similarities or differences in the narratives of revolution, political activism, and change that you encountered?
- What were the causes of the various rebellions?
- What do the people of these societies want, and what are their chances of success, and why?
- Rebellion in Libya has resulted in the intervention of NATO forces. To what extent is it legitimate for nations outside the region to become involved and intervene in these events, and why?

List of relevant web sites to explore:

- Aljazeera's Spotlight on the Arab Awakening (<http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/spotlight/2011/02/2011222121213770475.html>). Aljazeera is a news bureau headquartered in Doha, Qatar, that broadcasts throughout the world in English and Arabic.
- *The Guardian's* Arab Spring: An Interactive Timeline of Middle East Protests documents the protests as well as government responses, foreign interventions,

and humanitarian needs

(<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>).

- “Why the Arab World is Seething,” from the *New York Times*’s News of the Week in Review
(<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/02/06/weekinreview/06marsh.html>).
- “Arab Spring Turns to Blazing Summer,” by Anthony Shadid, originally published in the *International Herald Tribune*
(<http://www.pressdisplay.com/pressdisplay/viewer.aspx>).
- Graphic organizer on cause and effect
(<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/studentactivity/CauseEffect.pdf>).
- Brown University’s Choices Program, “Protest, Revolution, and Democratic Change” (http://www.choices.edu/resources/twn_middle_east_protests.php).
- Brown University’s Choices Program, “Country Profile: Protests in North Africa and the Middle East”
(http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/go_protest3.pdf).
- *CIA World Fact Book* (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>).
- Map of the Middle East
(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/n_africa_mid_east_pol_95.jpg).

Activity Two: Eye on Egypt After Mubarak

Objectives:

- Students will prepare and participate in student-led discussions (referred to as a Text and Talk activity) based on Egyptian articles in translation.
- Students will infer major issues facing Egypt in the post-Mubarak era.
- Students will make predictions for Egypt's future.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One to two lesson periods

Materials: There are excellent Web sites students can access for detailed information on the Tahrir Square demonstrations and protests that resulted in the fall of Egypt's authoritarian regime led by President Hosni Mubarak. Included here are materials that showcase the Egyptian case study in all its phases, although this particular lesson focuses on the post-Mubarak era. Students can use these sites for background if this is their first encounter with the Egyptian case study. Sites marked with asterisk include material on post-Mubarak Egypt. Teachers will find useful material here, including lesson plans for your use or adaptation.

From Brown University's Choices program, "Egypt's Uprising"
(http://www.choices.edu/resources/twn_egypt.php).

From the New York Times Learning Network, "Ways to Teach About the Unrest in Egypt" (<http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/01/31/ways-to-teach-the-unrest-in-egypt/?nl=learning&emc=learninga2>).

*From Brown University's Choices program, "After Mubarak"
(http://www.choices.edu/resources/twn_egypt_future.php).

"Building on the Revolution" by Rami Khouri
(<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/07/opinion/07iht-edkhouri07.html>)

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. Invite students to explore the Web sites and articles suggested above. The starred sites are of particular interest because they focus on Egypt and its future following the fall of Mubarak's regime. The Egyptian Independent provides a listing of headlines that navigate to articles that focus on political players such as the Muslim Brotherhood, the left wing, secularists, etc. A partial listing of headlines at this site follows. Of course, as events in Egypt develop you will want to encourage students explore current articles.
 - "[Islamists and secularists battle for the heart of the nation](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/451725)"
(<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/451725>)
 - "[Brotherhood youth blast decision to expel Abouel Fotouh](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/469394)"
(<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/469394>)
 - "[Expelled Brotherhood leader clarifies his political position](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/470154)"
(<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/470154>)

- “ElBaradei backs constitution before elections in TV interview”
(<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/467576>)
 - “Defying leadership, Brotherhood youth form new party”
(<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/470366>)
 - “Can Egypt's military be trusted to defend democracy?”
(<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/475078>)
 - “What's left of Egypt's Left”
(<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/375053>)
2. Divide the class into discussion circles of five students each.
 3. While perusing the sites, students will select the article they wish to read and prepare it by summarizing the contents and developing a discussion question for the circle. Groups should ensure that every student has chosen a different article, preferably from material that focuses on post-Mubarak Egypt. Each group member should read the material being presented so that they will be able to participate in the discussion circle.
 4. Note: Additional description of the Text and Talk activity can be found at the beginning of Chapter Eight. Students conduct discussions in which they address open-ended questions posed by their peers.
 5. At the conclusion of this activity, list the major issues facing Egypt in the post-Mubarak era. What are students' predictions for Egypt's future, and why?

Student Handout 10.8

Eye on Egypt after Mubarak

In this Text and Talk activity, you will prepare to lead a short discussion based on material that you explore on the Web. Participants will be four of your classmates who commit to reading the material on which your discussion will be based. Students will take turns leading discussions until each group member has had an opportunity to lead a presentation.

How to prepare:

Become familiar with the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 by exploring appropriate Web sites from the provided list. Your discussion should focus on issues confronting Egypt now that President Mubarak has fallen from power. Here are the suggested sources:

- From Brown University's Choices program, "Egypt's Uprising" (http://www.choices.edu/resources/twtn_egypt.php).
- From the New York Times Learning Network, "Ways to Teach About the Unrest in Egypt" (<http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/01/31/ways-to-teach-the-unrest-in-egypt/?nl=learning&emc=learninga2>).
- *From Brown University's Choices program, "After Mubarak" (http://www.choices.edu/resources/twtn_egypt_future.php).
- "[Islamists and secularists battle for the heart of the nation](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/451725)" (<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/451725>)
- "[Brotherhood youth blast decision to expel Abouel Fotouh](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/469394)" (<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/469394>)
- "[Expelled Brotherhood leader clarifies his political position](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/470154)" (<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/470154>)
- "[ElBaradei backs constitution before elections in TV interview](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/467576)" (<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/467576>)
- "[Defying leadership, Brotherhood youth form new party](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/470366)" (<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/470366>)
- "[Can Egypt's military be trusted to defend democracy?](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/475078)" (<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/475078>)
- "[What's left of Egypt's Left](http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/375053)" (<http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/375053>) "Building on the Revolution" by Rami Khouri (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/07/opinion/07iht-edkhouri07.html>)

Here are some guidelines for success in this Text and Talk activity:

Prepare Your Presentation:

1. Plan a “hook” to get your audience’s attention. How will you begin?
2. Explain the issue and give background information necessary to better understand it. Why is it significant and worthy of our attention?
3. Pose your best open-ended question to the class to generate discussion.
4. Facilitate the discussion by inviting people to comment on what they have heard so far or what they have read.
5. Conclude the presentation by summarizing the main points that have been shared. Include your own view or claim, if appropriate.
6. Your presentation should be **Relevant, Accurate, Informative, and generate Dialogue (RAID)**.

