

Israel/Palestine:
A Critical Textbook Analysis of the Question's History in Anglophone
Universities

Submitted by Seyed Hadi Borhani, to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arab and Islamic Studies,
May 2015

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(Signature)

‘Those who tell the stories also rule society.’

Plato in the ‘Republic’

Acknowledgments

The journey required to conduct this research was not easy and straight - forward. Difficulties presented themselves which were a severe test of my resilience and fortitude. A happy ending has not been achieved as a result of solitary resistance; much assistance was given to make it possible, for all of which I am very grateful.

First of all I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Ilan Pappé, a brave scholar, who has devoted his life to providing much needed knowledge about the criminal occupation of Palestine, and its ethnic cleansing.

Except my supervisor, no one else made a concrete contribution to the content of this thesis. But I should mention three names of people who offered invaluable help with respect to other aspects of completing this piece of work; I am indebted to Dr Marina Williamson for her generous and dedicated support. She kindly edited the whole thesis. I have also enjoyed the intellectual dialogue I had with my intelligent friend, Dr Barbara Heisserer, when I was developing the first proposal for the thesis. I have had few chances to see and interact with Professor Shlomo Sand but his remarks and his books, 'The Invention of the Jewish People' in particular, were a supreme source of information and inspiration for my thesis.

I was fortunate in having so many generous people around who were ready to help; I should mention and thank Mr Afzal Hasan, Subject Librarian in the Forum Library of Exeter University, Jim Jackson, St Luke's Library Supervisor and Professor Christopher Lovett in Emporia State University. This is a chance also to thank the staff of several libraries I have visited and used to complete my thesis; St Luke's Library, the Forum Library, SOAS Library, College Lane Library in the University of Hertfordshire, and Amir Al Momenin Mosque Library in Tehran. I am also thankful to The Open Library for the services I have received online. The Staff in the Institute of the Arab and Islamic Studies and SSIS Graduate Research School in Streatham were more than helpful, a kindness which I am thankful for.

I had the privilege of knowing wonderful friends during this journey who were a great source of help in one way or another. I cannot finish this acknowledgment

without including their names; Professor Ray Murphy, Seyed Mohsen Nabavi, Dr Siamak Tavakoli, Dr Oliver Feeney, Afrasiab Mohammadnejad, Dr Seyed Ali Mahmoudi, Beata Faracik, Ali Mossadegh, Dr Eilis Ward, Dr Mark Haugaard, Haydar Alkhafaji, Professor Chris Curtin, Dr Marilyn Moylan, Dr Brendan Flynn, Mohammad Abutalebi, Zarengiz Karimova, Dr Martina Timmermann, Samantha Borders, Dr Marc Valeri, and Dr Lisa Moran. The support I have received came from more friends, indeed. There is no chance to name all of them but I am very grateful for having their friendship and treasured support.

The main support for my efforts to research and write this thesis came from my family. They were with me before anyone else, and all the way from the beginning to the end, and in the most difficult phases. My father was a main supporter. Without him and his assistance I could not have conducted this research. My mother was a fabulous source of support and help. I also owe a huge thank-you to my children Yasaman and Amir Salman. I might have been a better and more accessible father had I not been busy with this thesis. My special thanks go to a key companion who supported me all the way and through the most difficult times. For her wonderful kindness and the huge sacrifices she made I dedicate this thesis to my wife and the true angel of this journey, Aseel.

Abstract

The Israel/Palestine question, and its resonance for international peace and security, has turned into a central interest of the modern world. It also raises much controversy in the academic community. The Western support for Israel, a key factor in Israel's survival, is a significant feature of this issue. It has been revealed, through preceding studies, that Western policies towards Israel, foreign human rights policy for instance, are biased. The West appears biased, also, in what it produces about the question. Western products in the cinema and the mass media examined in this regard.

How knowledge produced in the West is influenced by the pro-Israeli environment has been an academic concern. No empirical investigation, at the same time, has been made into how academic knowledge at university level treats the Israel/Palestine question. The popular belief about the scientific and impartial characteristics of Western knowledge has probably contributed to such a state of affairs.

A sample of the most popular college level textbooks on the history of the Israel/Palestine question has been selected, through an extensive survey, to represent relevant Western knowledge. The selected textbooks have been analysed through a method of 'Historical Narrative Analysis' against a Zionist/pro-Israeli structure of Israel's history.

The immediate context of the histories produced, the relevant historians and their background, are analysed to answer the second part of the key question of the research: 'How the knowledge of history of the Israel/Palestine question is presented in Western academia, and why it has been presented in that particular way'.

The results of the first analysis, a textbook analysis, support the claim that textbook knowledge on the question is mainly pro-Israeli in bias. In relation to the question "why", the analysis offers the 'Jewish pro-Israeli producer' as the main factor that can explain that bias in the products. Another factor is identified in this analysis as well; the relevant knowledge has been produced in a certain, American or Israeli, national and educational environment.

Keywords: Israel; Palestine; history of Israel; pro-Israeli; textbook analysis; the West; academic knowledge

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Preface

I doubt that my fascination with the Israel/Palestine question can be an accident. I began life the same day that Israel finalized its occupation of historical Palestine. I have learnt this from my ID card, where 10 June 1967 is registered as my birth date.

I may have no recollection of that day in the sixties, but I can remember my childhood in the seventies when I read everything to hand about this question, mostly in newspapers. I was forbidden, then, to read them as my school grades began to decline due to this obsession. The only way to follow this passion was by buying, in secret, cheap newspapers, that I could afford, and smuggling them to an isolated corner at home where I could read them far from my parents' watchful eyes.

It was during these days that Iran began its transformation from a pro-Western monarchy to a pro-Palestinian republic; the very first event of this revolution took place only a few meters from my primary school, Daryush, in Qom. But it was my work in The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, much later in my life, that afforded me the first opportunity to engage intellectually with the Israel/Palestine question. Early in my career at the Ministry I saw how everything that happened in the Middle East is affected by this question. Above all, what engaged me to the point of obsession was the paradox of how Western countries, the same countries which have established the widest and most influential civilization in history in all its post-Renaissance magnificence - its modern education, knowledge, democracy, rule of law and human rights in particular - could at the same time support such a terrible regime as that in Israel, a fundamental source of so much of the crime and misery that exists in the Middle East.

The first chance to experience, directly, this question occurred when I participated in the 40th Graduate Study Program (GSP) of the United Nations Office in Geneva in 2002. Many young college graduates came to this program, most of them from Western countries. The participants had to prepare a report on the main international issues, including human rights, as part of their duties in the course. This was an opportunity to raise the Israel/Palestine question. I wrote a statement about the racist aspect of Zionism, in line with the NGOs' position in the Durban Conference to Combat Racism (2001), and followed the

drafting of this document from the form it took in the original team we had on human rights issues up through various levels, to that presented to the plenary session. The statement found its way finally into the concluding report of the Program but the way it was treated showed how the West can be different from what I expected it to be, when it comes to Israel.

The same impression struck me when I made a similar contribution to the Fifth Annual Course on Arms Control and National Security (2003) in The Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP). Several lecturers came to this course to encourage the participants, all of them from Arab countries or Iran, to support a policy of disarmament. The possibly rash comments I made in the closing session about the dangers of such a unilateral policy in the absence of a similar policy in Israel began to look like committing an unforgivable sin. I am not still sure if this is related to the fact that, against all promises made, I have not received the course certificate, but this was, for sure, another event that made me aware of just how a critical view of Israel will be received in the West, a reception which might seem to be at odds with the main characteristics of Western civilization.

These experiences, and similar ones, such as that at the International Annual Course of the United Nations University in Tokyo (2006), for instance, convinced me that conducting research on this topic, and contributing to a dialogue with Western societies about this anomaly might be the best contribution I could make to a better relationship between the West and the Middle East.

One of several attempts to apply for a PhD program was accepted by the National University of Ireland, Galway (NUIG). I put forward an original proposal to conduct a comparative investigation into EU human rights policy towards some Middle Eastern countries including Iran and Israel, to demonstrate how the West, the EU in this case, ignores its own values and principles when it comes to Israel.

My path to further study didn't go according to expectation, and I had to sacrifice a lot, including my job in the Ministry, to save my studies. The study in Ireland itself didn't go well for different reasons. I learned, however, one significant lesson while struggling with my PhD project; the Western bias

towards Israel is not limited to governments and politicians. More importantly, Western knowledge, the most respected part of Western civilization to my mind, is corrupted as well. This became obvious when governing textbooks in Western academia on the Israel/Palestine question were consulted in order to acquire the essential knowledge needed to inform my academic investigation.

This, I thought, is a much more significant subject for investigation with reference to Western pro-Israeli bias. This realisation coincided with my first encounter with Professor Ilan Pappé, who came to Dublin to speak about the Israeli attack on Gaza in 2008-9. A link to this talk in Trinity College Dublin had been sent to me by Tommy Donnellan, a well-known pro-Palestinian activist in Galway on 16 February 2009 at 21:39 when I was in the empty PhD room in NUIG. This email provided an unprecedented moment for me, not because I remained at my desk, in the campus, till midnight to watch the video twice, and not for forwarding it to almost all my English speaking contacts, but for the novel feeling I experienced, embedded in the subject of the forwarded email: 'I can love an Israeli, thank God!'

The days after this encounter were spent in reading about this Israeli scholar and his work on the question, and in process of my exploration I found his email address. This address provided a chance for me to express my ideas to him, and to ask for his supervision. The present thesis is a product of his welcoming reply, and represents the subsequent transformation in my research topic under his guidance.

Introduction

The question of Israel/Palestine, as an issue, occupies a significant position in world politics. For decades now, daily news about this question constitutes a persistent part of the world headlines. No other controversial topic has probably reached such a position. Another important topic, which should be seen in tandem with this one, is the support Israel has received from the West. Alongside the news about current affairs, which often illustrates the different behaviour of Western countries towards Israel, the history of Israel, also, introduces a wealth of facts which refer to the momentous contribution of the West in helping the realization of Zionist objectives in Palestine, including the establishment of a Jewish state (see for instance Lewan 1975; Bain 1979; Bercuson 1985; Pappé 1988; Mulhall 1995; Mendes 2009)

This important support, which has been suggested as one of two main factors contributing to the survival of Israel, together with its military superiority to its Arab neighbours (Kermani 2006), has been elaborated by a number of researchers through different academic disciplines including History, International Relations, Politics, International Law, Economics, Mass Media and Cinema (see for instance Feldman 1984; Reich 1984; Organski 1990; Ben-Zvi 1993; Findley 1993; Pipes and Daniel 1997; Chomsky 1999; Allin and Simon 2003; Merkley 2004; E. L. Stephens 2004; Gvosdev 2006; Petras 2006; E. Stephens 2006; Mearsheimer and Walt 2008; Roth 2009; Cronin 2011; Shaheen 2009). Various explanations have emerged from the findings of this body of research, which answer the question of why the West treats the issue in the particular way it does, by introducing some influential factors such as national interests, economic interests, security considerations, strategic interests, European guilt over and moral responsibility for a history of Jewish massacres in Europe, or the influence of the Israel lobby in Western countries.

A significant matter of fact which has emerged during the conduct of this investigation is that the relevant literature explored on Western support of Israel, shows very little sign of tackling the subject through an empirical analysis into the academic treatment itself of the Israel/Palestine question. This area, like other areas of the Western treatment of Israel, could be a platform from which

forces that operate in other areas might attain such a biased position. Here one question can guide the research: Is there a legitimate ground for establishing the same idea of Western support for Israel, this time, in the way that knowledge is produced about the question? In other words, is the knowledge produced in the West about the question influenced by pro-Israeli forces that work in other areas? An investigation into this extension of the field could be fascinating in its own right but it is important, also, due to the role Western knowledge plays in the world in general, and in establishing the dominant scientific paradigms in particular.

This study is designed to explore this matter through an empirical investigation of college textbooks which are used to teach the history of Israel/Palestine in Western higher education. As an original research topic, which can deal with a considerable gap in the relevant literature, it entails two main characteristics which suggest it is fascinating enough to be studied as a PhD research topic:

1. It deals with a significant controversy which exists concerning the Western countries' position on Israel. This position appears as a matter that separates the West from the rest of the world in many areas, specifically in world politics. A quick look at the pattern of the votes of Western countries in the UN General Assembly on issues related to Israel can illustrate this (Gilman 2000, 15).

2. Another matter which differentiates the West from the rest of the world is the Western attitude towards knowledge and scientific research. It is contended that one main element that contributed heavily to establishing the very nature of the West, as a modern civilisation, providing it with a chance to present itself as a different and developed part of the world, is rooted in its relatively effective efforts to detach knowledge from other considerations, religious and political. From this perspective any possibility of Western failure in that line when dealing with one area of knowledge could be an interesting and important topic to study.

Key Figures of the Research:

Key figures of this research that include 'the research problem', 'the statement of purpose', 'the main question of the research', and 'limitations of the study' are presented as follows:

1. **The Research Problem:** Western support of Israel influenced not only the Israel/Palestine question and the wider Middle East but also has affected Western societies as well. There are a number of scholars who suggest that this support came at the cost of undermining some Western values/standards including promoting international human rights where the West systematically ignores how Israel treats the norms of international law and universal human rights. This research is concerned about a possibility of an extension of such a problem to Western knowledge. Knowledge is perceived as the foundation of Western civilization, and any impact that a supportive position towards Israel might have on knowledge production in the West is considered a major issue. This also can have a global resonance, as Western knowledge is in a position to play a crucial role in determining the dominant paradigm on a global scale. On another level, the supportive treatment of Israel by Western knowledge can contribute to producing pro-Israeli public opinion in Western societies. This translates into policies, including foreign policy, in democracies. It might explain, thus, different Western policy with regard to the Israel/Palestine question. The evident division between the Western countries and other members of the international community on this question can contribute to the widening of the gap between the West and the rest of the world. Western policy on the question has an enormous capacity to affect the relationship between the West and those countries in the South that suffer, directly, from supportive Western policies, Middle Eastern countries in particular. The supportive nature of the Western treatment of Israel has not been fully recognised yet. This is evident, more, in the European section of Western countries. The main reason for this European problem comes from the fact that they compare the slightly more limited degree of support for Israel in their policies to the odd and unparalleled position which the US takes towards Israel. The other countries are not counted as significant when one makes such a

comparison. This textbook analysis might add something to the literature by helping to recognize the biased and problematic nature of Western treatment of Israel in general. The data and evidence produced in this analysis might have the capacity to demonstrate that the cost has risen very high where the quality of Western knowledge is concerned, the very foundation of Western advancement and progress.

2. **Statement of Purpose:** The purpose of this study is to analyse the textbook knowledge provided by Western academia in the field of the question's history to find out how the history of the Israel/Palestine question is narrated: is this Western production pro-Israeli like many other Western productions such as movies and news; does related knowledge determined by pro-Israeli forces that dominate in the West and influence other areas such as the mass media and cinema, or studied knowledge, demonstrate that pro-Israeli forces have failed to make a dominant impact in the area of academic knowledge? In a critical investigation to advance such a purpose, I have analysed textbook knowledge against the pro-Israeli stance on the history of the question, and tried to explore why this knowledge is produced in that particular way.
3. **The Research Question:** This examination is undertaken into how knowledge on the history of the Israel/Palestine question is presented in Western academia, and why it has been presented in that particular way.
4. **Limitations of the Study:** This study is limited in the following ways:
 - What has been studied in this research, the textbook, is one main fund of knowledge. When knowledge is at stake there are other major sources, encyclopaedia and journal articles in particular, that have not been taken into account in this study,
 - A limited number of textbooks, 6 in total, are selected in this study to represent Western textbooks. Analysing a bigger number of related textbooks or all of them can overcome this limitation, but it is beyond the capacity of a thesis of PhD size.

- Syllabi of the related courses, and their reading lists, are used as a main source of information about textbook adoption but only online syllabi are used, due to practical reasons, for that purpose.
- Different languages are used as the language of instruction in different Western universities. This research was limited to textbooks that are taught in an English-speaking environment,
- The time limit used in this research, represents only contemporary Western universities (from the year 2000 onwards), and not any other periods of time,

Methodology:

In this section, the main elements of the methodological foundation of the research are presented: this is done through explaining the method used, the critical nature of the research and how the textbook sample is selected.

1. **Method Used:** There are various ways that textbooks are analysed. The one used, as the central method, in this research is 'historical narrative analysis'. This method, in comparison to others, has a competitive capacity to provide a platform for an analysis that can capture the key elements of an historical subject: historical narrative analysis is concerned primarily with how a history is narrated or how the main story is told; how the story begins and where it ends, the sequence of events; what is mentioned; what is omitted; what is emphasized or what is undermined and other matters that are related to the very central concepts of the story that a history is developed for (Pearcy 2011, 60–61). In this sense, this method can be regarded as a main method of textbook examination that analyses factors which constitute the principal elements of a given history. The main objective of a (historical) narrative analysis, why the story is told in the way it is (Bloor and Wood 2006, 119–121), provides an analytical tool to answer the main question of this research which is concerned with why Western textbooks narrate the history of Israel/Palestine in the way they do. Narrative, according to

Esterberg (2002, 182) is the telling of the story or the telling of what really happened. There is a reason that the telling is formulated in a particular way. A narrative analysis has the capacity to reveal such reasons. This provides a noticeable chance for the researcher to investigate how powerful elites, for instance, work to impact on historical knowledge, an impact that can distort or corrupt history through different ways, including omission or different treatments of facts and myths. There are other PhD projects that have used historical narrative analysis, in one way or another, to organize a textbook analysis. The following are the most recent ones:

- ‘We Have Never Known What Death Was Before: A Just War Doctrine Critique of U.S. History Textbooks’ (Percy 2011)
- ‘Hegemony and History: A Critical Analysis of How High School History Text Books Depict Key Events of the Vietnam War’ (Leahey 2007)

The first research is an analysis of US history secondary-level textbooks, focusing on how the US Civil War is conceptualized and presented. ‘How do textbooks present the Civil War, in light of the doctrine of a “just war”?’ (Percy 2011, 8) is the main question of this research. The research is informed by Leahy’s thesis on how an historical narrative analysis can be applied.

2. **The Critical Nature of the Research:** Critical research is a popular fashion in textbook studies. Critical researchers adopt different approaches when engaged in a critical analysis. This makes clarification an indispensable job. One version is present where a debate between conservative and progressive approaches in education exists. It is established, in the relevant literature, that there are two opposing forces working to exert influence on educational instruction; one, conservative, tries to ensure that the next generation, now students, are loyal to what past generations subscribe to through textbooks that advocate a consensus and the status quo. The other, the progressive, is not happy with the current situation and perceives it as unjust. There is also an

assumption that all textbooks constructed under such circumstances have been developed with the goal of safeguarding the governing power relation which secures the interests of the dominant class. To have a better future, the progressive front advocates a commitment to working for a transformation that overthrows the existing power relation. For the analysts of this camp a critical textbook analysis is the one that serves such a goal through revealing the crucial conflict between the powerful and powerless, and the impact of the powerful on textbook knowledge. This is seen as necessary for emancipating textbook readers from unconscious subscription to ideas that serve the powerful, and empowering them with an awareness that allows an effective resistance to the hegemony exercised through textbook knowledge. Here the textbook is seen as a battlefield where the main political forces of a given society, forces that come from powerful as well as powerless classes, are fighting to occupy a better position. The textbook is described as a political text from this perspective. Power and political conflict are the main centre of interest when a textbook is analysed in this fashion (Pinar 1995 Chapter 5: Understanding Curriculum as Political Text). A relative avoidance of the role truth plays, as a governing value in knowledge is evident in this sense of critical investigation.

In addition, there is another consideration that should be taken into account; the main ideas that form the above - mentioned debate between conservative and progressive analysts come from a standpoint that views the 'schools' (primary or secondary) as the main field of education. Colleges and universities are hardly in view from this standpoint. The difference between school and college, and between school student and college student, school textbook and college textbook, is evident in so many areas. This provides another reason for this research to keep some distance from what is significant from an observation of school education. This research has not been designed to take a critical position in this sense. A strong commitment towards a political cause that plays a dominant role, at the expense of truth, might disrupt the key analysis of this research that revolves around what truly happened in the real world (History of Israel).

At the same time, the researcher is inspired by ideas advocated by progressive researchers; they can be valid goals, in particular, when the issue concerns choosing a topic to analyse, but he is not convinced about taking such a commitment when it concerns producing knowledge where exploring truth is a central value. It is believed in this research that knowledge is/should be the main goal when the activity is scientific analysis. It is true that social factors, power and money in particular, interfere where there is a related interest. This is a reality but not necessarily legitimate, as this interference has the capacity to corrupt knowledge to the extent that it loses its main quality, representation of reality. The research undertaken in the present thesis is concerned with the corruption in a given area of knowledge, where pro-Israeli power interests operate, and not with examining the main qualities of the knowledge under any additional commitment to other values, including that of a better and just future. Here an investigation that makes such influence visible for a wider audience is seen as the main/valid way to emancipate students or empower the powerless. This is achievable if a corrupted body of knowledge has been chosen for an investigation that can reveal the evidence of a given corruption. This can be done without a deliberate commitment to values other than truth when investigation is being conducted; such commitments might provide a different ground for corrupting knowledge as a value system comes to govern the investigation with no loyalty to truth - centric knowledge. Hence, this research can be considered a critical one in the following senses:

- I. Considering the social context (Western support of Israel) in order to analyse and understand a Western social product i.e. textbook knowledge,
- II. Entailing a sensitivity to the role (pro-Israeli) power plays in social processes, including knowledge construction,
- III. Comparing textbook knowledge with what ought to be in a Habermasian sense, where telling the truth is in the centre of an 'ideal speech' (For more information about this see Roderick 1986),

3. **Selecting the Sample:** A selection procedure is needed to form a list of textbooks to analyse. This research, like many others, hopes to find a reliable way to select the most popular textbooks in the field. This is necessary, as a selected group should have the capacity to represent the wider field, that of college level textbooks on the subject. Textbook analysts have applied different strategies to access required information/statistics about textbook popularity. Their experiences suggest that this is not an easy job in general but it appears to be more difficult when it is about college - level textbooks. Publishers, in general, are not willing to reveal the information they have in this regard (Wills 1992, 64). Business considerations, as one influential factor, make them very reluctant to do so. But there are places where some information about this subject can be accessed. The American Textbook Council is one known to many textbook researchers; it provides a list of 'Widely Adopted History Textbooks' in American schools, which can be consulted easily through its website ("American Textbook Council - Widely Adopted History Textbooks" 2013).

In relation to college level textbooks, analysts' statements suggest that there is not such a ready list of popular textbooks (Wills 1992, 65). What is designed in this research to access such information is an online facility that can provide a novel and effective chance for doing this. For this purpose it is planned to collect as many cases as possible of 'reading lists' that college lecturers provide to students as recommended sources of knowledge on the history of Israel/Palestine. A survey will be conducted to find and extract 'reading lists' that are provided by teachers of the relevant modules. There is a chance now to find these lists online where college websites provide such information for their students. The final stage of the selection procedure starts when reading lists are collected; a calculation is needed here to determine which books are recommended most often by the subject teachers. This forms a list of the most used/recommended textbooks on the subject that might have the power to represent Western textbooks on the question.

The Structure of the Research:

Here, where the Introduction ends, is a proper place to outline what comes next in this thesis. The Introduction, as has just been elaborated, introduces some essentials of the academic research including methodology and key figures of this study. Having that established, the remaining parts of this thesis will be divided into five chapters: relevant theoretical points are made in the first chapter; the 'relevant literature' will be reviewed in the second one. The relevant literature, in this research, includes all textbook analyses that investigate, entirely or partly, the textbook treatments of the Israel/Palestine question. The third chapter is dedicated to explaining the survey that was conducted to find the most adopted textbooks in the Western universities chosen as focus (those in English-speaking countries). The actual analysis of the selected textbooks takes place in the fourth chapter. This analysis determines how the selected textbook knowledge treats the history of the Israel/Palestine question. In the next chapter, Chapter Five, the immediate context of the produced knowledge, that of the producers, is investigated with an aim to providing some insights into the background of those who have manufactured the dominant knowledge on the Israel/Palestine question in Western academia. The thesis will end with a conclusion that includes some concluding remarks.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Foundation

This research is located in the realm of two main theories: the first one is a political theory about the nature of the special relationship between the West and Israel. This general theory, articulated by a number of experts in Middle Eastern affairs, including Edward Said, Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé, among others, is elaborated in the Introduction. The first analysis of the research, the textbook analysis, is situated where this theory is applicable. The second theory is a theory of historiography that concerns the relationship between narrative and narrator, between histories and their producers, historians. This theory views history from the standpoint of the role the historian plays in the related construction. According to this theory, the principal structure of a history and its main message/themes originate in the main tendencies/characters of the historian. Hence, the historian's background plays a vital role in the history s/he produces. In this way, the difference between histories of a given historical event can be explained by the differences between the backgrounds of its historians. The second analysis of the research, analysing the historians' background, is informed by this theory. The theory is elaborated later, in Chapter 5, where the related analysis is undertaken.

There are other theoretical points, in the following section, that have been included for their capacity to establish general notions and ideas that make this research possible, justifiable and understandable.

The Textbook:

The textbook in a general sense was present as a main tool of education from the very early past (Venezky 1992, 452). There were certain books which played a central role in teaching and learning in the then educational institutions. 'Golestan' a classic Persian text written by the popular Iranian poet, Saadi, could be named as one example in the East. Shakespeare's plays had a similar function in the West (Buckingham 1960, 1517). Quran and the Bible, as well, could be counted as textbooks in this sense.

The textbook in the modern sense started to appear in the 1830s in the West when the name itself was used for such educational materials in English (McCulloch 2004, 78). In this sense, textbooks were materials designed to support teaching and learning in the classrooms of the new schools or colleges (McCulloch 2004, 78). The obvious purpose of the design of the book for the sake of achieving a specific educational goal in a given subject area, distinguishes modern textbooks from their old counterparts (Hamilton 1990). Golestan, Quran or the Bible were not designed or written to serve such a purpose.

The significant role of textbooks, as an effective tool for teaching in an educational system raised interest in the topic on the part of other forces in society outside education. It was quickly realised that this can also function as an effective instrument to transfer ideas, beliefs or ideologies to pupils and students (McCulloch 2004, 78). In this way textbooks have been seen as a main medium through which to shape the next generation, based on the ideas a society has about its future (Saha 1994, 5597; Goodlad 1994, 1262). In this phase, textbooks become a site where different social forces work to influence the process of writing and reading in educational institutions.

The events at this level have led to another focus of attention concerning textbooks: textbook analysis. What happened in the development outlined above is that operating social forces in the process of textbook creation caught the attention of many in academia where researchers are working to follow and understand social forces and their related processes. This kind of examination of textbooks could be divided into two main categories; one is the work of researchers who are interested in the dynamic of social forces in the process of textbook creation with an aim to a better understanding of textbooks and how textbooks are shaped. For them the textbook itself is still the centre of their endeavour. There are others who find textbooks a rich resource to understand how other social processes like those related to knowledge and power work in a given society. Here the textbook is a rich resource to use for studying the dynamic of social forces, and providing evidence about their related processes (Woodward 1994, 6367).

What Is A Textbook?

A textbook is an object easy to perceive for anyone with a school background. At the same time, providing a definition which includes all kinds of textbook and excludes those not in this category does not appear so simple. This complexity comes from different sources. A reference to a dictionary, even, can provide an effective place to see and define textbooks: 'a book of instruction and study that presents the subject matter of teaching, as prescribed by the curriculum, in a manner appropriate to the subject and to educational principles; this also means that it is in keeping with accepted theories of learning and that, besides providing factual information, it points toward individual learning' (Bamberger 1992, 116). This definition indicates that there are clear elements attached to a textbook which help in recognizing such a medium. In reality this does not work in all situations. There are some reasons for this; first of all the very name of the medium is contested. There is another term, 'schoolbook', which was used in some places and historical periods (see McCulloch and Crook 2008, 598 for instance).

Another source of complexity which is related to the name again comes from the term 'textbook', itself. In a number of cases books have this term in their title. 'Textbook on International Law' (Dixon 2007) could be mentioned as one example. But this title, itself, does not give the book a status as such; if a book with such a title has not been used for such a purpose in educational institutions it might not be regarded as a textbook in fact. Besides this, if a book without such a title plays a role consistent with roles textbooks are expected to play, this provides a legitimate ground for it to have enough credit for that status.

Other efforts in educational writings to define the textbook might help further; Buckingham defines it as 'a learning instrument usually employed in schools and colleges to support a program of instruction (Buckingham 1960, 1517); Lange considers it as "a standard book for any particular branch of study (Buckingham 1960, 1517); Francis Bacon defines the textbook as "a book designed for classroom use carefully prepared by experts in the field and equipped with the usual teaching devices" (Buckingham 1960, 1517). All these statements define textbooks, directly or indirectly, as playing a central role in education. But educational systems of different countries are very different and

this fact suggests one important, if not the most important, source of complexity in defining the textbook. From this perspective, educational systems can be delineated by a spectrum of categories with two extremes at the two poles: centralised and decentralised educational systems. There are some differences between those two polar systems and among others which are in the middle, but what is related to this research is the place they provide for the textbook; in centralised systems the main decisions, if not all, about textbooks are taken in the centre, mainly by a central national authority. What remains is use of the books as a teaching tool, which suggests the role of schools and teachers. In this system the textbook has a very clear and strong position, which is valid and known for all educational institutions nationwide. This enables one to make a clear list of them (McCulloch and Crook 2008, 598–9). On the other hand, in decentralised systems, main decisions are left to be taken by local authorities, schools or even teachers. As a result there is no such solid classification of textbooks. One book could be used as a textbook in one school or even one class but not in the neighbouring one. This implies a sense of the textbook's significance as being relatively weak, granting it a very limited validity in time, place, or both (McCulloch and Crook 2008, 599).

One more source of complexity comes from the hierarchy of levels of education within an educational system, where education is divided into two main categories; school and higher education. What gives the status to a book as a textbook in higher education mainly comes from an instructor's decision or a relevant council in the university with this authority or a combination of both (Squire 1960, 1416; Hudec 2011).

With all mentioned differences and complexities that make this difficult, it is essential to describe textbooks in a way that covers all their kinds in general. There are two descriptions that can work as such:

1. Objective description: from this perspective textbooks are printed, hard bound, published in good number, and are at hand for students and instructors as a commonplace for educational interaction (Buckingham 1960, 1517),
2. Subjective description: from this view textbooks are related to some main educational concepts: something which is designed to cover a syllabus

(McCulloch 2004, 78; S. Foster 2006a, xiii); its subject matter is defined by a curriculum (Hudec 2011); it is used as a main source of material to teach, and by students as a main source of learning.

However, there are two main criteria which can play a guiding role in recognition of a textbook of any kind, wherever it is:

1. Usage: the wider the usage a book has in educational institutes as a main source of teaching/learning, the greater the chance it has of reaching the status of a textbook (Michael 1990).
2. Authority: textbooks always receive some recognition from the hierarchy in an educational system in order to have such a position. This hierarchy includes national authorities and instructors.

All that has been suggested here about textbook definition, recognition and its complexities (for more information about this see Hamilton 1990; Michael 1990) justifies what Ian Michael has said in this regard; as a result his assertion on this is used as a conclusion to this discussion; 'The decision whether or not to treat a publication as a textbook will have to be made for each work separately' (1990).

The Significance of the Textbook:

The civilization humankind enjoys in our time is also called the 'civilization of the book' (Buckingham 1960, 1518). Here one question could be asked for further clarification; which book is more important than a textbook in this regard? The importance of the textbook originates in the different categories under which it engages in social life; the first one is related to the textbook's role in education, where the term originally comes from. There are facts everywhere in educational institutes, schools and colleges, classrooms and curricula, and attaching to teachers and students which suggest that the textbook is a player with a central role in education. It is contended that the textbook has been at the centre of education throughout the latter's history (S. Foster 2006a, xi). The relevant literature, also, supports the argument that instructors rely on and believe in textbooks as "the principal source of knowledge" (S. Foster 2006b,

157). Students, who are the main consumers of this medium, commonly regard a textbook's content as 'important' and 'true'. This might be contested, but there is evidence that 'students reject what is offered by other sources of knowledge such as family or mass media, if there is an inconsistency with what textbooks provide (S. Foster 2006a, xiii–xiv). The same source argues that what is left out of textbooks is considered 'unimportant'. Textbooks occupy a dominant position in educational activities; one source (Airasian 1994, 793) refers to 'up to 75 percent' as a figure which represents the proportion assumed by the textbook in those activities. Another reference (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 2) prefers a higher one: 85 to 95 percent.

In agreement with what has been stated above about the role of the textbook, there are many references to its position as 'dominant' and its influence as 'profound' in education (for instance Buckingham 1960, 1518; S. Foster 2006b, 157). According to Woodward, also, many studies confirmed such a result (1994, 6368). The textbook appears closer than any other educational tool to assuming the position of determining what students learn. It contributes significantly in shaping their views about the world (S. Foster 2006a, ix). In doing so, textbooks approach the position of a 'holy book'. They place the presented knowledge above suspicion, as religious rituals do (Keith Crawford 2003b, 48). This aspect of their role introduces them as a favourite site on which to create 'official knowledge', a term Michael Apple (S. Foster 2006a, xiii) used to refer to the knowledge selected by power to achieve the status of dominant knowledge at the expense of excluding the competing versions of knowledge from textbooks. All this helps to bring such attention to textbooks which is described by Rebecca Rogers (2004, 174) as having no precedent in the history (of the United States).

The role of the textbook as a vehicle which can carry, or infiltrate, ideas, ideologies, values and other social constructions into education and the cognitive area of students' minds opens another chapter in its importance as an effective instrument in social or political processes or projects (Keith Crawford 2003a). What has been mentioned above about 'official knowledge' has a direct link with this aspect of the subject. There are other instances of this phenomenon; 'Cultural reproduction' is one clear example. If one adopts a

conservative position, this process can be seen from a positive perspective; textbooks are used by society to reproduce cultural values or civic ideas which create the ground for the continuation of existing social patterns. In doing this, a society tries to have its next generation loyal and committed to what the society believes in the area of social and cultural life. Here the textbook has proved to be a powerful tool, if not the most powerful one (Musgrave 1994, 1344–5). As a result, some subjects which are related to this process, especially history, and those areas related to the social sciences, are the focal point of such activities. The social dimension of education is viewed in this way by some scholars, including Durkheim. But there are others who see society as a myth used to cover the real forces, powerful elites, of the related processes. Here cultural reproduction is considered a positive term for the status quo, and is a target to achieve because the present disposition in society secures the special benefits and interests that powerful elites enjoy. This allows the continuation of inequality in wealth or power in society. The negative implication of such a process is not limited to social matters. It also can corrupt education. Bias could be counted a main issue; it has an identified role in undermining some fundamental principles of education and knowledge in the area of truth and understanding (Bloor and Wood 2006, 21). There are well-known types of bias in textbooks, which include racial, national and sexual ones (Buckingham 1960, 1421). Influenced by these biases, students tend to look at some national values, at history, racial questions or at the sexes in a way imposed or promoted by biased textbooks. All these influences, although acting, sometimes, in different directions, work to demonstrate the important role of textbooks in education and society in our time. This encourages an observer to call our civilization a ‘civilization of the textbook,’ if there was any necessity to refine the concept of ‘book’ in the definition ‘civilization of the book’ used at the beginning of this section.

Textbooks and Power:

Textbooks contribute to making realities, educational and social, a fact which indicates their role and importance in society. From a different perspective, but related, these makers, themselves, have been made. In other words they are

created under the influence of some other forces. These forces include economic, political and cultural factors, in a general sense. Although it is argued that not enough investigation has been conducted to demonstrate how these forces work to form a textbook (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 2), there is, at the same time, some knowledge which has the power to throw a noticeable deal of light on the subject.

It is contended that what makes textbooks is educational priorities, a claim made mainly by educationalists who are engaged in producing and promoting these books (Farrell and Heyneman 1994, 6365). According to them, a textbook is an innocent and objective source of knowledge (Romanowski 1993, 68–9). This claim has been undermined repeatedly by a number of scholars who have investigated the relationship between textbooks and social forces. What makes this possible, stems, mainly, from broadening the picture of textbook production where the social context of the schooling can be seen. The knowledge scholars glean about social context, social conflicts and the main forces involved in such processes, power and interests in particular, provides a chance for them to see the root causes of the governing tendencies in textbook knowledge. Therefore, social and political factors are considered responsible, mainly or partly, for establishing textbook knowledge (Farrell and Heyneman 1994, 6365; Goodlad 1994, 1421).

This is supported by an argument about the principal motivation for such a phenomenon; the textbook is a main and effective tool for determining or influencing 'popular memory' (S. Foster 2006a, 4). As a result, the process of forming textbooks is described as a main area of political and social conflict (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 2). Observations refer to an ever-present conflict of interests struggling for dominance in the process of textbook formation. This struggle over the content and form of the textbook itself, has the capacity to demonstrate the political and social nature of the process where many political forces and tendencies fight to have what serves their agenda published in textbooks (Edgerton 1994, 1334).

The struggle over education, which includes textbooks, at a national level, is characterized through two main categories:

1. Open systems where the content of the textbook and the decisions made about that are a result of compromise among different social forces (Farrell and Heyneman 1994, 6365)

2. One party system where the ruling elites design the textbook carefully according to their own ideological and political positions. Here they suppress the alternative and impose their own version on others (Farrell and Heyneman 1994)

This issue of the influence of social forces on education attracted such attention that it provided enough space for an important topic in Sociology: Sociology of Education. A considerable number of prominent scholars studied this area and made some important points; Durkheim argued that “education was an eminently social matter” (Saha 1994, 5597). He contended that “no aspect of education can be understood without taking into account the social forces and consequences which characterize it” (Saha 1994, 5597). “Marx believed that education was a way of imposing a dominant ideology on members of society, particularly the working classes, so that they would accept, and not question, their position in society” (Saha 1994, 5597). Althusser, a French Marxist, called this ‘symbolic violence’ when it is compared with the physical or oppressive version exerted by police or military forces (Saha 1994, 5597). These scholars, also some others who came later, laid the stress on education as a tool for ‘social control’ (Saha 1994, 5597). This includes thinkers with a positive view of the social aspect of education, such as Weber, who believed this control is exerted to promote ‘an appropriate way of life’ (Saha 1994, 5597).

In addition to what has been offered about education (and its relation to its social context) in general, textbooks, in particular, became a major concern in this area of study: Pierre Bourdieu, a pioneer who emphasised the role of powerful elites, considered textbook knowledge as the knowledge of the governing elites that was legitimized through education, to secure and maintain the interests of the powerful elites in a society. This knowledge works as capital, ‘symbolic capital’ as he named it, for elites, which affect the distribution of capital to economic levels in an unequal way. He regarded school knowledge as an ideology that misrepresents social reality and reproduces existing power relations (Dorliae 1998, 8). Emile Durkheim who investigated how the contents

of French secondary school textbooks developed from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth, suggested that textbooks represent the interests of the upper class of society, in his case, the catholic church (Dorliae 1998, 7–8). Raymond Williams undertook a similar task in the United Kingdom; his investigation of educational materials demonstrated the influence of competing forces in the then British society (Dorliae 1998, 7–8). Studies conducted by Bernstein and Young, also, support the judgment that British school textbooks serve the interests of powerful groups in society (Dorliae 1998, 22). Michael Apple suggested similar ideas about American textbooks. On the basis of his analysis of these textbooks he emphasised the role that ‘form’ and ‘selection tradition’ play in the employment of textbooks by dominant groups (Dorliae 1998, 22). All this is related to a topical scholarship that is known these days as the relationship between ‘knowledge and power’.

Knowledge and Power:

The intimate relationship between ‘knowledge and power’ as an intellectual conception became common when Michel Foucault offered his ideas on this subject. In this section, the discussion of knowledge and power is designed to introduce some relevant thoughts about knowledge and its main repository, the textbook, where there is a relation to power. The main ways in which power is exercised are reviewed next with an emphasis on how knowledge is employed for such a purpose. What Foucault means by knowledge and power is elaborated next, before I present how this concept informs this research.