An Excellent Text and Talk Presenter Will:

- Include all of the above in their presentation.
- Provide accurate, relevant, and adequate historical information in an organized manner.
- Speak clearly and maintain poise.
- Succeed at facilitating discussion.

An excellent Text and Talk participator will:

- Listen attentively to the presenter.
- Respond to the presenter’s questions and contribute insights to the discussion.
- Communicate with classmates respectfully and effectively.

Activity Three: Pros and Cons of Online Political Activism

Objectives:

- Students will describe the role of social networking in the Arab Spring.
- Students will identify how the Internet and social networking has changed the political process.
- Students will evaluate pros and cons of online political activism.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: One lesson period

Materials:

The revolutions and protests of the Arab Spring throughout the region were heavily influenced by the Internet and social networking through Facebook, Twitter, e-mail, and text messaging. The following Web sites, videos, and articles provide students with information about how technology has influenced the political process, enhancing the potential of political activism to be successful. On the other hand, social networking has been accused of fomenting recent riots in the United Kingdom (summer 2011). Recently, harsh prison sentences were meted out to youths who had used their Facebook accounts to advocate rioting even though they were nowhere near the scene of the violence, sparking debate about the merits and problems with social networking. Here are some useful and entertaining sites for students to access:

- The Canadian International Council hosts an online lecture that makes good points about how social networking is changing politics, “Are Social Media Driving the Arab Spring?” (<http://www.opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/the-arab-spring/>)
- Cloud to Street hosts a “Digital Town Hall” moderated by Ben Rowswell (http://www.cloudtostreet.org/?page_id=156).
- Ben Rowswell <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-zWJaXhHpI&feature=youtu.be>
- Wael Gohnim, in a lecture called “Revolution 2.0,” delivers an inspirational talk about human dignity restored in Egypt as a result of successful use of social networking to transform political activism (<http://www.wired.com/epicenter/2011/03/wael-ghonim-at-ted/>).
- A slide show called “Social Media in Politics” (<http://www.slideshare.net/ProfessorScherberth/social-media-politics-5815201>).
- Fareed Zakaria conducts a CNN interview of Malcom Gladwell, author of *Blink* and *The Tipping Point*. The value of this interview is that it presents an opposing viewpoint that rejects the idea that social networking is what made the difference between protests in the past that failed and protests in 2011 that succeeded. The interview can be accessed through a news article here: (<http://gigaom.com/2011/03/29/malcolm-gladwell-social-media-still-not-a-big-deal/>)

Student Handout 10.9–What Are the Pros and Cons of Online Political Activism?

Summary of Points From a Lecture by Ben Rowsell on the Power of Social Networking Media (for teacher use)

- Facebook has created a new space in which political activism can take place.
- New players are participating in the political process through social networking as a result of lower cost and a less hierarchical and elitist structure.
- Social networking is a collaboration of individuals rather than groups and parties, so it has a more egalitarian ethos.
- Facebook has the potential for conveying more emotional content and power.
- Egypt’s democratic movement has “downloaded” leaders who otherwise would not be participating in the protests, expressing their views, and encouraging others to become part of the political process.
- Twitter and YouTube have become agents for disseminating information, raising morale, and creating flexible response time as events happen.
- The more governments have tried to shut down technology and inhibit the use of media, the more people have become emboldened to take risks and get their message out to others.
- Social networking facilitates documenting events and ensuring transparency inside the country and abroad.

Step-by -Step Instructions

1. Brainstorm examples of political activism with students. What behaviors do political activists engage in? (Examples: public protests and demonstrations, campaigning for a cause or a candidate, running for office, writing to representatives, letters to the editor, fundraising for a political cause, violent protests, and engaging in acts of destruction or terror.)
2. How many political activists in history can students name? (Examples: Martin Luther King Jr., Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Vladimir Lenin, Gamal Abdul Nasser, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mohandas Gandhi.) Do you have personal experience with individuals whom you would call political activists? Explain.
3. What makes political activism successful? (Examples: leadership, ideological cause, clear goals, charismatic participants.) Can political activism be successful without these components?
4. Introduce students to the idea that the revolutions of the Arab Spring, especially in Egypt and Tunisia, employed the Internet and social networking media in new ways that contributed to the downfall of these nations’ repressive leaders, and has changed political activism and citizens’ participation in significant ways.
5. Divide students into groups to explore the online materials devoted to describing the role technology played in the events of the Arab Spring (see **Student Handout 10.9–What Are the Pros and Cons of Online Political Activism?**). Ask students to pick out two or three ideas from their exploration

that they found most significant or inspirational, or those with which they disagree.

6. Conduct a discussion in which students share what they have learned, and discuss whether they agree with Gladwell's thesis or Rowswell's, and why? The views of Gladwell and Rowswell appear in the recommended Internet sites listed for this activity.
7. What are the dangers or pitfalls of applying social networking to the context of political change? Are there some circumstances in which social networking can have a more positive effect than in others? Should governments control or blackout social networking, and why?

Student Handout 10.9

What are the Pros and Cons of On- line Political Activism

What are the ways that you use internet each day? For many, the internet has become the preferred tool for accessing and sharing information, entertainment, pursuing education or simply connecting with friends, acquaintances and associates. Have you ever used the internet to organize or coordinate an event, create a buzz or interest in something? The revolutions of Arab Spring (2011) made the world aware that internet communication can be a powerful tool that has the power to change the way politics is practiced. In this activity you will explore the pros and cons of on line political activism by visiting web sites that provide a variety of opinions and examples of how the internet and applications such as Twitter, Facebook, Youtube and webinar communication influenced political change in the Arab world and have the potential for changing the future of politics throughout the world.

Begin your investigation by consulting the following web sites:

- Are social media driving Arab Spring ? <http://www.opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/the-arab-spring/> (This on line lecture makes good points about how social networking is changing politics)
- Ben Rowsell <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-zWJaXhHpI&feature=youtu.be> (A short talk by a Canadian career diplomat and eyewitness to events in Egypt (2011))
- Digital Town Hall --Cloud to Street (Transcript of video)
http://www.cloudtostreet.org/?page_id=156
- Wael Gohnim on Revolution 2.0 in Egypt on TED (An Inspirational Talk about human dignity restored in Egypt as a result of successful use of social networking to transform political activism,<http://www.wired.com/epicenter/2011/03/wael-ghonim-at-ted/>)
- Social Media in Politics Pro and Con in USA(Slide show)
<http://www.slideshare.net/ProfessorScherberth/social-media-politics-5815201>
- CNN Interview of Malcom Gladwell (Author of “Blink” and “The Tipping Point”) by FareedZakaria. Video and printed transcript available at these links.
<http://gigaom.com/2011/03/29/malcolm-gladwell-social-media-still-not-a-big-deal/> <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1103/27/fzgps.01.html> (scroll down to section on Gladwell /Zakaria video interview)

As you explore, look for answers to the following questions:

1. What are the main ideas presented by Gladwell, Rowsell, and Gohnim?
2. What are two or three ideas that you found to be especially significant, inspirational or problematic?
3. Make a list of the positive and negative aspects of on line political activism. What are the pitfalls or dangers of social networking?
4. Should governments manage or blackout social networking technology in some circumstances and why?

Chapter 11

Teacher's Toolbox

Throughout this book, a variety of classroom strategies are used to present information and to enable student inquiry and teacher assessment of learning. In this chapter, we:

- Review the book's teaching repertoire in the chart below.
- Make additional suggestions for activities that can be developed and/or adapted to meet your classroom needs.
- Suggest bibliography and Web site materials that you will find useful.

Generic Activity	Activity Modeled in Resource Guide	Notes
Group Work	Creating "Data Packs" on current events issues (Ch. 8), subcommittees investigate questions on oil (Ch. 1), Nasser's program (Ch. 4)	In these activities, small groups research, and assume responsibility for developing an answer to, a question or a claim that they teach to their peers in a "Poster Talk" or presentation.
Teacher- or Student-Generated Interactive Chart	Causes of the Six Day War (Ch. 4), comparative religion (Ch. 3), evaluation of Arab leadership (Ch. 4), varieties of Zionist ideology (Ch. 5), unresolved issues in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Ch. 7)	Charts are an effective way to help students organize or "practice" material. Teachers provide models so students become adept at creating their own charts to help them master material.
Fictionalized Accounts	Tradition v. modernity and the story of Taha and Ahmad (Ch. 4), Arabs and Jews in 1910 (Ch. 5), the case of Istahad (Ch. 4), Israeli immigrant profiles (Ch. 9)	This style of presenting material is an alternative to historical narrative. Do the research first, and then create your account or story. This also works well as a student activity or assessment.
Concept Maps	Founding of Islam (Ch. 3), introductory diagnostic (Ch. 1)	Webbing a concept map is an excellent way to discover what students know or think they know about a topic. Teachers can detect misunderstandings and diagnose knowledge gaps,

		enabling them to tailor lessons to specific classes. Maps are an excellent way to encourage students to make connections among concepts.
Primary Sources	Document-based question on the Suez War (Ch. 4.), Zionism documents (Ch. 5), the Mandate period (Ch. 6), Israel's Declaration of Independence (Ch. 9)	Primary sources are the classical way to study history. Use a primary source guide sheet to help students analyze and interpret documents.
Role Play/Simulation	When religious narratives disagree (Ch. 3), the Ottoman Empire (Ch. 3), negotiating the Suez Canal (Ch. 4), Nasser on trial (Ch. 4), the World Zionist Congress (Ch. 5), distinguishing national and civil identities (Ch. 5), wartime diplomacy (Ch. 6), personalities and British dilemmas (Ch. 6), partition of Palestine (Ch. 6), symposium on American foreign policy in Iraq (Ch. 8), press conference (Ch. 4), British dilemmas (Ch. 6), Tigris-Euphrates conflict (Ch. 1), Knesset party leaders (Ch. 9)	Role plays require time, but they reinforce learning very well. This is because students have an opportunity to both “discover” and “rehearse” what they have learned in the role play. Hence, role plays can be viewed as both learning opportunities and assessments, depending on the situation. Be careful to monitor the role play carefully so incorrect information or gaps in knowledge are not reinforced in error. Always debrief and have students reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the activity so they can become aware of how to improve next time.
Mock Trial	Nasser on Trial (Ch. 4)	Generic instructions for developing trials of other leaders are included in Chapter 4.
Opinion Survey	Water opinion survey (Ch. 1) How accurate are these generalizations? (Ch. 1)	Surveys are a good way to assess the spectrum of opinion in the class and build discussion.

Video	See below	A creative way to have students synthesize information and demonstrate empathy and understanding of the topic being studied.
Technology	Use of Internet sites for research, development of PowerPoint® (Ch. 3, Ch. 5, Ch. 6) presentations to provide input and assess student understanding. Web Track assignments (see below).	Internet sites are integrated into lessons throughout this text. See recommended Web sites below, and see material on teaching students to review Web sites critically.
Literature	Are Jewish and Zionist culture the same or different? (Ch. 9) For additional literary selections and lessons, see below.	Poetry and short story by great writers provides a wonderful alternative lens through which to gain perspective on history.
Debate	See below for detailed instructions in how to get started in conducting classroom debates.	Debates are excellent activities for rehearsing and assessing student knowledge of controversial historical and current events issues.
Rubrics	Example of an evaluation rubric (Ch. 1)	See below for additional examples of evaluation rubrics for oral presentations.
Art Projects	Point of view through visual projects such as postage stamps and collage(Ch. 6)	These projects, if accompanied by a well-designed rubric, can serve as alternative assessments.

Developing Discussion Skills

The discussions that take place during lessons focusing on the Middle East are likely to be heated and sometimes provocative. Topics such as war and peace, human rights, tradition v. modernity, ethnic identity, religious beliefs, and ancient claims to sovereignty are likely to bring out strong feelings and contested opinions in your students. At the same time, these discussions provide excellent opportunities to learn basic discussion skills and demonstrate appropriate classroom decorum even when students may be personally invested in a current events issue or passionate about their personal beliefs. How can we encourage mature intellectual discourse during heated confrontational moments? Here are a few tips and activities that are helpful.

Set ground rules for classroom discussions early in year. Confronted with a group prone to interrupting others and turning disagreements into personal attacks, I looked for a way to address this problem. What worked in my class was writing and role-playing a dialogue with a colleague that modeled an unacceptable interchange between two students. We read the script (included below) aloud and then asked students what was going on in this conversation? What did they observe happening? Was this a productive exchange of views or not, and why?

Students reported that they observed bullying and imagined that the speakers' feelings were hurt. Comments created a "chilling effect" that stymied discussion. Finally, the question "What did each speaker want the other side to hear?" brought out astute observations. Students responded to the question "Have you ever been in a situation like this one?" with affirmative nods.

The next step was to distribute a copy of the conversation and proceed to identify the problematic components of the script line by line. Students were challenged to find more acceptable ways of phrasing statements so that the other side would be able to hear what was being said and give the opinion consideration.