The textbook as knowledge: Knowledge, as a cognitive condition, has no apparent realization in the visible or accessible world but there are real objects in that world that have enough capacity or legitimacy to represent knowledge; encyclopaedia articles, journal articles and textbooks can be regarded as the main ones (Myers 1991). In this sense they are seen as a ‘fund’ or ‘store’ which one can visit or in which one can access knowledge. The textbook, in this relation, is considered as the best such medium; ‘by means of books knowledge is accumulated into a permanently available store or fund: and of all books, textbooks are the best instruments for such funding’ (Buckingham 1960, 1517). Other ideas, such as that promoted by Sharon Traweek (1988), for instance,

take textbooks as an instrument which represents 'constraints on scientific thought' (Myers 1991). Thomas Kuhn who views the whole of human knowledge through different paradigms appreciates the textbook as 'the visible form of paradigms' (Myers 1991). The distinct link established between knowledge and the textbook through such statements is challenged in one way; there is not enough room here for the sceptical positions readers take once they encounter the textbook as an authority, if knowledge is assumed to equate with what is written in a textbook. This point can be justified by and explains the progress human knowledge has experienced throughout its long history of gradual or revolutionary development (Myers 1991). This can work against any assertion which contains a sense of extending the status of 'representation' towards that of 'equality with actuality'. At the same time, it does not work as an argument which undermines representation per se. This, also, might not destabilise the power of textbooks to function as knowledge from a sociological perspective.

There are reasons that can explain different qualities of representation when different materials are at stake; journal articles tend to represent knowledge in a more temporal and personal sense whereas an encyclopaedia, in this regard, has a better chance of being judged a permanent and impersonal representation (Myers 1991). These two both play a passive role in representing knowledge from one perspective; they are there, like a book on a library shelf, to be consulted if one is willing to. The textbook is different from them in this regard. It has the authority to communicate knowledge to the receiver regardless of her/his willingness. That might be a reason, also, that their location in a library, when in the 'reserve' section, is different from that of other library items. This special position of the textbook is related to its role in education, where educational authorities play a determinative role in what students consult as the 'valid' source of knowledge. For this reason, Michael Apple appears right in calling 'official knowledge' what the textbook represents (S. Foster 2006a, xiii). As elaborated in the last section, 'The Importance of Textbooks', textbook knowledge is considered widely as the main source for students to learn from or trust in school or university. Those sources and the arguments they provide, support the significant position that textbooks occupy, as a main source of knowledge, in a school or college.

Thomas Kuhn contributed, further, to this discussion through his reflection on the knowledge-text relationship, providing a valuable insight into the different roles textbooks play in mediating knowledge in different academic disciplines. He classifies all disciplines in three categories from this standpoint; in one category, mainly Graphic Arts and Music, textbooks play only a secondary role. The first role here is reserved for the artistic product itself, whether it is a painting or a piece of music. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Natural Sciences assume a very robust position for the textbook in this regard. The textbook, here, is the main medium which represents relevant knowledge. The original sources of knowledge, the works of Newton or Einstein for instance, usually have no significant role to play here. Then there is another category which occupies a place in the middle; in the social sciences and history, the textbook plays a primary role in transmitting knowledge but it is usually accompanied by some excerpts from original works such as the 'Declaration of Independence' or 'Emile' by Rousseau. These materials are needed as a textbook companion to allow a 'comprehensive' representation of related knowledge (Jackson 1992, 442–3). Here the textbook, comparable to those in the Natural Sciences, is a prime source of knowledge, but its position is different, in that the textbook is not the only source. Original works play a role in mediating knowledge, similar to that played by the Graphic Arts, but not as a primary source.

Knowledge Production:

Knowledge production constitutes a key point in existing debates about the relationship between knowledge and power. Knowledge is considered since mankind's ideas have been registered throughout history, as a main source, if not the most important source, of everything good and positive in individual and social life. For a person to be deemed knowledgeable or for a society to be judged knowledgeable – based are signs of superior quality. When there is such a situation, the immediate question will be how knowledge can be acquired. Here factors that might affect the production of knowledge attract a high level of attention. These factors can be characterized into two main categories: individual and social.

1. Individual:

In the first category, factors which can affect the process of knowledge - production through the individuality of knowledge producers, individuals, are taken into consideration. A number of different elements can influence such a process; health condition, even, can be one. But there are a group of factors that define precisely that process which takes place in the human mind. They form one significant category termed 'subjectivity'. Subjectivity can refer to all the forces which come from the mind of the subject, the knowledge producer, when a cognitive process is operating, in order to know an object or produce some knowledge about it. Since very early in the history of knowledge production it has been recognized that there are powerful forces working at the individual level which encourage or force an individual to see what he likes, desires, believes and so on. It has been known, also, that this limits or interrupts the human capability to see what is there in reality. To deal with the problem through an effective solution, different voices for a call to honesty and sincerity have emerged. This was developed into a concrete concept, that of objectivity, when modern science experienced its unparalleled advancement. Objectivity refers to a condition where a researcher emancipates himself from all the influences and internal signals which inform or interfere with knowledge production, and alternatively, places his capacity at the service of a proper investigation into what is outside himself.

Here the appreciation of objectivity in the physical sciences is different from that in other areas of knowledge. The physical sciences can envisage objectivity as a main factor that has allowed the progress in science which mankind has had the chance to experience in modern times. Objectivity can be regarded as a central point where the emancipation of modern science in the West from the limitations placed upon scientific investigation by dominant religious beliefs, is celebrated. As a result, objectivity still enjoys a very strong position in the physical sciences despite all the sceptical ideas spread about the epistemology of knowledge. The social sciences and humanities experience a different condition. Severe attacks on very central elements of these disciplines have affected the idea of objectivity. Since positivist endeavour to inject objectivity into the social sciences with an aim to establishing a revolution similar to that achieved in the physical sciences hasn't produced impressive results, a number

of theoretical and practical developments have emerged to bring back objectivity to the science. This includes the position of a total rejection of the possibility of objectivity. There are some arguments to support such positions. One refers to the object; there is no such thing as an 'object' in the social world which provides a place for objectivity. Others approach the subject arguing that no one can be free from beliefs, values, prejudices and so on. Everyone is affected by and carries some values and beliefs, and no- one can claim to be an exception; hence objectivity is an impossible or useless aim. Those negative about a realization of objectivity in the social sciences embrace this, seemingly, through different moods; some might feel sorry about having no chance to be objective. Others, like the cultural left, celebrate that as an element which allows a beautiful diversity.

Another issue which has contributed profoundly to making 'objectivity' a contentious subject in the social sciences is its relation to 'value'. Objectivity, inter alia, is a state of being free from values. Here values are considered harmful when the mind is operating to know something. Knowledge production should be directed to reveal the truth about an object. Max Weber made a contribution to this discussion in which he hailed the concept of 'truth' itself as a 'value' (Hammersley 1995, 113). This might not change many things as he believed that this value should be the main objective of knowledge production. The main change comes from ideas that challenge the position of truth as the supreme value of knowledge production. Different groups committed to different values blamed objectivity - driven knowledge as a knowledge that promotes only that which is already established, and a continuation of existing unjust relations. They are interested in seeing knowledge as a force that does something about current injustices and works for a transformation to a better social condition. It is believed that those who benefit from an unjust dominant position are the main sources of bias and corruption in knowledge and this should be dealt with through a form of knowledge production which does not remain neutral about this but has the ability to address the corrupting domination through a knowledge which has been produced by a counter - action that comes from a suppressed perspective. Here different groups of feminists and of those on the left can be seen operating. They are concerned to promote certain values such as gender equality, social justice and democracy.

To them, a form of knowledge which stands neutral about these values does not exist or is not valuable; it does not exist, as if it doesn't challenge the dominant condition it helps maintain the status quo, which means providing the chance for the powerful to continue their enjoyment of a dominant position. It also can be regarded as invaluable; for this constituency, if knowledge does not provide a chance for improvement and for making a better world what is the use of it? As a result, value conflict and the commitment question produce some tendencies which are present in the current discussion; they are common in undermining the role of truth as a central value or a primary aim of knowledge production. At the same time there is a resistance to this, arguing that knowledge is knowledge when it is about truth. If this is not the case what is one doing when knowledge is being produced? The whole point of knowledge is based on producing something that allows a better understanding of the world we are attempting to fathom. If this does not happen, though many other helpful things might occur, it is not knowledge. At the same time this might not work as a call for abandoning other values and commitments. All values and commitments can inform the process but any attempt to take a value or commitment on board which weakens the already weak position of truth (based on what has been presented earlier in this section about the difficulties and complexities of subjectivity in the social sciences) might not help to further the production of knowledge. This is a call for caution about any invitation sent to any value to participate in knowledge production, but does not mean wholesale rejection of the participation of all values. Values are not welcomed, only if they divert a related process from producing knowledge; others can be accommodated freely. All that has been said here is, of course, concerned about the exact phase when actual knowledge production is taking place. Outside this area, there are several places, three at least, where a value commitment can play a legitimate role;

- I. Motivation for conducting one specific research project,
- II. Selecting a specific topic for investigation
- III. Hope for an impact that might support a cause (Hammersley 1995, 116)

2. **Social:**

A second category of what affects knowledge - production deals with factors outside the knowledge producer. This can include different factors such as the physical, but those which are considered significant in this area are social ones. In fact, a significant proportion of the factors which work on the individual level such as beliefs and values have strong social roots. Social elements are considered very effective and even determinative in producing knowledge. Such an idea has helped establish a discipline, sociology of knowledge, which views knowledge largely as a matter of social production. This has also been extended to cover 'science' through the 'sociology of science' but it proved to be counter-productive because it poses a critical problem that challenges the very possibility of science, resulting in a de-legitimization of the sociology of science as a consequence. This has convinced some, but not all, to withdraw from such a problematic position.

In the sociology of knowledge, social context plays an important role in knowledge production. Karl Marx might have the credit as a pioneer in this area of investigation; he contended that ideas, including knowledge - related ones, are produced under the influence of different historical contexts. Max Weber extended this to religious ideas, calling them constructions of particular social groups. There are others, mainly on the left, who provide various justifications for a demonstration that a large part of what is called knowledge is, in fact, a social construction produced under the operation of certain social forces. This might leave no place for the knowledge we know as a representation of reality; the knowledge that just happens to be so. It is like this because of social forces that have shaped it in a certain way. If there were different social forces what we recognise as knowledge would be completely different. It is easy to see that this idea can be countered with a clear objection. The objectors argue that there is not enough attention to the content of knowledge in this analysis. They see this as ignoring truth. The second criticism refers to an implicit presumption in the claim that a social superstructure works permanently once it is created. There is no place or explanation for changes that transform, continuously, social structures. The idea is also characterized as a 'reduction'. This refers to reducing a complex and multi - aspect process to a system that has only one influencing element: social context.

Social context can contain different social elements; money and power are considered elements with a central role. It is believed that they are the main sources of influence on social affairs. There used to be a greater stress on money when critical views started to emerge. A later shift from money to power in those views is now taking place. As a result power relations are seen, more than in the past, as a main dynamic of modern societies. From this perspective, societies are engaged with one central struggle, a struggle for power. Here powerful parties who benefit from current forms of a social system try to guarantee that it will remain unchanged, to provide the grounds for the continuation and survival of its present state. But powerless parties in the society try to change the power relations to one that offers a chance for a better or more just state. The existing power relations can promise an effective access to the resources powerful parties are used to accessing, but this state of affairs might not survive without the proper social setting. This makes exercising power a necessity. This 'exercise' is defined as happens when 'A makes B do something that he does not do otherwise'(Hay 2002, 183). Exercising power, in general, is seen through three main categories:

1. Force: this is considered a direct and violent way of exercising power. Here usually armed forces, or the police are used to have B do whatever A, a government for instance, wants.
2. Law: power can be translated into law and regulation. In this way A can have B do what he wants through making him perform lawful or legal actions. Exercising power is less obvious here compared with the first choice, force, but still many things in the area of power relations can be seen.
3. Preference shaping: this category deals with a more complex, complicated and profound state of exercising power (Hay 2002 chapter 5). This is related to the idea that power cannot survive without transforming into a belief that makes service to power a duty or justified. Here the subjects of power or the powerless parties subscribe to an idea that serves powerful parts of the society, and provides them with a chance to maintain the current state of power relations. One might ask, legitimately, here how this can happen; how one can allow the other to dominate him; how one can support a power relation which deprives him of just access to the resources which a given society offers. It

seems sensible to assume that the powerless, in general, would not be ready to do this if there was a chance to see reality as it is. This can make such a way of exercising power vulnerable to free observation of reality. Therefore, it might not survive long against waves of emancipation and disclosure unless it is attached to very profound beliefs in the human mind, mainly religion or knowledge. In an earlier age more attention was given to religious belief as a main player in this area but new critical thinkers tend to pay more attention to 'knowledge' as a modern alternative. One more deduction can be derived from the above statement about the possibility of this way of exercising power, similar to the earlier deduction that refers to a certain quality a carrier, knowledge or religion, should have to be able to effectively inculcate the human mind with certain ideas. The other deduction relates to a quality an agent should have to accomplish such a mission. This refers to certain individuals with a superior way of doing things, elites, enjoying a degree of sophistication different from the normal, which puts them in a position to convince those on a lower level and to justify related inconsistencies and problems. Those elites who do this job might do it consciously or unconsciously.

Knowledge When Power Is Exercised:

The question of 'knowledge and power' can be viewed from two different perspectives; that of power and that of knowledge. The preceding paragraphs were dedicated to the first one, power. This part deals with the second. Two categories of effect could emerge when power operates where a process of knowledge production is operating: effects on power and those on knowledge. The previous paragraph was designed to elaborate the effects which knowledge can have on power and power relations. Power is not the only party which is influenced. It might be a main one. But there is another important party which is affected, and that is knowledge. There are a number of negative terms or concepts to describe knowledge which is affected by power: corrupted, biased, misrepresented, fabricated, distorted, invented, made up, partisan, political and politicized can be mentioned in this regard. These terms can work as labels that discredit and delegitimize a piece of knowledge. However two different approaches to this issue have been developed in this area; one is located close

to the left, critical, sceptical or constructivist position or to those, in general, who have moved away from positivist ideas in the social sciences. As there is no such central criterion as truth here to act as a differentiator which distinguishes the biased from genuine knowledge, taking a firm position against all those negative phenomena with regard to knowledge proves problematic. The tendency here is to see all knowledge in the social sciences as biased and partial or constructed. If this is so, how can one consider some biased ideas as corrupted and not the others? It seems here that what works as a criterion to call knowledge corrupted is attached to the origin and source of the influence; knowledge is biased and corrupted when it comes from powerful sources. This might mean it is free from bias when it comes from the opposite side, that of the oppressed. There is no such thing as legitimate knowledge, if one is thinking from this overall perspective; no type of knowledge is truthful or true; all are different discourses that are provided to produce knowledge about a concept; they are called 'discourses' when the things they deal with are smaller and local, and when they become sizeable, more universal or stable they are called 'paradigms'; both are tentative and socially constructed. Such knowledge is produced when there is a social interest or condition that justifies its presence, and it disappears when it loses the capacity to satisfy the governing condition. Here a number of fundamental concepts of knowledge, not only truth, find a limited place to play a role. All ideas about progress in knowledge production or any advancement in human knowledge become difficult to justify. All values, also, which describe some knowledge as being better or having a better quality, again, find limited license.

A kind of loyalty to some original concepts such as truth is needed to provide a chance for dealing with those problems. From a positivist or post-positivist perspective there is room to have different knowledge with different qualities. Also quantity is considered important here and can act as a source in determining quality. From this perspective knowledge affected/corrupted by power can be divided, I believe, into three, in general, different categories:

1. Knowledge that is relatively independent: when the knowledge produced has not been affected significantly by the dominant power, this kind of knowledge has a chance to emerge. This type of knowledge is found,

nowadays, usually in the physical or natural sciences. This state could be attributed to two kinds of reason; one is related to the nature of the physical sciences that does not provide much space for free construction. Such space, in comparison to the social sciences, is quite limited. The other comes again from the nature of the physical sciences, and is related to their location in society as subjects positioned far from social and political matters. This makes them irrelevant or less relevant to social and political questions. As a result, there is nothing, or very little, here to affect power relations in a given society. Hence there is no need for interference by power to guarantee that knowledge supports it. This is not, however, an absolute rule. There are cases of physical knowledge with a significant social dimension. Creation or evolution, as a topic in Biology, can be regarded as one significant instance. The social aspect of the question, at the same time, is different in the US when compared with many European countries.

2. Knowledge that is heavily affected by power: there are subjects which have strong links with social issues. This refers to situations where any quality or change in knowledge can have serious political implications. One recent example can be seen in the reaction some pro-Israeli lobbies in the US showed towards a conference in Harvard University about the idea of the 'One State Solution'. The severe attack against the title of such a conference was said to be justified on the grounds that it conveyed a call for the destruction of Israel (Catz 2012). A more general instance of such phenomena in knowledge is the kind of history textbook which deals with national history. Almost all of them are biased in a way to demonstrate a magnificent and proud past for the nation. If a broader map of political issues and related knowledge is considered, other areas of knowledge can be identified where social forces work very hard to make an impact.

3. A different category can be perceived here that is located in an area between those two poles where the influence of power on knowledge is not so light as to be ignored and is not so strong as to become a main issue.

The above elaboration about different types of knowledge with different levels of impact by power might allow a practicable conclusion; an investigation related to knowledge and power can be conducted through two different approaches.

When a profound link between knowledge and the main social struggles in society is not identified or things do not have a strong political or social dimension, the role of power in knowledge can be discounted. It seems legitimate here to assume that there is no such thing as power affecting knowledge. Or, alternatively, a general sensitivity to deal with such cases is enough. But when things are on the opposite side, there are obvious links between knowledge and social matters; if knowledge is about social or political matters, it seems legitimate to take a different position. Once there is enough evidence that demonstrates the activity of social forces and their constructionist work in the area of knowledge, this could be taken as an 'introduction' to understand the 'context' which is used as a main source to understand the knowledge produced. The space provided here for critical research looks relatively secure, I believe, even if pro positivist arguments operate. Taking such a critical position could be justified as a move to take 'reality' into consideration, the reality that power is operating, and that knowledge (in the area of the social sciences) can be influenced by such operation. In this situation it looks legitimate to examine the knowledge produced from a perspective that allows looking at this. What is needed further here to improve the legitimacy of the endeavour is what Max Weber suggested as a matter of clarification, clarifying a critical position that the research has chosen to take (Hammersley 1995, 40). This can limit the main claim of the research; this type of research is an investigation into the topic from one specific perspective - a critical one. But this perspective is not an arbitrary choice. The choice is a result of considering the reality of the surrounding world/context.

History Textbooks:

What has been elaborated through the last sections might help to establish a profound link between textbooks and social affairs. At that level what has been presented was, mainly, about textbooks in general, all textbooks in all subjects. But, as mentioned earlier, it is difficult to assume that all subjects make the same contribution to that process. It appears like a self-evident argument that those subjects which are related more to social affairs, Civics for instance, play a more important role, because they can be the main vehicle for transmitting

ideas and values about social and political matters to textbook readers. Any powerful entity in general and governments in particular can use this chance to advance their social and political projects. There are many examples of this; an interesting one is a recommendation by the State Senate Education Committee in Mississippi (US) prior to desegregation saying that it is 'recommended that the civics texts provided for Negro schools contain no references to voting, elections, civic responsibility, or democracy' (Jackson 1992, 445–6). When Social Science and school subjects related to that discipline are at stake, one subject has a special position, History.

In a statement which explains this importance, historian Bernard Lewis writes; 'We live in a time when great efforts have been made, and continue to be made, to falsify the record of the past and to make history a tool of propaganda, when governments, religious movements, political parties, and sectional groups of every kind are busy rewriting history as they would wish it to have been, as they would like their followers to believe that it was' (1993, 130).

Studies that have investigated History textbooks for such purposes have confirmed that the knowledge provided about the subject works to improve or legitimize the dominant position that the powerful occupy in society (Leahey 2007, 38). The knowledge that can challenge this position is removed or distorted. One interesting case of such treatment is suggested by Christopher R. Leahey who has observed that no American textbook (of those he studied) mentioned 'Ernesto Che' Guevara' (Leahey 2007, 38). An American scholar, Fitzgerald, who investigated 112 American history textbooks of 1833 to 1975 came to the conclusion that historical developments affected how these books narrated history. This is evident in the case of slavery and the labour movement (Leahey 2007, 33).

This comes from the prevalent understanding among politicians that presenting the past through history contributes significantly to controlling the present and shaping the future (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6). What people receive and believe as the past is able to produce huge social energy; it can make people die for a cause or kill for it (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6). In explaining this phenomenon, different ideas and theories have been suggested; one refers to this as a character in line with the natural behaviour of individuals; then stories

of individuals about their past are not necessarily what really happened. It is what they select to have as their stories of the past (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6). Here it is argued that nations behave in a similar way; the national history every nation presents is not the truth concerning its past. It is mainly stories the nation prefers to tell about its past and be recognized through. The story can use facts and true accounts but the process, as a whole, is influenced heavily by political and ideological considerations which dominate a certain environment where this history is being written (Keith Crawford 2003b; S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6).

This has a considerable capacity to explain the history of the self. Here, what Raymond Williams theorized as 'selective tradition' appears quite relevant. He stressed the tendency of human groups to justify and legitimize the knowledge, history and culture that belong to them, and to dismiss that of others (Hartnett 1982, 169). Another theoretical view that can explain what is going on in history textbooks is suggested by Young (1971). He emphasised the role of power and powerful elites in his theory; 'those in positions of power will attempt to define what is taken as knowledge, how accessible to different groups any knowledge is, and what are accepted relationships between different knowledge areas and between those who have access to them and make them available' (Hartnett 1982, 169). This means that powerful institutions, mainly governments and political systems, tend to use their power to have a history of the past that serves their agenda for the present or future (S. J. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6). This could be considered as something common that all do but, at the same time, different governments and political systems show a tendency to do this differently. Some of them are in a different situation: those whose existence is under threat; those who need a story as a binding tie to create a nation; those who engage to invent or re-invent a national identity. All these reasons put governments in positions that view history and history textbooks through social or political considerations (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6). As a result some of them use unashamedly ideological and political reasons to tell a particular history. They employ lies, misinform, distort and manipulate historical information to prove something for the self or deny that for the other (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6–7). Factors which play a role in this area create different countries with different approaches to history; in the worst situations, national

histories promote hatred, racism and even ethnic cleansing (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 7). Stable countries or established democracies may tend to adopt a limited version of this position but they are not safe either. History books in 19th century US are one example. Elson (1964) who analysed more than 1000 textbooks of then American schools came to the conclusion that those books were working to provide legitimacy for the 'conquest and subordination of inferior races' and 'continuation of class distinctions' (Hartnett 1982, 170). If this example comes from some time ago, the 19th century, there is at least one contemporary one: Israel.

'History education is a key tool in the formation of a national identity for the Jews gathered in Israel after its establishment. This population, especially in the early years of the state, came from the four corners of the world. No language, no culture, no belief system united these Jews. Not much united the one million Jews assembled in Israel, including six hundred thousand who came as new immigrants after the state's establishment in 1948. These Jews spoke more than seventy languages and dialects and came from distinct cultures. Neither did these Jews share one religious orientation. Therefore, history was one potential uniting point and the educational authorities employed it to advance this unity'(Porat 2006, 197).

Consequently the construction of a history of Israel is mainly what the Israeli authorities, through educational means, use to achieve their aim. That is why history occupies a central place in the Israeli curriculum (Porat 2006, 197).

In this way countries and their histories could be defined through different categories. The history textbook is a favourite place to see this. How governments perform in these textbooks, also forms a good indicator to the tolerance they allow and their capacity to consider others' point of view (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 153), which is an essential element for a scientific and apolitical approach to history.

Textbook Production: The Role of Publishers, Authors and the Market

Alongside general forces which work to shape textbooks and could be branded as 'social' or 'political' forces, there are other sources of influence which play a direct and precise role in this process, where social and political forces translate to something concrete. The main ones on this level could be listed as publishers, authors and the market. Publishers play a central role on this level. They design textbooks and take main decisions about authorship and how content should meet the existing expectations in many educational systems. There is another fact which adds to the importance of the role publishers play; most textbooks are published by a few publishers (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 8). In fact three mega publishers, Pearson, Education Media and Publishing Group Limited and McGraw-Hill, control the market of elementary and high school (el-hi) publishing in the USA (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 8). The number of publishers who have a share in this market has dropped dramatically in recent years (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 8). This can provide more chance for publishers to control the market, and to be counted as responsible for textbooks and their contents. Publishers, themselves, contend that the main driver for them in designing textbooks is the market and its demand (Jackson 1992, 445). They also tend to consider the content of the textbook as 'neutral knowledge' (Sosniak 1960, 1421). This is, of course, a contested claim (Sosniak 1960, 1421). There is an evident interest in the role publishers play in relevant studies but this is considered as insufficient to provide necessary understanding of what is going on there (Jackson 1992, 444–5). The market, also, is another important factor, one simple reason for this being the tens of millions of dollars (US) that every year are spent for textbooks just in the US (Husen and Postlethwaite 1994, 6369). This huge financial capacity is a powerful force which can affect textbooks. The market is considered as one factor from one perspective but it could be viewed through several constituting elements which include a number of factors such as schools, teachers, students, their parents and even pressure groups or lobbies which approach publishers, in the name of business or similar considerations, to make them consider what they prefer as textbook content or format.

Authors are also considered responsible for what textbooks say. This appears very natural as they do the actual writing. The main point in this area which is relevant to this research is the meaningful difference in this responsibility which exists between authors of school and college textbooks. From this perspective, writers of college textbooks are considered to have greater responsibility in the matter of a textbook and its content while publishers tend to hold this position towards school textbooks (Squire 1960, 1416). College textbooks are mainly authored by one or two authors and not more (Squire 1960, 1416). These elements about differences between college and school textbooks stress the role authors play in the college textbook, and the format of the single book as a dominant form of textbook in higher education.

Textbook Analysis:

Analysing the textbook as a systematic investigation started soon after the textbook in its new sense emerged in the 19th century. However, textbook analysis is considered an endeavour which took place largely in the 20th century, since its main progress developed then. This can suggest that as a main branch of curriculum praxeology, it is a new area of human knowledge (Goodlad 1994, 1262). As a consequence there has not yet been enough chance to establish a developed and sophisticated field of knowledge on this subject. This has been referred to in the relevant literature, even those studies published very recently (Nicholls 2003). Writers, who have discussed this, contend that there is not enough material to base textbook analysis on a solid theoretical foundation or to develop a methodology which can benefit from established achievements in this area. They believe more effort is needed to reach that stage (Bourdillon 1992, 13). This does not, though, deprive this area of investigation of the good position it has among researchers of different disciplines including Education, History and the Social Sciences. Two main reasons mentioned for this are 'the established importance of textbooks in educational and social matters' and 'their accessibility'. The first reason has been elaborated earlier. The second one is also very relevant to the making of textbook analysis a popular area of research (Sadker and Sadker 1994, 5441). Here textbooks can be seen as a valuable source of a massive amount of data

which is ready for use and has a notable potential to represent realities and processes in society that are difficult to apprehend clearly as such (Woodward 1994, 6367; Keith Crawford 2003a). All the revolutionary achievements that have been made recently in the area of information technology in general and text processing in particular add another dimension to the important role of textbook analysis and the position it can occupy in the production of knowledge. These might be some reasons to justify the claim made in the relevant literature about this area of analysis as a field with increasing importance which promises to occupy a more significant position in the future (Sosniak 1960, 1421). This is not a recommendation to 'wait and see' to realize the importance of the claim made in the preceding discussion. There are a large number of monographs and articles that can be reached through a simple search in relevant sources of information such as Amazon or Google Scholar that can list many works that are devoted entirely to textbook analysis. They are about different topics; textbooks published in the United States are the main subject of many academic works. In addition to this, certain situations where nations have experienced a dramatic change in their political system have attracted a good number of such research enterprises. Germany after World War 2, Eastern European countries after the Cold War, countries of former Yugoslavia after independence and South Africa after apartheid are the main instances. In all these cases, textbooks which were developed under certain ideological or political conditions became the subject of changes that a new environment made necessary.

Textbook analysis started with simple steps; the first attempts to analyse textbooks were undertaken to make textbooks free of mistakes. Finding possible errors or mistakes in scientific textbooks was a main business of the first research workers who were engaged in this kind of analysis. Other analytical operations for textbook evaluation followed the simple step of the first (Alkin 1994, 1279). These included other educational concerns about textbook quality such as subject adequacy, language quality, text accessibility and matters related to comprehension. This business is still going on and covers a large number of issues, including textbook size and design. This area of analysis is popular in educational institutes and has a certain goal of making

better quality textbooks that help students to achieve established educational objectives.

Another area of textbook analysis which became fashionable a little later is what associates textbooks with international peace and security. When World War I happened, a recognition of the contribution that cognitive matters could make to the possibility of war or peace between different nations emerged, and emphasized the role of textbooks in the relevant process (Nicholls 2003; Pingel 2010, 9). That might be a result of the idea that actual wars start from warlike states of mind. Textbooks are recognized here as a notable source which creates hostile minds or peaceful ones. This can come through the picture that textbooks provide of the self and the other. In this way negative pictures about the other are recognized as partly responsible for the hostility and wars that damage international peace and security. Here textbook analysis attracted a new wave of consideration. Researchers came to analyse textbooks from this perspective to detect contents and points with a potential for damaging peaceful relations among nations through their hostile or hateful views of others. The main goal here was designing textbooks that encourage peace and security. World War II was another occasion which provided the chance for more observers to see this. As a result, when the United Nations was established to promote peace and security in the world, this subject found a place on its agenda; UNESCO, an affiliated body of the UN, in its first General Conference, 1946, passed a resolution to work on this (Pingel 2010, 11). A research centre in Germany was established after the war, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, to boost such research in Europe (Lewy 1992, 262). The Georg Eckert Institute became a centre for what is called international or cross-national textbook analysis (Lewy 1992, 262). UNESCO also appears as a leading intergovernmental organization that works for this through different initiatives; one main example is publishing manuals which are designed to encourage and guide research on textbooks. The last version of this is 'UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research' (Pingel 2010).

There is another mode of textbook analysis which came later. This concerns different kinds of bias in textbooks. In this area research on nationalism and sexism became popular (Stromquist 1944, 2409; Lieven 2000). A good number

of researchers were able to demonstrate that History textbooks are influenced by nationalism. Nationalism is considered as the most investigated matter in the field of textbook analysis (Lieven 2000). Others did the same with sexism. Investigations conducted in this area showed that men are portrayed differently to women in textbooks (Stromquist 1944, 2409). The earlier textbooks had more obvious and clearer instances of such bias. This changed later, at least in some industrialized countries, including the USA (Stromquist 1944, 2409). This might be considered as an attainment achieved through the awareness which textbook analysis helped to provide; the chance for change became available when researchers could show through their analysis that textbooks portray a different picture of women, making them appear less gifted (Sadker and Sadker 1994, 5442). Ethnocentric and racial bias have been subjects introduced more recently as topics to be analysed through textbook research (Lieven 2000). These biases are linked to power and how powerful players deal with knowledge.

Methods with Which Textbooks are Analysed:

Textbooks are analysed in many different ways. The methods textbook analysts use could be a valuable source of guidance for those who might wish to join such endeavour. This is where the first disappointment emerges; the number of academic works focusing on the methodology of textbook analysis is very few (Jackson 1992, 436–7). While a good number of monographs and peer-reviewed articles exist whose conclusions rest on textbook analysis, many of them are extremely sparse when they deal with methods used for that analysis; some (a considerable number) do not mention any reference to such a subject. Their work is mainly about investigated textbooks and the results produced through their analysis, with no indication about ways which facilitated relevant analytical processes (Nicholls 2003). ‘History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System (Podeh 2000)’ is one example. Some others, such as ‘The Rocky Road toward Peace (Bar-Tal 1998)’ for instance, mention methods employed in a very brief way; they only name the method used, content analysis in this case, or book selection made. However, there are rare works in this area that provide a rich elaboration of the way textbooks are analysed in

their research. 'Constructing national memory: The 1940/41 Blitz in British history textbooks' by Keith Crawford (2001) is considered one clear instance (Nicholls 2003). Such work allows readers to understand how researchers arrived at the results that proceed from textbook analysis. Also this provides a good chance for other researchers to have a clear and effective idea about how they can conduct a similar analysis. Furthermore, this adds something valuable to the validity of the research; such explanation provides a chance for others to duplicate the research and verify the results.

As another source of information about ways textbooks are analysed, there are a few publications dedicated to how textbook analysis can be done; 'UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research (2010)' written by Falk Pingel, a well-known specialist in the field, could be considered as a main one. There are useful points about ways textbooks could be analysed in this volume, but the main reason which might deprive it of a position as a general guide to textbook analysis is its notable tendency to promote and advocate ways of analysis that serve one main objective: international textbook analysis that encourages better textbooks which can promote international peace and understanding. As a result, some ways of analysing textbooks for other objectives are left out. The reason for this can be traced in UNESCO's mission in this field.

Another monograph with a similar subject, 'Teaching 20th Century European History' (2001) by Robert Stradling, published by The Council of Europe, is characterized by a similar narrowness of scope. This might be considered a more focused work on History textbooks in a European context. The main aim here is helping to produce History textbooks that serve the culture of peaceful coexistence in Europe (Nicholls 2003). No other monograph has been found in the relevant literature in English which is written solely to serve textbook analysis as an independent subject. There are two other main works, but not monographs, written by two main scholars in the field; Jason Nicholls and Peter Weinbrenner. That by Nicholls 'Methods in School Textbook Research' is an article in the 'International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research' (Nicholls 2003), and the second by Weinbrenner, 'Methodologies of Textbook Analysis Used to Date', is a chapter in a book 'History and Social Sciences; Methodologies of Textbook Analysis' based on the results of a

workshop on educational research in Germany in 1990. These two works view textbook analysis from a position which differs from that adopted by others; it is a chance here to see different kinds of analysis for diverse textbook research objectives. At the same time, this, itself, has been done in two dissimilar ways; Nicholls's article is mainly an attempt to demonstrate the state of the art in the area of textbook analysis. He mentions significant works in the area and explains their contribution to establishing related knowledge. This ends with a main conclusion that considers the available knowledge on methods of textbook analysis as quite limited and insufficient. Weinbrenner probably goes further than any other writer in this area, towards providing details of different aspects and methods of textbook analysis. As a result, his work is a rich source of information about this topic and the different goals and choices a textbook researcher can make and develop. However, what he presents mostly deals with textbooks in the school environment. In fact no independent work, whether a monograph or a journal article has been accessed that chooses 'analysis of college textbooks' as its main topic. There are some works written based on textbook analysis of college textbooks, such as "The rhetorical organization of the Textbook genre across disciplines: A 'colony-in-loops'?" (Parodi 2010) but this does not include a piece of writing written solely about the methodological aspect of the research. The above survey might give a negative impression of the field if one considers that what has been produced exclusively about textbook analysis is relatively unimpressive but that should not stop him looking for material on this subject in other sources. In fact there is a wide range of literature on social research which contains useful points or clear references to textbook analysis; educational research, media studies, text analysis, documentary analysis, qualitative and quantitative analysis, and all kinds of social research, in general, could be considered the main areas in this regard. All the ways suggested for textbook analysis could be catalogued in three main categories according to Weinbrenner:

- Process oriented textbook analysis
- Product oriented textbook analysis
- Reception oriented textbook analysis (1992, 21)

These categories include all phases of the life of the textbook, respectively, since the process starts when a textbook is produced and ends when it is used in a class and received by its readers. In this way process-oriented methods of analysis refer to all processes and operations which contribute to the production and publication of textbooks. Here regulations and procedures that officially govern the process, as well as forces which shape it through unofficial ways, are taken into consideration. Since the process of textbook production is different in different countries or educational systems, this process can refer to relatively different matters. But in all cases this starts with an idea about a particular textbook and finishes when that has been published. All the processes and activities that are involved could be a subject of analysis (Weinbrenner 1992, 23). The central educational authority, schools and publishers are main areas of research in this phase.

In another kind of textbook analysis, the product-oriented one, the textbook itself and what it contains is the main subject of research. This third kind of analysis refers to the last phase when the book is used; how teachers deal with textbooks, and how students receive that teaching are the main concerns of this phase which is not limited, however, to these matters. The reaction of a wider audience in society, including parents and social leaders, and the affects produced on that audience, are at stake here (Weinbrenner 1992, 23). These different kinds of textbook analysis make different contributions to the story as a whole; product-oriented analysis is considered a popular model, if not the most popular. Textbook analysis, also, started with this type of research (Weinbrenner 1992, 23). It seems that this type continues to be at the centre of textbook research. What is fascinating about this type of analysis is the provision of easy access to a ready supply of data that can be analysed directly, and also the power this kind of data has to represent social processes.

A product i.e. the textbook might be analysed in numerous different ways. This is related to the different perspectives and approaches which provide a way of viewing this product. From one perspective there are two main categories of analysis; longitudinal and latitudinal (Weinbrenner 1992, 23). The longitudinal one refers to those analyses that cover the whole book from one end to another. The other one, the latitudinal, is research about some parts of the book

and not all. From another perspective, textbook analysis is divided into two main general categories; qualitative and quantitative. This division occupies a large part of social research. Quantitative ways of textbook analysis are mainly concerned with the frequencies of using some words in a given text. Also the space allocated to certain topics could be another criterion for this kind of analysis. This analysis provides a good chance of examining extensive tracts of text (Nicholls 2003). This is facilitated dramatically these days by computer assisted programs. As this type of examination cannot deal with the deep meaning of the text it has some limitations in some areas of analysis such as the ideological origin of the text.

The qualitative way, in contrast, is time-consuming but can provide the chance for analysing deep levels of textual meaning. Meaning is also a point where further divisions take place; if analysis focuses on the manifest meaning of the text, this forms one sub-category which is different from an alternative one that deals with hidden meaning, latent analysis (Jackson 1992, 437–8; R. Franzosi 2008, 184). There is, at least, one other major category for different analyses of the product; one is concerned solely with the written text. In the other one, other features of a textbook such as pictures, design, diagrams, tables and the like are also taken into consideration.

This is not the end of the ways textbooks are analysed. When one chooses to analyse a textbook only through the text there are several possible choices. From one main perspective, the existing ways can start from the level of surface analysis and move towards the deepest one. A brief review of these levels is able to shed some light on different choices available in this area; syntax could be considered as one (R. P. Franzosi 2004, 549). The use of passive or active verbs can exert different influences and consequently create different meanings (Hardy and Bryman 2004, 549; Rogers 2004, 21). The varying ways that matters are referred to in a text can be considered as a basis for another kind of analysis. Some personalities, for example, receive positive references all the time in a given text. This pattern of reference can reveal something about the text. The language in which a concept is presented can serve a similar function. The immediate context of a concept is another choice of analysis (Keith Crawford 2003a, 97). When it comes to information or facts presented in a

textbook there are many choices of analysis with the capacity to speak about the book; what is presented in the book's content, and what is omitted from the text, is one (Nicholls 2003); What has been taken as a major matter, and what has been dealt with as a minor one is another choice. These treatments can include the following items as well:

- "Factual correctness
- Current state of subject based content and change of curriculum models
- Controversiality
- Methods" used (Weinbrenner 1992, 24)

This list can continue to cover the deepest level of analysis such as the epistemological position of the text.

Textbook analysis and its general characteristics could be seen from other perspectives; one is related to the induction–deduction debate (Weinbrenner 1992, 25). As in other areas of social research, some are interested in exploring the general regulations which appear to govern a given social situation. Here the researcher tries to find enough instances of one pattern of behaviour that makes him able to suggest a general agent responsible for the pattern he recognized. On the other side, there are researchers who are interested in exploring if one certain instance of a particular social state could be understood or explained through a general idea or theory that has already been suggested for such phenomena. Textbook analysis can provide the chance for both types of research. There is another category of textbook analysis which is related or close to this approach; again, here two different categories are involved; one approaches a textbook to analyse topics or matters already chosen for investigation. A different approach analyses the book to explore what topics or tendencies the book itself suggests (Nicholls 2003).

There are other approaches to textbook analysis that have been dealt with, in one way or another, in the current section. One is about evaluative and non-evaluative research. Evaluative research is a main tool used to assess and control the quality of textbooks in educational environments. There is a priority

to find good or bad textbooks implicit in this approach and it is employed with an aim to improve the quality of textbooks used and to provide a chance to deal with failures in developing proper textbooks (Alkin 1994, 1279; Nicholls 2003). From another perspective textbooks are divided into two categories of comparative and non-comparative research. In the comparative category a textbook or a group of textbooks could be compared with other/s which usually belong to a different time, place or system.

Textbook analysis, in general, is seen in two different ways from another viewpoint. Some analyses have a clear aim to change the book. They take a critical position and try to demonstrate how the current state of the book is far from what it should be. In this way they try to convince the readers that there are significant deficiencies in the textbooks under investigation which allow and legitimize a real change that converts the book in hand to one that can work better. In contrast, there are some analyses that advocate the status quo. This can be explicit or implicit. Here what can be seen in available textbooks and all questions about their quality or function is portrayed as desirable or natural, which legitimizes their presence in the book or precludes questioning it.

When a textbook is chosen as a main matter of analysis there is one fundamental question about it which affects the nature of research and its conclusion; it is that of representation. What exactly does a textbook represent in a given analysis? There are two things, at least, a textbook can represent; it can be viewed as a discrete unit whose purpose is to pass on knowledge, to transmit facts, and its success in doing so can be evaluated. In addition, a textbook has a considerable capacity to represent areas broader than itself due to its significant role in forming, or being formed by other realities or processes. Education, knowledge and social processes could be considered some areas of investigation that a textbook could be used as a representative to speak for. In this way there is a chance, for instance, to use a textbook as a subject of analysis in order to develop some conclusions about a given educational system.

Everything presented here about ways textbooks are analysed does not refer to actual methods used for such an enterprise. In fact there are some main methods which are used for textbook analysis. Content analysis, discourse

analysis, semiotic analysis and narrative analysis could be mentioned here. Textbook analysts either use one of these methods or a mixture of them to conduct a given piece of research. The method used in this research is elaborated later in this thesis; in Chapter Four.

As a conclusion about textbook analysis and methods used for certain textbook research projects, what Pingel stated in the UNESCO guidebook could be mentioned here; When he was refraining from giving examples of completed analytical instruments he stressed that the 'categories and methods for analysis can only be presented in a very general way due to the very specific nature of every project' (Nicholls 2003).

Chapter 2: Review of the Related Literature

Introduction:

The relevant literature is reviewed in this chapter to document and critique studies that are conducted to investigate the textbook treatments of the Israel/Palestine question. The results of such studies are located in different media such as books, articles, reports, theses and websites. All of them are taken into consideration if the textbooks selected for analysis are used in the area of courses in 'Western Civilization'¹. This is to give a picture of what already has been done by other researchers in the area, how they approached such analyses and what results they offered. The studies explored can be classified into two different categories; studies that investigated the question through a more general topic such as the Middle East, the Arabs, Muslims or the Third World. The Israel/Palestine question, in this category, forms one component of these analyses, or the question is dealt with without mentioning Palestine or Israel through discussing more general topics that can include it; the 'Arabs' is a good instance as this topic deals with issues directly relevant to the question of Israel/Palestine without specifically referring to it. There are other works, classified in another category, which are focused solely on the Israel/Palestine question. All these studies, from the two above - mentioned categories, are presented in chronological order, in the first part of this chapter. In the second part, those studies are categorized based on their results about the explored bias; most of them confirm that a pro-Israel bias dominates the analysed textbooks. There are a few that argue for an anti-Israel bias. Both sides' arguments are presented in this section. This chapter will end with a conclusion that crystallizes the results of this review, explaining why this review justifies choosing this research topic in order to further knowledge of the area discussed.

¹ This area includes European countries, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Studies That Deal with the Question in General or in Particular:

The first study explored here that deals with the topic was conducted in the 1950's. 'Misconceptions in the Treatment of the Arab World in Selected American Textbooks for Children' (Alami 1957) is an unpublished MA thesis that was produced in Kent State University, which, suggested that a bias existed in American textbooks that promoted a misconception about the Arab world. The first work published on the subject, 'Treatment of the Middle East in American High School Textbooks' was found in the Journal of Palestine studies (JPS) published in the US in 1975. The author, Glenn Perry an Associate Professor of Political Science at Indiana State University, who analysed 20 American junior and senior high school textbooks on history and area studies, concentrated 'on the extent of coverage and treatment of Islam, the contemporary Arabs, and the Arab-Israeli conflict' and suggested some important conclusions about the textbook treatment of the question that affected many works that appeared later. Nothing about methodology, in the texts themselves, methods used for the analysis of the texts or theories which this present study can be based on is presented in this article. It is not clarified, as well, how the selected textbooks are designated. The article deals directly, and without any introduction, with textbook statements that might show a pro-Israel bias (Perry 1975). A book published at the same time (1975) by The Medina University Press International is titled 'Arabs in America: Myths and Realities' (Abu-Laban); one chapter of the book (pp 113-132), 'Images of the Arabs in American Social Science Textbooks' deals with how American textbooks treat Arabs in US school books (Al-Qazzaz 1975).

Another important piece of research that was conducted in 1975 was published by the Middle East Studies Association of North America. What happened in the US after the 1973 war between the Arabs and Israel, and the subsequent oil embargo might have contributed to the research boom about the topic. In an influential work, 'The Image of the Middle East in Secondary School Textbooks,' William J. Griswold analysed 42 Canadian and American secondary school books for the way they treat the Middle East. This research, in comparison to other relevant works produced prior to it, had a clearer methodological organization. First of all the analysis is limited to one specific area, the

secondary level. Further, it puts limitations on textbook selection: only World History, Social Studies, and Geography textbooks are targeted. More importantly it designs the exact area of examination: Middle East geography and culture, economics, and mal-distribution of wealth, cultural bias and ethnic stereotypes, religious bias and stereotypes, United States relations in the Middle East, and the Arab-Israeli wars. It also makes another methodological clarification when formulating the exact criteria of investigation: errors in content, oversimplification of complicated issues, and stereotyping (Griswold 1975). These accuracies might have contributed to its position as a main source of the knowledge about relevant literature. A PhD thesis conducted on the subject, 'Images of the Arabs in United States Secondary School Social Studies Textbooks: A Content Analysis and a Unit Development' also chose to analyse the most widely used secondary US history textbooks through quantitative and qualitative methods (Jarrar 1976). This study that is described as 'the most systematic study in terms of procedure and analysis' (Jacobs 1981) came to a conclusion that the problem with images of Arabs in American textbooks is 'caused by a number of factors which include omissions, stereotypes, over generalities and a lack of balance in the presentation of material'(Jacobs 1981). A number of research exercises were conducted later on the subject that concentrate on teachers; 'Teaching Materials and Sources of Information on the Middle East for Secondary School Teachers' is one such work that was published in the Journal of Social Education. Malcolm Peck, the author, concluded that textbooks are 'over - simplified and filled with inaccurate, biased, and stereotyped information; authors often overlooked important causes of events or disguised moral judgments as factual history' (Peck 1976). A book published by the Middle East Studies Association of North America, 'American Images of Middle East Peoples: Impact of the High School' also concentrated on images teachers hold about the Middle East (Suleiman 1977). A PhD thesis, 'Images of the Arabs and of Their Conflict with Israel Held by American Public Secondary School Social Studies Teachers', conducted in Stanford University, focused on the same subject (Abu-Helu 1978). In a book published by Women Concerned about the Middle East, 'The Arab World: A Handbook for Teachers', teachers are at the centre again (Al-Qazzaz 1978). This book supports the theory that there is a pro-Israel bias in American textbooks: 'In American textbooks the indigenous people of Palestine are usually referred to as "Arabs,"

"refugees" "natives," or "Moslems," As in the media prior to the 1970's, textbooks avoid the word Palestinian' (Al-Qazzaz 1978, 37). Textbook analysis of history textbooks is recognized by the United Nations as contributing to a better relationship between Islam and the West; a conference held, in 1979, in the UN office in Geneva, 'Islam and the West' published a report, 'The Revision of History Textbooks and the Improvement of Teaching Materials a Way of Contributing to a Better Understanding Between Islam and the West' on this subject. Later in 1981, a piece of PhD research was conducted in Stanford University on the subject: 'Coverage of the Arab World in American Secondary School World Studies Textbooks: A Content Analysis' (Nabti 1981). No copy of this research was found, as it has not been published.

In an article, 'Teaching the Arab World: Evaluating Textbooks', published in 'The Social Studies', the author, Deborah Jacobs, conducted research sponsored by the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) to study textbooks used in metropolitan Washington, D.C. school systems. This study concentrated on presentation of the Arab World and Islam in junior and senior high school textbooks used then (1980) in Fairfax County, Virginia, Montgomery County, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. Nineteen textbooks are evaluated against nine subjects; education, economy, political factors, religion, Arab characteristics, ancient history, women, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and geography. A measure was used to rate the analysed textbooks in the area, for bias, accuracy, stereotyping, and balance. Textbooks are ranked in four different categories: 1 =highly recommended, 2=recommended with revisions, 3=not recommended and 4=unacceptable. 'The NAAA study concluded that of the nineteen books reviewed by the committee, only fifteen percent of the total could be highly recommended; two of those three are not textbooks as such but were intended as supplemental resource works to be used with Social Studies and History texts. Thirty percent of the books surveyed were recommended, provided they can be revised or supplemented with other materials in particular areas. Fully fifty percent of the texts reviewed by the committee were of such poor quality that they could not be in good conscience recommended for teaching Middle East history and civilization in secondary schools' (Jacobs 1981). Again here some methodological points are missing: how textbooks are selected and the rationale for choosing the nine criteria of investigation can be

mentioned, for instance. The results of this research can serve an educational purpose by rating the textbooks, but such results are largely based on the researcher's judgment. The related arguments for such a judgment are not shared with the reader. This might not represent the best treatment of the research topic when the latter is controversial and value – related, except for exclusive educational purposes. Also in such analyses accuracy is sacrificed for the sake of simplification. Another article in 1983, 'Teaching about the Middle East in Elementary School' (Marek, Rosanne J.) states that 'elementary texts (in the USA) dehumanize Middle Eastern peoples by reducing them to mere caricatures' (Marek 1983).

A PhD thesis, 'State Adoption Policies, Publishing Practices, and Authorship: The Production of Middle East Chapters in World History Textbooks' (van de Ven 1990) has been conducted to cover a new dimension of textbook treatments of the Middle East. The author claimed that all other research conducted in this area failed to see the topic from this perspective (van de Ven 1990, vi). The research, identifying the textbook approaches to the Middle East, traces the evolution of the Middle East section of textbooks to evaluate the influence of different factors in textbook production. The author argues, as she puts it, against the popular view that state adoption institutes dictate policy on publishers' agendas (van de Ven 1990, v). She concludes that this is one influential factor, besides others, including publishers' practices and the authorship element (van de Ven 1990, v). She considers the way in which the Middle East is treated as representative of the way in which non-Western regions are treated in American secondary level textbooks (van de Ven 1990, 1). This piece of research, unlike many others conducted earlier, is process - oriented and not product - oriented. The methodology part of the thesis is very brief, making it difficult for others to repeat or to test the results.

In 1993, a research report, *Rewriting History in Textbooks*, was published that might not be considered as an academic work since it has not been published or produced under any academic supervision or expertise; it has no bibliography and has no references even when direct quotation is at stake. But it has been chosen for mention here as it takes a noticeable position on the textbook treatment of the Israel/Palestine question: '(Jewish) silence has

allowed publishers to distribute books that are filled with egregious factual errors and specious analyses. The mistakes invariably are to the detriment of the Jews or Israel, raising questions about the predisposition of authors and publishers' (Bard 1993). The writer, Mitchell Bard, the Executive Director of the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE), and the director of the Jewish Virtual Library, examined eighteen American history textbooks, eleven World History and seven American History, concluding that only two of them are recommendable. A list of these eighteen textbooks is included under 'Bibliography'. These books are introduced as 'the most widely used world and American history texts' but nothing is presented to justify this position or how they are selected (Bard 1993). Any discussion of the methods, methodology or theoretical basis that makes such research possible is absent.

In 1994, in another piece of research, published by the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies, Elizabeth Barlow investigated seventy five American textbooks for how they treat the Middle East: 'Evaluation of Secondary-level Textbooks for Coverage of the Middle East and North Africa'. She ranked the studied textbooks in different categories from A to E where A represents the highest quality. Barlow came to the conclusion that problems and biases which Griswold identified in 1975 still exist (Morgan 2002, 42). She published an article a year later, 1995, stressing the results of her investigation: 'The Middle East Studies Association (MESA) and the Middle East Outreach Council (MEOC) have long been concerned with the inadequate and inaccurate portrayal of Middle Eastern history, geography and culture in many pre collegiate texts. In its initial 1974 examination of K-12 textbooks, MESA found them generally disappointing. Although in the last nineteen years, several superior texts have been published, regrettable errors still exist in many other books' (Barlow 1995). She blamed the textbook writers for the disappointing errors she discovered: 'Apparently, when writing about topics that concern the Middle East, American writers do not feel any need to consult world area experts. As a result, several texts offer serious misinformation and frequently only America-centered perspectives' (Barlow 1995). Barlow's research became influential and a main source of reference for the relevant literature in the years to come.

The first academic work that concentrates specifically on the Arab-Israeli question appeared in 1996. Marlene Rock through her Master's thesis submitted in Queens College (City University of New York), 'The Arab-Israeli Conflict as Depicted in Children's and Young Adult Non-Fiction Literature', tried to fill the gap. She argued that although there are enough sources for adults to get knowledge about the conflict there is not such a situation for school children. To deal with the problem she identified 103 works about the history of the conflict that can, the author claims, help students to access knowledge of the question (Rock 1996, abstract). The main function of this research is an annotated bibliography of the sources identified, and it does not involve an individual critique of these sources.

In the same year, 1996, another work appeared with a promising title: 'A Critical Assessment of Textbooks for Middle Eastern History'. The abstract of this article also increases the hope of finding an analysis that has relevant content on college level textbooks: (this article) 'Discusses the strengths and weaknesses of Middle Eastern history textbooks appropriate for college instruction, reviews the textbooks in terms of coverage, how current is the information, and style and content, provides a wealth of background information . . .' (Allen 1996). In practice this article is composed of four pages that describe a few textbooks on the history of the Middle East, mainly 'A Concise History of the Middle East', and 'A History of the Modern Middle East', and raises some points about using them in colleges as a textbook in related courses. This short article can benefit college teachers who are wondering which existing books might work better.

Increasing interest in finding unbiased textbooks for teaching the Middle East helped in the development of another academic research exercise in the USA: 'The Development of A Content Analysis Instrument for Analysing College-level Textbooks Used in The United States to Teach About The Middle East'. The researcher, Adel Tawfig Al-Bataineh, who reviewed the literature on the textbook treatment of the Middle East made three important points; first, most of the works produced support the conclusion that bias is widespread when it is a matter of textbook treatment of the Middle East, second, there is no content analysis that analyses college level textbooks, and third, there is no instrument

to use when textbooks are analysed for such a purpose. In his research, he worked to construct such an instrument that can help educators when they are conducting a content analysis of textbooks for their treatment of the Middle East. He used standards and goals suggested by UNESCO and Councils for Social Studies, Geography, and World History for what students should know about a subject, for such a construction (Al-Bataineh 1998, 79). In his methodology Al-Bataineh used communication, through normal mail, to reach university teachers who are engaged in teaching the Middle East (Al-Bataineh 1998, 53).

A piece of research titled 'U. S. Global Studies Textbooks' Treatment of Foreign Countries' that came later opened a new dimension in the textbook treatment of foreign questions; a comparative dimension. Alexander Tumanpea, a PhD student in the State University of New York at Buffalo, conducted this research to study textbook treatments of foreign countries and made some useful points:

- 'The issue of how social studies textbooks portray world regions has not been a major research concern' (Tumanpea 1998, 22),
- 'Like the literature on world regions, the individual country literature is marked by isolated cases of U. S. texts' treatment of foreign countries (Tumanpea 1998, 23)'
- 'Yet, this critical concern about the elitist nature of Social Studies textbooks' content, has not been extended to the investigation of those parts of the texts which deal with foreign societies. Rather, there are a number of fragmented studies which generally deal with individual foreign countries and foreign world regions' (Tumanpea 1998, 9)
- 'No research effort on Global Studies textbooks' content has considered a comparative study of two or more cases of the world's cultural areas' (Tumanpea 1998, 2)

The last finding is considered a 'serious neglect' that should be dealt with through Tumanpea's thesis (Tumanpea 1998, 2). As a result this study engaged to make a comparative study to investigate how US secondary school global studies texts treat 'Western Europe, the Middle East, and Sub-Sahara Africa, countries of European descent and countries of African descent, and developed

versus developing countries' (Tumanpea 1998, abstract). A central question has been designed to guide the research:

1. 'How do the global studies textbooks of one of the world's most developed and powerful countries (U. S. A.), present:
 - A. Foreign regions which have fundamental socioeconomic differences?
 - B. Countries of European background and countries of African background?
 - C. Developed as opposed to developing countries?

2. To what extent do global studies textbooks serve the said purpose of presenting the world as a single human community in which people of various national, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds can see themselves in relation to all others, with sensitivity, appreciation and a sense of interdependence, and without national biases?'(Tumanpea 1998, 2)

This research is quite rich in theory and has solid theoretical foundations; it is based on the World System Analysis in Comparative Education which views educational products through the effects of changing world systems on national educational systems. It is also based on 'Conflict Theory' of education that considers the educational content as the product of powerful elites of a given society that work to promote their interests in that society (Tumanpea 1998, 7–8).

In 1999 an essay published in 'History Teacher: A Journal of Methods' suggests a different approach to analysing textbook treatment of the Middle East. In this article, 'Ethnocentric and Stereotypical Concepts in the Study of Islamic and World History', five concepts used widely in Middle East Studies textbooks are questioned and criticized: the Middle East, the bipolar concepts of East and West, the Judaic-Christian (Judeo-Christian) heritage, Islamic fundamentalism, and Jihad. This powerful investigation concluded, in the author's words, that: 'All five concepts suffer from various degrees of inaccuracy, vagueness, ambiguity, and oversimplification. I argue that four of the five concepts suffer from ethnocentrism, in particular North American or Eurocentrism' (Rahme 1999).

The article deals with an important dimension of textbook treatment of the Middle East that crystallized into concepts constructed to talk about the Middle East, and the ideological or political meaning and messages they carry and disseminate.

An analysis of college level textbooks was explored that examined US History surveys which are used for teaching undergraduate students. The main question in this investigation, a PhD thesis in the University of Houston, is; 'Are public higher education, undergraduate level, American History survey textbooks biased? Are they censored? Will one discover, upon examination, America's continuing religious heritage, including contemporary Protestantism, or will one discover that the rich American religious heritage and contemporary Protestantism have largely disappeared? (Goodwin 1999, 5–6)' This question does not introduce this thesis, titled 'Evidence of Bias and Censorship in College History Survey Textbooks', as a directly relevant piece of literature. But there are characteristics, other than that of the main topic, which might justify its presence in this review: It is the only academic analysis that I have found of college level history textbooks. Furthermore, it introduces a different concept, censorship, for textbook treatments of social issues. The researcher, however, borrowed this concept from another piece of research that is introduced as a base and framework for his own research: 'Censorship: Evidence of Bias in Our Children's Textbooks' (Vitz 1986). The methodology used is quantitative, and involves a line – by - line, and page - by - page investigation of the selected textbooks to find the instances of a reference to religion in the words or images of the text in question. All references are scored and counted to provide a chance for making a judgment about how history survey textbooks have treated religion throughout the passage of time. This kind of investigation can bring effective results for educational purposes but it introduces a problem if the topic of investigation is controversial. For such a topic the contribution made by personal judgment should be minimized. In such cases, the main weight of the investigation, I argue, should be put on the 'evidence' and 'related arguments' per se.

Another work that is related, indirectly, to this literature is a book, 'Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question', edited by Edward

Said and Christopher Hitchens. This work does not involve a textbook analysis but it deals with the related scholarship that is influenced by whoever tries to justify Zionist claims about the Israel/Palestine Question. In Said's words; 'Since the 1948 war which drove them from their homeland, the Palestinian people have consistently been denied the most basic democratic rights. Blaming the Victims shows how the historical fate of the Palestinians has been justified by spurious academic attempts to dismiss their claim to a home within the boundaries of historical Palestine and even to deny their very existence' (Said and Hitchens 2001, back cover).

A PhD thesis on the subject, 'The Portrayal of The Middle East in School Textbooks from 1880 to The Present' took a different methodological perspective to assess how this treatment has evolved over a century in American schools (Morgan 2002). The researcher, Hani Morgan, has chosen four time periods; '1875-1920 (post civil war to end of WWI), 1920-1940 (the period during which American schools expanded and in which America's place in the larger world became a concern), and 1945-1965 (inter and post war years) and from 1970 to the present' (Morgan 2002, iii – iv). He analysed textbooks for the first three time periods, and took the results of research done by Barlow and Griswold as those representing the fourth time period so as to be able to compare the different periods of textbook treatment of the Middle East and identify a trend. He concludes that 'the later the time period, the better the chance there will be a more accurate and favorable portrayal of the Middle East. Although this is a general finding, many of the later books contain very negative stereotypes as well as inaccurate descriptions of Islam, bias towards the Arab political system, and pictures that don't reflect the everyday life of the majority of people in the Middle East' (Morgan 2002, 164). Textual analysis was the method used in this study but no further attempt has been made to specify the nature of this analysis. At the same time there is a useful reference to geography, pictures, culture, religion and politics, as the main areas of focus in this analysis. The theoretical basis of this research is mainly Edward Said's Orientalism, but it is, also, informed by the ideas of Michel Foucault in the area of power and knowledge where he describes academic thought as a political craft that creates power. Later, in 2008, the results of this research were published in the 'American Educational History Journal' (Morgan 2008).

After the 9/11 events in the US and the policy which the American administration adopted to deal with these events, another wave of literature arrived that criticized American treatment of the Middle East through different media, including educational instruction. One good sample is a book edited by Joe L Kincheloe and Shirley R Steinberg; 'The Miseducation of the West: How Schools and the Media Distort Our Understanding of the Islamic World' (2004). Another instance is represented through 'The Arab and Muslim Image in Public Education Textbooks of the United States of America' a text written by Ahmed Al-Banyan. 'Studying the Exotic Other in the Classroom: The Portrayal of Arab Americans in Educational Source Materials' (David and Ayouby 2005), an article in *Multicultural Perspectives*, can be mentioned in this framework as well.

Another thesis-length study, 'A Novel Reading: Literature and Pedagogy in Modern Middle East History Courses in Canada and the United States', appeared at the same time, 2005, and approached Middle East history from a different angle (Leeke 2005). It focused on course syllabi as the main source for analysing how Middle East history textbooks are treated at college level; 'The purpose of this study is to explore how the Arabic novel can and does challenge the conventional characterization of what constitutes constructive Middle East historiography. The thesis draws on a case study of undergraduate history course syllabi in order to highlight a number of crucial issues related to Arabic literature and the production of modern Middle East history' (Leeke 2005, Abstract). For such a purpose, ninety-three syllabi were collected from introductory or survey undergraduate courses or seminars on the history of the modern Middle East. Sixty-five of them were found fit for the analysis. To collect them two methods were used: searching relevant keywords in search engines such as Google, and correspondence with lecturers on the Modern Middle East courses through their email addresses (Leeke 2005, 7–8). The collected syllabi are analysed through a text analysis. This analysis is based, theoretically, on David Nunan's study, 'Syllabus Design: Language Teaching: A Scheme for Teacher Education' which states that a syllabus is useful for analysis as it represents a 'statement of content' of a course, and some other materials relevant to syllabus studies (Leeke 2005, 15). One main theoretical assumption that has been borrowed for this research is related to the role college teachers/lecturers play in designing a syllabus that includes a section on what

students should read (reading list), and the significance of this role in determining the content of the course. It is also stressed, rightly, that this role and its effective consequences on what students learn have remained undiscussed: 'Professors make important decisions about how the course subject matter will be taught based on a variety of factors. Unfortunately, as Gregory S. Jay argues, particularly with regard to assigning "cultural objects" such as novels, many syllabi in the humanities remain "suspiciously silent about their social and institutional construction: about the choices the syllabus has made, the alternatives it has considered and abandoned, and the external pressures that have shaped it". Those decisions, however, are often reflected in the language and structure of the course syllabus. Thus, by examining the selection and description of the "assigned objects" and "their place on the syllabus", it is possible to uncover some of the "process of disciplinary construction that has put them there" (Leeke 2005, 17)'. The research allows the researcher to find the most adopted textbooks on the history of the Middle East, and how novels are treated in the course reading lists. William L. Cleveland's 'A History of the Modern Middle East' is introduced as such an example since it was adopted in forty-two syllabi (out of sixty-five) as a source of course knowledge (Leeke 2005, 33). However in general the main conclusion of the research, in the researcher's own words is as follows:

'My analysis of the syllabi concludes that in general, Arabic novels in translation are part of a varied group of resources selected by a professor in order to complement the 'official' histories provided by textbooks and government documents. The novel is deemed helpful because it often describes the 'ordinary' or daily life of people. Also, the novel is presented as the contribution of an 'indigenous voice' to the historical narrative' (Leeke 2005, Abstract).

Many points presented in this research can justify what I have done in Chapter 3 to select the most adopted textbooks on the Israel/Palestine question.

A remarkable work was published in 2006 on analysis of history textbooks; 'What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks', edited by two prominent scholars in the field; Keith A. Crawford and Stuart J Foster. Many textbooks from different countries including China, Japan,

North and South Korea, Germany, Pakistan, South Africa, USA, Italy, Sweden and the UK have been investigated in different chapters of this book. There are, also, two chapters that deal with analysis of Israeli and Palestinian textbooks but no work in this book deals with how the question is treated by Western textbooks (S. Foster 2006a).

Years after American bloody involvements in two Middle Eastern countries, Afghanistan and Iraq, a textbook analysis has been developed in 2007 to explore a possible cause of American misperceptions about the Middle East. This research, 'The Portrayal of The Middle East in Secondary School U.S. Textbooks', took a statement by Reinhart that American students walk into college classes on the Middle East/Islam with negative and stereotypical views acquired beforehand (Brockway 2007, 19). For the researcher, Elizabeth Marie Brockway, this is not the most significant problem. She approaches the problem through the influence of a national image of a foreign country/region on American involvement in that area. In this respect she relies on Holsti's theoretical point on how a belief system affects national decisions: 'The relationship of national images to international conflict is clear: decision-makers act upon their definition of the situation and their images of states — others as well as their own. These images are in turn dependent upon the decision-makers' belief system. And these may or may not be accurate representations of "reality" (Holsti 1962). American Middle Eastern policy is seen as problematic in this research, and the solution is seen in what Holsti recommends for such a situation:

'Holsti (1962) concluded that in order to resolve international conflict, erroneous images of other countries had to be corrected — leaders' belief systems had to provide a more accurate impression of other people and cultures. In a democracy, leaders must be responsive to the views of their constituents and thus, leaders' belief systems are linked to those of the public. For example: if the people of the United States believe that inhabitants of the Middle East are terrorists, the people will support policies within the U.S. that reflect that, and they will be unlikely to support aid and policies friendly towards the Middle East. Even enlightened leaders will have to respond to these demands or face

electoral defeat. Thus the belief systems of ordinary people are crucial to understand' (Brockway 2007, 4).

Based on this theoretical foundation the researcher designs a hypothesis for a textbook analysis: 'high school textbooks used in the United States provide an inadequate and negatively biased portrayal of the Middle East' (Brockway 2007, 29). For this investigation, ten world history textbooks from secondary schools are selected for analysis. To represent a wider community, Brockway chooses her selections from the list of 'Widely Adopted Textbooks' that are regularly published by the American Textbook Council (ATC). Quantitative and qualitative methods are used to analyse those textbooks for three kinds of bias: word use, omission of data, and presentation of inadequate information. Six subjects, including the Arab-Israeli conflict are chosen as the areas of analysis (Brockway 2007, 29–32).

Another research exercise is published by the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), 'The Portrayal of the Middle East in Four Current School Textbooks' to assess the American textbook treatment of the Middle East. Four American textbooks are analysed for their political, cultural, religious and pictographic portrayal of the Middle East through using content analysis as a method. The way those books are selected and their number, four, does not provide a real chance to claim a wide representation but this is recognized in the title of the article. One significant aspect of this research that renders it powerful among other research in this area is the involvement of six researchers who work to check the consistency of the judgments for bias (Morgan and Walker 2008).

A book, *The Trouble with Textbooks: Distorting History and Religion*, written by former President of the Institute for Jewish and Community Research in San Francisco, Gary Tobin and Dennis R. Ybarra, published in 2008, marked a crucial development in the history of the relevant literature; it appeared at odds with many, if not all, other related research in claiming that the bias American textbooks are suffering from is anti-Israeli, pro-Arab and pro-Islam (Tobin and Ybarra 2008). The book is celebrated differently in the American mass media: FOX News channel aired, on 4 September 2009, a one hour program, titled 'Do You Know What Textbooks Your Children Are Really Reading?' to raise the

points made in this book (“The Trouble With Textbooks | Fox News” 2013). A website (<http://troublewithtextbooks.org>), in addition, is dedicated to advertising this book and its results. An executive summary of the book is provided there to download for free. Other websites, including Family Security Matters, provided a channel for it to echo the results of this research (“Family Security Matters | Exclusive: Review: ‘The Trouble with Textbooks’” 2013). The research is full of relevant points that might help the readers become familiar with the concerns of pro-Israeli lobbies about textbook content on the Israel/Palestine question. Furthermore, a powerful rhetoric is skilfully used to formulate the results in effective wording but there are some shortcomings in the methodology used, which are as follows:

- While the main claim of the research rests on ‘textbooks’, a wide range of other educational resources, under the category ‘textbook’ or ‘supplemental material’, are addressed in the research process; teachers’ editions, advanced placements, DVD, CD, Websites, curricula, handouts and teacher training are the main instances (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 164). All this material can be a legitimate choice of investigation if there is a reasonable justification but it does not allow the research to use the related findings for the sake of a claim made for the textbook.
- Along the lines of the afore-mentioned point about a failure to define the limits of the data sources, no time period is introduced as a limit to selection of items for the analysis.
- The subjects chosen for the investigation might be considered too broad: the textbook in History, Social Studies and Geography.
- Content analysis is introduced as the main method to conduct the research. It is mentioned, as well, that other methods, personal interviews and participant observations, are used. No explanation has been given in the book about why and/or how these methods are used or combined in the research (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 163–4).
- Another short - coming is related to an explanation that clarifies how twenty-eight textbooks are selected for analysis; they are described as the most adopted textbooks but nothing is presented to justify this claim.
- No theory is introduced as the basis of the research

The areas of concern in this investigation include four main ones: 'Jewish history, theology, and religion', 'The relationship between Judaism and Christianity', 'The relationship between Judaism and Islam' and 'The history, geography, and politics of the Middle East' (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 164). A number of factors are identified in this research as those contributing to the textbook problem. References are made to publishers, writers and interest groups, but considerable effort is made to avoid mentioning a particular party as that responsible for the problem. The same approach is noticeable when textbooks are mentioned; no specific textbook is mentioned as worse than any other/s. At odds with this approach to avoid blaming a particular publisher, book or writer for the problems identified, Islamic/Arab interest groups are accused as mainly responsible for wrong - doing in textbook production, for what has been described as 'promoting a particular agenda' (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 155). 'The Council on Islamic Education' is mentioned repeatedly as a problem responsible for what went wrong. Writers of the book explicitly suggest that this group should be excluded from the process: 'Both publishers and educators need to be able to better distinguish between advocacy groups that work for historical accuracy such as the American Jewish Committee and the Institute for Curriculum Services (ICS) on the one hand, and groups promoting a particular agenda such as the Council on Islamic Education (CIE) or Arab World and Islamic Resources (AWAIR) on the other' (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 156).

A PhD thesis, 'Framing the Israel/Palestine Conflict in Swedish History School Textbooks', was produced in the University of Gothenburg that reaches a remarkable peak among all the relevant sources which I have found in the area of textbook treatment of the Israel/Palestine question. It might represent the only detailed examination of this topic in a Western country. In addition to its topic, it has other significant characteristics that introduce it as an important work in related literature. The researcher, Michael Walls, identified a problem in Swedish History textbooks where textbook knowledge about Israel/Palestine shows no sign of a reasonable link with related scholarly knowledge (Walls 2010, 313). He found this at odds with traditional Swedish neutrality that provides an environment for unbiased treatment of the question (Walls 2010, 13). However, a different treatment is recognized that forms a real problem: the power/knowledge problem (Walls 2010, 13). He analysed twenty Lower

Secondary school Swedish History textbooks and thirteen interviews with Social Science/Civics teachers to answer a key related question; 'How the Israel/Palestine conflict is framed in Swedish History school textbooks and how it compares to established scholarly debate on the conflict and teacher discourses' (Walls 2010, 13). Why this combination, of textbook and interview is a right choice is not elaborated adequately in the thesis. The theoretical foundation of the research is rich and deals with the scholarly debate on critical studies of the curriculum. In this regard it states; 'Reflecting different approaches, the theoretical framework adopted here sees the construction, selection and organization of school knowledge as a political and power/knowledge problem' (Walls 2010, Abstract). This can be problematized: if school knowledge is political why should the power/knowledge question be considered a problem? The first part of the statement introduces the relation as a natural one instead of as problematic. Another problematic matter that can be recognized in this theoretical stance is the way ideology and discourse are discussed. There is a reference to the shift from ideology to discourse in Foucault's critique of ideology. Foucault pointed out that defining ideology as 'false consciousness' or a concept close to this implies that there is a truth that can be accessed if ideological assumptions are revealed or political influence is suspended. He, as a solution, suggested the concept of discourse that is adopted in this research to deal with the subject; at the same time the employment of ideology, as a key term, is not abandoned; 'ideological assumptions' are considered a source of the problem that this investigation explores. The research is informed by Crawford & Foster who state that textbook knowledge can have a claim to truth, but not be the truth itself (Walls 2010, 68–9). What they have added in this regard, that 'such claims to truth in the form of educational knowledge have to be understood in relation to the local/global (historical) cultural, political and market-economic context within which they are situated' (Walls 2010, 68–9) inspires us to take more factors into consideration and not only that of power and the political. There is nothing about how this conflict is dealt with in this research. The author also introduces a useful discussion about other concepts, such as hegemony, that Marxist/neo Marxist analysts use in educational studies, and the role intellectuals play, according to Gramsci to maintain the hegemony of the dominant class. In relation to method, discourse analysis is taken as the main method to analyse

the textbook contents. For that purpose a set of categories and operational codes are designed. The main categories are headlined as follows:

- ‘Ideological function: Which information is presented as objective or taken-for-granted: presented as ‘truth’ and which unstated background information or tacit assumptions might be inferred?’
- Interdiscursivity/intertextuality: connected to the above, which discourses converge in the framing of the textbook content and teachers’ statements, tacitly or explicitly?
- Which of these are more established (hegemonic) and which are more marginalized? (Walls 2010, 119)’

Later all texts under investigation are coded on the basis of the identified categories. This provides a chance for the researcher to explore the main tendency/framing of the discourses presented in the textbook/teacher statements. When this was completed, Walls concluded: ‘the linkages between scholarship, textbooks and teachers’ statements in general have been very weak and do not provide a platform for a broad critical understanding of the root causes of the conflict on the basis of varying perspectives. Instead, they are far too anchored in ideological assumptions’ (Walls 2010, 6). Before analysing his data, Walls reviews the related literature to demonstrate what has been done in this field. His main area of focus, at this stage, is research conducted in Israel to analyse Israeli/Palestinian textbooks. He also refers to research he found about the subject in Sweden: ‘Det är en annan historia... vilken historia ger vi våra elever? This essay is designed to examine ‘how the history of the Middle East is mediated in teaching aids for History’ (Walls 2010, 26) through analysing four Swedish upper secondary textbooks. The essay is written in Swedish. The review Walls presents about the essay introduces the result: ‘At the same time they (authors of the above essay) offer a critique of the four textbooks they examined in which they argue that “unfortunately a concentration on concrete problems is absent”. One of the problems they feel ought to be looked at is the matter of “the Jews’ demand for a national territory” and the issue, as they define it, of “why the Palestinians had to pay for the crimes of the Nazis with regard to the crimes against Jews during the Second World War” (Walls 2010, 28).

A year later, 2011, Michael Walls, published the results of his academic research in an online newsletter, Dissident Voice. In this article he stressed the Swedish government's neutral policy under Olaf Palme and even under the more pro-Israeli government of Göran Persson towards that is at odds with how Swedish textbooks frame Israel/Palestine history. In this regard he mentions the history of 1948 where new historians brought new perspectives that even find a place in Israeli textbooks: 'For example, since the 1980s and prior to that, discussions between so-called "new historians", traditionalists and anti-traditionalists have touched on topics such as Zionism's political and ideological (and colonial) moorings, the concept of 'transfer' and how the Palestinian refugee problem was created. However, such discussions have been continually absent in the Swedish History school textbooks examined. Interestingly too, excerpts from such critical works as Benny Morris' Righteous Victims even made it into Israeli History school textbooks around the Oslo period (but were removed when Ariel Sharon came into office in 2000)' (Walls 2011).

One book published in this year (2011), confirms the existence of a problem in American education when it is about teaching Palestine. 'The Politics of Teaching Palestine to Americans: Addressing Pedagogical Strategies' stressed the point that teaching Palestine in American schools does not encourage a constructive involvement in the Israel/Palestine question and reinforces the treatment of the question in favour of the powerful side. This book sees indoctrination of American youth with Zionist mythology as a problem, and tries to provide ideas for dealing with that (Knopf-Newman 2011). This book does not involve an empirical investigation of American textbooks; it takes Zionist mythology as a problem and goes further to explain its consequences and offer ways to solve such a problem.

An MA thesis was produced in Cedarville University in 2011 to examine how depiction of the Arab-Israeli conflict has changed in US history textbooks since the 1950's. As claimed in this present literature review, no research has been conducted in the US, prior to this, which focuses exclusively on how American textbooks treat the Arab-Israeli question (A. L. Smith 2011, 40). To answer the main question of the research, how have descriptions of the Arab-Israeli conflict

changed in US high school history textbooks since the 1950's (A. L. Smith 2011, 1), the time limitation of the research, from the 1950's to the present (2000's), is divided into six time periods of six succeeding decades. Three textbooks are selected for each decade that belong to three leading textbook publishers. The content analysis conducted to examine these books is considered qualitatively and quantitatively, in order to, as the researcher puts it, 'highlight whether there has been more or less emphasis on particular events over time, and to identify major patterns and changes in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the political, social, and educational implications of those changes' (A. L. Smith 2011, Abstract). For such analysis an operational concept, a key event, has been defined. A key event, according to this research, is an event, term or person related to the conflict 'if more than one textbook made reference to it' (A. L. Smith 2011, 44). In this way key events include

'the British mandate period in Palestine, the Balfour Declaration and establishment of Israel as a nation, the 1956 Suez Canal crisis, the 1967 Six Day War, the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the 1979 Camp David Accords, the 1980s conflict in Lebanon, the 1991- 1994 peace talks, and post 9/11 Arab-Israeli conflicts. Key people included Yasir Arafat, Menachem Begin, David Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Yitzhak Rabin, and Anwar Sadat. Key terms included Arab(s), Israel and/or Israeli, Jews and/or Jewish, Palestine, and Palestinian' (A. L. Smith 2011, 44).

Also a list of books, mainly college textbooks about the history of the question, is given, as the authoritative sources that have been consulted for accessing knowledge of the question. This list includes a number of the most adopted textbooks that have been extracted from the survey conducted for the sake of this research (details will come in the next chapter), including:

- Bickerton, I., & Klausner, C. (2005). A concise history of the Arab-Israeli conflict
- Gelvin, J. (2005). The Israel-Palestine conflict: One hundred years of war
- Gilbert, M. (2005). The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli conflict
- Smith, C. (2010). Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Two categories are designed to evaluate all analysed textbooks; the first one allocates a rating from 1 to 3 to three textbooks of each decade. 3 is awarded to the textbooks that covered the subject more thoroughly and covered, better than others, events that are relevant to the history of the question. 1, in contrast, is allocated to the one that is less successful in doing that job. All these textbooks, also, are evaluated for pro-Israeli or pro-Palestinian bias. If one textbook shows no sign of such bias it is put in a third category, neutral (A. L. Smith 2011, 48). Although a lot of work has been done to elaborate such a sizeable and innovative topic, there are some points that challenge the way the subject is treated in this research; firstly the way the selection process is elaborated does not justify the position of those chosen as the most adopted textbooks in the US. Furthermore, the research is not critical enough when dealing with textbooks; it takes the dominant college textbooks as the absolute limits of the related knowledge, and then defines 'key events' only in the framework of what textbooks produce. Here, for instance, the possibility of ignoring a key event by the most adopted American textbooks is not taken into consideration. At the same time, the way textbooks are categorized in this study is not, I believe, a better solution for dealing with controversial and politically hot topics. In such situations, transparency and providing the arguments involved and evidence might work better than relying on researchers' judgments and their evaluations to establish the classes to which different textbooks should be assigned.