Reviewing our discussion, the class developed a list of dos and don'ts for discussion that we posted on the bulletin board for future reference. Here they are:

Dos	Don'ts
Do ask clarifying questions	Don't make it personal
Do speak in "I "statements (I have questions about..., "It makes me feel....")	Don't over-generalize, and don't label or make "put down" statements such as "that is so dumb"
Do validate other people's opinions if possible	Don't use insulting language or an accusatorial tone
Do remember that complex issues don't have simple black/white answers	Don't make assumptions (As in, "Don't you think that...?")

After this class, students wrote anonymous reflections in which they admitted that they have sat in classes where students crossed the line of acceptable discourse. They expressed gratefulness for this opportunity to identify objectionable behaviors up front so that future class discussions would be more respectful and productive.

Script of a Classroom Conversation

Abby: Don't you think that the U.S. has really messed things up for the Middle East? I mean, look what they did in Iraq. They are always pushing in to places where they don't belong. Americans are just so arrogant; they think everyone needs to be like them. Most Americans don't even know where Iraq is on the map.

Tim: Hey, they brought down Saddam, who was a nasty tyrant who used chemical weapons against his own people. Iraqis have no respect for life. They could learn a thing or two from the USA.

Abby: How can you say that? You are such a bigot. It's the USA that has no respect. Just look at Iraq now, ten years after America invaded. Bombs blowing up in the street, civilians getting killed, total chaos! It'll take years for Iraq to get back on its feet.

Tim: You make it sound like everything is America's fault. The Shiites and Sunnis are enemies with or without America there. The Muslims don't want to give democratic government a chance. All they care about is the Qur'an and making people follow it to the letter. America was trying to help them start....

Abby: You don't know what you are talking about! You can't really believe that America is trying to help Iraq; she just wants power and oil. America doesn't do anything for nothing. America is no Mother Theresa.

Tim: Yeah, well Kuwait was happy when the U.S. saved her from Saddam in 1991, and plenty of countries love to get American aid.

Abby: Why do you think the USA is pushing democracy on everyone and giving aid? Why? Because it is good for *her*. She doesn't really care about what the Iraqi people want!

Tim: The president is fighting terror. Don't forget that the U.S. was attacked on 9/11. We lost 3000 people!

Abby: That is so dumb! You have to get beyond 9/11. Your President Bush is such an idiot; he took America to war to look for weapons of mass destruction and couldn't find any. He lied to the American people. What does 9/11 have to do with Iraq anyway?

Tim: God, the way you talk, you would think that Bush is the root of all evil. I'm sick and tired of you bashing America! Don't forget that it's the Muslim world that is spreading fear and terror everywhere, not the USA!

Monologue Reflections

Abby: I can't talk to him. He is so naïve. Prejudiced, too. I can't believe he thinks all Muslims are terrorists. And that comment about Iraqis disrespecting life. That's such a horrible thing to say. Gee, he seemed awfully patriotic all of a sudden. There is nothing worse than blind patriotism! I wasn't bashing America, just telling it like it is.

Tim: I'm really mad! How dare she speak to me like that! She is only interested in hearing herself talk, as if she knows everything. She has no respect. There is nothing dumb about remembering 9/11 or wanting to see more freedoms for more people in the world. I can't believe I just sat through that insulting conversation. I was so embarrassed. Next time I'll keep my mouth shut.

An Overview of Classroom Debate

These questions and answers are generic ones that will enable you to adapt this classroom strategy to any topic related to the Middle East. The answers provided here are based on the debating style performed in the World Schools Debating Championships. You may wish to adapt these basic rules to your particular class.

Q. When is it appropriate to conduct classroom debate, and what topics are suitable?

A. Debating can be part of any discipline. Use debates as a forum to explore controversial issues in current events or within your curriculum. Debates can be culminating activities that come at the close of a unit or used to introduce a topic (e.g., a value dilemma that lies at the core of an issue). Debates can be oral presentations based on longer written projects such as term papers, or can be the result of impromptu team discussion. Any issue that can be argued for and against is suitable. Remember, policy debates involve presenting a plan of action that value debates do not.

Q. How many students may be on a team?

A. A team of four allows each member to speak once (e.g., first, second, and third speakers plus a rebuttal speaker). A team of five allows for an alternate student in case of absence. Teams can also function with three members, with the first speaker giving the rebuttal speech.

Q. What do team members do while opponents have the floor?

A. Team members must listen carefully to the arguments presented by their opponents in order to be able to develop effective rebuttal speeches. One technique for remembering the line of argument and strategy is called flowcharting. In this process, students keep track of what each speaker says, and when. These notes form the basis for drafting rebuttals and raising points of information. In other words, team members should be scribbling notes while their opponents have the floor.

Q. What other roles can students play besides team members?

A. Students can participate in debates in a few noncompetitive roles. A student may chair the debate (Mr. Speaker, Madam Speaker). The Chair states the proposition and introduces each speaker in the proper order. The Timekeeper signals one minute before the end of speaking time and when time is up. A panel of three Judges composed of students may give their judgment on the debate, based on criteria everyone is familiar with.

Q. How else can student motivation to pay attention be encouraged?

A. Distribute feedback sheets that they use as guides while observing one of the team members during the debate. At the close of the debate, observers can be asked to provide constructive feedback to their debater on style, logic, and strategy. Students are often asked to vote as a class to show who won the debate by a show of hands or by moving to one side of the room or the other.

Q. How long should speeches be?

A. Initially, students should try to speak for a full three minutes. With time, they should develop the ability to deliver a five-minute speech. In international competition, eight minutes are the norm. Feel free to adjust expectations as needed.

Q. What is the minimum time needed for a classroom debate?

A. To conduct a debate with four team members (eight in all), during which each speaks for three minutes with a two-minute break before rebuttal, you need at least 30 minutes. This includes time for the Judges to deliberate and render a decision. An impromptu debate that entails no pre-debate preparation can be done in a single lesson, with 30 minutes actual debate and 15 minutes during which the team plans its argument and divides tasks.

Q. What are “points of information,” and when are they used?

A. Points of information are challenges directed at the debater who has the floor by a member of the opposition team. Any time after the first minute of a speech, a member of the opposition may rise and say “point of information.” No points of information are permitted during the closing minute of speech or at any time during rebuttal speeches. The challenger’s intention may be to raise an objection, point out a contradiction, or ask for clarification. Points of information tend to distract the speaker who has the floor, and it takes practice not to get flustered or lose one’s train of thought. The speaker may accept or reject points of information by replying, “Yes, thank you,” or “No, thank you, not now.” Students who never accept points of information appear insecure and unprepared, while students who raise too many points of information may appear to be harassing their opponent. In either case, such appearances detract from their performance in the judge’s eyes. Therefore, it is important to demonstrate an ability to think on your feet by both asking and answering points of information in moderation, all the while keeping your “cool” and your case clear.