The Results of the Relevant Research into How the Israel/Palestine Question Has Been Treated in Western Textbooks:

In the first section of this literature review all research that might be relevant to the topic of this thesis has been reviewed in general. It has been tried, through that section, to provide the necessary information about the main features of the presented pieces of research including their theoretical foundation, the methods they used and the structure of the research that has been offered through a critical approach. This section, the second one, is dedicated to the findings of those works in the investigated area, the Israel/Palestine question. In this way, using a chronological order, again, the results, which involve, frequently, a claim about a governing bias in textbook content, and are supported with arguments and evidence, are reviewed in this section.

Glenn Perry, who wrote 'Treatment of the Middle East in American High School Textbooks' (1975) makes a strong claim about the pro-Israel bias of American textbooks where nothing could be found in the Arabs' favour: 'I found no book which could be considered even slightly biased in the Arabs' favour' (Perry 1975). In his conclusion, he considers the Arab-Israeli conflict as a main area of bias in dealing with the Middle East: 'The result is not only a great deal of misinformation but also - whether from malice or a simple lack of knowledge - biased accounts of certain subjects, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict' (Perry 1975). He supports his claims with some arguments; 'I might note that even the "basically objective" books strengthen the Zionist case by at least implying that the modern Jews - instead of being a religious group of heterogeneous racial and ethnic backgrounds - are literally the same people as the ancient Israelites' (Perry 1975). In reference to another case he asserts; 'Thus the conception that the Zionist is "returning" to his real "homeland" is uncritically accepted' (Perry 1975). Or 'For instance, the establishment of Israel is briefly described, with a flashback on the history of Palestine which entirely omits the Arab period. The country was thus presumably uninhabited from the dispersion of the Jews until it was "returned to them' (Perry 1975). He also argues: 'books in a second category are considered biased because they simply neglect to explain why the Palestinians (if they mention that Palestinians exist) and other Arabs might, from their point of view, oppose Zionism and Israel' (Perry 1975). Perry

reproduces some statements from textbooks that support what he claims; 'Another book explains the problem as being the result of Israel's "relatively high standard of living, which caused envy and discontent among the Arab peasants' (Perry 1975). The following are other instances:

- 'But the Jews "found a poor, barren, desolate country" until they, with a "tremendous expenditure of labour and money," turned it into "an oasis of Western civilization in the Middle East' (Perry 1975).
- 'Part of the [Arab] opposition [to Israel] arose from the reappearance of ancient Moslem hatred of infidels, and part from the fact that, to Moslems, the Jews represented Western power' (Perry 1975).

Griswold is another researcher who supports the claim that there is a pro-Israeli bias where American textbooks treat the Middle East. He takes the Arab-Israeli wars to examine how textbooks treat the Middle East. In relation to 1948, he states; 'Few relate the events by which mostly European immigrants established a new state in a land populated predominantly by Arabs. No text parallels the victories of the outnumbered Zionists in 1948 with the agonies suffered by Palestinian Arabs, such as the killing at the village of Deir Yassin' (Griswold 1975). Referring to another fascinating case he mentions the assassination of the UN ambassador by Zionists: 'little note is made of the premeditated murder by Zionists of the United Nations ambassador, Count Bernadotte; indeed several authors, using the passive voice, may even lead students to attribute the murder to Palestinians'... 'As for the more than one million war refugees, one author views them as a "problem [which] plagued the new state of Israel . . . " Few authors explain the Palestinian refugee question as fundamental to any peace settlement, observing rather, as did a Canadian author, how much wiser the Israelis have been in absorbing Jewish refugees, whereas the Arabs refuse to accept Palestinians' (Griswold 1975, 22). Griswold makes a powerful point here: 'How useful, at this point, would have been an explanation that hearth and home to a displaced Palestinian happens to be the same spot on the earth as that currently occupied by a displaced Jew' (Griswold 1975, 23). In relation to the 1967 war, when Israel attacked Arab neighbouring countries and occupied a considerable part of them, Griswold elaborates how this is treated as well; 'The Six Day War of June 1967 "broke out" in some texts' (Griswold 1975, 24). He makes clear that 'Most assert the Israeli view that war

began when President Nasser ordered out the UNEF troops from Egypt and blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba' (Griswold 1975, 24).

Al-Qazzaz who wrote 'Textbooks and Teachers' concludes; 'Nowhere does this problem of bias, distortion, omission, and misrepresentation appear to be more acute than in the material available on the Middle East. The dimensions of this problem have been clearly recognized by scholars, and as the various studies aptly demonstrate, much revision is needed in order to correct this situation' (Al-Qazzaz 1981, 81).

Jacobs in his article 'Teaching the Arab World: Evaluating Textbooks' refers to five areas of concern that have been identified by evaluators of American textbooks. Number four states that 'Exposition of the Arab-Israeli conflict often comes out as Arab equals-bad, Israeli equals-good' (Jacobs 1981).

Van de Ven in her PhD thesis, *State Adoption Policies, Publishing Practices, and Authorship*, refers to bias she identified in textbooks' treatment of the question but she believes that this bias is representative of US textbook treatment of all non-Western regions. She mentions the way non - Western nations are described in American textbooks; 'Illiterate Iranians, 'determined Israelis, "warlike and aggressive Turks," and "backward Iraq' simplify the delineation of what Americans view as good and evil, and right and wrong' (van de Ven 1990, 33). In comparison she mentions the way American textbooks treat Israel; 'Macmillan, for example, conveys Israel's moral standing without the use of factual information; "Israel's success story is one of a young, progressive country that continues to honor the time-honored traditions of its people" (van de Ven 1990, 33). The Arab-Israeli political controversy is summed up in Globe's description: "Of all the problems faced by this tiny desert nation, the most serious is the hatred shown by its Arab neighbors, "Tiny" Israel and the "hatred" of the Arabs suggest a pattern of vulnerability and aggression, without the support of factual information' (van de Ven 1990, 33-34). Or when it comes to its conflict with non Western countries, the story is portrayed in a biased way: 'religious differences are cited as the cause of the Arab-Israeli and Iran-Iraq wars. Repeated referral to the Arab-Israeli conflict as a struggle between Muslim and Jew steers analysis away from the issues of land and political sovereignty' (van de Ven 1990, 38-39). She further explains how this conflict is

treated: 'Factual accounts of the Arab-Israeli conflict are selective, fuelling the mistaken assumption that at the heart of the issue is the loss of land by both sides. Scott Foresman writes that, "Arabs and Israelis each believed that they had wrongfully lost parts of their lands ... What follows from this contention is the portrayal of the Arabs as historic aggressors... Indeed, the same text recalls that, on the very day Israel become free, six Arab armies attacked it. Since then, Israel's boundaries have changed numerous times as a result of wars with Arab nations' (van de Ven 1990, 39). Van de Ven mentions another textbook with the same treatment: 'Holt pursues the same line of argument. The 1948 Arab invasion of Israel "was only the first of many invasions and raids launched by Israel's neighbors" (van de Ven 1990, 40)'. In a position that can be understood as supporting Israeli annexation of the Occupied West Bank, Bethlehem is introduced as a town in Israel (van de Ven 1990, 41). When textbooks are talking about population in Israel they ignore Arabs or the existing discrimination against them; 'Many people in Israel are Arabs. They have the same rights as Jews. Prentice Hall goes into detail as it focuses upon Israel's ethnic diversity, referring to Ashkenazie and Sephardic Jews, but neglecting to include non-Jews as part of the Country's ethnic make-up' (van de Ven 1990, 41). In relation to Israel's military operation against its adversaries, what is related to Israel is justified but what is about its adversaries is portrayed in a different image: 'The same text pursues its argument for the legitimacy of military action as a means of achieving Israeli interests by stating that "it took two more wars before the canal was open to Israel". The rationality of these Middle Eastern wars is thus implied. Finally, Israel's participation in raids against the PLO is legitimized in the context of self-defence, while PLO raiding falls under the label of terrorism. "The PLO often resorts to raids against Israel. The Israelis fight back to prevent terrorist raids and to retaliate against attacks they cannot prevent" (van de Ven 1990, 47)'.

Mitchell Bard's text, 'Rewriting History in Textbooks' was the first research found that supports a claim for the existence of an anti-Israeli bias in American textbooks. After examining American textbooks he contends that 'inadequate and inaccurate depictions of Middle East history are the norm' (Bard 1993). In relation to anti-Israeli bias he asserts:

'The anti-Israel bias is usually a result of factual inaccuracy, oversimplification, omission and distortion. Common errors include getting dates of events wrong, blaming Israel for wars that were a result of Arab provocation, perpetuating the myth of Islamic tolerance of Jews, minimizing the Jewish aspect of the Holocaust, apologizing for Arab autocrats, refusing to label violence against civilians as terrorism and suggesting that Israel is the obstacle to peace. Some of the most flagrant examples that occur in more than one book are the failure to mention that Syria and Egypt launched a surprise attack in 1973 on Israel's holiest day, Yom Kippur, and that Iraq fired SCUD missiles at Israel during the 1991 Gulf War. The books in this study were so poorly written that all but one require major revisions' (Bard 1993).

He sees this situation as a dangerous one due to possible effects it can have on American students and leaders of the future: 'The conclusions students are most likely to draw from these presentations are those held by Israel's detractors; therefore, it should not be surprising if students are easily encouraged to believe the worst about Israel when they reach politicized college campuses. Even more worrisome is the likelihood that future American leaders will have their earliest political attitudes toward Israel shaped by misinformation' (Bard 1993). He notices some errors to support his claim; 'Here are a few examples of factual inaccuracies: T. Walter Wallbank and Arnold Schrier start their chapter on the Middle East in *Living World History* (Scott, Foresman and Co., 1990) with a photo captioned: "the Amal fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization keep watch over Beirut." Amal is an organization of Lebanese Shiite Muslims that fought with the PLO. Paul Thomas Welty and Miriam Greenblatt, in *The Human Experience-World Regions and Cultures* (Glencoe, 1992), say the PLO was expelled from Jordan in 1971 rather than 1970. In the earlier edition of *The Human Experience-A World History* (Merrill 1990, 1992), Mounir Farah and Andrea Karls wrote that the Arabs attacked a "few days" after Israel declared independence. The 1992 edition correctly states that the invasion occurred within 24 hours' (Bard 1993). These minor errors are mostly uncontroversial. Problems start when he comes to the major issues. He opposes mentioning that the land had inhabitants that were forced out when Jewish immigrants came to the land;

'The coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict is particularly abysmal. Much of the crucial history of Palestine before 1948 is omitted, particularly from the U.S. history books. Those texts that discuss the mandatory period present the Arab version of history; that is, an unrestrained flood of Jewish immigrants invaded a land already inhabited by another people, who were subsequently forced out. The historical Jewish presence in the country is usually ignored' (Bard 1993).

Other similar points are made; 'The treatment of the causes and conduct of the Arab-Israeli wars in all the texts was appalling. The complexities of the conflict are usually reduced to the Palestinians wanting independence and Israel resisting. The Arabs' refusal to accept a Jewish state in their midst is softened to an unwillingness to "recognize" Israel, a subtle difference that suggests passivity rather than an active campaign to destroy Israel' (Bard 1993).

Elizabeth Barlow is another researcher whose work on the topic, *Evaluation of Secondary-Level Textbooks for Coverage of the Middle East and North Africa*, had a great impact on relevant literature. She stated that what has been presented about Israel in American textbooks is mainly from the Israeli view (Morgan 2002, 44). She gives instances to support this claim: mentioning textbook references to the Balfour Declaration as a source of promise for a Jewish homeland but failing to consider the other part of the declaration about the rights of non-Jews in the Holy Land (Morgan 2002, 44–45). Or in another case, on why Palestinians opposed the establishment of Israel, she argues that many textbooks do not mention how Palestinians' loss of their land is related to the Jewish immigration to the Holy Land. She also refers to the 1967 war that Israel started and refers to textbooks that introduce Egypt as the starter of that war (Morgan 2002, 45).

Al-Bataineh in his PhD thesis 'The Development of a Content Analysis Instrument for Analysing College-Level Textbooks Used in The United States to Teach about the Middle East' refers to bias as a problem of American textbooks when treating the Middle East. He recognizes that on the evidence of most studies in this area: 'Most of these studies have substantially supported the hypotheses that American history textbooks present distorted images, biases,

and stereotypes about the people of the Middle East' (Al-Bataineh 1998, 19–20).

Hani Morgan in her PhD thesis, 'The Portrayal of The Middle East in School Textbooks from 1880 to The Present' that discussed four different periods of time in relation to American textbooks' treatment of the Middle East, came to the conclusion:

'Although the later books are in general less biased than the earlier ones and begin to talk about the oppression by Europeans, they often treat other political issues in a biased way. As Chapter 1 suggested, various books from the later period describe the Arab-Israeli conflict in a biased way and leave out important details; thus readers are led to believe that the Arabs are hostile and responsible for many angles of the conflict that they are not responsible for. Some books also repeatedly make comparisons between the Arab countries and Israel, and emphasize Israel's superiority without stating relevant facts' (Morgan 2002, 174–175).

Marvin Wingfield & Bushra Karaman in a journal article, 'Arab Stereotypes and American Educators' stated: 'American textbooks are often Eurocentric' (Wingfield and Karaman 2002). They made clear why they say this: 'Arab points of view regarding such issues as the nationalization of resources or the Arab-Israeli conflict are presented inadequately or not at all' (Wingfield and Karaman 2002).

Elizabeth Marie Brockway in her thesis, 'The Portrayal of the Middle East in Secondary School U.S Textbooks' comes to the conclusion: 'junior and senior high school textbooks used in the United States provided a negatively biased portrayal of the Middle East through word use, omission, and the presentation of inadequate information' (Brockway 2007, 70). In relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict, 'some of the textbooks did not allude to the justification of both Israelis and Palestinians to the disputed land, leading students to believe that the land belonged to the Jews (since they do control the land now). The textbooks did not discuss the airlift that the United States provided to Israel that prevented the Arab surprise attack in 1973 from succeeding; thus the books did not

adequately explain why OPEC temporarily halted oil shipments to the United States (in response to the airlift). Without understanding that the United States and the West in general have actively been involved in the Middle East, many times without the popular support of the Middle Easterners, students would find it difficult to understand why the region is so hesitant to allow Western influence now' (Brockway 2007, 72).

Hani Morgan and David Walker in an article, 'The Portrayal of the Middle East in Four Current School Textbooks', which was published recently (2008) by the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), confirmed that the research conducted on the subject introduces bias as a main feature:

'Numerous researchers have analyzed the textbook treatment of the Middle East and its people. Generally, it has been shown that texts often present inaccurate and biased portrayals of this region consistent with existing stereotypes. Although it may not have been the intent of the authors of these textbooks to perpetuate stereotypes, this is the typical outcome of this type of portrayal' (Morgan and Walker 2008).

They confirm, also, that those studies refer to a bias in relation to the Arab-Israeli question; 'Many of the studies report a bias against the Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli conflicts (Barlow 1994, Griswold 1986, Jacobs 1981). These studies report that textbooks often do not present the Palestinian perspective adequately in the Arab-Israeli conflict by neglecting to mention important facts such as how long the Palestinians lived in Palestine as the dominant people before it became modern day Israel' (Morgan and Walker 2008). Their own textbook analysis confirms the continuation of the situation; 'This study suggests that although there have been improvements in the portrayal of the Middle East since the eighties and nineties, inaccuracies that misrepresent the culture, religion, and politics of the region still occur' (Morgan and Walker 2008).

Kincheloe in 'Knowledge and Critical Pedagogy' also mentions other cases of textbook treatment of the Middle East which are, according to him, in favour of Israel (2008).

The book written by Gary Tobin and Dennis R. Ybarra, *The Trouble with Textbooks*, is at odds with much research into the field and is in agreement with the text by Mitchell Bard, 'Rewriting History in Textbooks' in claiming that American textbooks treat Israel in a negative way, and reflect, in many cases, Palestinian narratives. A considerable figure, five hundred, suggested in the book for problematic statements found in American textbooks, are classified in different categories; 'Arabs Want Peace—Israel Does not' is one category, for instance. Another one, 'Who Put the Palestinian Refugees in Camps?', blames Arabs for the suffering of Palestinian refugees. The writers argue; 'Some of the textbooks strongly imply that Israel itself placed and kept Palestinian refugees in the camps, in agreement with Palestinian beliefs. This has no defensible logic. The idea that Israel, surrounded by hostile Arab governments and devoid of any influence there, could affect the Arab states' refusal to integrate or resettle the Palestinians seems farfetched. These governments, with the exception of Jordan, carried out a deliberate, cynical, and remarkably inhumane policy of keeping the refugees in squalid camps on their territories so that the refugees would serve as political pawns in world opinion to pressure Israel' (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 124). In a related category, the writers blamed what is called 'Omission of Jewish Refugees': 'most textbooks make no mention of what essentially became a refugee exchange: hundreds of thousands of Jews, residents of Arab countries for thousands of years, were expelled or chose to flee hostile anti-Semitic societies' (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 126). Another category, Denying the Jewish Connection to the Land of Israel, criticizes textbook statements when they relate the land to Palestinians: 'The coverage of Middle East history and the Arab–Israeli dispute in textbooks and supplemental materials contains significant elements of the Arab narrative, which frames the conflict from Arab and Palestinian points of view' (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 91). In another category, Making Excuses for Arab and Muslim Terrorism, they state: 'Many textbooks and some supplemental materials consistently reflect the Arab narrative that seeks to push the widespread use of terrorism by the Palestinians against Israel far into the background' (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 129). In Chapter Eight (Terrorism and Internal Conflict), textbooks referring to Zionist terrorism are criticized:

‘Textbooks do not adequately explain the founding of Israel as a moral redressing from the United Nations for the injustice of the Holocaust and the need to fulfill the national aspirations of the Jewish people. Instead, its founding is reduced to the alleged selection of terrorism as a policy by Israeli forces. Violence occurred but was rejected by most Jews as a strategy, and most historians would agree it was the diplomatic and political efforts of Jewish and Gentile leaders that facilitated the establishment of a Jewish state’ (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 129).

The book concludes that; ‘The history of Israel reflects too many elements of the Arab narrative without respect to historical accuracy’ (Tobin and Ybarra 2008, 154). These textbooks are considered; Anti-Christian, Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel.

As earlier implied, the academic research on Swedish textbooks, titled ‘Framing the Israel/Palestine Conflict in Swedish History School Textbooks’, can be fairly recognized as an outstanding development in the relevant literature produced on the subject. The research focused precisely on a study area that interests this thesis; history textbooks used in a Western country (Sweden) are examined thoroughly to analyse how the Israel/Palestine question is treated. This approach to the study brought about a handful of useful results that can contribute effectively to creating a knowledge map of the subject matter. It is worth mentioning the fact that the Swedish position on the question is among the least pro-Israeli positions in Western countries and this should be taken into consideration when such a map is perceived². The results of the study are presented mainly in chapter 4 and 5 where the findings of the actual textbook analysis are provided. Chapter 6 is useful as well but this chapter is about ‘teacher discourses’ and not about textbooks themselves. Chapter 7, Concluding Discussions, contains a main part of the research’s overall results, and its conclusion.

This Swedish PhD research is based on the results of a pilot study, ‘Framing Conflict and War in Lower Secondary School Books: Israel and Palestine’ that

² The Swedish position on the question is located close to that of a few Western countries such as Ireland and Greece that are more critical of Israel than is any other Western country,

was conducted earlier through examining four Swedish History textbooks (published between the period of the mid to late 1990s and early 2000s). The pilot study found, that, as Walls put it: 'the historical plight of the Jewish people is highlighted at the beginning of some of the sections I have analysed. However, the plight of the Palestinian Arabs is not highlighted in the same way. Israelis are often presented as benign, victims, retaliatory not aggressive or violent. Arab Palestinians are represented as aggressive, violent and somewhat irrational' (Walls 2010, 17). Walls recognizes the underlying discourse of the examined textbooks as based on the assumption that 'Palestinians are predisposed to violence, while Israelis merely seek peace' (Walls 2010, 17). He affirms that such a discourse 'creates an impression which misleads and misinforms, fostering prejudice and bias towards both parties' (Walls 2010, 17). Presenting the results of this pilot study Walls adds: 'I also discovered that certain topics and themes were emphasised more than others in most of the textbook chapters. For example, historical events such as the Nazi holocaust would very often introduce the history of the conflict as would references to the Jewish people's biblical-historical connection to ancient Israel and their historical suffering. These topics and themes provided a context or framework from which to introduce and study the history of the conflict. An important part of the Palestinian historical narrative, namely, the al-Nakba and the expulsion and flight of the Palestinian Arabs in 1948 also appeared in some of the textbooks somewhere in the middle of a text. Briefly mentioned in the textbooks, this event provided more or less the only back-drop to the plight of the Palestinian-Arabs' (Walls 2010, 18). Walls also shares his findings about the images involved; 'Another finding I made too referred to positive and negative biases in the form of reductive images or one-dimensional roles ascribed to both parties to the conflict. For example, references which reinforced certain stereotypes were the image of Israelis as victims, as reinforced by the references to the Nazi holocaust and historical Jewish suffering, and the Palestinians as aggressors or rejectionists, with references to the Arab rejection of the 1947 Partition Plan and the reaction of the Arab states to the establishment of Israel in 1948' (Walls 2010, 18). Walls makes a connection with the results of his PhD thesis when the results of the pilot study are presented; 'Examination of the History textbook chapters for this thesis has more or less confirmed a repetition of the above with a number of important exceptions' (Walls 2010, 18).

In Chapter Four (Making Connections and Constructing Causes), the first analytical chapter of the thesis, treatment of the root causes and parties to the conflict is examined. This has been done through three sub chapters (sections):

- Establishing a Historical Connection to the Holy Land
- From the Balfour Declaration Onwards
- Partition, 1948 and the Creation of the Refugee Problem

In the first section, Walls elaborates how Swedish textbooks treat the historical connection of both conflicting parties, Israel and Palestine, to the land:

‘The opening sections of the textbooks focus on a specific number of topics and themes which, taken together, as Masalha puts it, form “an unbroken chain of [historical] presence” in the land. These selected topics and themes function to construct a seamless connection between the Jews or Jewish people of ancient Israel to the state of modern Israel and to a lesser extent the Arab Palestinians to ancient Canaan. This is achieved through an interdiscursive mingling of historical, biblical and national topical and thematic references. The most poignant example of this is the reference to modern Israel as the youngest and oldest state in one of the textbooks. Other allusions to nationhood are made when Jerusalem is referred to as the capital city of ancient Israel or Judea or when it is described as the original homeland of the Jews. To strengthen this metahistorical connection further, reference is made to a 3000 - year-old presence in the land and to the (national) Jewish remnant following the expulsion of the Jewish people from ancient Jerusalem by the Romans. We also learn that these same Jews were to emigrate to Europe, Africa and America following their exile into Diaspora. Other topics and themes connected to the above are the universally embraced dream of return and the Nazi holocaust. Both of these interact with and are reinforced by the idea of nationhood and biblical mythhistory, to borrow Sand’ s phrase’ (Walls 2010, 152).

As Walls explains, almost everything to hand is used, not only weak or vague historical stories but also narratives that have no place in history borrowed from national and religious myths to establish a connection between Jews and the land. On the contrary the obvious facts about the Palestinian connections to the

land were located in some twisted historical narratives; 'Arab connection to the land is established generally in terms of the invasion of Palestine or their arrival as nomads in Palestine in the Middle Ages. In one textbook, a more metahistorical Arab-Canaanite connection to the land is constructed. In general contrast, however, the Jews of ancient Israel are not portrayed as arriving in Palestine but are always present in the land' (Walls 2010, 152). Through this strategy Swedish textbooks avoided presenting the obvious fact that the Palestinians were the owners of the land, when the Zionists claimed it, back to the times in history that can be seen through existing evidence and documents which go to hundreds and even thousands of years ago. This is done, as Walls puts it, to establish a 'natural connection' and for an 'equal claim' to the land; 'However, arguably an "equal" claim to the land is tacitly invoked through the "natural" connections made between history, religion and nation established in the textbooks. That is, through the discourse on Jewish/Arab connection to the land' (Walls 2010, 153). Walls argues that the findings that come from teachers' interviews confirm, also, such a conclusion;

'Interestingly too, some of my interview respondents have invoked such a claim. To mention but a few, one respondent claimed that "the conflict is basically about both parties having a right to the land. Another intoned that "both sides are right on that point." Invoking the connection discourse another teacher added that "a long time [had] passed" and then "they [the Jewish people] were able to return" (Walls 2010, 153).

In the 'Discussion and Analysis' of the next section (From the Balfour Declaration Onwards), that has been developed to answer the question 'How are the issues of Zionism, the Balfour Declaration, Britain's support and broken promises, immigration and increasing tensions treated?' (Walls 2010, 177)

Walls provides the results of his textbook examination:

'The general discursive framework for understanding these issues consists of a number of interconnected topics and themes introduced throughout the textbook chapters. First of all, in the opening sections, both the construction of a Palestinian and Jewish connection to the land is established in the textbook chapters through, as Andersen puts it, "the

reimagining of an ancient religious community as a nation". Themes such as religion and nationhood and topics connected to them provide a common-sense framework for understanding and explaining the histories of Jews and Arabs in Palestine. In turn, this supports the emergent and recurrent notion of "equal" claim to the land. In addition, Jewish (meta) historical identity is constructed around the above topics and themes to seamlessly connect the modern Zionist movement and modern Israel to "the vast Diasporan centre" and ancient (biblical) Israel. In turn, the purpose of Zionism is not discussed in terms of its political (colonial) or ideological moorings. Instead it is discussed in terms of a natural connection between Judaism and Zionism and the latter's purpose to provide a safe haven for Jews everywhere under the auspices of Theodor Herzl, following increased anti-Semitism in the late 19th century' (Walls 2010, 177).

Regarding Zionism, Walls argues later; 'already discussed, the role and purpose of the Zionist movement is not placed in any critical light. Instead, it is described as existing to return a persecuted Jewish people to its biblical-historical (and national) homeland to create a haven for all Jews' (Walls 2010, 252). Walls clarifies how the Jewish presence is seen in the context of Jewish suffering:

'The theme of historical Jewish suffering introduced in the opening sections of the textbooks (e.g. pogroms, ghettoisation, expulsions etc.) is reintroduced in the historical event of the extermination of six million European Jews during the Nazi holocaust. This event acts as the subsequent backdrop to the topic of Jewish immigration and the explanatory framework for acts of Jewish terror in the wake of the 1939 White Paper along with allusions to British collaboration with the Arabs. In addition, the shifting of the topic of Jewish immigration to the plight of Holocaust survivors pits the latter against the indigenous population and constructs a difficult moral dilemma (e.g. whose plight should the reader adhere to the most)' (Walls 2010, 178).

As Walls points out, this creates a complicated problem and moral dilemma that locates readers/students in a difficult position of ‘should one support the Holocaust survivors or the Arabs of Palestine?’ (Walls 2010, 174)

The last section of Chapter Four (Partition, 1948 and the Creation of the Refugee Problem), is guided by a main question; ‘How are the topics of the partition proposal, the 1948 war and the creation of the refugee problem treated in the textbooks examined above?’ (Walls 2010, 192) The answer is; ‘I have already discussed the general framework established in the textbooks in the opening sections of this chapter. Some of these are reinvoked in the treatment of the partition proposal in the textbooks too. For example, the historical event of the extermination of six million European Jews during the Nazi holocaust serves as part of the explanatory frame for understanding the purpose of partition. Partition is understood here to prevent the Holocaust from ever happening again and to provide the Jewish people with a state of their own’ (Walls 2010, 192–193). What happened in 1948 constitutes another part of the answer;

‘The general framework discussed is also present in relation to the topics of the 1948 war or “War of Independence” and the creation of the refugee problem, including the idea of “equal” claim to the land. This is mediated through among other things the employment of the term independence to describe Israel’s defensive war against the Arab states. As soon as the state of Israel is established and its political independence declared in the textbooks we learn that the Arab states have launched an aggressive attack on it in order to destroy it. The reasons given range from a non-desire to have a Jewish state as a neighbour or a desire to have Palestine continue as an Arabic country. Bringing in the international law discourse, the creation of the refugee problem is also treated in the textbooks. However, no direct connection is made to Israel’s own actions but instead “the war” is ascribed an agentive role in causing either the flight or expulsion of the Palestine Arabs. The issue of Arab flight or expulsion is treated as a contested one in the textbooks. Mention is made of the fact that in defiance of international law the Palestinian

refugees are not permitted to return to their homes occupied by Israel in 1949. Mitigating this, it is explained that these homes were needed to accommodate Jewish refugees expelled from Arab countries' (Walls 2010, 193).

The next chapter (Chapter 5), Pivotal Conflicts and Processes of Peace, that concentrate on the 'key events of conflict and peace' examines the textbook treatments of the following matters;

- The June 67 War: Causes and Consequences
- Camp David I
- Contextualizing Occupation
- Intifada, Statehood and Peace
- The 1993 Oslo Peace Process

Each matter is presented in a sub - category (section). In relation to the June '67 war, the results of textbook examination demonstrate, as Walls puts it: 'First of all, the seminal events or conflict triggers presented in the texts are among other things Egypt's stopping of maritime traffic, the gathering of Egyptian troops along the border and even the claim of an attack launched on Israel' (Walls 2010, 208). One textbook makes a clear statement about this; 'in 1967, Egypt and the other Arab states launched a new attack on Israel' (Walls 2010, 207). Regarding the lands Israel occupied in this war, Walls argues: 'Israel's victory and occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (as well as the Golan Heights and the Sinai) is explained in terms of its security needs or as a defensive act (a "counterattack")' (Walls 2010, 208). Beside this sympathetic position towards Israel, the Palestinian ownership of the land is treated very differently; 'In the next paragraph we learn that "the Palestinians wanted back the land that they felt was theirs". Echoing the framework examined in previous textbook chapters, the nature of Palestinian or local Arab ownership of the land is reduced to a strongly-felt desire or claim' (Walls 2010, 208). Comparison between such a statement and that which textbooks produce about Israel's connection to the land, one based, mainly, on stories about a time not very far from the pre - historical period, when nothing notable is registered properly so that it can be used as historical evidence, is a strategy that can be helpful. In addition, Walls suggests another interesting point about the occupied land when

saying: 'Although mentioned from time to time, perhaps one of the least covered contexts presented in the textbooks is that of the Israeli occupation in the post '67 war period despite the fact that there exists an abundance of information from various sources such as human rights organisations, NGOs etc.' (Walls 2010, 217). As Walls shows, this occupation is justified through other ways in Swedish textbooks; 'Palestinian people still do not have a land of their own' (Walls 2010, 221). The reason for this we discover is that Israel "has refused to return the West Bank and the other areas conquered in 1967". Following this, an explanation is provided for Israel's refusal which has to do with "water shortages". This we learn "is an important reason for why Israel intends to keep the West Bank" because "Israel gathers much of its drinking-water from the occupied West Bank". Previously in the same textbook we learn that the reasons for Israeli occupation have to do with "security". Thus the textbook establishes the mitigating hurdles toward ending the occupation as Israeli security and Israeli water shortages but not the occupation itself' (Walls 2010, 221). In relation to the Intifada, Walls found; 'Generally speaking, while the beginning of the first Intifada is connected to Palestinian actions it is only vaguely connected to the Israeli occupation through such slogans as "humiliation and repression" or a "desperate situation". The tendency, then, is to focus on Palestinian violence as the general trigger and Israeli retaliation as the general response. The Israeli occupation itself is not described as a direct cause of conflict or even as a direct act of violence which Palestinians would respond or retaliate to' (Walls 2010, 230). Walls introduces the 'equal claim' to the land as an order of discourse that prevails in the textbook narratives when they are about the land;

'As I previously discussed, I have identified the "equal" claim discourse framing the textbook narratives as the intersection between the Oslo discourse, language and perspectives from the international law discourse and the Jewish/Arab connection to the land discourse. Simultaneously, the "equal" claim discourse is maintained through the exclusion of critical international law perspectives pertaining to the Israel/Palestine conflict' (Walls 2010, 245).

He adds;

'Within this order of discourse it is understood that the parties to the conflict have an "equal" claim or right to the land on the basis of religious and/or national connection. This order of discourse essentially trumps the references to the international law discourse appearing in the textbooks. For example, given the assumption that both parties share an "equal" claim to the land, such condemnations by the UN on the status of Jerusalem are subordinated to the assumed claim. "Equal" claim also gains its authority through the exclusion of broader perspectives from the international law discourse discussed above which, as I discussed, trumps any ideological claims to the land' (Walls 2010, 246).

In Chapter 7, Concluding Discussion, the overall results of examining Swedish textbooks are produced. The following statements come from this chapter and represent those that refer to a bias:

- 'Thus, the dream of return is understood in the textbooks and teachers' statements to actually mean the physical, political return of the Jewish people metahistorically connected to the land' (Walls 2010, 298).
- 'the notion of "equal" claim to the land provides the ideological glue and/or normative point of departure for linking and/or making sense of knowledge claims on the history of the conflict in teachers' statements and in the textbooks' (Walls 2010, 300).
- 'It is understood throughout the textbook chapters that there is a meta historical connection between the Zionist settlers, Nazi holocaust survivors and the Jews of ancient biblical times since they are considered one and the same nation-people' (Walls 2010, 301).
- 'The occupation is never cast as a potential cause of the violence. Instead, cycles of violence are referred to whereupon is inferred that these cycles of violence are often ignited by the Palestinians, for example with the failure of the 2000 peace summit. More generally too there is a tendency to portray the Arab side as more prone to aggressive and/or rejectionist actions; for example, through their

unequivocal intention to prevent the establishment of the state of Israel or simply to destroy it. This image is contrasted, however, with reference to the plight and sentiments of the local Palestinian Arab population and tacit references to the Palestinian tragedy of 1948 or al-Naqba (an event which is never directly attributed to the actions of Israel but to “the war”)' (Walls 2010, 301–302).

- ‘The Israeli role of occupier is never directly referred to and neither is the occupation itself described as a direct cause of the conflict. Nor is the occupation even described as an act of violence which Palestinians would respond or retaliate to or even resist’ (Walls 2010, 302).
- ‘Compared to coverage of other historical conflicts in the textbooks, the Israel/Palestine conflict takes up very little space and is sometimes discussed as an adjunct to the Second World War or Jewish history’ (Walls 2010, 137).

One section of this chapter is dedicated to ‘Pro-Israeli and Pro-Palestinian Bias and the Textbooks’ History’. Regarding the pro-Israeli bias that Swedish textbooks exhibit, Walls suggests the following (his statement in full):

- ‘The points of pro-Israeli bias emerging in the textbooks are imparted first of all through a rendering of - Jewish History which begins in 70 CE with the destruction of the Second Temple. From there it continues to the creation of the 2000 year Jewish Diaspora or through direct reference to the Nazi genocide and with that an explanation for why Israel was established. Furthermore, it is understood in the textbooks and more so in teachers' statements that “Jewish History” and in particular the Nazi holocaust is the educational topic within which the Israel/Palestine conflict may be explained and understood. Secondly, the textbooks construct a notion of a homogenous, metahistorical Jewish people in the Diaspora who have desired to return to their ancient homeland for 2000 years. Assuming a natural connection between religion and nation, then, other aspects of “Jewish History” are emphasised too. For example, the perennial suffering of the Jewish people since their dispersion from Jerusalem two millennia ago. Again, the pinnacle of this suffering is connected to

the heinous genocide of six million European Jews during the Nazi holocaust. In connection with this event and historical suffering, the textbooks mention the right to a homeland on the part of the Jewish people (incidentally, a right which has been enshrined in international law since the 1940s in recognition of the rights of ethnic peoples). In addition, this right is naturally (ideologically) connected to an assumed biblical-national — claim to the land invoked through such themes as the dream of return. Furthermore, this claim is understood as — equal to both parties to the conflict. Further pro-Israeli bias in connection with the above relates to the identity constructs (as mentioned) and roles Jews or the Jewish people are ascribed. First of all, it is understood in the textbooks that Jews in general and Jewish-Israelis in particular are the same people historically and contemporaneously. Given their role as a persecuted people they have had to defend their independence in Israel sometimes through brutal retaliation in response to Palestinian or Arab threats to their existence. Given this backdrop, such topics as political Zionism, various conflicts and peace processes are generally presented from an Israeli perspective. This functions in turn due to the fact that there is little or no orientation with the debate 1948 or other sources discussed here, albeit perhaps only with some of the perspectives presented by traditionalist historians' (Walls 2010, 305).

Walls also proposes the following items as evidence of the pro-Palestinian bias found in Swedish textbooks (his statement in full):

- 'Points of pro-Palestinian bias also appear repeatedly in the textbooks but without an educational aegis such as "Jewish History" to contrast with. First of all, the historical plight of the Palestinians is generally connected to the events following the 1948 war. Possibly drawing on some aspects of the debate discussed in Chapter One, it is discussed whether the Palestinians were expelled or fled following the war. However, the question is left open and perhaps as a result no direct causal connection to Israeli actions and the creation of the refugee problem are discussed. On the other hand, mention is made of the occupation of Palestinian homes following the war and the plight of

the Palestinians. Personal accounts are provided too through one teenage Palestinian girl who is forced to reside in refugee camps year after year with her family. The PLO is sometimes portrayed too in its political role as a liberation organisation determined to win back the territories lost in 1948. In one textbook in particular from 1991-92, a connection is made between the continuing construction of illegal settlements in the West Bank, Israeli security and the prevention of a Palestinian state. With regard to national rights, the textbooks emphasise the point that both the Palestinians and Israelis share an “equal” claim to the land. Albeit marginal, some contextualisation of the reality of occupation is expressed through vague formulations such as “humiliation” and/or “suffering”. From that a tacit connection is also made to the beginnings of the 1987 or first Intifada or uprising. Even acts of terrorism and protest are contextualised in connection with the suffering of Palestinians under occupation, although direct reference to the realities of the Israeli occupation is never made. I would conclude that these differing biases emerging in the textbooks represent two opposing political and ideological positions of the different textbook writers characterised by an ambition to be balanced and neutral. Arguably, too, such a confluence of different biases reflects the political and ideological culture within which the matter of the conflict has been deliberated over the years between different power blocs. It is perhaps possible to conclude that the writers of the textbooks have drawn both upon the established Swedish political consensus or debate on the conflict and have perhaps been influenced by other external discourses. Very little, however, would indicate an orientation with scholarly sources. Given the lack of scholarly oversight which many Swedish school textbooks were released from in 1991 to be placed on the market, this is perhaps unsurprising’ (Walls 2010, 306–307).

This thesis started from an initial problem about the gap between textbook narratives on the Palestine/Israel conflict and the scholarly sources. One section, ‘Comparing scholarship and the textbooks’ is designed to formulate the

results of the research in this area. The following items can represent the main findings;

- 'All in all, in connection with how the history of the conflict is presented in the scholarly debate, the version provided in the textbooks is of a character more concerned with instilling an ideological message than exploring the political and ideological roots of the conflict (albeit via a neutral language form that avoids explicitly adopting either bias discussed above). For example, generally speaking while the textbooks rely on biblical myth and national ideology as a point of departure, scholarship, whether on the history of the conflict or on Israeli and Palestinian textbooks, tends to proceed from a discussion of the political and ideological roots of the conflict' (Walls 2010, 307).
- 'Apart from the unique framework the Swedish textbooks proceed from, there is another significant difference between them and the scholarly literature and from time to time the Israeli textbooks themselves. This difference concerns the manner in which the root causes of the conflict are presented. In the Swedish textbooks we learn that the conflict is about two distinctive metahistorical peoples who are struggling over the same piece of land that they share an "equal" claim to. In contrast, in the scholarly literature, such issues as the political and ideological roots of Zionism are discussed and fought out. And whether 'new historians' or traditional historians agree or not such a discussion appears to be connected to a further one concerning the background causes of the conflict' (Walls 2010, 308).

The thesis produces a general conclusion in this regard;

'Pointing to my main conclusions, the first of these proceeds from the general problem I took as my point of departure in chapter one that generally speaking the links between scholarship, textbooks and teachers' statements are very weak. In this regard, focusing on the textbooks alone, they do not provide the teachers or pupils with a platform for a broad critical-analytical and balanced understanding of

the root causes of the conflict on the basis of varying perspectives’
(Walls 2010, 313).

Conclusion of the Chapter:

This chapter, the review of the related literature, has listed and introduced all explored research pieces. This review has been conducted to analyse how the Israel/Palestine question has been treated, directly or indirectly, in textbooks used in Western educational systems. This has been done with a view to making a critique of the central points of the research introduced with an emphasis on those exercises that are related to design and methodology. This constituted the first part of the chapter. In addition, bias, as a central concern of the research, has been treated thoroughly; an independent category, the second part of the chapter, has been designed to deal with how the relevant research takes positions and provides arguments about the bias the writers explore in the textbooks studied.

The review produced some outcomes that can contribute to drawing a map of the related literature; it demonstrated that a very limited number of studies have been conducted to exclusively investigate how Western textbooks treat the Israel/Palestine question; only two pieces of research, those done by Walls and Andrea L Smith, can be classified in this category. These studies also acknowledged through their literature review that they are the first investigations that have focused on such a topic (in their countries; Sweden and the US respectively) (Walls 2010, 24; A. L. Smith 2011, 40). Other relevant research mentioned in this review deals with the question through broader topics such as 'Arabs and 'Middle East' that can cover the Israel/Palestine question.

This review can show as well that all relevant research supports the idea that textbooks used to teach the Israel/Palestine question are biased; all of the studies, except two, support the idea that the prevailing bias is a pro-Israeli one. These two different works are not produced in academia; they are shaped by writers who played a clear role in promoting Israeli interests in the USA; one has acted as president of the Institute for Jewish and Community Research in San Francisco and the other was Executive Director of the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE). The roles they played might be considered a main factor that can explain their different positions.

The anti- Arab/ME bias explored in the Western textbooks is seen in two different ways; some, like Van de Ven, view it as a typical American treatment of a non-Western country/region. But a bigger number of analysts, mentioned in this review, consider, explicitly or implicitly, this position as a different approach that is at odds with the standard treatment of such questions.

The common character of pro-Israeli bias explored in the Western textbooks entails presenting the Israeli viewpoint of disputed questions. The Israeli positions on these matters are taken for granted and not questioned in a scientific critical manner. In contrast, there is a very limited space, if any, for providing students with the Palestinian perspective of the discussed questions. This treatment leaves no chance for students to understand both sides, and form a balanced view of the question.

A number of methods are adopted for conducting textbook analysis in the studies reviewed in this chapter; content analysis, discourse analysis and comparative analysis can be mentioned as the most applied ones. Most pieces of research explored in this review are 'product oriented' investigations but there are cases of 'reception oriented' and 'process oriented' analyses as well. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used to conduct these pieces of research. All studies mentioned here are examined by one or two researchers. The only exception is the work done by MESA (Morgan and Walker 2008) that used 6 research workers to check the consistency of the judgments made.

Another matter of general evaluation of the literature refers to those pieces of research that have been produced on how Israeli textbooks treat the question. These studies constitute a large part of the existing literature but they have not been mentioned here as this review is designed to cover only textbooks that are used in Western countries.

An evaluation of the current state of the literature can also, demonstrate that almost all relevant research explored in this review was conducted by educationalists. Educational considerations dominated, as a result, in these studies. This pushed historical and political considerations to the margin. For instance, the political and divisive nature of the Israel/Palestine question, as an issue that is located at the heart of an existing, long - lasting, confrontational

and brutal conflict, and its implications in the research area has been ignored. The afore-mentioned researchers produced and presented their related research in a way that non-sensitive, non-contentious and neutral topics are presented, where readers can easily trust the researchers and their efforts to find substantial answers to their research questions. Here strong political tendencies that occupy agents of the research, and provide a limited chance for them to act as an impartial researcher are neglected. Educationalists prefer, in general, to pass over such a crucial introduction quickly and jump towards evaluations and conclusions that can be translated into useful and practical results for those who are active in teaching and learning. Hence, they don't seem interested in spending time to clarify the methodological and epistemological aspects of the research where fundamental assumptions of the research are formed or main judgments are made. The existence of political motivations increase, rightly, the level of scepticism about the nature of the judgments made where such an intense political issue interferes in what researchers produce. Clarification, as a solution to such a problem, can shed some considerable light on what such research suggests, and give a chance to readers who are not ready to rely, only, on the writers' personal judgment, and are eager to make their own judgments. This is possible when a researcher shares, with readers, helpful materials s/he has, to make such judgment possible; minimizing cases of judgments and maximizing the level of provision of evidence and arguments seems like an effective strategy in such a situation. Studies reviewed in this chapter, in general, are short on paying serious attention to such an issue. As a result, they are under-resourced in providing enough material that can make the research clear and repeatable; they are too quick and confident, at the same time, in making judgments.

Hence, lack of clarity can form the main flaw explored in the related literature. As mentioned earlier, the special political nature of the question requires the utmost clarity as a main way to convince readers about the results of the research and the way it has been produced. The main body of the explored literature lacks this. The shortcomings belong, at the same time, to different categories; some studies are short in making clear how analysed textbooks are selected; many introduce them as the most popular textbooks without explaining how they are ranked as such. Others are short on clarifying the

methodological aspect of the research where the reader is not able to realize how this research is conducted or can be repeated. This reduces the chance to convince sceptical readers who see the political aspect of the question as a very effective and powerful factor.

This literature review produced other results that introduce a significant gap in the literature and justify conducting this research to fill it:

- There is a clear gap about textbooks used at college level; no study has been found that analyses how college textbooks treat the question; the research conducted by Al-Bataineh confirms this idea not only for the Israel/Palestine question but also for all research that is conducted to analyse textbook treatment of the whole Middle East; 'While these studies are useful to a certain degree, they are limited to elementary and secondary levels. This researcher could not find any content analysis studies that were specifically designed to analyze textbooks used at the college level' (Al-Bataineh 1998, 21).
- All empirical research that has been conducted to investigate the nature of the questioned treatment, relied on college textbooks as authoritative sources of relevant knowledge. Their status as true sources of relevant knowledge is taken for granted. No research went further and questioned the relevant knowledge offered in the college textbooks.
- No research has yet appeared to examine textbook bias on the question as a regional (Western) phenomenon that works beyond individual Western countries, and forms a uniform reality that covers all of them. The political and international role the West plays to support Israel is taken as the real context of the question, and taken as such for the sake of conducting this research,
- No relevant research has been explored that employs 'historical narrative' as a method to analyse textbook treatment of the question. This method can provide a different chance to focus on the historical property of the textbooks analysed.

All these points might contribute to justify why this topic has been chosen and how this can contribute to filling the existing gap in the related literature. There are other research projects that can contribute to such an endeavour; all

empirical investigations that focus on one or more Western country can cover a larger area and help complete the all-inclusive map. As mentioned earlier, what we have now can only cover, partially, the US and Sweden. No research has been found about the situation in other Western countries.

Chapter 3: The Survey and its Procedure to Establish the Sample

This study requires a selection procedure to arrive at a sample, a manageable number of textbooks, for its main examination. The ideal is to select certain textbooks that can represent, better than others, a large number of textbook choices that are adopted in Western universities to teach the history of the Israel/Palestine question. It is assumed that textbooks that are adopted more frequently should have a higher status of representation. For this it appears necessary to find a way to select the most popular/adopted textbooks in Western universities. Several strategies can be planned for such an endeavour:

- Publication figures: the figure that displays the number of volumes of a given published book can refer to 'the book's popularity'. This factor works, in particular, when school textbooks are at stake as they are used, predominantly, for schooling purposes. This means one can consider the number of published textbooks as a figure very close to that of those actually used in schools as textbooks. Publishers, in general, are not willing to reveal the information they have in this regard (Wills 1992, 64). Business considerations are one influential factor which makes them very reluctant to do so. But there are places where some information about this matter can be accessed. The American Textbook Council is one known to many textbook researchers; it provides a list of 'Widely Adopted History Textbooks' in American schools, which can be consulted easily through its website (<http://historytextbooks.net/adopted.htm>). On the subject of college level textbooks, analysts' statements suggest that there is not such a ready list of popular textbooks (Wills 1992, 65). There are other differences as well; Textbooks that are used in colleges can be consulted by a large number of other interested readers. This is quite obvious in History if not so in some other academic disciplines.

- Best sellers: the figures for bestselling books can also say something noticeable about the popularity of a book. But this, again, relates to a wider readership as sales are not limited to college students. One good example of such a list is the Amazon bestselling list. It is possible to access bestselling books on the history of Israel at <http://www.amazon.com/Best-Sellers-Books->

Israel-History/zgbs/books/5001 for instance. The results of the survey, that conducted for the sake of this PhD project to find the most adopted textbooks, demonstrates that there is a meaningful difference between this list (bestselling books on the history of Israel) and the most used textbooks in colleges.

- The second - hand online textbook market: there are online companies engaged in selling and renting second - hand college textbooks. Valorebooks in the US is one clear instance. Some information provided on its website (www.valorebooks.com), the number of used books offered for rent or sale, for example, might indicate the popularity of a book. There is a section on this website where the figures for textbooks on Israel can be found (<http://www.valorebooks.com/new-used-textbooks/history/middle-east/israel>).

Again here, it is difficult to decide whether or not the figure provides something close to one which can represent the most adopted textbooks. An interest in keeping a useful textbook for probable reference in the future can be one reason for not selling a textbook that has been used for the sake of a given course. Furthermore, these online companies exist only in countries with a huge market for textbooks such as the US. No similar company has been found in other Western countries.

- The number of editions: the number of editions can probably refer to a textbook's popularity. At the same time there are popular books that have not experienced several editions. If, for instance, one takes all books on the history of Israel with the highest number of editions, 6 or more for example, the list produced cannot necessarily represent all popular textbooks.

- There are other signs that can say something considerable about the popularity of a given book. Citation is one. Databases such as 'Web of Knowledge' or 'Google Scholar' provide figures about how often the book is cited in other academic works. The number of reviews in large online book stores such as Amazon can give some idea about the popularity of a book as well.

The syllabus is the main place where a textbook is introduced formally to students of a given course. There is no other site to compete with the syllabus on this matter. A textbook introduced in a syllabus has confirmation of its status

as an authentic source in a given area of knowledge, granted by an academic hierarchy. Books introduced here should best represent the books students read to access knowledge in a given course. It is expected that data extracted from syllabi has the capacity to offer an estimate of adopted textbooks, and confirm which textbooks represent knowledge in a given academic area. The problem with arriving at such a figure is how to collect the relevant data that is scattered in a seemingly endless number of colleges, universities, courses and classes. Accessing such information poses a challenge that can be dealt with through two main strategies:

1. Communication: through communication, as a medium to reach those who have access to syllabi data, lecturers of the related courses and also others in the university departments or libraries could be contacted. Communication is easier these days thanks to the provision of email addresses of college staff through university websites. Phone calls and ordinary letters were the main alternatives before the days of the internet. In any case, in using modern or traditional ways of communication, there are obstacles that might limit the results of this survey due to certain factors that might work against ideal achievements:
 - University lecturers are busy people; allocating enough time to provide information for a student in another university/country might not form a priority for them,
 - The addressees might choose some, and not other, syllabi to send when encountered with a question about readings they suggest to students, for some professional or political reasons,
 - Due to the controversial nature of the subject and its strong political dimension, lecturers might not feel comfortable if asked about provision of such information,
 - Communication with a large number of lecturers, hundreds for instance, requires a sizeable amount of time and labour that might not easily be available for a PhD student,

2. Web content mining: as a significant number of universities in the West have started to provide online syllabi, a search engine can help as an effective tool to extract required syllabi from online sources. This strategy might have a better chance of success if the negative factors of the last strategy (communication) are taken into consideration.

Proliferation of online college syllabi provides a valuable source of information about the 'scholarly impact' of different academic readings in general, and textbooks in particular. This has been confirmed through some empirical investigations, including the one conducted by Kayvan Kousha and Mike Thelwall in their article 'Assessing the Impact of Disciplinary Research on Teaching: An Automatic Analysis of Online Syllabuses' (Kousha and Thelwall 2008). This study supports the idea that online syllabi provide enough data for evaluating journal articles in some social sciences including political science, suggesting it as a new source of 'scholarly impact' besides 'journal citation'.

There is academic research now that has been conducted using this new source of data; 'By the Book: Assessing the Place of Textbooks in U. S. Survey Courses' is one study that uses online syllabi to find the most adopted textbooks in US colleges for teaching US history, in order to evaluate the place of textbooks in academic courses (Cohen 2005). The emergence of online syllabi as valuable data encouraged researchers to find more effective techniques to extract the required syllabi from online sources. 'The Syllabus Based Web Content Extractor' an article by Saba Hilal and S. A. M. Rizvi is one piece of work that suggests a technique to make web syllabus mining easier (Hilal, Rizvi, and Islamia 2008). This, also, encouraged creating databases that store a large number of syllabi. The 'Syllabus Finder' is considered a main source that has collected over a million syllabi between 2002 and 2009. This online database that is characterized as the largest fund of syllabi ever, according to its founder, has been abandoned, however, due to new regulations that now govern searching on Google.

Overall Boundaries of the Survey:

General guidelines/limits are needed to locate the selection procedure in an exact area that most suits the objectives of the search. Textbooks that are used in Western universities to teach the history of the Israel/Palestine question are the main target of the search. The following guidelines are designed to focus the search on this exact area:

- **Place:** all universities that are based in Western countries and can be considered part of Western academia are included in this search in general. The West, or Western countries, is taken as a political concept that is used commonly in a wide range of literature and includes most European countries and those countries outside Europe where a majority of its population have European origins i.e. the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. There is a language obstacle if all these European countries are taken for textbook analysis, as they speak too many different languages which would require books in different languages. Only one language, English, is taken for this analysis as it covers a large part of knowledge production about the subject in the West where the US, the UK and Canada are taken into account. Other English - speaking countries of the West, such as Ireland, Australia and New Zealand are also included in this survey. There are Western universities that are based in non-Western countries. These cases are not included due to the fact that their different environment might impact on their textbook choices. The American University in Cairo is one case where its online syllabi are excluded on this basis.
- **Time:** the research aims to deal with the contemporary West. As a result it was necessary to put a time limit in the near past to frame a period of time between then and now that can be considered as contemporary time. The year 2000 has been chosen for this purpose; all courses that are offered in 2000 or later are included in the selection search. In practice the search conducted for this survey shows that few online syllabi come from a time before that date.
- **Reading Materials:** different kinds of reading materials are introduced in college syllabi. This includes books, journal articles, documents, films and so on. For the sake of this research only related books are recorded.

Many books about Israel or the history of the question have been identified while searching online sources. This search excludes all books except those that cover the history of the question in general. Hence books that deal only with some historical events such as wars or the history of Palestine alone, and not Israel, are not selected. The books chosen through the search are the ones that constitute a survey of the question's history.

- **Courses:** the main target was courses that deal with the history of Israel or the Arab-Israeli conflict. But other courses such as those on the Middle East or Israel are recorded as well. There are other courses, with no direct relation to the question, that have been used as a source of required data; courses on 'world history', 'peace and conflict' or 'international relations' can be mentioned in this regard. The reason for including them is that they deal with the history of Israel, if only as a minor section of the syllabus. The main courses that have been removed from the search even though they contained some related data were those that introduced relevant textbooks in a completely different context. Sometimes a syllabus introduces one book just as a general example regardless of its topic. This was a main case that has not been included in the collected data.

'Syllabus finder' could work as an ideal place to find syllabi that contain required textbooks but its closure deprived researchers of that chance. There are other syllabi funds that are provided online. A small number of academic establishments provide a remarkable number of syllabi in a given discipline. The American Academy of Religion and the American Political Science Association are good instances. Some publishing companies have also established databases that contain information about adopted textbooks. One in the UK, Blackwell's, was successful in building a sizeable database but the data provided is limited and includes only books that they have to sell. No syllabus database was found that suffices for a thorough search. Websites of university departments can be visited to find course syllabi. There are extensive lists of syllabi for Jewish Studies in the UK and US and some other Western countries that can be used for such a purpose but many university websites do not have a clear policy on the provision of all syllabi online. The MIT website,

<http://ocw.mit.edu/courses/>, is an exception where all syllabi of the courses offered in the university can be accessed online. 'Jewish virtual libraries' was the only source found that had a good number of syllabi for courses on Israel. A number of syllabi referenced in this survey of American and Canadian universities come from this database. Alternatively this study conducted an extensive search on Google to find required data in different Western countries. Searches started with the United Kingdom and moved to other countries when the search in one country was exhausted. The last part of a web address, such as 'ie' or 'nz', that identifies the country is used to manage such a search. In some cases domains that are used only for academic institutions, such as ac.uk for instance, are used to search university websites in a given country. At the first stage searches are focused on related syllabi and when an extensive list of used textbooks is formed, textbooks' titles or authors' names can become a main keyword for the search. Some general keywords such as syllabus, course outline, Israel, history, reading list, course code, bibliography, credit, semester, assessment and module proved useful in extracting online syllabi. Facilities provided by advanced search on Google were also quite helpful. 'File type' was a big help as most of the syllabi found are in pdf format. Others are mainly Microsoft word documents (doc). Some cases of other files like html are also explored. All extracted syllabi have been scanned thoroughly with an aim to finding books that deal with the history of the question. All cases of such books are recorded in an independent file for further processing when calculations should be done to determine the most adopted books. Other strategies that helped managing the search are presented as follows:

- Some syllabi are found more than once in different searches. Only one syllabus is taken for calculation if there was more than one copy on the internet. With all measures to avoid such problems in place, a final check to find duplication proved necessary. Also if there was more than one reference to a book on one syllabus, later references were disregarded.
- Books, sometimes, are referred to through different editions. This difference is ignored while searching, and the last edition is taken for analysis as it can represent, more than older editions, the contemporary condition of the book,

- If similar or the same syllabi for one course appear that belong to different academic years/semesters, all of them are taken into account. This has been done due to the fact that different times can refer to different instances of textbook adoption.
- Some syllabi refer students to an address on the university Intranet, Blackboard for instance, or hand-outs that are distributed in the class for reading lists. If there is no online reading list at all the syllabus is removed from the search. The extracted syllabus is recorded when the whole reading list or part of it is presented online,
- Books mentioned for reading on syllabi are introduced through different categories; some are clearly introduced as textbooks for a course. There are other categories under which books are introduced; 'Required Texts/Reading/Textbook', 'Principal/Core Texts', 'Mandatory Textbook', 'Suggested/Preliminary Readings', 'Reading Materials' and 'Bibliography' are the main ones. The number of books introduced for reading on a syllabus varies greatly. One book only is introduced in some cases, and in other cases the number might go very high, to constitute tens of books. Sometimes books are introduced as a source for the whole course, and sometimes as a source for one part/session of the course. All these complexities are discounted when lists of extracted books are formed; a book is recorded if there was a recommendation, of any category, to read the book for the sake of the course.
- Some readings are introduced sometimes without mentioning the book title, mentioning a writer for instance. These general recommendations (to read writings of a given writer) are also ignored for the sake of simplicity.
- Books that have been written by my primary supervisor, Professor Ilan Pappé, are removed from the search. This has been done due to the fact that analysing books written by one's supervisor might not form a proper subject for impartial and unbiased investigation. Pappé's writings about the question in general, and 'The Israel/Palestine Question', 'A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples' and 'The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict' in particular, are recommended by many syllabi but

it is not believed that these books can reach the top adopted textbooks that have been selected for this analysis.

- There were a few cases of a syllabus with a potential to be counted in this search but reaching them proved impossible; a message 'page not found' was received every time an enquiry was tried.
- It is quite likely that a few cases of a required syllabus are not found due to mistakes that might have occurred in spelling the title of the book or its author in online syllabi; some cases of misspelled titles are explored through other keywords in fact.
- All syllabi that were used for this survey come from open online sources. No attempt, whatsoever, has been made to extract or publish syllabi that are designed for the sole use of a certain community,
- Due to the fact that the English language is used in some non-English - speaking Western countries such as The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Denmark and Norway to teach academic disciplines, a good number of online syllabi from those countries might exist to form a sizeable quantity of data for determining the most adopted textbooks of the field in those countries. In addition, there are courses in these countries that are not taught in English but their syllabus has a reference to English books as reading material. Conducting such a search might add something to the results of this survey that is based only on results from 6 countries in the West. It is believed that there would be a better chance for such extension in years to come as the numbers of on line syllabi are increasing.

The Results of the Survey:

The main results of the survey are presented in this section where 10 tables are designed; the first table lists all extracted textbooks with their adoption frequencies in all the countries studied. The second one lists, in order, the textbooks with higher frequencies, to display the top adopted textbooks, and the third one shows all book frequencies in all countries of the survey. Table 4 exhibits the position of the (6) selected textbooks in all countries of the survey. Six other tables (table 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12) are designed to record all extracted syllabi in six countries of the survey. Table 12, the

longest one, is presented in the appendix. There are some general points about the results of the search that come in advance as follows:

- The search operation conducted for this survey resulted in the extraction of 496 syllabi: 370 syllabi from USA universities, 49 syllabi from British universities, 42 syllabi from Canadian universities, 16 syllabi from Australian universities, 11 syllabi from New Zealand universities and 8 syllabi from Irish universities.
- The position of the six selected textbooks at the top of the list of all adopted textbooks in all six countries of the survey (Table 4) supports the idea that one pattern of textbook adoption (on the history of the Israel/Palestine question) governs all six countries of the survey. This finding also proposes that this pattern might govern other Western countries, and the West as a whole.
- There are a few textbooks, six indeed, which have much higher frequencies compared with other textbooks that are recommended through syllabi. The big gap between their frequencies and those belonging to other textbooks narrows any chance of a radical change in the list of the top 6 textbooks if further searches are conducted. This gives more credit to the top-six list to truly represent the most adopted textbooks.
- Search results in larger countries, the US, the UK and Canada, which produce more online syllabi, could be regarded as more reliable compared with those belonging to smaller countries (Ireland, New Zealand) that are established on fewer cases of extracted syllabi.
- The extracted textbooks originate from different courses; some of them are designed to teach the history of the Israel/Palestine question or a much related subject. Others are focused on different subjects such as those related to the Middle East or world History. A textbook adoption is registered in the survey when the book is mentioned as a source of relevant knowledge on Israel/Palestine question.
- The textbooks chosen are adopted differently in different syllabi; some of them have been introduced as the main textbook for the related courses; 'Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict', 'A History of

Israel', 'A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict' and 'A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict' are introduced as such in many syllabi. Some others, 'Righteous Victims' for instance, haven't been regarded as in this category in most cases.

- There are other indications that confirm the findings of the survey; one can be seen in a popular textbook 'A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict' where almost all books that are 'suggested' for 'Further Reading' on the history of Israel are the same textbooks that have been explored as 'the most adopted textbooks' in the survey (Bickerton and Klausner 1998, Introduction).
- The list of twenty frequently adopted textbooks on the history of the Israel/Palestine question, shown in Table 1, demonstrates that none of them are written by a Palestinian, Arab or Muslim. This survey suggests Professor Ilan Pappé as the only scholar, with a critical view of Zionism, who has a chance of being included in the list of the top twenty writers of the most adopted textbooks in Western countries, which features in the survey.

Table 1: Frequencies of textbook adoptions on all extracted syllabi³

No	Author	Textbook Title	Year	Countries of the Survey					
				UK	IE	CA	NZ	AU	US
1	Gelvin, J.L.,	The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War	2007	8	1	2	4		28
2	Smith, C.D.,	Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents	2009	16	3	17	4	6	97
3	Shindler, C.,	A History of Modern Israel	2008	5		3			20
4	Sachar, H.M	History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time	1996	10	1	6		4	66
5	Morris, B.,	Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999	1999	18	4	15	2	2	82
6	Tessler, Mark	A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	1994	19		13			61
7	Beilin, Yossi	Israel: A Concise Political History	1992	4					
8	Gilbert, Martin	Israel: A History	1998	7	1				
9	O'Brien, Conor Cruise,	The Siege: The Story of Israel and Zionism	1986	4					
10	Schulze, Kirsten E.	The Arab-Israeli Conflict	1999	6	1				
11	Dowty, Alan	Israel/Palestine	2008	3		4			29
12	Lochery, Neill	A Short History of Israel	2001	1					
13	Fraser, T. G.,	The Arab-Israeli Conflict	1995	8	1	1	1		8

³ In this table all commonly adopted textbooks and their adoption frequency in all 6 countries are listed.

No	Author	Textbook Title	Year	UK	IE	CA	NZ	AU	US
14	Lesch, David W.	The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History	2007	2		3			14
15	Laqueur W., and Rubin, B.,	The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict	2008	7		9	2		60
16	Rubinstein, Alvin Z.	The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Perspectives	1984			3			
17	Bregman, Aharon	A History of Israel	2002	3		5			
18	Caplan, N.,	The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories	2010			6			
19	Bickerton, I. J. and Klausner, C. L.	A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict	1991	5		8		5	118
20	Cohen, Michael J.,	The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict	1987					1	

Table 2: The most adopted textbooks⁴

No	Textbook Title	Adoption frequency in Total	No of Countries Book Adopted
1	Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents	143	6
2	A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict	136	4
3	Righteous victims: a History of the Zionist-Arab conflict	123	6
4	A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	93	3
5	A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time	87	5
6	The Arab-Israeli Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict	78	4

⁴ The most adopted textbooks and their adoption frequency are shown in this table.

Table 3: How most adopted textbooks are taken on in different (survey) countries⁵

No	UK	Ireland	Canada	New Zealand	Australia	US
1	Tessler 19	Morris 4	Smith 17	Smith 4	Smith 6	Bickerton 118
2	Morris 18	Smith 3	Morris 15	Gelvin 4	Bickerton 5	Smith 97
3	Smith 16	Sachar 1	Tessler 13	Laqueur 2	Sachar 4	Morris 82
4	Sachar 10	Fraser 1	Laqueur 9	Morris 2	Morris 2	Sachar 66
5	Gelvin 8	Gilbert 1	Bickerton 8	Fraser 1	Cohen 1	Tessler 61
6	Fraser 8	Schulze 1	Sachar 6			Laqueur 60
7	Laqueur 7	Gelvin 1	Caplan 6			Dowty 29
8	Gilbert 7		Bregman 5			Gelvin 28
9	Schulze 6		Dowty 4			Shindler 20
10	Bickerton 5		Shindler 3			Lesch 14
11	Shindler 5		Lesch 3			Fraser 8

⁵ Every word in this table, i.e. name of the author, represents a textbook adopted. The figure beside the name constitutes the adoption frequency of the book in one (specified) country.

Table 4: The position of the (six) selected textbooks in all countries of the survey⁶

No	UK	Ireland	Canada	New Zealand	Australia	US
1	Tessler 19	Morris 4	Smith 17	Smith 4	Smith 6	Bickerton 118
2	Morris 18	Smith 3	Morris 15	Gelvin 4	Bickerton 5	Smith 97
3	Smith 16	Sachar 1	Tessler 13	Laqueur 2	Sachar 4	Morris 82
4	Sachar 10	Fraser 1	Laqueur 9	Morris 2	Morris 2	Sachar 66
5	Gelvin 8	Gilbert 1	Bickerton 8	Fraser 1	Cohen 1	Tessler 61
6	Fraser 8	Schulze 1	Sachar 6			Laqueur 60
7	Laqueur 7	Gelvin 1	Caplan 6			Dowty 29
8	Gilbert 7		Bregman 5			Gelvin 28
9	Schulze 6		Dowty 4			Shindler 20
10	Bickerton 5		Shindler 3			Lesch 14
11	Shindler 5		Lesch 3			Fraser 8
No of adoption ⁷	75	8	68	8	17	484
Ratio of adoption ⁸	%69	%67	%76	%62	%94	%83

Details of the survey extracted data:

In this section six tables (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 12) are designed to exhibit the detailed results of the survey in all six Western countries. In these tables, the main information about the extracted syllabus, name of college for instance, is presented and a link to the online syllabus is produced through a reference that attaches the title of the course, or its code, to an URL address in the footnotes. Table no.12 (all extracted syllabi from US universities) is located in the appendix for its large size.

⁶ This table can demonstrate how 6 selected textbooks occupied the positions of the most adopted textbooks in all 6 countries of the survey. The figure beside the name constitutes the adoption frequency of the book in one (specified) country.

⁷ This figure reflects how many times 6 selected textbooks are adopted, altogether, in every country of the survey

⁸ This figure can present a virtual idea about the ratio of the selected(6) textbooks' adoption against the total number of the relevant textbooks' adoption frequency in every country of the survey

Table 5: All extracted syllabi from British universities⁹

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Date Taught
1	SOAS Department of The Languages and Cultures of the Near and Middle East	Israel, the Arab World and the Palestinians ¹⁰	15PNMC038	5 March 2013	NA
2	SOAS Department of the Languages and Cultures of the Near and Middle East	Israeli History and the Israel-Palestine Conflict ¹¹	155901167	5 March 2013	NA
3	UCL Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies	The Arab/Israeli Conflict ¹²	HEBR7750	5 March 2013	NA
4	Brunel University London	Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹³	PP3001	5 March 2013	2012-2013
5	University of Manchester, Faculty of Humanities	Fundamental Debates in the Study of Israel/Palestine ¹⁴	MEST30722	5 March 2013	NA
6	SOAS: Department of the Languages and Cultures of the Near and Middle East	History of Zionism ¹⁵	155901168	5 March 2013	NA
7	University of Salford	Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹⁶	HU-L200-20108-13	5 March 2013	NA
8	University of Edinburgh	The Middle East in International Relations ¹⁷	PGSP 11275	April 25	Semester 2011-2012
9	University of Edinburgh	The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Nations in Collision ¹⁸	NA	April 26	2011

⁹ In this table all syllabi extracted from British universities are listed. Some information about the syllabus, title of the course, code of the course, date it has been taught, name of the university, and date this information is accessed through the Internet is provided. A link to the address of the syllabus on the Internet is also produced in the footnote.

¹⁰ <http://www.soas.ac.uk/courseunits/15PNMC038.html>

¹¹ <http://www.soas.ac.uk/courseunits/155901167.html>

¹² <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hebrew-jewish/students/studentresources/syllabi-details/the-arab-israeli-conflict>

¹³ <http://readinglists.brunel.ac.uk/lists/7FF1E213-2491-1527-75C7-412C3EF97631.html>

¹⁴ <http://courses.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/undergraduate/module.html?code=MEST30722>

¹⁵ <http://www.soas.ac.uk/courseunits/155901168.html>

¹⁶ <http://lasu.salford.ac.uk/displaylist/HU-L200-20108-13>

¹⁷ http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/74765/Middle_East_in_International_Relations_2011-12_FINAL.pdf

¹⁸

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDwQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.boardofstudies.llc.ed.ac.uk%2Fdocs%2Fopen%2FThe_Arab-Israeli_Conflict_Nations_in_Collision.doc&ei=fmd6UcfBA8Ly0gWBioDQBg&usq=AFQjCNE74tIFGz769k2Dqhjl8qt7ruCsrA&sig2=ET1yeqvN7d2XQf9i92nLyA&bvm=bv.45645796,d.d2k

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Date Taught
10	University of Exeter, IAIS	The History and Historiography of the Palestine Question ¹⁹	ARAM204	6 March 2013	2012
11	University of Leeds	Zionism and the Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁰	ARAB2065	6 March 2013	2012/13
12	University of Manchester	The Question of Palestine/Israel (1882-1967) ²¹	MEST10042	8 March 2013	NA
13	UCL Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies	Anglo-Israeli Relations ²²	HEBRG104	8 March 2013	NA
14	The University of Edinburgh	The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Nations in Collision ²³	IMES10072	8 March 2013	2012/2013
15	UCL Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies	Graduate Seminar Programme (Graduate Only) ²⁴	HEBRG035	8 March 2013	NA
16	University of Oxford	Israel: State, Society, Identity ²⁵	NA	8 March 2013	NA
17	University of Southampton	Modern Israel 1948-2007 Part 2 ²⁶	HIST3114	8 March 2013	NA
18	University of Southampton	Modern Israel 1948-2007 Part 1 ²⁷	HIST3113	8 March 2013	NA
19	University of Glamorgan	Israel, Palestine and the Making of the Modern Middle East ²⁸	HS2S007	8 March 2013	2009-2010
20	University College London	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁹	HEBR7750(BA) HEBRG009(MA)	8 March 2013	2009-2010
21	University College London	Israel and the Occupied Territories ³⁰	HEBR7766(BA) HEBRG128(MA)	8 March 2013	NA
22	King's College London	A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ³¹	7AAJM204	8 March 2013	NA
23	University of Sussex	Peace Processes in Global Order ³²	L2059	9 March 2013	Autumn 2006

¹⁹ <http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/iaais/modules/ARAM204/description/>

²⁰ http://lib5.leeds.ac.uk/rlists/broker/?bbModuleId=201213_22565_ARAB2065&bbListId=_1765268_1&sess=201213

²¹ <http://courses.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/undergraduate/module.html?code=MEST10042>

²² <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hebrew-jewish/students/studentresources/syllabi-details/anglo-israeli-relations>

²³ <http://www.drps.ed.ac.uk/12-13/dpt/cximes10072.htm>

²⁴ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hebrew-jewish/students/studentresources/syllabi-details/graduate-seminar-programme>

²⁵ <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~sant1114/MPhillIsrael.pdf>

²⁶ http://www.southampton.ac.uk/humanities/undergraduate/modules/hist3114_modern_israel_1948-2007_pt2.page

²⁷ http://www.southampton.ac.uk/humanities/undergraduate/modules/hist3113_modern_israel_1948-2007_pt1.page

²⁸ <http://www.misterdann.com/syllabusproject/GemieSHIS2S007.pdf>

²⁹ <http://www.misterdann.com/syllabusproject/LocheryNHebr7750.pdf>

³⁰ <http://www.misterdann.com/syllabusproject/RantaRHebr7766.pdf>

³¹ <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/artshums/depts/mems/modules/7aajm204.aspx>

³² http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CEIQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.sussex.ac.uk%2FUsers%2Fjs208%2Fpeace_process_in_global_order_2006.doc&ei=Y3h-UYqPOMGN0AXIq4GIDg&usg=AFQjCNHI2F-dzc0zGrL62X2FJMRkxHZhZQ&sig2=G63YIQKfryc_HbxjdPyKaA&bvm=bv.45645796,d.d2k

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Date Taught
24	University of Manchester	The Palestine/Israel Question (1882-1967) ³³	Mest10042	12 March	NA
25	University College London	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁴	Hebr7750 (Ba)	18 March	2012-2013
26	University of Wales, Newport	Imperial Rivalries and Global Conflict in the 20th Century ³⁵	Hi305	18 March	NA
27	University of St Andrews	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁶	Ir 5525	18 March	NA
28	University of Portsmouth	International Politics of the Middle East ³⁷		18 March	2012-13
29	Brunel University London	Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁸	Pp3001	18 March	2012-2013
30	The University of Northampton	Conflict and Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century ³⁹	His1001	18 March	NA
31	University of Birmingham, School of Government and Society	Diplomatic History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁰	Pols 339	18 March	NA
32	University of St Andrews	Conflict in the Middle East ⁴¹	Ir5518	April 25	2012/13 - Semester 1
33	University of Exeter	Politics and Economy of the Contemporary Middle East ⁴²	Ara1010	April 25	2013/4
34	Durham University	Introduction to Middle East Politics ⁴³	Poli 1021	April 25	2005–06
35	Newcastle University	Politics of the Middle East (S2) ⁴⁴	Pol 2012	April 25	2012/2013
36	University of St Andrews	NA	Ir 3102 ⁴⁵	April 25	Semester 1, 2012-13

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<http://community.talisaspire.com/courses/aHR0cDovL3d3dy5yZWZkaW5nbGlzdHMubWFuY2hlc3Rlci5hYy51ay9saXN0cy8wNDdFNkM3OC03MjdCLUi0QTYtMUZBR50yRDIBMONDMDC4REQ=>

³⁴ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hebrew-jewish/students/studentresources/syllabi-details/hebr7750-section-information>

³⁵ <http://timezone.newport.ac.uk/hi305/hi305bib.htm>

³⁶ <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/intrel/pg/mecass/ir5525/>

³⁷ <http://lists.lib.portsmouth.ac.uk/lists/AC2C4F38-2CCA-9A8B-3B2C-C3252BDABAF4.html>

³⁸ <http://readinglists.brunel.ac.uk/lists/33122C71-EA32-B802-AC04-C520DF542F06.html>

³⁹ <http://readinglists.northampton.ac.uk/lists/9106E46E-4757-83E8-0E62-B164217A7D70.html>

⁴⁰ <http://www.readinglists.bham.ac.uk/readinglist/show/id/10726>

⁴¹ <http://resourcelists.st-andrews.ac.uk/lists/3BFDD5BF-386C-7AAA-031C-EB03860D15DC.html>

42

<http://intranet.exeter.ac.uk/socialsciences/moduledescriptions/moduledescription/index.php?code=AR A1010&ayrc=2013/4>

43

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=13&ved=0CEEQFjACOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.thestudentroom.co.uk%2Fattachment.php%3Fattachmentid%3D54443%26d%3D1213188041&ei=Jmd5UYHIEqie0QWRjYGoAQ&usg=AFQjCNEQOpM0TCSIkDmTg0ZRTYe_rI7Og&sig2=sIZMKTa9Sli6Vrgw3OuTAQ

⁴⁴ <https://rlo.ncl.ac.uk/index.php/modules/POL2012/2012>

⁴⁵ <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/intrel/ug/readinglistssem1/>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Date Taught
37	Harlaxton College	The United States in the Middle East. 1919-Present ⁴⁶	History 323	April 25	Spring 2010
38	University of St Andrews	The Arab-Israeli Conflict Past & Present ⁴⁷	IR5525	April 25	2011/12 Semester 2
39	University of Kent	Politics of the Middle East ⁴⁸	NA	April 25	2011-2012
40	King's College London	The International Politics of the Middle East ⁴⁹	7SSWM191	April 25	Year 2013/14
41	City University London	Contemporary Issues in Global Politics: The Twentieth Century ⁵⁰	IP1003	April 25	2012-13
42	Queens University of Belfast	Middle Eastern Politics ⁵¹	PAI3011	April 25	Autumn 2012-2013
43	University of Oxford	The International Relations of the Middle East ⁵²	NA	April 25	Hilary Term 2008
44	Oxford University	The Development of the International System (2nd Part - From 1950) ⁵³	NA	April 25	Trinity Term 2003
45	University of Edinburgh	Politics of the Middle East ⁵⁴	PLIT 10036	April 25	Semester 1 2012-2013
46	Cardiff Metropolitan University	Politics of the Contemporary Middle East ⁵⁵	HUM311	April 25	NA
47	University College London	Anglo-Israeli Relations 1948-2011 ⁵⁶	HEBR7761	April 25	2012-2013
48	Queens University of Belfast	Violence, Terrorism and Security ⁵⁷	PAI 7028	April 25	Autumn 2012-2013
49	Queens University of Belfast	Violence, Terrorism and Security ⁵⁸	PAI 7028	April 25	Autumn 2011- 12

⁴⁶ <http://www.ueharlax.ac.uk/academics/curriculum/syllabii/documents/spring2010-HIST323.pdf>

⁴⁷ <http://resourcelists.st-andrews.ac.uk/lists/2BC191C6-592A-C9AB-2DE5-E7867C6ECE87.html>

⁴⁸ <http://resourcelists.kent.ac.uk/lists/C9C0A796-6304-454D-1CD2-CBB14DA6161F.html>

⁴⁹ <http://myreadinglists.kcl.ac.uk/lists/28791B59-E6FE-153C-F48F-E7E8D10AF649.html>

⁵⁰ <http://readinglists.city.ac.uk/lists/B6926586-7A3C-CCF8-437B-6F4E592BA2E9.html>

⁵¹ <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofPoliticsInternationalStudiesandPhilosophy/FileStore/ModuleGuides2012-13/Filetoupload,338428,en.pdf>

⁵² <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~sant1114/MPhilIR.pdf>

⁵³ <http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/people/knicolaidis/irpost50.pdf>

⁵⁴ https://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/91269/POTME_courseguide2012-13.pdf

⁵⁵ <http://www.uwic.ac.uk/documents/humanities/Humanities%20modules%20Level%20%20third%20year.pdf>

⁵⁶ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hebrew-jewish/students/studentresources/ugbib/1213HEBR7761Anglo_Israeli_Relations_1948-2006.pdf

⁵⁷ <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofPoliticsInternationalStudiesandPhilosophy/FileStore/ModuleGuides2012-13/Filetoupload,338429,en.pdf>

⁵⁸ <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofPoliticsInternationalStudiesandPhilosophy/FileStore/ModuleGuides2011-12/Filetoupload,254360,en.pdf>

Table 6: All extracted syllabi from Canadian universities⁵⁹

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date ⁶⁰	Taught Date
1	Simon Fraser University	The Palestinian -Israeli Conflict ⁶¹	HISTORY 465	March 13	Spring 2012
2	Simon Fraser University	The Palestinian -Israeli Conflict ⁶²	HISTORY 465	March 13	Fall 2009
3	Simon Fraser University	The Palestinian -Israeli Conflict ⁶³	HISTORY 465	March 13	Summer 2010
4	University of Ottawa; Faculty of Social Sciences School of Public and International Affairs	The Middle East Peace Process ⁶⁴	API 6339F	March 13	Winter 2011
5	Trent University: Department of History	Apocalypse: Conquest, Revolution, War and Genocide in the Modern World ⁶⁵	History 1700	March 13	2010/2011
6	University of Toronto	Topics in Middle East History: Palestine and Israel ⁶⁶	HIS 304H1-S	March 13	Fall/Winter 2012-2013
7	Trinity Western University	Politics and Development of the Middle East ⁶⁷	POLS 421	March 13	Summer 2011
8	Acadia University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁶⁸	HISTORY 2073 X2	March 13	Winter 2013
9	University of Ottawa; Faculty of Social Sciences School of Public and International Affairs	The Middle East Peace Process ⁶⁹	ECH 4350 A	March 13	Winter 2013
10	University of Manitoba: Department of Political Studies	Selected Topics I – Middle Eastern Politics ⁷⁰	Politics 19.314 L01	March 13	2003
11	Acadia University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁷¹	History 2073 X2	March 13	Winter 2012
12	Department of History Trent University	History of the Middle East ⁷²	HISTY 3650Y	March 13	2011-12
13	University of Fraser Valley: Department of History	Arab-Zionist Relations ⁷³	HIST 335	March 13	2008-2009

⁵⁹ In this table all syllabi extracted from Canadian universities are listed. Some information about the syllabus, title of the course, code of the course, date it has been taught, name of the university, and date this information is accessed through the Internet is provided. A link to the address of the syllabus on the Internet is also produced in the footnote.