Q. What do students need to learn before beginning to debate in class?

A. First of all, debates are not about convincing your opponent that you are right. Debates are formal contests that are “played by the rules.” At a minimum, students should understand the format of debate and what their individual responsibilities are (see speaker responsibilities and format sheet). Modeling through video or a step-by-step discussion of what takes place in a debate is time well invested. You needn’t worry too much about strategies at the start. The content of the debate will suggest to students what approach to take in building their case. The heart and soul of a good debate is “clash,” or the challenging of each team’s argument by its opponent. Pointing out contradictions, insufficient evidence, faulty logic or reasoning, exaggerated emotionalism, or poor sources are all examples of legitimate points over which to clash.

Q. What criteria should judges use for evaluating debates?

A. You may wish to develop criteria for evaluation with your class, but here are a few guidelines.

- Organization: Structure and coherency of speeches.
- Evidence: Facts, statistics, and authorities offered to support arguments.
- Delivery: Style, poise, effectiveness of gestures, use of voice.
- Refutation/Clash: Ability to use logic and evidence to challenge opponent’s contentions.

Q. Why should I incorporate debating into my classroom repertoire? I'm not convinced.

A. Debating is a hands-on intellectual activity that develops many cognitive and performance-based skills while providing opportunities to practice them. The structure of debate and the rules of competition provide a format and forum for intellectual discussion and matching of wits while reducing overt displays of hostile aggressive behavior. While competition may not be a motivator for all students, it certainly works for many, and the activity will be entertaining and fun for most students. In the affective domain, students learn to collaborate and to articulate different points of view while being tolerant of those they do not espouse. Yes, we can be excellent teachers without doing classroom debates with our students, but there is so much “learning mileage” to be made from this activity; why not take advantage of it?

First Steps in Classroom Debate

1. Explain the concept of classroom debate to students as outlined above.
2. Distribute **Handout 11.1–First Steps in Classroom Debate** or have the class read it for homework.
3. Be sure to explain key concepts such as “proposition,” “clash,” “arguments of the case,” and “points of information.”
4. Rehearse segments of a mock debate by having students practice saying such typical phrases as:
 - “Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Our proposition today is....”
 - “This House believes that....”
 - “The proposition will show that this statement is true by building a case based on three main points. John will speak to the economic argument, Peter will develop the social argument, and I will discuss the political argument.”
 - “Let me begin by defining our terms. By _____ we mean....”
 - “Now on to our first point.”
 - “We beg to propose this motion.”
 - “We beg to oppose this motion.”
5. When students are comfortable with the format, give out a proposition, divide into teams, and let students begin developing a case. It should be something that they have studied and have information on.
6. Conduct a practice debate with frequent time-outs to reinforce success and correct problems.
7. If you begin this activity early in the year, students will soon enough become more proficient at it, until you can offer this activity as a performance-based assessment for students who enjoy it.

Here are some examples of propositions that work in Middle East studies:

- This House believes that British policies followed during the Mandate were legitimate.
- This House believes that Zionism is a form of colonialism.
- This House believes that The United States of America is justified in attacking Iraq.

- This House believes that terror is never justified.
- This House believes that Islam and democracy are compatible.
- This House believes that a two-state solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict would be best.

This formal style of debating can be adapted into mini-debates for two to four students in which each debate takes approximately ten minutes. A mini-debate might look like this:

Affirmative (Proposition)

One minute

(no points of information)

Two minutes

(with points of information)

Half-minute rebuttal

(no points of information)

Negative (Opposition)

One minute

(no points of information)

Two minutes

(with points of information)

Half minute rebuttal

(no points of information)

Student Handout 11.1

First Steps in Classroom Debate

Every debate begins with a PROPOSITION that makes an AFFIRMATIVE statement about a policy or a value. When we debate in front of a group, class, or parliament, we call the listening audience and fellow debaters THE HOUSE. Thus a typical proposition might be phrased this way: “This House believes that British policy during the Mandate period (1920–47) was justified.” The debaters who argue for this proposition are called the AFFIRMATIVE SIDE. The debaters who argue against this proposition are called the OPPOSITION. Remember, whatever side you are arguing, your job is to develop a strong argument to prove your case to the judges and the House. A strong argument anticipates what the opposing team will say, so be ready to refute by asking for “points of information” after the first minute of speech.

Every team member has a specific job during a debate. Here is an outline of tasks:

First Affirmative Speaker begins the debate with a prepared speech. Restate the proposition, define the terms or words used in the proposition, and outline the plan or points of your team’s case. This means that you tell the House what you will show and how; and then continue by presenting first point in the case.

First Opposition Speaker follows the First Affirmative Speaker by responding to the points already made (i.e., why our team disagrees). If necessary, this is the place to dispute the definition of terms offered by the Affirmative side and present the opposition’s case. Continue with the first point.

Second Affirmative Speaker clashes with the previous speaker and continues to develop the second point of the case.

Second Opposition Speaker clashes with the previous speaker and presents the second point of the case.

Third Affirmative Speaker clashes with the previous speaker and presents the third point in the case.

Third Opposition Speaker clashes with previous speaker and presents the third point in the case.

When the first, second, and third speakers from both sides have presented, there is a two-minute time-out during which the teams plan their rebuttals. During this break, the Chair may ask for opinions or questions from the audience that the speakers may address in their rebuttal speeches. There are no points of information allowed during rebuttal. This final speaker is not allowed to introduce new points or arguments to support the case that has been made. The rebuttal’s task is to summarize what has been said and reinforce why the judges should see that their team has made the stronger case.

After the two-minute break, the opposition rebuttal speaker goes first, followed by the affirmative rebuttal speaker.

During the course of the debate, some commonly repeated phrases that can be used are:

- “Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Our proposition today is....”
- “This House believes that....”
- “The proposition will show that this statement is true by building a case based on three main points. John will speak to the economic argument, Peter will develop the social argument, and I will discuss the political argument.”
- “Let me begin by defining our terms. By _____ we mean....”
- “Now on to our first point.”
- “Therefore we beg to propose this motion.” (A phrase used to signal conclusory remarks.)
- “Therefore we beg to oppose this motion.” (A phrase used to signal conclusory remarks.)

Creating a Video to Reflect Understanding

In this culminating activity, students select critical moments, themes, or feelings from their study of history to form the plotline of a group video production that aims to express students' empathy and understanding.

Objectives:

- Students will reflect on a piece of history from different points of view.
- Students will collaborate with one another to create an artistic statement about the historical events or personalities they have studied.

Grade Level: Middle/High school

Time Frame: Two lesson periods

Materials: Video camera, tape player, assorted props, markers, selected music

Step-by-Step Instructions:

1. A project that explores the 1948 War between Palestinians and Israelis might begin with students sitting on the floor in a circle to discuss the range of feelings that this war provoked in the people involved. Props might also be helpful.
2. What images come to mind from their study of this piece of history?
3. Invite students to come to the board or center of the room and write their recollections.
4. Divide the class into small groups of five to six students each.
5. Assign each group the task of developing an idea for a one-minute film sequence that conveys an interpretive vignette or message about the 1948 war.
6. It helps to give each group a word or phrase around which to focus their segment. These words could come from the initial discussion. Possibilities include *statehood, despair, refugee, homeland, Nakba, wandering, loneliness, tradition, homecoming, victory*, and so forth.
7. One group might be responsible for developing scenes with spoken words, possibly quotations from leaders or literature. These scenes with spoken words come between the individual scenes.
8. Appoint two student directors to coordinate the project. Their task is to keep track of the storyboard for each group and make sure each group is ready to film on time.
9. Have each group think about body placement, gestures, and the feelings behind the scene.
10. Allow 15 minutes before the first group films. When each group has filmed their one-minute sequence, play back the entire film for the class. If your school has a video production course, engage these students in this project. Include music, if possible, and conduct a discussion of both the process and the product.

The Web Track Assignment

1. A Web Track is a program of five Web sites that students select for their interest and relevance to the particular topic under discussion. The purpose of selecting the five sites is to create a “Web Track” or “trail” that peers can follow in order to learn about a particular topic. After visiting the five sites selected, a member of the class should be able to write an essay about the topic you investigated or answer a new question that your team develops as a result of its exploration.
2. In order to select your sites, you will need to know how to evaluate what you find when you begin to surf the World Wide Web. Here are some guidelines to keep in mind.
 - Is the site a commercial (.com,) governmental (.gov), educational (.edu), or personal one? You will need to determine how reputable the site is by considering how frequently it is updated and who pays for it.
 - A commercial site often wants to sell products or promote its business. Governmental sites may be a good source of information, but beware of national bias. Educational sites and educationally sponsored data banks are often a good source of information. Nongovernmental institutions are another source of information.
 - In general, it is a good rule to always look for corroboration of researched information in other sources.
 - Pay close attention to who is the authority behind the site. Can they be contacted with questions or comments? If not, beware.
3. Try to find different types of Web sites on your topic. One might provide primary source documents, another good visual material, an interactive exhibit, or secondary sources.
4. Begin your Web Track with an introduction that states the issue and presents your thesis.
5. List the Web sites in the order you recommend they be visited, and include a brief summary of what the visitor will learn there or what to pay attention to. Write two to three essential questions that will focus the visitor’s attention on what you feel is most important to remember. Visitors will answer these questions in writing.
6. Close your Web Track with an evaluation in which you reflect on the sites you located. Do you feel they were biased or objective? What criteria did you use to select the ones you did? What difficulties did you encounter in completing this assignment? What is the most important thing you learned in the process?

Expressing Point of View Visually

The Mandatory Postage Stamp

During the Mandate period, the Mandatory government issued postage stamps for Palestine. There was great controversy over what language and imagery should appear on the stamps, and how the Mandatory territory should be referred to. This is an example of the many areas in which disagreement between Arabs and Jews was expressed.

In this culminating activity, students assume a point of view and create designs for postage stamps printed in 1930. A selection of identities and possible images are listed below to help guide you and your students in this assignment. Research can be conducted to check for historical accuracy. Postage stamp designs can be submitted to a committee for acceptance. What would be the interests or motivations behind the different designs created by representatives of such communities as Palestinian Christians, religious Jews, Palestinian Muslims, or the Mandatory Yishuv?

Territorial Terminology

Land of Israel
Eretz Yisrael
Palestine
Falastine
Mandate of Palestine
Israel
British Mandate of Palestine

Symbolic Imagery

Dome of the Rock
Olive trees
Mediterranean coastline
Tel Hai
City of Hebron
Kibbutz Degania
Church of the Holy Sepulcher
Portrait of the British Monarch
The Wailing Wall
Tomb of Rachel
Tomb of the Patriarchs
Mount Tabor
Sea of Galilee
Portrait of Haj Amin el-Husseini
Al Aksa Mosque

Identities to Choose

Supreme Muslim Council
Jewish Agency
British High Commissioner of Mandatory Palestine
Guardians of Muslim Holy Sites

Languages

Arabic, English, Hebrew, Yiddish

Create your postage stamp by sketching, cutting, or pasting images and lettering. Create an enlarged version at least 12" by 12".

Creating a Collage

In this alternative assessment, students design a collage that answers a particular question from two points of view. Here is an example of instructions for students for this activity.

Create a collage that depicts multiple answers to the question, “Where did Jewish and Palestinian nationalism come from?”

- Your collage should include at least three to four different answers for each of these national groups. You can draw, paint, use markers, or cut clippings and pictures in order to create your collage.
- Attach a written summary or plan that explains the concept and rationale for your collage.
- Include a short reflection piece that explains the process you followed in creating your collage. What was most difficult or meaningful, and why

Literature as a Lens for Understanding History and Culture

Short stories and poetry are useful vehicles for deepening understanding of the culture that produced them and the defining issues of importance to the authors who created them. The Shared Inquiry method⁸⁵ of analyzing literary texts is an excellent technique that is based on seminar-style Socratic questioning that works with students in all age groups. Typically, close reading of the selection is followed by posing open-ended interpretive questions for which there are multiple answers. Students discuss their answers by making direct references to the particular text being studied.

The story “The Name” by Aharon Megged, a selection that is included in *Through Middle Eastern Eyes*,⁸⁶ explores the generation gap in Israeli society by examining a conflict between a grandfather who survived the Holocaust and his Israeli-born granddaughter. Examples of interpretive questions that develop discussion of this story include:

- Why does Raya say she loves Grandfather more than ever?
- Why does Raya say her child needs great pity and love?

The poetry of Yehuda Amichai (1924–2000) is particularly accessible to students and includes themes and images from Jewish tradition, the Israeli landscape, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the universal human condition. Use poems from his collections⁸⁷ as triggers for discussion, art projects, and assessments. Students can discuss poems in terms of their imagery, message, links to topics studied, and questions they pose or answer.

Working with Dilemmas

A number of activities in this text engage students in discussion and role-play of individuals confronting social, economic, political, and ethical dilemmas. Here are a few

⁸⁵ *An Introduction to Shared Inquiry*, (Chicago: Great Books Foundation, 1992).

⁸⁶ Aharon Megged, “The Name” *Through Middle Eastern Eyes*, ed. Robert Pearson, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975) pp. 243–254.

⁸⁷ Yehuda Amichai, *Yehuda Amichai: A Life of Poetry 1948-1994* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994) and Yehuda Amichai, *Open Closed Open*, (New York: Harcourt, 2000).

additional examples of dilemmas that encourage reflection, analysis, debate, and discussion, as well as illuminating particular periods in Middle Eastern history.