⁶⁰ All access dates are located in 2013

⁶¹

<http://www.sfu.ca/content/dam/sfu/history/Course%20Outlines/2012/spring%202012/H465Sedra.pdf>

⁶² <http://paulsedra.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/h465syllabusfall2009.pdf>

⁶³ <http://paulsedra.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/h465summer10syllabus.pdf>

⁶⁴ http://ssms.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/vfs/.horde/offre_cours/syllabus/00035110807_API6339F.pdf

⁶⁵ www.trentu.ca/history/documents/1700Taylorfin.doc

⁶⁶ http://history.utoronto.ca/undergraduate/fw_300level.html

⁶⁷ <http://www.twu.ca/academics/fhss/politics/pols-421-syllabus.pdf>

⁶⁸ http://history.acadiau.ca/tl_files/sites/history/Course%20Outlines%202012-2013/HIST2073%20Winter%202013.pdf

⁶⁹ http://ssms.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/vfs/.horde/offre_cours/syllabus/00035114062_ECH4350A.pdf

⁷⁰ http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~jacobyta/19_314_L01.pdf

⁷¹ http://history.acadiau.ca/tl_files/sites/history/Course%20Outlines%2020112012/HIST2073Jan12.pdf

⁷² www.trentu.ca/history/.../HIST3650-2011-12Murat.doc

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
14	University of Toronto	Becoming Israel: War, Peace, and the Politics of Israel's Identity ⁷⁴	POL 345Y 1 Y	March 14	Fall 2012- Winter 2013
15	York University: Department of Political Science	War and Peace in the Middle East ⁷⁵	AS/POLS 3260 6.0A/AK/POLS 3209J	March 14	2003-2004
16	York University: Department of Political Science	War and Peace in the Middle East ⁷⁶	AS/POLS 3260 6.0A/AK/POLS 3209J	March 14	2004-2005
17	University of Ottawa; Faculty of Social Sciences; School of Public and International Affairs	The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ⁷⁷	API 6339G	March 14	Winter 2010
18	University of Toronto	Becoming Israel: War, Peace, and the Politics of Israel's Identity ⁷⁸	POL 345H1 (F)	March 14	Fall 2009
19	University of Toronto	Becoming Israel: War, Peace, and the Politics of Israel's Identity ⁷⁹	POL 345 Y Y	March 14	Fall 2011- Winter 2012
20	Uqam Université Du Québec À Montréal	L'état D'israël Au Proche-Orient: Dynamiques Internes Et Interactions Régionales ⁸⁰	POL 8290-30	March 14	2011
21	University of Ottawa	Conflict and the Peace Process in the Middle East ⁸¹	ECH4350 A	March 14	Winter 2010
22	University of Toronto	Becoming Israel: War, Peace, and the Politics of Israel's Identity ⁸²	POL 345 Y Y	March 14	Fall 2010- Winter 2011
23	University of Ottawa; Faculty of Social Sciences, School of Public and International Affairs	Middle East Peace Process ⁸³	API 6399 K	March 14	Winter 2012
24	McGill University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict, Crisis, War, and Peace ⁸⁴	POLI 347	March 14	Fall 2010

⁷³ <http://www.ufv.ca/calendar/CourseOutlines/PDFs/HIST/HIST335-20090522.pdf>

⁷⁴ http://politics.utoronto.ca/uploads/syllabus/1213_pol345y1y_l0101.pdf

⁷⁵ http://www.arts.yorku.ca/politics/drop_down/courseOutlines/2003/3260A.htm

⁷⁶ http://www.arts.yorku.ca/politics/drop_down/courseOutlines/2004/3260.htm

⁷⁷ http://ssms.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/vfs/.horde/offre_cours/syllabus/0003668374_API6339G.pdf

⁷⁸ http://politics.utoronto.ca/uploads/syllabus/0910_pol345h1f_l0101.pdf

⁷⁹ http://politics.utoronto.ca/uploads/syllabus/1112_pol345y1y_l0101.pdf

⁸⁰ http://www.politique.uqam.ca/upload/files/Hiver_2011/POL8290-30-H11-Dieckhoff.pdf

⁸¹ http://ssms.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/vfs/.horde/offre_cours/syllabus/0003467742_ECH4350A.pdf

⁸² http://politics.utoronto.ca/uploads/syllabus/1011_pol345y1y_l0101.pdf

⁸³ http://ssms.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/vfs/.horde/offre_cours/syllabus/00036613363_API6399K.pdf

⁸⁴ http://www.mcgill.ca/files/politicalscience/courseFall2010_poli347.pdf

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
25	McGill University	Arab-Israeli Conflict, Crisis, War, and Peace ⁸⁵	POLI 347	March 14	Fall Term 2007
26	Bishops University	Introduction to Middle East Politics ⁸⁶	Pol236b	March 14	Winter 2007
27	McGill University	History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁸⁷	HIST 339	March 14	Winter 2011
28	McGill University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict, Crisis, War, and Peace ⁸⁸	POLI 347	March 14	Fall Term 2009
29	Simon Fraser University	Politics of the Middle East ⁸⁹	315/809	March 14	Fall 2008
30	McGill University	Arab-Israel Conflict, Crisis, Peace ⁹⁰	Poli 347	March 14	Fall 2012
31	Western University	Politics of the Middle East ⁹¹	POLITICS 3329F-001	March 14	2012
32	Carleton University, Department of Political Science	Peace and Conflict in the Middle East ⁹²	PSCI 3702A	March 15	Winter 2010
33	Carleton University, Department of Political Science	Peace And Conflict in the Middle East ⁹³	PSCI 3702A	March 15	Winter 2011
34	McMaster University	The Literature of Israel and Palestine: Peace Studies ⁹⁴	4IP3/CL 3MM3	March 15	Fall 2009
35	Carleton University, Department of Political Science	Politics and Government in the Middle East ⁹⁵	PSCI 3203A	March 15	Fall 2008
36	McGill University, Department of Political Science	International Politics and Foreign Policy: The Middle East ⁹⁶	Poli 341	March 15	NA
37	Carleton University, Department of Political Science	Peace and Conflict in the Middle East ⁹⁷	PSCI 3702A	March 15	Winter 2007

⁸⁵ http://www.mcgill.ca/files/politicalscience/course07_poli347.pdf

⁸⁶

http://www.ubishops.ca/fileadmin/bishops_documents/course_outlines/2007/winter/social_science/pol236.pdf

⁸⁷ http://www.mcgill.ca/history/sites/mcgill.ca.history/files/HIST339_Winter2011_Sanagan.pdf

⁸⁸ http://www.mcgill.ca/files/politicalscience/courseFall09_poli347.pdf

⁸⁹ <http://www.sfu.ca/content/dam/sfu/internationalstudies/documents/outlines/1107/315-809-1107.pdf>

⁹⁰ http://www.mcgill.ca/politicalscience/sites/mcgill.ca.politicalscience/files/poli_347_fall_2012_0.pdf

⁹¹ <http://politicalscience.uwo.ca/undergrad/COURSE%20PAGES/COURSES%202012-13/POL%203329F.pdf>

⁹² <http://www1.carleton.ca/polisci/ccms/wp-content/ccms-files/PSCI-3702A-Sucharov-W10.pdf>

⁹³ <http://www1.carleton.ca/polisci/ccms/wp-content/ccms-files/PSCI-3702A-Sucharov-W11.pdf>

⁹⁴

http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~english/undergraduate/term_1/Level%204/PDF/English%204IP3%20Bruce%202009-1.pdf

⁹⁵ <http://www1.carleton.ca/polisci/ccms/wp-content/ccms-files/psci-3203a-kirisci-f08.pdf>

⁹⁶ http://www.mcgill.ca/files/politicalscience/course06_poli341.pdf

⁹⁷ <http://www1.carleton.ca/polisci/ccms/wp-content/ccms-files/3702a-scholey-w07.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
38	Bishop's University Department of History	A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁹⁸	HIS 352A 01	March 15	Fall 2005
39	Carleton University	Peace and Conflict in the Middle East ⁹⁹	PSCI 3702	April 27	Fall 2005
40	University of Calgary	The Arab- (Jewish/) Israel Conflict, 1939-Present ¹⁰⁰	Secm 20776	April 27	Fall 2006
41	University of Calgary	History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹⁰¹	HTST 390 – 01	April 27	Fall 2010
42	University of Calgary	Issues in Israeli National Security ¹⁰²	Hist.593 L03	April 27	Fall 2009

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http://www.ubishops.ca/fileadmin/bishops_documents/course_outlines/2005/fall/humanities/his352.pdf

⁹⁹ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/SucharovMirIsraeliPalestinianRelations.pdf>

¹⁰⁰ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/Arab-IsraeliConflict_DavidTal.pdf

¹⁰¹

<https://hist.ucalgary.ca/sites/hist.ucalgary.ca/files/unitis/courses/HTST390.1/F2010/LEC1/HTST390.1-F2010-LEC1-outline.pdf>

¹⁰²

<https://hist.ucalgary.ca/sites/hist.ucalgary.ca/files/unitis/courses/HTST593.19/F2009/LEC3/HTST593.19-F2009-LEC3-outline.pdf>

Table 7: All extracted syllabi from Australian universities¹⁰³

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date ¹⁰⁴	Taught Date
1	The University of Sydney	Approaches to the Arab Israeli Conflict ¹⁰⁵	HSTY2607	19 March	2011
2	The University of New South Wales, School of Social Sciences	The Middle East and Global Politics ¹⁰⁶	POLS5160	19 March	2012
3	The University of New South Wales, School of Social Sciences	The Middle East and Global Politics ¹⁰⁷	POLS5160	19 March	2011
4	The University of Newcastle Australia, School of Humanities and Social Science	The World in the Twentieth Century ¹⁰⁸	HIST1070	19 March	2007
5	The University of Newcastle Australia, School of Humanities and Social Science	Israel and the Middle East: Roots of the Current Conflict ¹⁰⁹	HIST3672	19 March	2009
6	The University of Newcastle Australia, School of Humanities & Social Science	Europe and the World ¹¹⁰	HIST1080	19 March	2010
7	Macquarie University	International Relations of the Middle East ¹¹¹	POL322	19 March	2011
8	Macquarie University	International Relations of the Middle East ¹¹²	IRPG843	19 March	2012
9	The University of New South Wales, School of History & Philosophy	The United States and the Middle East ¹¹³	ARTS3276	March 21	2011
10	The University of New South Wales, School of History & Philosophy	The United States and the Middle East ¹¹⁴	ARTS3288	March 21	2012

¹⁰³ In this table all syllabi extracted from Australian universities are listed. Some information about the syllabus, title of the course, code of the course, date it has been taught, name of the university, and date this information is accessed through the Internet is provided. A link to the address of the syllabus in the Internet is also produced in the footnote.

¹⁰⁴ All access dates are located in 2013

¹⁰⁵ <http://register.summer.usyd.edu.au/uos.php?ak=detail&id=3350>

¹⁰⁶ http://socialsciences.arts.unsw.edu.au/media/File/POLS5160_S2_2012.pdf

¹⁰⁷ http://socialsciences.arts.unsw.edu.au/media/File/POLS5160_S2_2011.pdf

¹⁰⁸

http://www.newcastle.edu.au/Resources/Divisions/Academic/Library/Cultural%20Collections/pdf/HIST1070_Course_Outline_Sem2_2007.pdf

¹⁰⁹

http://www.newcastle.edu.au/Resources/Divisions/Academic/Library/Cultural%20Collections/pdf/HIST3672_Course_Outline_Sem1_2009.pdf

¹¹⁰

http://www.newcastle.edu.au/Resources/Divisions/Academic/Library/Cultural%20Collections/pdf/HIST1080_Course_Outline_Sem2_2010.pdf

¹¹¹ mq.edu.au/pubstatic/public/download.jsp?id=50038

¹¹² mq.edu.au/pubstatic/public/download.jsp?id=73169

¹¹³ http://humanities.arts.unsw.edu.au/media/File/ARTS3276_noimages_2011.pdf

¹¹⁴ <http://humanities.arts.unsw.edu.au/media/File/ARTS3288.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
11	The University of New South Wales, School of Social Sciences	The Middle East & International Law ¹¹⁵	ARTS3817	March 21	2012
12	The University of New South Wales, School of Social Sciences	The Middle East & International Law ¹¹⁶	ARTS3813	March 21	2011
13	Macquarie University	International Relations of the Middle East ¹¹⁷	POL322	March 21	Semester 2, 2011
14	The University of Newcastle, Faculty of Education and Arts, School of Humanities & Social Science	Israel and the Middle East: Roots of the Current Conflict ¹¹⁸	HIST 3671	March 21	Semester 1 - 2007
15	The University of Newcastle, Faculty of Education and Arts, School of Humanities & Social Science	The World in the Twentieth Century ¹¹⁹	HIST1070	March 21	Semester 2 - 2007
16	The University of New South Wales, School of Social Sciences and International Studies	The Middle East and Global Politics ¹²⁰	POLS5160	March 21	Semester 2, 2010

¹¹⁵ http://socialsciences.arts.unsw.edu.au/media/File/1_ARTS3817_S1_2012.pdf

¹¹⁶ http://socialsciences.arts.unsw.edu.au/media/File/ARTS3813_Sem1_2011.pdf

¹¹⁷

<http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=111&ved=0CDEQFjAAOG4&url=http%3A%2F%2Fmq.edu.au%2Fpubstatic%2Fpublic%2Fdownload.jsp%3Ffid%3D50038&ei=3gxLUfaqHlnZOpLsgZgF&usg=AFQjCNFmMWzxeYriaDQOLMxAvBJqAmd67Q&sig2=xb47vSuHud4v3efumyYvSQ>

¹¹⁸

http://www.newcastle.edu.au/Resources/Divisions/Academic/Library/Cultural%20Collections/pdf/HIST3671_Course_Outline_Sem1_2007.pdf

¹¹⁹

http://www.newcastle.edu.au/Resources/Divisions/Academic/Library/Cultural%20Collections/pdf/HIST1070_Course_Outline_Sem2_2007.pdf

¹²⁰ http://www.sprc.unsw.edu.au/media/File/POLS5160_.pdf

Table 8: All extracted syllabi from New Zealand universities¹²¹

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date ¹²²	Taught Date
1	Victoria University of Wellington, School of Art History, Classics and Religious Studies	Religion, Law and Politics ¹²³	RELI 107	19 March	2012
2	Victoria University of Wellington, School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations	Special Topic: Nationalism in World Politics ¹²⁴	INTP213	19 March	2008
3	University of Wellington, School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations	Special Topic: Nationalism in World Politics ¹²⁵	INTP213	19 March	2009
4	Massey University	Israel and the Arab World ¹²⁶	200.302	19 March	2009
5	Massey University	Israel and the Arab World ¹²⁷	200.302	19 March	2008
6	Massey University	Israel and the Arab World ¹²⁸	200.302	19 March	2011
7	Massey University	Israel/Palestine and the Arab World ¹²⁹	200.302	19 March	2013
8	Victoria University of Wellington, School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations	Prelude to Peace: Displaced Persons and Refugees in Postwar Europe ¹³⁰	CRN 18772	19 March	2011
9	Victoria University of Wellington, School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations	Prelude to Peace: Displaced Persons and Refugees in Postwar Europe ¹³¹	CRN 18772	19 March	2012

¹²¹ In this table all syllabi extracted from New Zealand universities are listed. Some information about the syllabus, title of the course, code of the course, date it has been taught, name of the university, and date this information is accessed through the Internet is provided. A link to the address of the syllabus on the Internet is also produced in the footnote.

¹²² All access dates are located in 2013

¹²³ <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin/course-outlines/2012/trimester-2/reli/RELI107-2012-T2.pdf>

¹²⁴ <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/courseoutlines/fhss/2008/Trimester2/INTP/INTP213-2008-T2.pdf>

¹²⁵ <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/courseoutlines/fhss/2009/Trimester1-FullYear/INTP/INTP213-2009-T1.pdf>

¹²⁶ http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/Documents/Outlines/2009/200/200302_0902_PNTH_E.pdf

¹²⁷ http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/Documents/Outlines/2008/200/200302_0802_PNTH_E.pdf

¹²⁸ http://www.allanwilsoncentre.ac.nz/massey/fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/Documents/Outlines/2011/200/200302_1101_PNTH_I.pdf

¹²⁹ https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/departments/school-people-environment-planning/study/subjects/paper.cfm?paper_code=200302&paper_offering_id=1193109&study_year=2013

¹³⁰ <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin/course-outlines/2011/trimester2/hist/hist338-2011-t2.pdf>

¹³¹ <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin/course-outlines/2012/trimester1-fullyear/hist/HIST338-2012-T1.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
10	Victoria University of Wellington	Advanced Studies in Religion and Politics Part I: Political Thought in the Middle East ¹³²	RELI 422	19 March	2011
11	University of Canterbury, School of Social and Political Sciences	Introduction to International Relations ¹³³	POLS 104	19 March	2009

¹³² <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin/course-outlines/2011/semester1-fullyear/reli/reli422-2011-t1.pdf>

¹³³ http://www.saps.canterbury.ac.nz/docs/course_outlines/pols_104_S2_09.pdf

Table 9: All extracted syllabi from Irish universities¹³⁴

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
1	Dublin City University (DCU); School of Law & Government	The Politics of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹³⁵	LG563	March 12, 2013	2010 - 2011
2	Trinity College Dublin	Conflicts Zones: Case Studies ¹³⁶	SO7017	March 12	NA
3	Dublin City University (DCU); School of Law & Government	The Politics of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹³⁷	LG563A	March 12	2009 - 2010
4	Dublin City University: School of Law and Government	The Politics of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹³⁸	MA-LG 563	March 12	2005-2006
5	NUIG School of Law	Conflict-Post Conflict ¹³⁹	NA	March 12	2009-2010 2012/2013 2008-2009
6	University College Dublin	The Israeli - Palestinian Conflict and the 'Arab Spring' ¹⁴⁰	TN110	March 12	2012-2013
7	Dublin City University	The World Since 1945 ¹⁴¹	HIST 103	April 26	2011-12
8	National University of Ireland, Galway	International Law and Conflict ¹⁴²	NA	April 26	2012/2013

¹³⁴ In this table all syllabi extracted from Irish universities are listed. Some information about the syllabus, title of the course, code of the course, date it has been taught, name of the university, and date this information is accessed through the Internet is provided. A link to the address of the syllabus on the Internet is also produced in the footnote.

¹³⁵

http://www.dcu.ie/registry/module_contents_archive_years.php?subcode=LG563&function=2&module_archive_year=2011

¹³⁶ <http://www.tcd.ie/sociology/ethniracialstudies/about/modules/conflict-casestudies.php>

¹³⁷

http://www.dcu.ie/registry/module_contents_archive_years.php?subcode=LG563A&function=2&module_archive_year=2010

¹³⁸ www.dcu.ie/~cavatorf/arabisrael/Course%20Outline.doc

¹³⁹ www.nuigalway.ie/human_rights/.../conflicttemplate.doc

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.ucd.ie/adulted/coursesbycode/tn110/>

¹⁴¹ <http://www.spd.dcu.ie/MAIN/academic/history/documents/FirstYearBA201112.pdf>

¹⁴²

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CD4QFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.nuigalway.ie%2Fhuman_rights%2Fdocuments%2Fconflictpc201213.doc&ei=kZ96UYOtJ6SW0AWuBA&usq=AFQjCNHfHNFxwCUOFWYfUI1AwS0o2oP8Q&sig2=ZBScZeDAuK0vPB7f1GuuQ

The following remarks might help an understanding of these tables and their data:

- All searches to access extracted syllabi took place in the year 2013; day and month each syllabus was extracted is stated in the tables under 'access date'
- Considerable efforts have been made to provide all related data when a syllabus is presented in a table; this data includes title of the course, code of the course, name of the university/college and the date the course was taught. NA is used in some cases in the table when the related data was not available.

Chapter 4: Textbook Analysis

In this chapter, all selected textbooks are examined, one by one, through historical narrative analysis to ascertain how the history of the Israel/Palestine question is treated. This examination, as mentioned earlier, is focused on 'pro-Israeli' bias as a possible factor that might regulate how that history is narrated in these books. Before reporting the results of an actual analysis of those textbooks, an introduction on Zionist/pro-Israeli historiography is offered to explain how such bias is recognized in this study.

Zionist Historiography (of 'History of Israel'):

History of 'Israel', as a polity we know now, only actually started from a very recent time - when Zionism arose in Europe on the eve of the twentieth century. Ancient history of the land, however, plays a crucial role in how that history is being narrated by Zionist historiography, and written. The controversial nature of the Zionist claim to the land, and widespread rejection of this claim contributed to such a state of affairs. The period nominated as the Ancient Time is taken, by Zionist historiographers, as a main source to produce arguments that might support the legitimacy of the Zionist claim to the land. This enterprise has been directed by a critical need to justify occupying a land thousands of kilometres away from where the first Zionist Jews lived in Europe, and one which was populated, already, by other people. This was not possible without a long journey of thousands of years back in history, to a time when a 'Jewish state' can be imagined. From here the Zionist historiography came to function as a main producer of 'history' about the Jewish presence in the land, to demonstrate 'the right of Jews' to establish a 'Jewish state' in Palestine. As a result, a Zionist history of Israel has been produced that can establish a link between Israel and the history of the disputed land. The main elements of this history can be outlined as follows:

- 'The Holy Land' was the birthplace of the 'Jewish people', where their 'national identity' was formed.
- In this land 'Jewish people' established their own statehood. Zion (Jerusalem) is introduced as the centre of this ancient 'Jewish state'.

- Palestine was populated by 'Jewish people' before a forced expulsion by Romans that drove them out.
- There is a Jewish ethnos: All Jews in different corners of the world are descended from the same ancestors, those who were expelled from Palestine.
- Wherever they settled outside Palestine, after the 'expulsion', they kept the hope to return to 'their land', and establish their 'national home' and strove to achieve their dream.

These elements can be seen, explicitly or implicitly, in different types of Zionist histories of the land, and are the same elements that are placed in 'Israel's Declaration of Independence' to justify the Zionist endeavour in Palestine:

'The Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world. Exiled from the Land of Israel the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom. Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood'(Laqueur and Rubin 2008, 81).

Accompanying the establishment of this mega narrative about the land's 'Jewishness' there are two relevant lines of historiography that function to complete that narrative but in two different ways: the first one undermines any major Jewish collective experience in other lands except those that function as a reminder of the Jewish dispersion. In this way thousands of years of the presence of Jewish communities in other lands, Iran and Iraq for instance, are discounted. Jewish achievements in establishing states, the Himyarite kingdom and the kingdom of Adiabene, for instance, and even an empire, the Khazarian Empire, outside the Holy Land are seen as outside the main frame of Jewish historical experience. There are reports, from Israel, about how the Israeli educational system treats such cases; 'Thus the chapter about the Judaizing Himyarites was abandoned by the historiographical roadside in Israel's

educational system, and secondary school graduates know nothing about it. It is the sad fate of this mighty Jewish kingdom, which dominated its region, that its descendants are not proud of it and that many others fear to mention its very existence'(Shlomo Sand 2009, 199). It is added in the same report that this treatment, of the Himyarite case, is not an exception but the norm; other Jewish domains outside Palestine, in North Africa and near the Caspian Sea, are similarly suppressed: 'From 1951 to the present moment, not a single historical work about the Khazars has appeared in Hebrew. The Israeli academic world has been mute on this topic, and no significant research has taken place.(Shlomo Sand 2009, 235–6)'

In a different but related historiographical line, all which has been experienced in the history of the Holy Land after the Jews' supposed expulsion is overlooked. As a result there is a powerful tendency in Zionist historiography to ignore the Arab history of the land; all that happened in this long period of time, almost 2000 years, is considered as something temporary, minor, foreign or irrelevant. It is not difficult to see how these (two) complementary lines of historiography can contribute to forming a single picture of the land as a place originally belonging to the Jews who were deprived, at one stage, of being present in it, but managed later to regain their right to the home land.

This story of the land is not necessarily factual, representing what really happened. It is constructed at a certain historical stage when the Zionist movement needed to justify its claim to the land. This point has been articulated by a number of historians, including Israeli historian Shlomo Sand. Sand's ideas, in this regard, are taken in this study for their capacity to reveal the mythical aspect of Zionist history, 'mythistory' according to him. He clarifies, in his recent works, how the Zionist history has no precedent in the pre-Zionist era of Jewish history, and was invented later by Jewish nationalists in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth century;

'At a certain stage in the 19th century intellectuals of Jewish origin in Germany, influenced by the folk character of German nationalism, took upon themselves the task of inventing a people "retrospectively," out of a thirst to create a modern Jewish people. From historian Heinrich Graetz on, Jewish historians began to draw

the history of Judaism as the history of a nation that had been a kingdom, became a wandering people and ultimately turned around and went back to its birthplace'(Shlomo Sand 2008).

The Zionist meta narrative is criticised by a number of scholars who have contributed to the formation of a critical literature on the subject. Recently, Shlomo Sand summarized this critique, mainly through his book, *The Invention of the Jewish People*. This summary can highlight the possible problems with this meta narrative; the first case is related to the ancient time when a 'united Jewish kingdom' under David and Solomon was established; 'The central myths about the primeval origin of a marvelous nation that emerged from the desert, conquered a spacious land and built a glorious kingdom were a boon for rising Jewish nationalism and Zionist colonization. For a century they provided textual fuel of canonical quality that energized a complex politics of identity and territorial expansion demanding self-justification and considerable sacrifice'(Shlomo Sand 2009, 122). Sand brings up the new archaeological discoveries to reveal how the myths of a united Jewish kingdom and ancient Jewish state are advanced for ideological and political reasons. He refers to the fact that no 'trace or memory' has been found of the 'glorious kingdoms of David and Solomon'. The significance of this development is reflected in Sand's own words:

'The next biblical story to lose its scientific historicity as a result of new archaeological discoveries was the jewel in the crown of the long national memory. Ever since Graetz, through Dinur and the Israeli historians who followed, the united national kingdom of David and Solomon was the glorious golden age in Jewish history... It was not possible to dig under the Haram al-Sharif, but explorations at all the other sites that were opened up around it failed to find any traces of an important tenth-century kingdom, the presumed time of David and Solomon. No vestige was ever found of monumental structures, walls or grand palaces, and the pottery found there was scanty and quite simple'(Shlomo Sand 2009, 120).

Sand concludes that these archaeological discoveries do not allow for the recognition of a political entity bigger than a 'small tribal kingdom' at the time of

the presumed Jewish kingdom, if such an entity ever existed (Shlomo Sand 2009, 121). He offers a general conclusion on the united Jewish kingdom that is supported, according to him, by most recent archaeologists: 'The conclusion accepted by a majority of the new archaeologists and Bible scholars was that there never was a great united monarchy and that King Solomon never had grand palaces in which he housed his 700 wives and 300 concubines. The fact that the Bible does not name this large empire strengthens this conclusion. It was later writers who invented and glorified a mighty united kingdom, established by the grace of the single deity'(Shlomo Sand 2009, 122).

In relation to another Zionist historiographical construction, Jewish expulsion from the Holy Land when conquered by the Romans, Sand argues that no historical document of what the Romans did in the Holy Land supports a mass expulsion of Jews; 'Nowhere in the abundant Roman documentation is there any mention of a deportation from Judea. Nor have any traces been found of large refugee populations around the borders of Judea after the uprising, as there would have been if a mass flight had taken place'(Shlomo Sand 2009, 131). He puts this case in a wider context of how Romans treated others in the region; this allows an affirmative conclusion: 'the Romans never exiled any nation from anywhere on the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean'(Schlomo Sand 2008). Sand argues, further, that the Romans did not possess the necessary means for such large scale dispossession of a big population even if they had been willing to undertake such an enterprise:

'Roman rulers could be utterly ruthless in suppressing rebellious subject populations: they executed fighters, took captives and sold them into slavery, and sometimes exiled kings and princes. But they definitely did not deport whole populations in the countries they conquered in the East, nor did they have the means to do so - none of the trucks, trains or great ships available in the modern world'(Shlomo Sand 2009, 130).

A Christian myth is processed, according to Sand, to construct the story of exile; this Christian myth is used to explain the disappearance of Jews from the Holy Land, through a religious tradition that relates it to a punishment by God for committing a grave crime, killing the Christ (Shlomo Sand 2009, 134). He

elaborates how this Christian tradition, once it was incorporated in the Jewish tradition, could be taken as a useful account that could make a link between Jews in other places, Europe for instance, and Palestine (Shlomo Sand 2009, 134). This influential invention succeeded in becoming a dominant historical account in the West, and was exhibited as an historical fact. 'The Arab-Israeli Conflict (Oxford History for GCSE), possibly the most adopted textbook in the British educational system on the subject, can be mentioned as an instance where this Zionist construction is introduced as a fact; 'The Jews were driven out of Palestine by the Romans after two revolts in AD 70 and AD 135' (T. Rea and Wright 1997, 4). Sand emphasises the extraordinary Zionist success in establishing this narrative with no evidence to support it as a true history of the ancient Jews:

'The myth that recounted the expulsion of the "Jewish people" by the Romans became the supreme justification for claiming historical rights over a Palestine that Zionist rhetoric transformed into the "land of Israel." We have here a particularly astonishing example of the molding of a collective memory. Thus, even though all specialists in ancient Jewish history know that the Romans did not deport the population of Judea (there is not even the slightest work of historical research on this subject), other, less qualified individuals have been, and largely remain, convinced that the ancient "People of Israel" were forcibly uprooted from their homeland, as is solemnly stated in the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel' (Shlomo Sand 2009, 317).

Sand also deals with why such invention took place. Without that, he argues, the Zionist claim to Palestine was incomplete: 'The ultra-paradigm of deportation was essential for the construction of a long - term memory wherein an imaginary, exiled people-race could be described as the direct descendants of the former "people of the Bible" (Shlomo Sand 2009, 130). The invention of exile, according to him, was a necessary construction for justifying the Zionist claim of the people without a land to the land without a people;

'National mythology determined that the Jews - banished, deported or fugitive emigrants - were driven into a long and dolorous exile,

causing them to wander over lands and seas to the far corners of the earth until the advent of Zionism prompted them to turn around and return en masse to their orphaned homeland. This homeland had never belonged to the Arab conquerors, hence the claim of the people without a land to the land without a people' (Shlomo Sand 2009, 188).

Sand refers to the 'Jewish people', and the 'Jewish nation' in its modern sense, as another case of Zionist historiographical invention that took place to complete the claim's justification; 'Only this myth of Hebrew ancestors could justify the right that they claimed over Palestine. Many people are still convinced of this today. Everyone knows that, in the modern world, membership of a religious community does not provide ownership rights to a territory whereas an "ethnic" people always have a land they can claim as their ancestral heritage' (Shlomo Sand 2010, 316). He elaborates how Jews before this invention saw themselves as people who shared a religious belief and not a common ethnic background. He argues, subsequently, that there was not such a thing as a Jewish people in history: 'With the exception of Eastern Europe, where the demographic weight and uniquely distinctive structure of Jewish life nurtured a specific form of popular culture and vernacular language, no Jewish people—as a single, cohesive entity—ever appeared' (Shlomo Sand 2010, 322). He names a volume by Heinrich Graetz, 'History of the Jews from the Oldest Times to the Present', published in the 1850s, as a pioneering work in that invention (Shlomo Sand 2009, 73). The story of expulsion from the land, and also 'the myth of 'the Jewish ethnos' is manipulated to construct a Jewish people. It is argued in this Zionist narrative that Jews who were expelled from the land did not try to convert other people to Judaism, so that all the Jews who live in other lands are real descendants of the Jews who were forced to leave Palestine. Sand rejects this claim and mentions a number of major cases in history where the Jews succeeded in mass conversion of other people; Arabs in Arabia, Berbers in North Africa and Khazars in Europe for instance (Shlomo Sand 2009, chap. 4). He puts a notable emphasis on the Khazarian Empire that was converted to Judaism in the 8th century. The importance of this, for him, lies in the fact that Khazar descendants are the Jews who spread later into the eastern and central European countries, and formed major Jewish populations in these areas. He

refers to the fascinating irony that these Jews, known now as Ashkenazi Jews, are those who started the call for a return to the ancestral land in Zion, and constituted the main part of Jewish immigrants in early Israel, and still form the main part of the population and power in this country (Shlomo Sand 2009, chap. 4).

Sand also deconstructs the Zionist myth of Jewish redemptionist efforts to return to the homeland where Zionist historians insist on the idea that there have been continuous Jewish efforts to return to the Holy Land, introducing the Zionist movement as the last, and the only successful, one that accomplished the long - tried project:

‘Over the centuries, Jews ardently longed for Zion, their holy city, but it never occurred to them, not even to those living close by, to go and settle there in their earthly life. It is certainly hard to live at the heart of a holy place, all the more so when the small minority who did live there were well aware how they continued to live in exile: only the coming of the Messiah would allow them to reach the metaphysical Jerusalem—along with all the dead, we should not forget’ (Shlomo Sand 2010, 317).

He explained later in this statement that this longing had no national or physical meaning; but it was a religious mythology based on waiting for the coming of the saviour, the Messiah, in Zion where all the dead would rise to join the event. To support this idea he further refers to the chances provided in some historical periods for Jews in the ‘diaspora’ to return but no interest was shown by them for such a Zionist enterprise. Babylonia is mentioned as the first instance; ‘Therefore, when the Jewish cultural centers in Babylonia declined, the Jews migrated to Baghdad, not to Jerusalem, although both cities were ruled by the same caliphate’ (Shlomo Sand 2009, 136). Another main chance became available when the Jews were expelled from Spain: ‘The Jewish deportees from Spain migrated to cities all around the Mediterranean, but only a few chose to go to Zion. In the modern age, with its ferocious pogroms and the rise of aggressive nationalism in Eastern Europe, masses of the Yiddish people migrated Westward, mainly to the United States’ (Shlomo Sand 2009, 136). The migration to Palestine, according to him, found momentum only when the

American borders became closed to Jews: 'Only when the American borders closed in the 1920s, and again after the horrendous Nazi massacres, did significant numbers migrate to Mandatory Palestine, part of which became the State of Israel' (Shlomo Sand 2009, 136). Sand concludes in this regard: 'The Jews were not forcibly deported from their "homeland," and there was no voluntary "return" to it' (Shlomo Sand 2009, 136).

Deconstruction of the Zionist history of the pre-Zionist era, by Sand and other historians, has contributed to providing some additional points which can be summarised as follows:

- The Old Testament is the main source for the Zionist history of ancient times. There is no legitimate ground for considering this book of religious Jewish tradition as a reliable source of historical facts. Sand elaborates how some secular historians, Zionists, take a different approach to the religious tradition, in this case, and why:

'This is why, in the eyes of the first Zionist historians, the Bible ceased to be an impressive theological text and became a book of secular history, whose teaching is still dispensed to all Jewish Israeli pupils in specially designated lessons, from the first year of elementary school to graduation from high school. According to this teaching, the people of Israel were no longer made up of those chosen by God, but became a nation issuing from the seed of Abraham. And so when modern archaeology began to show that there had not been an Exodus from Egypt, and that the great, unified monarchy of David and Solomon never existed, it met with a bitter and embarrassed reaction from the secular Israeli public; some people did not even flinch from accusing the "new archaeologists" of "Bible denial" (Shlomo Sand 2010, 316).

- Other relevant historical evidence, archaeological or textual, does not have the power to support the Zionist history of ancient times as factual; it may in fact be seen to reject it.
- A high percentage of what is represented in Zionist history as 'historical facts' has no chance, whatsoever, of being established as such due to two main reasons; many of the events recorded occurred a very long

time ago, thousands of years in the past, for instance, and this makes them too remote, from the viewpoint of historical investigation, to be verified as historically accurate. They are, in fact, close to the pre historical era, seen from this perspective. The second reason refers to a substantial shortage of written reports that have survived from that time.

- Without any doubt, it is an historical fact that Arabs were populating the land when Zionist settlers came in. This Arab settlement can be seen, through a wealth of evidence and documents, not only for that time but also for the majority of the land's 'certain history' (a history that is documented by enough reliable proofs) if not all.

The Zionist Narratio:

Historical works, including history textbooks, are deconstructed through different critical methods. Historical narrative analysis, as a novel approach to examining history, focuses on the textbook (or any other history) as a whole rather than on its parts. The stress, in this analysis, has moved away from portrayal of distinct historical 'facts' to how the whole history is presented, or how the mega story is structured. It engages with the central structure of the narrative which is called 'narratio' in the relevant literature. It is argued that the meaning of the 'facts' produced in a certain history is dependent on the process of placing as it functions in the narratio. The rhetoric is considered ineffective if not reinforced by a structure to support it. It is revealed that such structure comes from the main ideological positions that historians take towards the history. There is an emphasis, in this methodology, on the role historians play in constructing historical knowledge. This analysis is influenced by an observation that promotes a shift from 'great stories' to 'great story tellers' (Vanhulle 2009). Another shift advocated in this analysis is from focusing on rhetoric and wording to something deeper that underlies the whole history but is not stated as such. What lies here, the structure, can convey the main message of the constructed history, and refer to the main reason a certain history is written (Vanhulle 2009).

There are few cases of examining history textbooks by means of this method i.e. historical narrative analysis; 'The Path of History: Narrative Analysis of History Textbooks' is one instance. This study is conducted to analyse Belgian

history textbooks from the period 1945-2004. The research identified different narrations that dominated successively the Belgian secondary school history textbooks at different times after 1945; 'the liberal narration', 'the evolution narration' and 'the cyclical narration' are suggested, in this study, as the main ones. The research argues that it is the narration, a liberal one for instance, that determines the meaning constructed in the history provided in the textbook. In this case, the liberal narration, presents history as moving towards the perfection/victory of democracy and liberal values. This narration is influenced heavily, according to this study, by liberal ideology; 'What we find in the liberal narration is an almost exact copy of the historical visions and beliefs of nineteenth-century liberalism; this ideology is not explicitly pronounced but it reveals itself through the narrative structure' (Vanhulle 2009).

An observation of the Zionist historiography of the Israel/Palestine question of the pre-Zionist era, discussed earlier in this chapter, can offer a functioning narration, named the 'Zionist narration' in this research. This narration structures the relevant history in a way that supports the Zionists' claim to the land. The general targets of this historical narration can be summarised as follows:

- Proving the historical Jewishness of the land
- Overlooking other historical choices of Jewish land/s outside Palestine
- Suppressing Arab history of the land

The history of the question is structured, in the Zionist narration, in a way to secure the above Zionist historiographical targets. As a result the Zionist history of the question, elaborated earlier in this chapter as the Zionist historiography of the pre-Zionist era of the land, was given a certain structure:

- It has a certain beginning: The history of the land starts with the Jews' presence in the land, ignoring others who possess the land before them,
- The supposed Jewish time of the land, ancient Israel, is constructed as the main history of the land in the pre-Zionist era: it is narrated, also, in a way to provide the essentials of a Jewish state; such as 'Jewish people', 'united Jewish kingdom', and 'Jewish independence',

- This glorious Jewish time has a certain ending; the forced expulsion of the Jews from the land, by the Romans, is articulated as the ending of the 'Jewish state', and the main reason responsible for the absence of the Jews in the land for the last two millennia,
- The main bulk of the land's history, the last 2000 years, that constitute almost the whole documented history of the land is not taken as a significant piece of the land's history; the main history of this time, according to the Zionist historiography, is located outside Palestine where Jews lived, who regarded, supposedly, Palestine as their homeland; their history is summarised simply as their efforts to keep the link with the mother land, their hoping to return to it, and their waiting for the chance to do so.

Accordingly, the land's history is structured in a way that starts with the Jews, and ends with them, and leaves no space, in between, in the land's thousands of years of history that might be filled by others' history. This structure secures a history - long Jewishness of the land, providing a safe historiographical place for the 'Jews' where they are not bothered by others' presence, history and rights. This constructed history can be exposed through a cyclical graph as follow:



Analytical Procedure:

The Zionist narratio offers, I argue, a significant analytical tool to distinguish the pro-Israeli account of the history of the Israel/Palestine question from non - Israeli accounts. This narratio refers to a certain structure of pre-Zionist history that constituted of certain Zionist historiographical elements with a power to introduce the whole pre-Zionist era of the land as a Jewish homeland, as mentioned earlier. The pre-Zionist era of the land is chosen as a main place where the Zionist historiography can be recognized. This recognition, in fact, is located at the heart of this research, constituting the main goal of its textbook analysis. This choice is based on the argument that the pre-Zionist history (of the land) in general and ancient history in particular is so important for the Zionist justification of Israel's legitimacy that no pro-Israeli history of the question narrates Israel's history without employing as truth the Zionist historiography of this time. It is assumed as such due to the crucial role ancient history plays in justifying the Zionist claim to the land. The legitimization of Israel's right to the land had no real chance to look convincing without a reference to 'ancient Israel' and Israel's historical right to exist. As a result, treating the pre-Zionist era of the land is taken, in this research, as a criterion for recognizing pro-Israeli histories from others. In this way all six selected textbooks on the history of Israel are investigated to analyse how they are structured to treat the pre-Zionist history of the land. It is believed that this analysis has the power to show a possible pro-Israeli bias in the analysed textbooks.

The biased character of the analysed textbooks is determined based on its capacity to pass the test of whether or not it embodies the main elements of the Zionist historiography of the pre-Zionist history of the land or what is called later in the research the Zionist narratio. According to such analysis, a pro-Israeli history of the question works to cover, without any serious challenge or scientific scepticism, all main elements of the Zionist narratio starting the history of the land with the presence of Jews, and stressing their peoplehood and statehood that concluded with a foreign, Roman, intervention that led to their forced expulsion from the land. Jews outside Palestine had no more important business, for about 2000 years, than returning to the homeland, experiencing in the interim an interruption to their collective life. At the same time the land, in its

turn, was brought to a sudden standstill, waiting to see the return of its real owners, with no authentic intervening experience of local population, people, civilization, or any character that might demonstrate that the land has any owner other than the Jews. This story, according to some scholars, including Sand, does not represent a factual history; it is called mythistory, as mentioned earlier, due to its mythical foundations (Shlomo Sand 2009, chap. 2). Pro-Israeli history, however, pays no serious attention to the problems and challenges of this story, and represents it as historical fact. That is why this history is considered biased in this research; the evidence we have now of that time does not allow an unbiased historian to pass those stories off as historical facts. As a result, any case of such treatment of the question, where those Zionist claims are presented as historical facts, is taken as showing a pro-Israeli bias, and textbooks that function as such are considered, accordingly, pro-Israeli histories. It should be clear now, before moving to actual analysis of the selected textbooks, that the focus of this textbook analysis is not criticising or challenging the pro-Israeli accounts that are offered in the selected textbooks; the main point of analysis lies in examining the influence of the Zionist historiography on textbooks that are used, in Western academia, as authoritative sources of the relevant knowledge.

Analysis of the First Textbook:

The book, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict: A History with Documents*, is written by an American scholar, Charles Duryea Smith, who is a lecturer in the University of Arizona in the United States. The book is designed carefully to work as a main reference for the relevant courses at college level. The text, enriched by almost 60 primary documents, 60 maps and many photographs is also structured in clear chapters; each contains its own conclusion, chronology, and also some 'questions for consideration'. The textbook has a website companion as well, to guide the students, and provide them with some information or images they might need to download for their course usage. Since 1988 when the first edition of the book appeared, many other editions have been published; the eighth one is the most recent, published in 2013. The survey this research conducted, also confirms the book's popularity in college

courses. This survey suggests that the book is adopted widely in all 6 countries of the research; in 97 Syllabi in the USA, 17 in Canada, 16 in the UK, 6 in Australia, 4 in New Zealand, and 3 in Ireland; altogether in 143 syllabi, in many cases as the main textbook of the course. This figure positions it higher than any other textbook that has been identified through this survey. The information provided by Google Scholar also suggests that the book has been cited frequently, 395 times, by other books or articles. The eighth edition of the book is taken for analysis in this research. The examined parts of the book are as follows:

- Preface
- Prologue: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Historical Perspective: The Middle East and Palestine to 1517
- The first Chapter: Ottoman Society, Palestine, and the Origins of Zionism, 1516-1914
- Epilogue
- Chronology

Other parts of the book are left out since they don't deal with the history of the pre-Zionist era. The index of the book is used, at the final stage, to find any relevant matter that might have been missed during the earlier parts of the examination, or left out from the examination for the reasons just mentioned.

Analysis: The main body of the relevant historiography of the pre-Zionist era is narrated through two constitutive sections in the opening of the book: in the 'Prologue' and in the first chapter. The Prologue, which is designed to cover 'the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Historical Perspective' is comprised of three relevant parts;

- Ancient Israel and Palestine to the Coming of Islam'
- 'The Arabs and the spread of Islam'
- The chronology

These parts of the book are analysed according to the sequence of the book's contents. The Prologue starts with a non-Zionist statement; 'Contrary to some popular misconceptions, the Palestinian and Arab-Israeli conflicts are modern

and secular in origin' (C. D. Smith 2013, 1). The remainder of the paragraph elaborates how the recent Zionist involvement in Palestine led to the rise of this conflict. Against the above - mentioned statement, that introduces the modern and secular reasons, and not the religious one, as bearing the main responsibility for the conflict, the next paragraph contextualizes the conflict in Palestine's sacredness for all three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This contextualization, putting the conflict in the religious context, is far from the first statement (as mentioned above) as well as from non-Zionist accounts. The context, that of Palestine's holiness, is used in Zionist historiography to support the Jewish right to the land through an argument, pointed out in this section of the book, that the land is the holiest place for the Jews, while it is only the third holiest site for Muslims. Furthermore, the Zionist historiography demonstrates more impact in this paragraph; 'For Jews, Palestine was "Eretz Israel" the ancient land of Israel, the land they hoped to redeem as a modern Jewish state, a goal that was finally accomplished in 1948' (C. D. Smith 2013, 1). It is, of course, a Zionist claim that Jews, during their history, hoped to redeem the land as a modern Jewish state. It is similarly problematic to consider that what was established in 1948 was a goal whose accomplishment was hoped for by Jews throughout their history. This claim is rejected later in the book, itself, when this hope is characterized as a 'traditional Jewish yearning to return to Zion' that 'viewed the matter as one to be decided by God' and not, in any case, a hope for establishing 'a modern Jewish state' (C. D. Smith 2013, 26).

The next section, Ancient Israel and Palestine to the Coming of Islam, is where the main historiography of the book about the pre-Zionist era of Israel is offered. The section starts with a significant statement that reveals the writer's approach in taking into consideration the questions raised about the dominant history of ancient Israel: 'The past twenty years have seen a revolution in scholarship on ancient Israel' (C. D. Smith 2013, 2). It then, mentions the main claims of the Zionist historiography about ancient Israel. The author's comments on the matter come later; 'Recent scholarship, based on extensive archaeological excavations, has challenged many of these assumptions' (C. D. Smith 2013, 2). The writer recognizes, in this section, some major challenges that question the historicity of Zionist historiography, challenges that discount the biblical stories

of a unified Jewish kingdom under David and Solomon. At the same time, it suggests, according to what is called 'mainstream scholars', a 'brief emergence of a unified Jewish state in all of Palestine, founded by Israel, the kingdom in the north' (C. D. Smith 2013, 2). Other than this, the writer places some distance, through different means, between himself and the Zionist historiography, using phrases/terms such as 'biblical tradition dates' and 'supposed... kingships' for this purpose (C. D. Smith 2013, 2). The Bible's position as a source of true history is discounted in the book's account. The last statement of the section, asserting this argument, stresses the fact that archaeological evidence does not support the Zionist claims of an ancient Israel:

'The archaeological evidence thus summarized verifies the existence of Jewish settlements in Palestine prior to the appearance of Saul and David but views them as local tribal chiefs with little regional influence. The same can be said for Solomon, and no trace of his palace or temple has been found. Their mythical attainments were developed in later versions of the Old Testament, most of them composed during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE' (C. D. Smith 2013, 2).

Another section of the book, Palestine under Roman and Byzantine Rule, is important for its involvement with another Zionist myth, the Jewish expulsion. The first sentence, again, exhibits a non-Zionist approach to the question; 'As subjects of the Roman Empire, Jews in Palestine were allowed political and religious autonomy as long as their rulers acknowledged Roman suzerainty' (C. D. Smith 2013, 3). Other parts of this section do not represent a Zionist historiography with the Roman expulsion of the Jews at its centre. The distancing of the book from the Zionist history of the expulsion is, however, a limited one; on one side it stresses the opinion that 'many Jews remained in Palestine' after the Roman treatment of the Jewish rebellion (C. D. Smith 2013, 3). In this sense it might reject the mass expulsion of the Jews. But, at the same time, it offers alternative accounts that are not very far from the Zionist claims;

'Although many Jews remained in Palestine, they were concentrated in the Galilee and, as punishment for the rebellion, were forbidden to

enter Jerusalem, now in ruins. Jews outside Palestine far outnumbered those within it. Jewish communities had sprung up in the Greco-Roman world prior to the Roman conquest, but their numbers were small compared with those that resulted from the dispersions following the failed rebellions of 66 and 132 CE. Nevertheless, Jews still considered Palestine to be Eretz Israel, the land promised them by God, and Jerusalem remained the focal point of their religious observances' (C. D. Smith 2013, 3).

This statement can function to mean that the Roman expulsion of Jews (the dispersion following the failed rebellions) is the main source of a rise in the Jewish population outside Palestine. Another part of this statement (Jews still considered Palestine to be Eretz Israel, the land promised them by God), can work to support the Zionist claim that their presence outside Israel was provisional, and that they still considered Israel as their home. In a later statement the Romans are introduced as responsible, again, for making 'the remainder' of the Jewish population in Palestine leave the land: 'He (the Roman emperor) imposed harsh tax measures throughout the empire, their application in Palestine led to a significant decline in the Jewish population. By 300 CE, Jews made up one-half of the population in the Galilee and less than one-fourth in the rest of the region' (C. D. Smith 2013, 4).

Unlike mainstream Zionist historiography, the book concedes a substantial place for an Arab history of the land. The second part of the book's first section, the Prologue, deals with this question; entitled 'The Arabs and the Spread of Islam'. This part presents how Muslims came to control the land in the seventh century, and how this development characterized the history of the land till the modern period. Muslim different treatments of the Jews and Christians, are also stressed in the book; 'Unlike the Byzantines, Muslim authorities did not interfere in doctrinal matters and allowed Jews to visit and inhabit Jerusalem' (C. D. Smith 2013, 7). A whole chapter, the next part of the book; Chapter 1: Ottoman society, Palestine, and the Origins of Zionism, is designed to cover the remainder of the Arab history of the land from 1516 onwards.

The chronology at the end of the Epilogue is of considerable importance for an analysis of how the historical developments prior to the Ottoman control of the

land are listed. The chronology starts with the Canaanite control of the land, and not the Jewish, as narrated frequently in Zionist historiography; 'Canaanites inhabit Palestine West of Jordan River, Coastal Lebanon, and southern Syria' (C. D. Smith 2013, 10). The next development is characterized by Jewish and, noticeably, Philistine settlement in the land: 'Philistines and Jews settle in Palestine region of Canaan' (C. D. Smith 2013, 10). A further significance of this chronology comes from the fact that, unlike the Zionist historiography of the era, the supposed establishment of a Jewish united kingdom is not highlighted. But the Jewish limited dispersion from the land by the Romans is stressed again: 'Bar Kokhba revolt against Romans, Roman retaliation results in dispersal of many Jews, ending Palestine's autonomy' (C. D. Smith 2013, 10).

The next part of the book, the first chapter, covers the land's history from 1516 to 1914 while the Ottomans controlled the land. This emphasis on the Arab history of the pre-Zionist era is not considered a Zionist tendency. It is recalled that the Zionist historiography tends to ignore the Arab history of the land, and usually makes a 2000 - year jump, over the Arab history of the land, to succeed in this endeavour. The chapter has, also, other non-Zionist elements: it does not try to introduce the land of this time as a barren and empty land with a few strangers who lurk there waiting for its original owners to come and cultivate it. It demonstrates the lively social and economic life of the land prior to the arrival of Zionism. It does not support, also, the Zionist claim of Palestine as a poor land that the Zionist settlers encountered when they came first: 'As these figures indicate a major expansion of Palestinian agricultural and industrial productivity occurred before Zionist colonization' (C. D. Smith 2013, 22). The book refers to the internal sources of economic prosperity in the land including in the field of agriculture and pilgrimage. It also situates the Zionist contention of 'difference' (between pre-Zionist Palestine and its the post-Zionist condition) in the land's prosperity in a reasonable context of the difference between traditional means of economy and the modern technology that was brought by Zionist settlers from the modern societies they came from in Europe, a phenomenon similar to what happened frequently in other European colonized lands (C. D. Smith 2013, 23–5).

The first chapter, also, deals with Palestinian nationalism and identity; unlike the Zionist historiography that uses nationalism as a tool to support the idea that a Jewish nationalism has been planted in a land free of nationalist identity in order to reject the idea of occupying the other's home to build one's own, it stresses the existence of Palestinian consciousness and their awareness of the land's boundaries, at least among the educated Palestinians: 'the new scholarship does suggest, however, that educated Palestinian Arabs considered themselves to live in Palestine, establishing an identity with a region defined by boundaries. This identification was not simply the result of their encounter with Jewish nationalism in the form of Zionism, as has often been assumed' (C. D. Smith 2013, 25).

The text does not disregard the accusation that a Western criterion of nationalism was used to determine a land's fate full of eastern characteristics of identity, but it, of course, discounts the value of such an approach. It also reveals how this idea is used in Zionist historiography to justify the Zionist claim to the land: 'Nationalism in the European sense was, however, part of Zionism and would be used to justify Zionist claims to Palestine, where a Jewish kingdom had existed two thousand years earlier' (C. D. Smith 2013, 26). The book's apparent approach to making a balance in providing the competing narratives leads, in some cases, to presenting some contradictory statements with no formula to solve the contradiction. In the concluding remarks of this chapter, for instance, the Zionist claim about Palestinian nationalism, as a phenomenon that emerged when Palestine encountered Zionism, can be seen: 'Among educated Muslims and Christians in Palestine, Zionism contributed to a growing sense of their common identity as Palestinians' (C. D. Smith 2013, 39). Another statement made in the book, about Palestinian national consciousness also does not concur with the discussion presented earlier in this regard, and referred to above: 'Nevertheless, a predominantly Palestinian Arab population does not necessarily indicate the widespread existence of a Palestinian Arab national consciousness at this time' (C. D. Smith 2013, 25).

The book also deals, in this chapter, with the controversial matter of immigrants to the land; the Zionist historiography, in line with the complementary lines of the Zionist mega - narrative, tries to exaggerate the number of Arabs who might

have migrated from the neighbouring lands to Palestine at the time when the Zionist settlers came to the land, and also, makes clear efforts to sell the religiously motivated migrations to the land, by some Jews, as the instances of redemptionist efforts to return home and establish their own state. The book does not subscribe to these stories, saying: 'but during most of the century, the Jews who came to Palestine did so for their own religious motives. They were making their pilgrimage to the land of ancient Israel, many in order to die there' (C. D. Smith 2013, 24). In relation to the Arab migration, it considers that as a limited factor: 'Arabs undoubtedly did migrate to Palestine or were settled by Ottoman officials there during this seventy-year period, but they probably comprised no more than 8 percent of the Arab population of Palestine in 1914' (C. D. Smith 2013, 25). Zionist historiography tends to consider Zionism as the peak of Jewish efforts to return to the homeland, and the final representative of the Jewish redemptionist efforts that started right from the expulsion and lasted for 2000 years of diaspora. Against this claim, the book considers Zionism a modern phenomenon different from the Jewish traditional attachment to Zion: 'Modern Zionism differed from the traditional Jewish yearning to return to Zion, Eretz Israel, in that religious Jews viewed the matter as one to be decided by God. Just as their exile reflected Yahweh's punishment of Jews for their transgressions of His Laws, so would their return indicate that he had granted them redemption, a redemption that many believed could occur only when the end of the world was at hand' (C. D. Smith 2013, 26). Against this statement, 'the Jewish commitment to the idea of a return to Eretz Israel' is considered, in the book, as a centuries' long reality that was a challenge to the assimilationist desire of Jews to be part of the French nation:

'The French Revolution of 1789 and its Declaration of the Rights of Man proclaimed the equality of all people as the basis for true citizenship. Jews were specifically offered the opportunity to assimilate as individuals into French society. Assimilation meant that Jews would presumably give up their commitment to retain their distinctiveness as a separate community adhering to Jewish laws and, with that, their commitment to the idea of a return to Eretz Israel, a hope that had bound them together for centuries' (C. D. Smith 2013, 27).

The book refers, in this chapter, to the very different nature of the Jewish-Islamic relations in the land that were characterized by a governance of peaceful coexistence to the extent that each took part in the religious ceremonies of the other; the Muslim Nebi Musa festival, celebrating the birth of Moses, is mentioned as one instance (C. D. Smith 2013, 39). The book can work, also, to clarify that these relations were interrupted by the Zionist movement. It is stated, in the opening of the Prologue, that 'Palestinian and other Arabs, Christian as well as Muslim, opposed this movement not because of Jewish immigration per se, but because Jewish statehood would automatically deny political rights to Palestinian Arabs, as was made clear in the Balfour Declaration of 1917' (C. D. Smith 2013, 1). In this chapter, there is another non-Zionist approach when the Palestinian Jews are considered closer to Arabs than the Europeans who came to the land to materialize the Zionist project: 'Out of the approximately 85,000 Jews then in Palestine, 12,000 lived on the land. Most Palestinian Jews were in their dress and appearance not dissimilar from Arabs, part of a Middle Eastern society quite different from the vision imparted by the European Jews who now appeared' (C. D. Smith 2013, 33).

The chronology offered at the end of the book also supports the idea that the book does not follow a Zionist historiographical pattern; it starts with a Zionist contention of the 'Kingdom of Israel and Judah founded' (C. D. Smith 2013 Chronology). But no efforts are made, in this section, to install other main elements of the Zionist historiography; the united Jewish kingdom under David and Solomon, the Jewish dispersion, or any reference to their supposed attempts to return, can be mentioned, for instance.

Summary of the Analysis

The above-mentioned analysis suggests that the book is not structured to serve a Zionist history of the land. A distance from pro-Israeli works is registered in the book's beginning, in the Preface, when the possibility of a difference between Israeli and Arab scholars is recognized: '... depending on the topic, this may mean that I sometimes refer to more works by Israeli scholars than by Arabs' (C. D. Smith 2013, VI). The index, at the end of the book, can also

exhibit that Zionist terminology is not used extensively in the book although some references are made; 'Exodus' and 'Aliya' for instance. The book is not designed, I conclude, to advance the Zionist story of the pre-Zionist era: the Zionist history of ancient Israel is challenged in the book; the historicity of the Bible is discounted; the supposed Roman forceful expulsion is narrated in a different and milder wording; nothing serious about the supposed Jewish redemptionist efforts to return to the Holy Land is mentioned, and finally, the Arab history of the land is taken as a significant part of the land's history. The land before Zionism, in the book's account, is not an empty land that waits for the original owners, the Jews, to come back and make it prosper. At the same time, the dominance of the Zionist mythology over the relevant literature is not regarded as a problem in understanding the history of the question. As a result no real attempt is made to reveal the grave consequences of the Zionist influential narrative on how the history of the land is perceived. The book does not seek to free the history of the question from the Zionist mythology; it is regarded, alternatively, as a natural phenomenon that occurs under the influence of 'mainstream scholars'. The book, however, is successful in distancing itself from Zionist claims, when it engages historiography but, at the same time, relies extensively on the Zionist histories for the provision of details. The accounts from both sides are offered in some cases, in an attempt, apparently, to create balance. This approach leads, sometimes, to producing contradictory accounts with no consideration mentioned about how this contradiction can be solved or how this contradiction in historical reports can relate to what really happened. As a result, the reader remains wondering which one represents the true history of the question. The book's account of the main elements of Israel's pre-Zionist history is mostly different from the Zionist history but is not, at the same time, very far from it, as demonstrated by this analysis, in various cases. The book, however, is a good example of a Western scholarly attempt to distance itself from the dominant history of the land that was influenced heavily by Zionist historiography, despite its limited achievements in doing so.

Analysis of the Second Textbook:

The book, *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, is co-authored by two scholars in the field, Ian J. Bickerton, from University of New South Wales in Australia, and Carla L. Klausner from University of Missouri-Kansas City in the USA. The first edition of the book was published by Prentice Hall in 1991. Three other editions have been produced in 1995, 1998, and 2001 before the book's title changes to 'A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict'. 'Concise' as a component of the original title has been removed in this change when the book grew in size from a short one (about 300 pages) to a 448 page volume. The fifth edition and the sixth one (2009) are published under the new title. The third edition of the book (1998 - 335 pages) is taken for analysis in this study. This edition's contents are structured in 11 chapters, as follows, that deal with the question's history in chronological order:

1. Palestine in the Nineteenth Century
2. Palestine During the Mandate
3. World War II, Jewish Displaced Persons, and Palestine
4. The UN, Israel Established, the First Arab - Israeli War
5. The Conflict Widens: Suez, 1956
6. The Turning Point: June 1967
7. Holy Days and Holy War: October 1973
8. The Search for Peace
9. Lebanon and the Intifada
10. Peace of the Brave
11. The Peace Progresses

More chapters are added to the volume in the later edition of the book that deal with recent developments of the question including 'The Collapse of the Peace Process' and 'The Arab-Israeli Conflict in the Post 9/11 World'. These chapters are preceded by a 'Preface' and then an 'Introduction', and are followed by a 'Conclusion'. The book is furnished with a noticeable number of charts, maps and tables that can enhance its position as a common textbook. All chapters are equipped with relevant original documents and a suggested list for further reading. Some segments of the book, those that might be relevant to the

analysis in this study, are examined for the sake of this research, including the following ones:

- Preface
- Introduction
- Chapter 1: Palestine in the Nineteenth Century
- Conclusion

The Index is used, in the final stage, to spot any relevant content that might have gone unnoticed through the earlier stages of the analysis. The survey conducted for the sake of this thesis demonstrates that the book is taken as a textbook in four countries of the survey; the US (118 syllabi), Canada (8), the UK (5) and Australia (5). These results suggest that the book is adopted widely in the USA and Australia; it is the most adopted textbook, on the question's history, in American academia in fact. But the overall ranking of the book introduces it as the second most adopted textbook in Western universities, having been adopted, altogether, in 136 academic courses. The citing figure of the book in Google Scholar, 146, is not high compared with other selected textbooks but is sufficient to suggest that it is a main reference for other scholarly work.

The book does not say much about the way it treats the history of the question; it stresses, however, 'balance' and 'objectivity': 'we have attempted to achieve some balance and objectivity about a subject upon which most people feel it necessary to adopt a partisan point of view'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, xvi). It recognizes that there are two histories on two sides of the question, introducing the book's approach as based on presenting both, while confessing that this approach does not free it from subjectivity: 'Throughout the book, we have tried to present both sides of the issues, although we realize that even the selection of material to be included reveals some subjective judgment on our part'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, xvi). There is a brief attempt in the book to reveal its main goal: 'The primary object of this book is to make the Arab-Israeli conflict more intelligible without the distortions that result from oversimplification'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 2). This statement might be too general to reveal something meaningful about the book's attitude. What has been added to this statement suggests some sort of 'claim equality' as a leading

theme of the text: 'Both the Arabs and the Israelis are locked into the histories they have created for themselves - into the dreams of their pasts. Both also seek to set in our minds favorable cultural images and symbols of themselves and unfavorable ones of their opponents'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 2). This, also, means recognizing the fact that there is a pro-Israeli history, besides a pro-Palestinian one, and the necessity of assuming a distance from both in the interests of grasping the truth.

Analysis: the book's treatment of the pre-Zionist history of the question, and of 'ancient Israel' in particular, is truly concise; no particular part is designed to cover the history of that time. Numerous references, however, are made in different parts of the book, especially in the Introduction and Chapter I, which can provide a picture of that time for the reader. The Introduction is, in fact, the main place where this picture is depicted. One paragraph, more than any other segment of the book, offers the history of 'ancient Israel':

'Judaism has gone through several stages in its long history. The first stage could be said to be that described in the Hebrew Bible, consisting of the Torah, the books of the Prophets, and a collection of other writings such as Kings, Chronicles, Ruth, Esther, and the Song of Solomon. It tells of the Jews' search under Moses for the land promised them by God after their expulsion from Egypt (the Exodus) and describes the Kingdoms of David and Solomon. The boundaries of Solomon's kingdom, with Jerusalem as its capital, included the areas called Judea and Samaria, and extreme religious and nationalistic groups today insist that these biblical and historical boundaries of Eretz Yisrael, or the Land of Israel, must remain under Jewish control'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 5).

The main elements of the Zionist historiography of the ancient time, the kingdom of David and Solomon, Jerusalem as the capital of the Jewish kingdom, and the boundaries of the kingdom (that take in the whole of historical Palestine), are incorporated in this narrative but the Hebrew Bible, is introduced as the source of this story. What comes before and after this narrative has the power to introduce the story as a report of history, and not only as a religious tradition; the pre-narrative statement, (Judaism has gone through several

stages in its long history) introduces the narrative as a report of history. This has been confirmed after the narrative when boundaries of Eretz Yisrael are called not only 'biblical' but also 'historical'. The language of the book, however, appears more accommodating when the remaining part of the ancient history is at stake; it is not conditioned by a particular source; it is narrated as a true report of what happened:

'The northern part of the kingdom, or Samaria, was conquered by the Assyrians in 721 B.C.E.* The Jews of the southern kingdom, or Judea, were exiled to Babylonia in 586 B.C.E. after the destruction of the First Temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem, which had become the center of Jewish worship until it was destroyed by the army of King Nebuchadnezzar.(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 5)'

The Jewish kingdoms of 'Samaria' and 'Judea' and their supposed fate are introduced in this part. A Jewish Autonomy is, also, suggested as the last chapter of Jewish ancient settlement in the land. The Roman expulsion of the Jews is suggested as the main factor responsible for the termination of Jewish control of the land; 'Restored to Palestine by the Persians, the Jews built a Second Temple in Jerusalem and lived autonomously under a succession of foreign rulers until 70 C.E. when the Romans destroyed the Second Temple and dispersed the Jews (the Diaspora)')(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 5). The rest of the text reveals that the Zionist historiography didn't leave its footprint just on the generalities of the book but on its details; 'One of the last strongholds to fall to the Romans was the hillside fortress known as Masada. The Israeli slogan "Masada shall never fall again" has come to symbolize Israel's determination to fight to the death to maintain its national sovereignty. It is thus significant that recruits of the Israel Armoured Corps swear their allegiance at Masada'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 6). The role of the Roman treatment of the Jews in the Jewish disappearance from the land has been discounted, however, in the next chapter of the book (Chapter I);

'Most historians agree that Jews migrated from Palestine voluntarily long before the Christian epoch, forming merchant classes around the Mediterranean basin. The destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in the year 70 C.E. led to a considerable increase in the

number of the Jewish Diaspora, as those Jews who lived outside Palestine were called, and they were gradually transformed into a mercantile class'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 21).

There are other references to 'ancient Israel' in other parts of the book, usually when other matters are at stake, which reinforces the Zionist narrative of the era. The following is an example:

'Jerusalem also occupies a special place for Muslims. Sura (or chapter) 17 of the Qur'an recounts a mystical night journey of Muhammad to Jerusalem, to a spot known today as the Temple Mount, **the platform upon which Solomon's and later Herod's Temple once stood**. From here, he ascended to heaven for a vision of Allah. The Western Wall, **all that remains today of Herod's Temple**, and the Muslim shrines known as the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount are important symbols for Jews and Muslims, and Jerusalem is a focal point of the Arab Israeli conflict'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 7).

The book articulates historical Palestine as a homeland for both Jews and Palestinian Arabs, but the definition it provides of homeland is influenced heavily by the Zionist narrative:

'The most important aspect of landscape to the Jews and Arabs of Palestine is the concept of homeland and the meaning attached to this concept. Almost all concepts of homeland have included the notion that such a place is the center of the world and that it is of supreme value. A homeland is usually tied to a specific location spiritually; it is a place to consort and speak with the gods, and continuity with the location takes on a special meaning, with dislocation causing chaos. This was especially true of the ancient religions. We must also keep in mind that the value people attach to such concepts are historically as well as culturally derived. A homeland provides nourishment, permanency, reassurance, and an identification with the soil, and it provides historical ties of identity. Looked at in this way, we can quickly see that Palestine takes on

special significance to the two groups who have been in such bitter conflict for almost a century'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 10–11).

This idea of 'homeland' is reinforced in other statements in the book: 'There has been, and still exists, a very close link between the landscape and the pattern of settlement in Palestine. These patterns, reinforced by historical, cultural, and religious experiences, reflect fundamental attitudes that the inhabitants, both Arabs and Jews, hold about the region and their identification with it as place and homeland'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 14). Moreover, there are other cases of referring to the land as the Jews' homeland in the book: 'This aspiration tapped another trend among the traditionalist Jews of Eastern Europe-that of preserving Judaism and the Jewish tradition through the reestablishment of a religiously based Jewish culture located in the traditional Jewish homeland Eretz Yisrael'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 25).

The book takes the Jews as a people, a nation that has existed since ancient times. But the statements it makes in this regard are contradictory in some instances. There is one instance, at least, of distancing from such a Zionist claim: 'Although Jews consider themselves a people, as do the Arabs, Jews are not simply a nationality, are not a race, and are more than a religion. They are at once an ethnic group, a religious group, and a cultural group'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 4). The book forgets this position when granting Jews, clearly, the status of a people, in another part of the book: 'Judaism is unique in that it is a religion limited to one people...'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 9). Furthermore, Jews are recognized in the book as a nation: 'The coming together of these two aspirations-one secular, the other religious-led to the birth of modern Zionism as a political ideology and organizational tool, and it contributed to the settlements that became the foundation of the economic, social, and cultural **rebirth of the Jewish nation**'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 25). Other relevant Zionist claims are also taken as history in the book; rejecting the idea of Jewish converts, thus providing a safe space for the introduction of all Jews of different colours and nationalities as one people, is confirmed in the book; 'Although in many respects Judaism and Islam are similar, important differences exist that lead to tension between the two religious groups. While Judaism is not a proselytizing religion, and does not seek converts...'(Bickerton

and Klausner 1998, 9). The book takes a clear Zionist approach to the history when considering the European Zionists who came to Palestine in the 20th century and claimed the land, as the same Jews who supposedly lived in the land thousands of years ago. This idea is reinforced when the book blames Palestinians for their treatment of the Jewish settlers as outsiders: 'Jews are seen by Arabs as violent and cowardly, ignoring the ancient ties of the Jews to Palestine, the Arabs regard them as aliens, as outsiders, as interlopers who do not belong'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 5).

No particular section is designed in the book to report the main bulk of the land's history, a time period after Roman control of the land in the first century and before the arrival of Zionist immigrants in the twentieth, a period of almost 2 millennia when Jews, except for a few, were absent. The Zionist historiography, as mentioned earlier, tries to fill this self-constructed gap with the Jews' history in other places where they, supposedly, consider Palestine as their homeland, making efforts to return to it. The book accommodates this constructed gap but what it offers to fill it with, 'the redemptionist efforts,' is quite limited; 'The Jewish return to Jerusalem and to Zion (Mount Zion, which came to stand for the Holy City and the Holy Land) became a central part of Jewish ritual and ceremonial practice'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 6). Besides confirming the Jewish attachment to the land in this period of time and the prayer to return, it rejects the idea that Jews have taken practical steps to return to Palestine before Zionism could change their condition:

'Many Zionists have explained the increase in Jewish settlement in Palestine as a reflection of the growing appeal and strength of Zionism. The difficulty with this explanation is that, despite the deep feeling of attachment to the land of Israel, which is such a distinctive feature of Jewish self-identity, the simple reality is that Jews did not move to the land of Zion, a land they prayed to be delivered to three times a day. This is the paradox of Zionism. Only about 1 percent of the almost 3 million Jews who emigrated from Russia in the thirty-five years following 1880 went to Palestine, and very few emigrated from Western Europe'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 27).

This non-Zionist assertion does not lead the book to question the Zionist claim of a Jewish striving to return; the rest (of the statement) justifies it in fact: 'Zionism was not the answer to the Jewish question' for the great majority of Jews. This is largely because Zionism was not seen as a solution to the traditional Jewish problems of economic, political, social, religious, and racial oppression in Europe'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 27). The book provides two other notions that support the idea that Jewish nationalism, i.e. Zionism, was not a modern invention, but a reality that governed Jewish history in the diaspora. The first one is the notion of 'cultural' or 'religious' nationalism: 'Like Arab nationalism, Jewish nationalism remained a religious and cultural phenomenon until the nineteenth century, when the idea of creating a Jewish state in Eretz Yisrael assumed the character of a political ideology'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 19). In this notion, all the religious and cultural attention paid by the Jews of the diaspora to the Holy Land is interpreted as a political and national reality. 'Modern Zionism' is the second notion that introduces Zionism as a modern version of a traditional Jewish movement that existed long before Herzl, as a longstanding character of Jewish life in the diaspora. In this way Jewish messianism is regarded as an earlier version of Zionism where Zionism is called secular messianism. Zionism, according to this book, has not invented a new ideology; it 'transformed the passive, quietistic, and pious hope of the Return to Zion into an effective social force'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 27).

Like many Zionist histories of the land, Palestine before the Zionists' arrival, is portrayed very negatively as a poor and insecure land;

'Palestine had been a poor and neglected part of the Ottoman Empire. Over the previous two centuries, local governors had become independent of Ottoman control, had become corrupt, and had neglected their duties. The result was that there was considerable disorder and insecurity: public works had not been carried out; agriculture and trade had declined: and the majority of the population were impoverished and oppressed'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 16).

The book, at the same time, takes a non-Zionist turn while introducing improvements brought to the land by Ottoman Emperor, Sultan Abdul-Hamid II:

'During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottomans gradually reestablished central control, Bedouin attacks became less frequent, general security increased, oppression of the urban population diminished somewhat, and the European powers greatly expanded their involvement in Palestine, as in the rest of the Levant. As a result, the area's economy and the conditions of the inhabitants significantly improved. Under Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, who ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1876 to 1909, important changes took place in Palestine. Abdul-Hamid encouraged modernization in communications, education, and the military in order to strengthen his control. When he began his rule, Palestine had no railroad, hardly any carriage roads, and no developed port. There were few medical services, and disease and illiteracy were widespread. Within a few years of accession, new roads were opened. And European companies completed a railroad between Jerusalem and Jaffa in 1892 and another between Haifa and Deraa, Transjordan, in 1905'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 16–18).

The Zionist historiography needs to provide some background of Jewish authority/Jewish independence in Palestine; having no chance to mine these notions from the established history of the land, it employs the religious traditions of Judaism for such a purpose; in this enterprise, a Jewish sense of authority, in a tribal context or in any kind of autonomy under former kinds of political organisation, is taken as an instance of Jewish political control of the land. This Zionist historiographical machine works in the opposite direction when the same land, but populated with Arab Palestinians, is at stake; there is a tremendous effort to portray Palestine, before Zionism, as a land free from any character of political power, a condition, according to Zionist history, that lasted for centuries before it was remedied by Zionist Jews. This book, like many other books in the field, has been influenced by this Zionist construction; 'Under Ottoman rule, which lasted four centuries (1516—1918), Palestine never formed a political administrative unit of its own'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 16). The

Zionist historiography, for understandable reasons, deprives Palestine not only of any political administration/power but of any political identity as well. The idea of nationalism is used in Zionist histories for such a purpose. The Palestinians are introduced as a people free from nationalist feelings before encountering Zionism. This Zionist history is confirmed in the book; 'As a result of all the factors mentioned above, there was no strong impetus toward Palestinian nationalism among the Muslim Arabs during this period'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 19). According to this report, Palestinian nationalism is formed only later, and as a response to a genuine and stronger nationalism: 'As time passed, nationalist sentiment among Arabs, including those in Palestine, also grew as a response to the strong nationalist feelings of Jews toward Palestine, or Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel)'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 19).

Summary of the Analysis

The analysis of the book, so far, suggests the idea that it reproduces the bulk of Zionist history in relation to 'ancient Israel', the exile and the history of the Jews in the diaspora. The limited, and noticeable in some cases, distance placed, by the book between self and Zionist historiography is acknowledged in the analysis. Having said that, the Zionist meta - narrative of the land has been accepted, more or less, as factual history in this textbook. The book has been influenced by other Zionist narratives, including that on Jewish political independence outside Palestine; the book not only ignores these polities but rejects their existence:

'Judaism differs from both Islam and Christianity in one important respect however. Both Islam and Christianity were militarily and politically successful over the centuries, establishing empires or states in which their respective beliefs and principles were put into practice. Judaism had no such experience from the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. until the establishment of Israel in 1948'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 9).

The overall analysis of this book, however, does not produce the conclusion that it is a Zionist work, not because of the limited but significant reservations it makes when delivering the Zionist historiography, but because of the genuine sympathy it shows with the Palestinian rights to the land, a factor that is absent in Zionist histories. The book advances, in this way, some sort of 'claim equality'; it considers both Jews and the Palestinian Arabs as peoples with true links to the land: 'It is impossible to understand the depth of feeling on both sides without an awareness of the ecological or environmental relationship that exists between the Jews and Arabs who inhabit the region, as well as the historical and cultural ties that link the two peoples to the land'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 11). The book's enthusiasm to provide some sympathy with both sides of the conflict through establishing the claim equality to the land introduces some misleading problems, however; first of all the difference between myth and fact is suppressed in this approach. No serious efforts are made to question the narratives provided by Zionist historiography, including those for which there is no convincing evidence in any established history of Palestine, such as narratives that are related to ancient Israel or the Roman expulsion of the Jews. This is in fact at odds with what the book itself recommends to students of history:

'The distinction between the past and the present is an artificial one; there is only the present. But constructing and controlling "the truth" about the past to justify one's actions in the present is an important function of all political activity, and one task of a student of history is to separate the rhetoric designed by both sides to create a usable, legitimizing, and heroic past from the reality of past events'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 2).