British Mandate dilemmas:

Should the British High Commissioner limit Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1939?

David Ben-Gurion's dilemmas:

Should the Yishuv declare independence (April–May 1948)?

Should the Israel negotiate with Germany over acceptance of reparation payments for Jewish suffering in the Holocaust?

Should Ben-Gurion support mass immigration to the newly founded state when the ability of Israel to provide for masses of immigrants is severely limited?

Should Israel form an alliance with Britain and France against Egypt (1956)?

Levi Eshkol's dilemma:

Should Israel strike first against Egypt and Syria in 1967?

Anwar Sadat's dilemmas:

Should Egypt attack Israel in 1973?

Should Egypt sign a peace treaty with Israel in 1979?

Yitzhak Rabin's dilemmas:

Should Israel recognize Yassir Arafat as the legitimate leader of the Palestinian people?

Should Israel agree to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza while Israeli citizens are living there?

Palestinian dilemmas:

Should the PLO declare independence in 1988?

Should the PLO accept Ehud Barak's offer in 2000?

Student Self-Assessment Rubric

This rubric guides students as they reflect on their learning, experiences, and attitudes at the conclusion of a unit, topic, semester or year. Students write a reflective essay that addresses the areas outlined in the rubric.

Student Handout 11.2

Self-Assessment Rubric

	Valuable	Helpful	So-So	So What?
Knowledge and Skills	You compare and contrast past knowledge and skill levels with your new learning. How has your understanding or proficiency improved? What would you like to improve?	You highlight new learning of content and skills but don't set goals for yourself.	You assess yourself in terms of only knowledge or skills and fail to consider future goals.	You do not address this area of the self-assessment.
Assessment of Attitude	How has your attitude towards our subject changed as a result of this course?	You discuss pre- and post-course attitudes but do not connect to our study of the Middle East.	You talk about your attitudes but do not tell how the course has contributed to them.	You do not address this area of self-assessment.
Assessment of Participation	You evaluate yourself on a scale of one to five for participation. Were you a leader or follower? Give examples.	You assess your participation but don't give any evidence to support your opinion.	You point out what you enjoyed participating in.	You didn't participate much in this course and don't participate in this assessment!
Feedback for the Teacher	You give constructive feedback by commenting on class activities, clarity of text, teacher's presentation, grading, assessments, homework, and class discussion.	You give constructive but incomplete feedback.	You tell the teacher what you enjoyed in this course.	You don't give feedback to help reinforce what the teacher is doing right or what she could improve.

Recommended Web Sites

Web sites provide students with access to primary source documents, original texts, interpretive material, and interactive activities. The World Wide Web is also a great laboratory for exercising critical thinking, detecting bias, and learning to recognize opposing perspectives and narratives. Sites also provide teachers with materials for use in class and ideas for building units, assessments, and classroom activities. The annotated list of sites that follows provides examples of URLs that were helpful in the preparation of this resource guide and in supplementing student research activities.

Islamic Civilization

Islam for Today

<http://www.islamfortoday.com/index.htm>

This site on Islamic history and civilization is an excellent source of primary sources and visual images.

MuslimHeritage.com

<http://www.muslimheritage.com/default.cfm>

The Foundation for Science Technology and Civilisation is a British site with excellent links to scholarly articles, good visuals, and a wide variety of topics.

The Islamic World to 1600

http://www.univ.calgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/islam/index2/html

This Canadian site offers a tutorial on Islamic topics that includes excellent maps, visuals, and text. The section on the Ottoman Empire is especially useful.

Islamicity

<http://www.islamicity.com/education/culture>

Excellent visuals introducing Islamic art, architecture, and calligraphy are available at this site.

Exploring Ancient World Cultures

<http://www.eawc.evansville.edu/ispag.htm>

Excellent source for chronologies, Qur'anic texts and images.

The Islam Project

www.islamproject.org/

Programs on Muhammad and Muslims. Especially interesting are articles by contemporary American Muslim teens explaining their faith and their lives.

Primary Source Documents

The Avalon Project at Yale Law School presents the Middle East 1916–2001: A Documentary Reader

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/mideast.htm>

This is the gateway to a useful site containing major legal documents relating to foreign policy in the Middle East from the middle of World War One through 2001.

Internet Modern History Sourcebook

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>

A wealth of historical documents and a chronology of modern Western history are available at this Internet site sponsored by Fordham University. It is especially useful for study of the Safavid and Ottoman Empires.

Internet Ancient History Sourcebook

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancientasbook.html>

More primary sources drawn from the ancient Middle East are available on the sister site sponsored by Fordham University.

Documents 1900

<http://www.ariga.com/treaties>

This site provides the text of Middle East treaties.

Zionist History**Beyond the Pale—The History of the Jews in Russia**

<http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/english/guide-cond.html>

An extensive gallery of primary source photographs documents the history of the Jewish community in Russia before and after the Russian Revolution. This is a helpful site for understanding the development of Zionism and alternative solutions for the problem of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe.

Resources and Articles on Zionism

http://www.wzo.org.il/en/resources/expand_subject.asp?id=28

This site, sponsored by the World Zionist Organization, enables readers to link to secondary sources that discuss Zionism in the past, present, and future.

Crucial Decisions

<http://www.bgu.ac.il/moreshet/tikshuv/crucialarsup.htm>

This is a series of history-based simulations sponsored by the Ben-Gurion Institute.

Israel and Zionism

<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/100/concepts/index.htm>

Developed by the Pedagogic Center at the Department for Jewish-Zionist Education, this site provides discussion on British policies during the Mandate, Jewish immigration (*Aliya*), the conflict, and the peace process. This is an informative and provocative site, worth visiting.

Homeward Bound: The Zionist Exposition

<http://www.wzo.org.il/home/index.htm>

This is a user-friendly, interactive site that introduces students to documents, concepts, and visuals through a “gallery format.”

Jerusalem Archives

<http://www.jerusalem-archives.org/period3/index.html>

An interactive site with six different historical time periods presented from the Israeli point of view.

The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Procon.org

<http://www.procon.org/>

This site has an excellent section on the issues in dispute in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and contains contemporary opinions, academic material, primary sources, and a breakdown of the issues.

Coming to Terms with Deir Yassin

<http://www.ariga.com/peacewatch/dy/>

This Israeli-based site provides maps and battle plans of the attack at Deir Yassin during the 1948 War. It also includes eyewitness accounts.

Palestine Academic Society for Study of International Affairs

<http://www.passia.org/index>

The site provides information on Palestinian history. Especially useful are their listing of facts and biographical listings on important Palestinian personages.

Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative: Palestinians and Israelis

<http://www.vispo.com/PRIME/leohn1.pdf>

Presenting Palestinian and Israeli narratives of history literally side by side, this is an online version of the book *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel and Palestine* by Sami Adwan, Eyal Naveh, Dan Bar-On, and the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East. Published by New Press, New York in January 2012.

Seeds of Peace

<http://www.seedsofpeace.org>

This organization is committed to promoting tolerance and understanding between teenagers whose communities are in conflict with one another. The site contains an online magazine, *The Olive Branch*, to which Palestinian and Israeli teenagers contribute articles and describe joint projects.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Maps

<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/100MAPS/index.html>

Produced by the Department for Jewish Zionist Education, this site contains maps from the Mandate period, the Partition Plan of 1947, refugees on both sides, the Sinai campaign, the 1967 War, and maps pertaining to the peace process.

A Palestinian Chronology

www.sphr.org/history/Glance/Chronology_files/chron_right.htm

At this site you will find a chronology of the conflict from the Palestinian point of view.

The Official Site of the Palestine National Authority

www.pna.gov.ps/Search/TitleDetails.asp?txtDocID=50

This site is worthwhile for students researching the PNA.

Palestine: The Palestinian Diaspora, a History of Dispossession

www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/palestine/refugeeFacts.html

This scholarly article discusses the refugee issues remaining to be resolved in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

General Interest

The Jewish Film Archive Online

<http://www.jewishfilm.com>

An alphabetical listing of films of Jewish interest.

American Israel Cooperative Enterprise (AICE)

<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/index.html>

This URL will take you to AICE's Jewish Virtual Library. Dedicated to joint projects that promote values shared by the USA and Israel, AICE is a portal to many coexistence projects in Israel today that bring Arab and Jewish Israelis together.

ADVA: Information on Equality and Social Justice in Israel

<http://www.adva.org/indexe.html>

This site gathers and analyzes data on Israeli society.

Islam and Politics in the 20th Century

<http://www.stanford.edu/dept/CREES/islamsites.html>

This site provides a large selection of Web sites and links to investigate, many very useful.

Coverdell World Wise Schools: Culture Matters

<http://www.peacecorps.gov/www/culturematters>

This is an excellent site that contains an interactive "tutorial" for learning more about the dynamics of intercultural communication.

Teaching About Culture

<http://www.peacecorps.gov/www/bridges/>

This site, sponsored by the Peace Corps, enriches teachers' abilities to develop lessons about culture.

Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<http://www.mfa.go.il/go.asp?MFAG00010>

This site is a portal to current events, historical narrative, Israeli law, and government.

Loolwa Khazoom, Jewish Multiculturalism

<http://www.loolwa.com/shtml>

Loolwa Khazoom is the project director of the Jewish Multicultural Curriculum Project (JMCP). The home page links to articles, programs, and communities that have relevance for better understanding the multiculturalism of modern Israeli society.

The Arab World

Country Analysis Briefs

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/contents.html>

This site is a gateway to the Energy Information Administration's current statistical information on the petroleum and gas industries of Middle Eastern nations.

Middle East Forum

<http://www.meforum.org>

This academic site links to the *Middle East Quarterly* and is a source of secondary source articles.

"Where Is Egypt Headed" by Dan Kurtzer, Foreign Policy Research Institute E-Notes (December 2008)

<http://www.fpri.org/enotes/200811.kurtzer.egyptheaded.html>

This article by a former U.S. ambassador to Egypt and Israel, although dated, is an interesting source.

Al Ahram

<http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly>

Founded in 1875, this English-language Egyptian journal contains current and archived information.

Arab Gateway

<http://www.al-bab.com>

A comprehensive portal that links to issue-oriented sites on topics such as: women, economics, language, history, music, food, maps, and much more.

Curriculum Materials of Special Interest

Spotlight on the Muslim Middle East: Identity and the Literary Context

<http://www.globaled.org/muslimmideast/spage1.php>

Prepared by Mona Mikhail of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literature at New York University, this site gives detailed information on specific literary works and also supplies a wealth of pedagogical teaching ideas for Middle East education.

Promises

<http://www.pbs.org-pov/pov2001/promises/lessonplans.pdf>

This site provides teachers with detailed lesson plans based on the film *Promises*, which introduces viewers to seven Israeli and Palestinian children who cope with the conflict in their neighborhoods and lives. Objectives include interpreting a conflict from multiple perspectives and applying conflict resolution principles. The site links the activities to McRel Standards

History of the Middle East Database

<http://www.nmhtthornton.com/>

Follow links to the History of the Middle East Database. There you will find chronologies, documents, readings, explanations, and maps of a variety of historical periods. This site is maintained by Ted Thornton, teacher of religious studies at Northfield Mount Hermon School. There is a great deal of useful information to be found at this site.

Eye to Eye for Teachers

http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/eyetoeye/teachers/guidance/chron_right.html

This photo gallery of Palestinian refugees through time is available with a teacher's guide and instructional ideas.

Teaching the Middle East: A Resource for Educators

<http://teachmiddleeast.lib.uchicago.edu/index.html>

This site, supported by the National Endowment of the Humanities, contains materials categorized under the headings of Foundations, Historical Perspectives, and Classroom Connections. Learning modules contain scholarly essays, images, lesson plans, and references.

Debunking Stereotypes About Muslims and Islam

<http://www.tolerance.org/activity/debunking-muslim-myths>

This site appears on the Teaching Tolerance Web site and contains lesson plans and materials for student and teacher use.

The Jewish Education Center of Cleveland Response Curriculum: Crisis in the Middle East

www.jecc.org/edres/curric/irc/mecrisis.htm

This site critically examines the role of the media (TV, radio, cartooning), and encourages critical thinking in students. The site is comprehensive, with background material, maps, and links to media sites. This site contains Jewish content that fosters Israeli Diaspora connections.

Jewish Agency for Israel-

<http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content>

This site contains information on modern Israel from the areas of history, culture, and contemporary issues. Provocative questions encourage critical thinking in students.

Online Modules for Global Educators

http://www.coe.ohio-state.edu/mmerryfield/global_resources/default.htm

Sponsored by Ohio State University, this site contains an annotated list of sites that deal with history, politics, art, and culture. Sites are organized by chronological period and include Arab and Muslim civilization as well as Israeli topics.

A Final Word

The Middle East will continue to be a cauldron of conflict, a world region rich in history, and a place pivotal in our lives. Students who have opportunities to become better informed about the Middle East will be better equipped to function as citizens in an increasingly global and interdependent world. The chapters, topics, units, and lessons contained in this book are intended to provide a framework, with examples, for developing your own creative and meaningful educational materials for teaching about the Middle East. Whether you adopt or adapt what you find here for a semester elective course, a thematic unit, or an individual lesson, may you find it an enriching experience that fuels your commitment to teaching.

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