The declared necessity of separating the rhetoric from the reality of the past events is undermined by the book's attempt to sympathize with, and accommodate both sides of the conflict. This approach proves more problematic, leading to serious mistakes, when advancing the claim equality. Introducing the conflict as the extension of a historical rivalry/battle between Jews and Arabs over the land, a struggle that has existed since biblical times, is one instance:

'Many see the Arab-Israeli conflict as the present-day extension of enmity that has existed since biblical times. The issues underlying the conflict strike at the heart of the identity of the peoples involved. In addition to being the contemporary expression of a historic territorial battle over Palestine between two traditional ethnic rivals, Jews and Arabs'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 1).

In this line, religion is introduced as a reason for why Jews and Arabs oppose each other in Palestine, neglecting a millennium long history of Jewish-Arab peaceful co - existence in the Holy Land. There is considerable emphasis on the religious aspect of the question; and on the differences between Islam and Judaism as a main feature responsible for the conflict; 'A key question in both religions as far as the Arab-Israeli conflict is concerned is: What is the attitude of the religion to the outsider. Both religions are ambiguous and contradictory in relation to this question. They make positive and negative references to others and are both welcoming and exclusive'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 9).

The results of this analysis do not suggest that the book is a history that is structured to advance a Zionist version of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. But it introduces the book as a work that is influenced heavily by Zionist historiography. The book does not take a critical attitude toward Zionist historiography. It takes it for granted in many cases, defining a Jew for instance, according to the terms provided by one side, the Jewish side, and accepting this definition as a true representation of reality; 'The term Jew can be best applied to those who have a Jewish mother, or who call themselves Jews because of conversion to Judaism'(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 4). The book, however, takes a critical position towards the role of the West in the question. 'Orientalism' and 'anti-Semitism' are introduced as two Western destructive ideologies that have influenced the conflict. Islam and Christianity are also blamed for what went wrong in this question but Zionism and Judaism are exempted from such critical treatment in so far as it is related to the reporting of the pre-Zionist history of the Israel/Palestine question(Bickerton and Klausner 1998, 4).

Analysis of the Third Textbook:

The book, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist – Arab Conflict*, is written by the Israeli writer, Benny Morris, a Professor of History at Ben-Gurion University in Israel, and published by numerous publishing companies including Vintage Books in New York. The first edition of the book, that covered the history of the conflict from 1881 to 1999, was published in 1999. The edition used for this study is the one that was published in 2001 and covers the history of the conflict to this year.

The textbook is a long volume, about 800 pages, which offers the history of the question in 14 chapters; the last one deals with Barak's government: 'Ehud Barak's 19 Months'. Some portions of the book, those that are seen as relevant to the pre-Zionist era are examined for the sake of this analysis; they include the following parts:

- Preface
- Chapter One: Palestine on the Eve
- Chapter Two: The Beginning of the Conflict: Jews and Arabs in Palestine, 1881-1914
- Conclusions

The Index is used, in the next phase, to find relevant parts in the book that might be missed in the earlier examinations.

The textbook has widespread usage in academic courses; the survey that was conducted for this purpose suggests it as the third most adopted textbook in Western universities. It is one of 2 books, the other being 'Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict', which are adopted in all 6 countries of the survey. The main difference between these two texts lies in the fact that unlike Smith's book, this textbook is not used widely as the main textbook of the course. This survey demonstrates that it has been adopted, altogether, in 123 syllabi: 82 Syllabi in the USA, 18 in the UK, 15 in Canada, 4 in Ireland, 2 in Australia, and 2 in New Zealand. The Google Scholar citation figure also confirms its extensive impact

in the academic arena where 459 is suggested as a number for citations of the book in other academic publications.

The book starts with a 'Preface' where some useful information about the perspective that is adopted on the question's history is provided; the first statement introduces this history as an attempt to 'relate the entire story in an integrated fashion, covering Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab states from the 1880s to the present'(Morris 2001, xiii). The next clarification indicates that the political and military aspects of the conflict, and not the economic and cultural ones, are being focused on in this historiography. It is also mentioned that little attention is given to the internal politics of the conflicting societies. The writer introduces his approach to the history as a rejection of the maxim that "there is no foreign policy, only internal politics" (Morris 2001, xiii). The last clarification, mentioned in the Preface, spells out that the book's history is based on secondary sources, and does not constitute a work that is produced by analysis of original historical documents itself (Morris 2001, xiii).

Analysis: the textbook has its own way of treating the question; it is categorized as a historiography out of the traditional Zionist realm, representing a critical work, and, at the same time, with the potential to reinforce Zionist mythology. The Preface might shed some light on this matter: first of all, it considers all works produced to date in this field as biased historiography: 'Almost from the start the subject has been treated with emphatic partisanship by commentators and historians from both sides, as well as by foreign observers'(Morris 2001, xiii). The book regards this bias as a characteristic that comes from the question's nature, and one difficult or impossible to avoid: 'There is a built-in imbalance in scholarly treatments of the conflict; this study is no exception'(Morris 2001, xiv). This is not, of course, a typical Zionist position on the historiography produced on the question. In this line, this book, and other writings of Benny Morris, are full of critiques of the Zionist narratives that no classic Zionist history can dare to offer. Lots of accounts offered by the book challenge the classic Zionist history. The whole historical evidence that is used by the Zionist side to write the question's history is undermined in the book: 'By and large, the documents contained in them were written by Zionists, in a Zionist context and from the Zionist perspective. This has almost inevitably

affected the historiography based on these documents'(Morris 2001, xiv). The Arab view of the question has found its way into his historiography in many cases. At the same time, the work tends to put the Zionist historiography, even criticized or challenged, in a relatively better position, where its superiority over the Arab history can be perceived. This can be seen in the book's general arguments about the subject, as well as, in its treatment of particular cases; 'At the same time the Zionist side tends to be illuminated more thoroughly and with greater precision than the Arab side, and this applies to both political and military aspects'(Morris 2001, xiv). Another general statement in the book can demonstrate this: 'Though Jewish officials, generals, and politicians have often also been self serving and subjective in their published recollections, and past generations of Zionist-Israeli historians have been less than objective, they have been substantially more accurate and informative than their Arab counterparts'(Morris 2001, xiv). For having such a tendency the book, like other of Morris's writings, might be seen as a work that challenges the traditional Zionist claims as well as Arab alternative accounts at the same time in one way, and, in the next, favours the Zionist story over its Arab rival, usually through the conclusion. Having said this, however, this might not be the case in all matters raised in the book.

The Preface does not have any reference to the history of the pre-Zionist era; the next section, Chapter One: Palestine on the Eve, is the main location in the book where that history is offered. The book, in fact, has no independent segment to present such a history; it is very brief about ancient Israel for instance. This can come from the book's fundamental choice to limit its territory to a period, 1881-2001, which is located out of the pre-Zionist era. It also can show some kind of distance from the standard Zionist historiography where the pre-Zionist era has a notable place in the overall history of the question; if so, such distance, as can be seen through the following analysis, is quite limited.

The main reference to ancient Israel is made in the opening of Chapter One: 'Toward the end of the millennium [the second millennium B.C.] the Hebrews, or Jews, invaded and settled the land, and for most of the next millennium constituted the majority of the population and governed the bulk of the country. The core of the Jewish state (at one point there were two Jewish kingdoms)

was the hill country of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee'(Morris 2001, 4). This statement, although very brief, is powerful and clear enough to register the land as a property of the then Jews, considering them the majority of the population, where they, by establishing the Jewish state, governed the land for 'most of the millennium'. Although this account does not mention the details of the Zionist narrative it contains the central story, which is the main base for the Jews' historical right to the land. No means of distance or academic reservation is made here that might offer the story as a contested claim, or a story that lacks enough evidence to be introduced as an historical fact. The second chapter, The Beginning of the Conflict, is started by a quotation that enforces this claim: 'Who can challenge the rights of the Jews in Palestine? Good Lord, historically it is really your country," wrote Jerusalem Muslim dignitary Yusuf Diya al-Khalidi to Zadok Kahn, chief rabbi of France, on March 1, 1899'(Morris 2001, 37). Another quotation, this time by a Jew, is offered in the book that has the same function: 'Vladimir (Ze'ev) Dubnow, one of the Biluim, wrote to his brother, the historian Simon Dubnow, in October 1882: "The ultimate goal... is, in time, to take over the Land of Israel and to restore to the Jews the political independence they have been deprived of for these two thousand years. The Jews will yet arise and, arms in hand (if need be), declare that they are the masters of their ancient homeland"(Morris 2001, 49). Such an assertion is confirmed in the 'Conclusion' of the book where 'Palestine' is introduced as a land 'where the Jews had lived and ruled during the first millennium B.C. (Morris 2001, 676)'. Somewhere else in the book, Palestinians are blamed for not recognizing this fact: 'The Palestinians, from the start, never really understood the Zionist claim to the land. They were not aware of or didn't care about the Jews' roots in the country...(Morris 2001, 679)'. With all this, the book is, almost, free from details provided by the Bible of the ancient Israel; no Jewish king, Saul, David or Solomon, is mentioned in the book as such. One mention of Solomon is registered with clear distance: 'But no agreement was reached on the future of the walled Old City and, more particularly, the Temple Mount (Haram ash Sharif) area within it, containing the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque as well as the (presumed) underground remains of King Solomon's and Zerubabel's (and Herod's) temples'(Morris 2001, 659). One exception, at the same time, is made when Solomon's ally is mentioned in the book: 'The four-brigade attack was called Operation Hiram, after the Lebanese

king of Tyre who had been King Solomon's ally three millennia before'(Morris 2001, 245).

In Chapter One, where the main statement about ancient Israel is made, as above, another Zionist claim, the Jewish expulsion, is passed off as an historical fact: 'The chapter of Jewish sovereignty ended when the Romans invaded and then put down two revolts, in A.D. 66-73 and 132-35, and exiled much of the Jewish population'(Morris 2001, 4). This assertion is reinforced through remarks made by a French high - ranking official:

'On June 4, 1917, the director general of the French Foreign Ministry, Jules Cambon, issued the declaration that was to serve as a precedent and basis for the more significant Balfour Declaration: You [Sokolow]... consider that, circumstances permitting, and the independence of the Holy Places being safeguarded . . . it would be a deed of justice and of reparation to assist, by the protection of the Allied Powers, in the renaissance of the Jewish nationality in that land from which the people of Israel were exiled so many centuries ago'(Morris 2001, 74).

Taking the main Zionist story of the pre-Zionist era, the next phase of the Zionist historiography entails the Jewish redemptionist efforts to return to their home land. The book, unlike the way it deals with earlier Zionist myths where one paragraph, at least, is designed to lend credibility to Zionist historiography, has no such statement to articulate the 'Jewish redemptionist efforts' which constitute another pillar of the 'Jewish historical right' to the land. Another technique, however, is used here to make such Zionist claims reasonable: Zionism, being a movement to return to the 'homeland', is introduced, somehow, as a movement with old roots in the Jewish tradition: 'Zionism—the drive for the return of the Jews to, and sovereignty in, Eretz Yisrael—was rooted in age-old millenarian impulses and values of Jewish religious tradition...(Morris 2001, 14). Zionism is introduced, in the book, as a secularized version of a Jewish longstanding goal: 'The mid- and late-nineteenth century saw the rapid secularization of the millenarian-Zionist goal amid an increasingly secularized Jewish population'(Morris 2001, 14). For this reason, the Zionist idea is introduced as 'completely natural, fine and

just'(Morris 2001, 37). According to the book, the idea of 'return' was the original core of the story, that has been bound to the religious tradition of the past and to the secular idea in the modern era, when Zionism arose:

'The return to Zion was conceived as a social and political act that would remedy the Jews' abnormal existence as an oppressed minority in the Diaspora. But ever since the Jews' exile from the land at the start of the first millennium A.D., the idea or vision of a return had been closely bound up with the cosmic, messianic theme of collective redemption and salvation'(Morris 2001, 14).

Diaspora, in its Zionist meaning, is used in the book, in this regard, without any distance. Jews who joined the Zionist movement to transfer to Palestine, are taken as the same Jews who, supposedly, were expelled from the land 2000 years earlier; a position that represents typical Zionist historiography of the case.

Another element of Zionist historiography, as mentioned earlier, is that of undermining the Arab history of the land. This long and established history is discounted through different ways in the book: first of all, there are some accounts that exhibit the land as a barren and inhabitable land; Chapter One is started with a topic on 'THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE'. The opening of this section is a statement by Mark Twain about the land, in 1867, and its negative characteristics:

'Of all the lands there are for dismal scenery, I think Palestine must be the prince. The hills are barren.... The valleys are unsightly deserts fringed with a feeble vegetation that has an expression about it of being sorrowful and despondent.... It is a hopeless, dreary, heartbroken land.... Palestine sits in sackcloth and ashes.... Over it broods the spell of a curse that has withered its fields and fettered its energies.... Nazareth is forlorn; ... Jericho... accursed... Jerusalem... a pauper village.... Palestine is desolate and unlovely'(Morris 2001, 3).

This statement is placed at some distance, by the book: 'He may have been indulging in hyperbole, but then neither was Palestine, in the mid-nineteenth century, the "land of milk and honey" promised in the Bible'(Morris 2001, 3). Later in this chapter, when the book describes Palestine before the rise of Zionism, Morris uses many statements to portray such an image of the land: 'Through the nineteenth century the population was plagued by diseases such as malaria, trachoma, dysentery, cholera, and typhoid fever. Water supplies were inadequate and frequently impure'(Morris 2001, 6). A number of elements such as drought, Ottoman high taxation, Bedouin banding, and health hazards are suggested to picture Palestine as an 'insecure and poor' land that was inhabited by a weak and primitive society: 'Agriculture was primitive, with little irrigation'(Morris 2001, 5). The picture provided in the book, is not that radical, to support, blindly the idea of 'the land without people' but it, of course, sympathises with that. The book, in fact, refers to some positive points of 19th century Palestine. More importantly, it considers, in Chapter 2, this idea held by the first Zionist settlers about Palestine as a misconception;

'Many First Aliyah immigrants believed that they were coming to a desolate, empty land and were surprised to find so many Arabs about. After all, they were returning to their Promised Land; no one had spoken of anyone else being there. There is one testimony by Yosef Chaim Brenner, the Second Aliyah's leading novelist, saying, in this regard: "Before going to Palestine, the country, for some reason, appeared in my imagination as one city inhabited by non-religious Jews surrounded by many fields, all empty, empty, empty, waiting for more people to come and cultivate them"(Morris 2001, 42).

Another testimony is used later in the book to describe the same situation:

'Ahad Ha'Am, the leading Eastern European Jewish essayist, opened many Jewish eyes when he wrote, in 1891, after a three-month visit to Palestine: "We abroad are used to believing that Eretz Yisrael is now almost totally desolate, a desert that is not sowed but in truth this is not the case. Throughout the country it is difficult to find

fields that are not sowed. Only sand dunes and stony mountains . . . are not cultivated"(Morris 2001, 42).

In relation to the Arab history of the land where Arab Palestinians dominated the land for centuries, if not millennia, and formed its population and society, the book has no statement to articulate that. On the contrary, it uses a different historiography to discount this history, considering Arabs as only one of many people who controlled the land after the supposed Jewish expulsion: 'After successive invasions and counter invasions by Persians, Arabs, Turks, Crusaders, Mongols, Mamelukes, and (again) Turks, the country—at the beginning of the nineteenth century, under imperial Ottoman rule—had a population of about 275,000 to 300,000 people, of whom 90 percent were Muslim Arabs, 7,000 to 10,000 Jews, and 20,000 to 30,000 Christian Arabs'(Morris 2001, 4).

The book acknowledges the Arab population, as an overwhelming majority, in Palestine, as stated in the above - mentioned quotation from the book. This fact, however, does not make the Zionist historiography register the land as having a Palestinian majority. The Zionist historiography, as mentioned earlier, borrows the Western idea of nationalism to claim this oriental land populated by Palestinians, who form every aspect of this Arab society. This borrowing allows the cancellation of a Palestinian right to govern the land of their own simply because they, unlike Jewish people, had no qualification to form a nation:

'Yet, despite the indisputable presence of Arab communities in most areas of the country, the Jews, down to the 1920s, were right on one level: They themselves were the only "nation" or "people" in the country: The Arabs simply did not exist as a Palestinian people—as another, competing nationalism. The small minority of politically conscious Arabs saw themselves as part of the wider "Arab nation" or of the "Greater Syria" polity'(Morris 2001, 678).

Palestinian nationalism, the book asserts, emerged some time later, and mainly as a response to the Jewish nationalist movement: 'It was at this time [World War I and its aftermath], too, that a distinct Palestinian local patriotism or proto-nationalism began to emerge. This tendency or orientation—it hardly qualified

as a movement—gradually groped its way forward, largely in reaction to the burgeoning Zionist presence’(Morris 2001, 34). This ‘first come first take’ game, that introduces the Palestinians as being too late to form a nation is introduced as the main reason why Jews occupy the country: ‘Zionism emerged about a quarter of a century earlier than Arab nationalism, a head start in political consciousness and organization that proved vital to the Jews’ success and to the Palestinian Arabs’ failure during the following decades of conflict’(Morris 2001, 26). The context of the Jewish right to the land is simple and straightforward in this historiography; the colonial domination of the Ottoman Empire collapsed in World War 1. In other parts of this colony nationalist movements established their own countries. The process in Palestine encountered a specific problem where two nationalist movements emerged to fill the gap produced by Ottoman withdrawal; Jews, one of the two, succeeded because they were earlier to take the chance:

‘The Ottoman Empire was no more. In the lands south of Turkey there emerged over the years, under French and British tutelage, the states of the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan (from 1948 Jordan), and Iraq. And there emerged the problem of Palestine, where, under the umbrella of the British Mandate, two national movements, Arab and Jewish, vied for dominance and, eventually, statehood’(Morris 2001, 32).

The last point about the Morris historiography of pre-Zionist history is that of how he treats Islam as a main contributor to the conflict; unlike many other historiographies, even Zionist ones, which consider the Christian/European treatment of the Jews as a main reason for the rise of Zionism, and for what happened subsequently in Israel/Palestine, the book highlights the role of Islam in these happenings; Islam, first of all, is introduced as an anti-Jewish religion: ‘The Koran is full of anti-Jewish asides and references’(Morris 2001, 9). Islam is seen in this historiography as a religion with a fundamental problem about Judaism: ‘From the beginning, Islam suffered from the natural jealousy of a successor or "child" toward the monotheistic parent religions from which it sprang, Judaism and Christianity’(Morris 2001, 9). The hostile attitude to Judaism, according to the book, is codified in Islamic regulations since the

beginning: 'Muhammad's relations with the Jews, and subsequent Koranic attitudes, were eventually embodied in the treaty of submission to Muslim rule, or writ of protection, known as the dhimma, or Pact of 'Umar, extended by Muhammad's successor, the second caliph, 'Umar 'ibn al-Khattab (634-44)'(Morris 2001, 9). Against all the facts about how Islam treated others, Christians and Jews, far better than other powerful religions treated minority faiths, it is introduced as a religion with deep xenophobia: 'The principle of equality—between believer and nonbeliever as between man and woman—is alien to Islam, and the Islamic world, normally in conflict with Dar al Harb in one region or another, has traditionally exhibited a deep xenophobia'(Morris 2001, 8–9). In this endeavour the historical fact, that the equality between believer and non-believer, and between women and men, did not exist in that historical environment, and the fact that this perception of equality comes from modern ideas that managed to govern human societies very recently, is ignored. Islam's 'evil' treatment of the Jews is introduced right in the opening of the section on 'Islam and the Jews': 'Islam generally, and the Ottoman Empire in particular, treated the Jews in its midst as second-class citizens'(Morris 2001, 8). The golden time the Jews experienced under Islam would bring no credit, according to the book, to Islam: 'During the Islamic High Middle Ages, c. A.D. 850 - 1250, Judaism and the Jews had flourished, and would later designate the period a "golden era" of Jewish history'(Morris 2001, 8). But their occasional (presumed) poverty under Islam is regarded as a 'result of discriminatory practices': 'Other restrictions had nothing to do with security and everything to do with religious and economic discrimination, and Jewish poverty in most of the Ottoman lands in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries appears to have been, in some measure at least, the result of discriminatory practices'(Morris 2001, 10).

After making those general statements about Islam's treatment of Jews, that is characteristic of this textbook, the longest list ever (as far as I have explored in Israel/Palestine histories) of Islam's crimes against Jews is delivered. In this historiography the whole history of Islam as a religion which tolerated Jews better than other religions, and the fact of the Islamic world being a refuge for Jews during the long Islamic history is granted no value or relevance: 'Nevertheless, in general the Jews under Islam seem to have fared better than the Christians—if only because the former, usually poor, often abject, always

powerless, were a threat to no one'(Morris 2001, 10). The well-established Islamic tolerance of Jews is undermined repeatedly in the book; 'Contemptuous tolerance," in the phrase of historian Elie Kedourie, came to be the attitude adopted by Muslim states toward their Jewish communities. This stance was generally mixed with a measure of hostility, especially in times of political crisis. Tolerance was then superseded by intolerance, which occasionally erupted into violence. Throughout, Muslims treated the dhimmi, and perhaps especially the Jews, as impure'(Morris 2001, 9–10). Against all the evidence of Islamic tolerance of Jews in history, the underlying attitude of Islam is introduced in line with the writer's pessimistic style: 'But the underlying attitude, that Jews were infidels and opponents of Islam, and necessarily inferior in the eyes of God, prevailed throughout Muslim lands down the ages'(Morris 2001, 11). In this way the history of Jews in Islam, according to the book, has a foreseeable summary: 'throughout they [the Jews] suffered discrimination, humiliation, and a sense of insecurity. Occasionally they were subjected to persecution and violence'(Morris 2001, 8).

This Islamic position toward the Jews has influenced, according to the book, the Israel/Palestine question:

'The history and tradition of Muslim attitudes and behavior toward the Jews was to affect profoundly the unfolding of Turkish-Zionist and Arab-Zionist relations in Palestine. The view of the Jews as objects, unassertive and subservient, was to underlie to some degree both the initial weak, irresolute Ottoman and Arab responses to the gradual Zionist influx into Palestine—Why bother, the Jews could achieve nothing anyway!—and the eventual aggressive reactions, including vandalism and murder—the Jews were accursed of God and meant only harm; their lives and property were therefore forfeit'(Morris 2001, 13).

The book here is reporting the history of the Arabs' treatment of Jews in modern Palestine, which entails both soft and hard reactions; the soft treatment of the immigrant Jews before the Balfour Declaration, and the hard reaction of the Palestinians when they encountered the Jewish claim to their land. The book does not record any credit to Muslims for being that soft to Jews. It is taken,

astonishingly, as evidence to regard Muslims as anti-Jewish. In this way, however Muslims treated Jews, soft or hard, both prove their anti-Jewish position (Morris 2001, 13). Islam, according to the book, is not only responsible for the aggressiveness shown by Muslims in the conflict, but also for the aggressiveness committed on the Jewish side: 'Muslim attitudes to some degree affected the Zionist colonists in Palestine. They drove the colonists, at least during the early decades of Zionism, toward occasional over-assertiveness and even aggressiveness in an effort to wipe out the traces of their traditional, and for them humiliating, image' (Morris 2001, 13). Later in the book Islam, again, is introduced as a main source of the Arab-Israeli conflict: 'Islam posited the inalienability of land conquered by Muslims. Such tracts became automatically part of the divinely sanctioned Dar al Islam' (Morris 2001, 39). This statement of the book is explaining why Arabs resist the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, no matter whose land this is.

Summary of the Analysis

As the above analysis demonstrates, the book, although different from the classic Zionist histories, can pass off all the main elements of the Zionist mythology of the pre-Zionist era as historical facts. The biblical stories of ancient Israel are not acknowledged but what Zionist historiography tries to pass off, by numerous names, dates and events taken from the Bible, is accepted, in a wholesale fashion, without bothering to prove Solomon's power, for instance, or locating his palace. Exile of Jews, as another element of the Zionist historiography, is confirmed as a historical fact on several occasions in the book. Zionism is described, by the writer, not as a recent European phenomenon, but as a modern version of Jewish longstanding tradition to return to their homeland. It is also introduced as a genuine national movement that emerged in Palestine when it was free from a nationalistic character. The long Arab history of the land is discounted in an exceptional way; Arabs are placed beside others, like Persians and Mongols who invaded the land and controlled it for a while. This has been reinforced by introducing Islam and Islamic history as a main factor that contributed to creating the conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Furthermore, no traces of any analytical doubt or academic

scepticism that might challenge these contested, if not fake, claims are located in the book.

Analysis of the Fourth Textbook:

The book, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, is written by Mark A. Tessler, Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan. The book was first published in 1994 in the USA. The second edition of the book is published, under the Indiana series in Middle East Studies, in 2009 by Indiana University Press. Comprising 1018 pages, the book is a long volume that deals with all phases of the history of the question, but it is more detailed on the events of 1948 and afterwards. The book's contents are organized in six distinct parts, the last one on the Palestinian Intifada and the Oslo Peace Process. Some portions of the book's second edition, only those that might be relevant to the analysis in this study, are examined for the sake of this research, including the following ones:

- Preface to the Second Edition
- Preface
- Part I: Jews and Arabs Before the Conflict: The Congruent Origins of Modern Zionism and Arab Nationalism
- Part II: Emergence and History of the Conflict to 1948

The Index is used, in the final phase, to explore any relevant content that might be unnoticed through the earlier stages of the examination. The survey conducted for the sake of this thesis demonstrates that the book is taken as a textbook in many courses related to the history of the question but this is not the case in all 6 countries of the survey. It is adopted in only 3 countries of the survey; the US (61 syllabi), the UK (19) and Canada (13). But the figure coming from the total number of adoptions (in related courses) proposes it as the fourth most adopted textbook, having been adopted, altogether, in 93 academic courses. The figure cited for the book in Google Scholar, 356, demonstrates, also, its position as a main reference for other scholarly works.

The book, in its Preface, and also, in the Preface to the second edition, reveals some significant points about the perspective adopted in it from which to view the history of the question; it stresses first the book's robust scientific orientation. The loyalty to the relevant principles of objectivity, accuracy, and non-partisanship is made clear in several statements: '...my aim has been to maintain a stance of considered objectivity. I have tried to represent both sides

fairly when fundamental issues are discussed'(Tessler 2009, xvii). The book is introduced, in this regard, as a work that does not advocate a specific conclusion; 'My goal is not to foster specific conclusions about central issues in the conflict but to provide a basis for understanding and evaluating the actions of both Israelis and Palestinians'(Tessler 2009, xvii). The book's main mission is described as providing the arguments of both sides leaving the conclusion to the reader: '... the volume strives for a nonpartisan point of view; it seeks to present both Palestinian and Israeli analyses and to enable readers to form their own conclusions about the persuasiveness of competing arguments'(Tessler 2009, xvii).

This book might seem to create some critical distance from its stated position, first, when it advocates 'an engaged and sympathetic understanding of the parties to the conflict', a particular approach that is described by the book as 'objectivity without detachment'(Tessler 2009, viii). Objectivity, accuracy or any other truth - oriented value might be undermined when providing sympathy with the parties (of the conflict) is a priority. This book's position also might pave the way for a historiographical strategy which is referred to in the relevant literature as 'equal claims'. This strategy of rejecting all conclusions for the sake of one, claim equality, might fall in contradiction with the stated aim of this history i.e. objectivity; it also has the power to regulate the history of the question in a certain way, and might suppress the objectivity and other truth - oriented objectives when they do not provide such a conclusion. The equality claim is articulated, more evidently, somewhere else in the book, when it is introduced, also, as a fact rooted in the history: 'The present study rejects these tendencies and offers a different approach. It assumes that both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs have legitimate and inalienable rights. These rights are rooted in the historical experience of each people'(Tessler 2009, xiv). The 'equal claim' principle is taken further when both sides are entitled to the same sum of respect or condemnation: 'Consistent with this approach, the book presupposes that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not a struggle between good and evil but rather a confrontation between two peoples who deserve recognition and respect, neither of whom has a monopoly on behavior that is either praiseworthy or condemnable'(Tessler 2009, xiv-xv). This position is described in the book as 'approach - approach perspective'(Tessler 2009, xv). It is

revealed in the book, however, that this perspective is taken, partly, for practical purposes: 'This approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is advocated not only in the name of objectivity and historical accuracy but with a conviction that there is practical value to what might be called an "approach-approach" perspective'(Tessler 2009, xv).

In this line, the book, being a history of the Israel/Palestine question, is free to exhibit its eagerness to provide some sort of middle way solution to the question. The partition is introduced as the legitimate solution to the question, consistent with the equal claim strategy. The powerful enthusiasm of the book for such a solution might make it vulnerable in recognizing the conflicting objectives of Zionism and Palestinian aspirations: 'It demonstrates what an accurate reading of history shows to have been the case all along, that there is nothing about the essence of Zionism or of Palestinian nationalism that makes it impossible even to conceive of a solution to the conflict'(Tessler 2009, xviii). The preferred solution is supported wholeheartedly in another statement, flavoured by some offensive positions against those who oppose such a solution: 'The principles of territorial compromise and mutual recognition appear to be supported by a majority on both sides of the conflict. To be sure, on both sides there are also hard-liners and rejectionists, those who for ideological reasons oppose territorial compromise and recognition of their longstanding adversary'(Tessler 2009, xviii). The book displays its highest point of perspectival confidence when, against numerous facts on the ground, and all the facts about the contradictory ends of the opposing parties of the conflict, it considers 'psychology' as the main essence of the conflict:

'I thus remain convinced that one of the biggest obstacles to peace, and arguably the biggest obstacle of all, is psychological in character. Peace will be possible if, and almost certainly only if, each side and its supporters reject the view that the Israeli – Palestinian conflict is a struggle between good and evil, accept the legitimacy of the other side's aspirations, and conclude from the history reported in this book that neither party has a monopoly on behaviour that is deserving either of respect or of condemnation'(Tessler 2009, ix).

Analysis: the main body of the book starts with a section on 'Jews and Arabs before the Conflict'. Two key reasons are offered for providing this survey. The first one is a non-Zionist one; 'There are several reasons to begin a study of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with a general survey of Jewish and Arab history. One is to dispel the common misconception that the current struggle in Palestine is an extension of an ancient blood feud, fueled by ethnic or religious antagonisms dating back hundreds of years. This view is not only inaccurate, ...'(Tessler 2009, 1). The book stresses, in this section, the fact that Arab hostility towards the Jews is a post- Zionism phenomenon; 'Present-day issues must be approached with a recognition that neither the Arab-Israeli dispute in general nor the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular is based on or driven forward by primordial antagonisms, and that it has in fact been less than a century since Jews and Arabs began to view one another as enemies'(Tessler 2009, 1). The typical Zionist historians, in contrast, try, often, to distance Zionism from the mess it created in Arab-Jew relations.

The second one is rather different; it is based on a contention that there is a substantial symmetry between Arab and Jewish histories: 'There is also a remarkable congruence between Jewish and Arab history, and herein resides yet another reason to examine the experience of each people prior to the conflict in Palestine. Indeed, this may be the most important reason of all in the long run'(Tessler 2009, 2). This argument can work, when developed in certain ways, to advocate claim equality. There are several instances of such functioning in the book. The following is one: 'Thus, during their respective classical periods, Jews and Arabs both possessed the elements of peoplehood and transformed themselves into viable political kingdoms, with the members of each polity united by respect for an authoritative legal system and by shared bonds of religion, culture, and civilization'(Tessler 2009, 3).

The textbook is relatively detailed when treating Jewish ancient history; almost all different chapters of Jewish ancient triumph, according to the Biblical stories, are offered as a true history of the land. This history starts with the first chapter when Moses, supposedly, led his people to the Holy Land:

'Biblical record and archaeological evidence indicate that the Jews conquered and began to settle the land of Canaan during the

thirteenth century before the Christian era (B.C.E.). Moses had given the Israelites political organization and led them out of Egypt, bringing them to the borders of the Promised Land. Then, under Joshua, they initiated a prolonged military campaign in which they gradually took control of the territory and made it their home'(Tessler 2009, 8).

The book, here and later, tends to rely on the Bible as a source of factual history. There are a few cases of creating some distance from the biblical stories but the book, as a whole, remains very close to the position known as maximalist where the Bible is regarded as a source of factual truth about history. The first instance of such a distance came just after the above - mentioned statement:

'Most contemporary scholars believe that it took the Jews many decades to establish hegemony over Eretz Yisrael, and that even after it was secured and occupied, Canaanite enclaves remained for some time. Despite accounts in the Book of Joshua which suggest that the land was conquered in a single campaign, planned in advance by Moses and later Joshua, other Biblical testimony is consistent with those archaeological indications suggesting a struggle that lasted as much as a century'(Tessler 2009, 8).

As can be seen here, this seeming distance from the Bible also depends on other Biblical accounts in order to be proved true. Generally speaking, the language of the book is quite confident about what happened thousands of years ago in ancient Israel: 'In any event, by the twelfth century B.C.E., the period of Judges, the Jews were firmly established in ancient Palestine, and the area of their control included substantial tracts of territory on both sides of the Jordan River'(Tessler 2009, 8). This confidence allows the book to provide a detailed map (map i.i) of the territories controlled by the Jews at that time. The book's history continues with later developments of Jewish ancient accomplishments; 'The Israelite political community developed steadily, marked by the growth of national consciousness and the emergence of national institutions and reaching its apogee during the period of monarchical rule under David and Solomon'(Tessler 2009, 8). David and Solomon are taken as true

historical figures in the book, and their religious stories are presented as historical facts;

‘David, who ruled until 960 B.C.E., greatly expanded and strengthened the Israelite kingdom. He had initially established his capital in Hebron, in the region of his own tribe, Judah, but within a few years he captured Jerusalem from the Jebusites and made it the center of his growing empire. Soon the kingdom of the Jews stretched from the Red Sea in the south to what is today the southern part of Lebanon, and from the Mediterranean Sea in the east across the Jordan River to Ammon and Moab’(Tessler 2009, 9–10).

As in this case, the book is quite assertive about its knowledge of ancient time providing the exact time, place and even details of ancient developments including, for instance, girls who come from the ruling families in Solomon’s time; ‘sealing some of them through marriage to women from the ruling families of foreign states’(Tessler 2009, 10). It is noteworthy that nothing is found in the book that constitutes some kind of scientific distance concerning such stories, or giving some awareness that this might not represent what really happened that far in the past. The reader/student has the right to take these religious stories as historical facts if he relies on the book for the question’s history. The Jewish ancient achievements continue, according to the book, in Solomon’s time:

‘The kingdom continued to develop and remained united through the reign of Solomon, David’s son, who presided over a period of comparative peace and governed the country until 930 B.C.E. Solomon’s accomplishments included construction of the royal complex in Jerusalem, consisting of the palace and the Temple; expansion and fortification of many other cities; and creation of an integrated political system for governing the country’s twelve administrative districts’(Tessler 2009, 10).

Till now, and before the conquest of ancient Israel by its neighbours, the book adds ‘several centuries of independence’ to the Zionist historiographical

account. Confirming this 'fact' the book provides more 'precise' details of Jewish independence when describing the Babylonian invasion: 'for the first time in more than four hundred years the ancient Middle East was without an independent Hebrew state'(Tessler 2009, 11).

In line with providing the 'precise' details of ancient historical developments, the book has no scientific reservation about use of specific figures; 42,000, for instance, as the number of exiled Jews who were 'repatriated in an initial wave of immigration' to return to Palestine after Cyrus dealt with Babylon(Tessler 2009, 11). A firm date is, also, offered for construction of the supposed second temple; 'the Temple in Jerusalem was rebuilt between 520 and 515 B.C.E.' (Tessler 2009, 11). The book is articulate in re-establishing Jewish independence by providing more 'facts' on ancient Israel. The first phase occurred at the time of Cyrus: 'Judea was granted the status of a semi-independent territory, with Jerusalem its capital and the laws of the Holy Torah its constitution, and Jewish leaders were permitted to exercise authority over all the inhabitants of Judea'(Tessler 2009, 12). This semi-independent condition was followed by a later full-fledged independence, according to the book: 'in 142 B.C.E. the Seleucid king, Demetrius II, also recognized the independence of Judea. Thus was established the Second Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine'(Tessler 2009, 12). This supposed independence, according to the book, expands to cover all the lands conquered earlier by David and Solomon: 'The kingdom also grew stronger under the Hasmoneans, so that, with the growing disintegration of the Seleucid Empire, it was able to recapture Samaria and other parts of Eretz Yisrael lying outside Judea. At its zenith, it controlled almost as much territory as had the kingdom of David and Solomon more than eight centuries earlier'(Tessler 2009, 12). The Zionist image of the land is completed here when the Romans' intervention is introduced as the main reason responsible for interrupting 'the ancient Jewish independence'.

The second part of the Zionist mythology, the forced expulsion of the Jews from Palestine, is represented as a historical fact on numerous occasions in the book but in contrast with the history provided on ancient Israel, it is not detailed. No separate paragraph explores, in fact, this part of Zionist historiography. The book's treatment of the question is quite brief: 'Further, the movement of the

Jews into a period of exile and dispersion was sealed by the tragic consequences of revolts initiated by Bar Kochba and others in the second century'(Tessler 2009, 13). Other references to the Jewish expulsion are made when other subjects are under scrutiny: '... even after the people of Israel had been driven into exile and dispersed'(Tessler 2009, 7).

The next part of the Zionist mythology entails the Diaspora time when, according to Zionist historiography, Jews continued to consider Palestine their homeland, kept the hope to return to it, and made redemptionist efforts to realize that hope. The book has a lot in common with this Zionist historiography. The biggest service it might make to supporting Zionist history of this time is the innovative construction of Zionism as a genuine Jewish movement that lasted the whole era of the diaspora, first in the form of classical/traditional Zionism and then through the fashion of modern Zionism. In this way, Zionism is introduced as a Jewish movement that arose right after the 'Jewish expulsion', and was sustained until modern times when it experienced a transformation into a modern form:

'Following destruction of the Second Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine and dispersion of the Jewish people, Jews reaffirmed their chosenness and continued to think of themselves as a political community. Moreover, these notions came together in the form of Zionism, not modern political Zionism but rather classical or traditional religious Zionism, in which Jews expressed their belief that God would in the future bring about an ingathering of the exiles and restore the children of Israel to the Promised Land'(Tessler 2009, 16).

The constructed concept of classical Zionism has the capacity to carry the main elements of the Zionist historiography of this era:

'Classical Zionism proclaimed the Jews' continuing and unbreakable tie to Palestine, to the territory they regarded as Eretz Yisrael. According to one scholar, "Despite the loss of political independence and the dispersion of the Jewish people, the true home of the Jews remained Jerusalem and the Land of Israel; the idea of eventual

return from the four corners of the earth was never abandoned”. Moreover, the notions of return and an ingathering of the exiles were visible and salient within the lives of Diaspora Jews. As summarized by one present-day analyst, perhaps with slight hyperbole, “Most aspects of Jewish life in the Diaspora were intimately linked with Palestine. Jewish rabbinical law favored the settler in the ancient homeland. Religious literature echoed with such sayings as: “It is better to dwell in the deserts of Palestine than in palaces abroad,” “Whoever lives in Palestine lives sinless,” and “The air of Palestine makes one wise.” There was no distinction between the spiritual and the physical Palestine in the minds of most Jews. Although separated from the Holy Land by thousands of miles, to most it seemed closer than the neighboring Christian communities, which were regarded with hostility and fear”(Tessler 2009, 16).

There are other statements constructed or quoted by the book to support such Zionist ideas; ‘Jews further expressed their faith in a return to the Holy Land on many ceremonial occasions’(Tessler 2009, 19). The book acknowledges the religious and messianic properties of classical Zionism: ‘Also central to classical Zionism is the notion of the coming of the Messiah, an event that the faithful believe will bring with it the millennium and be the occasion for the restoration of Jewish national independence in the Holy Land’(Tessler 2009, 16). Meanwhile, Messianic beliefs, being part of the Jewish religious tradition, are taken as evidence to support the existence of diaspora everlasting Zionism;

‘As expressed by Silver, three factors underlie the Messianic beliefs of the Jewish people: “the loss of national independence and the attendant deprivations, the will to live dominantly and triumphantly as a rehabilitated people in its national home, and the unfaltering faith in divine justice by whose eternal canons the national restoration was infallibly prescribed.” These are the dominant and recurring themes of classical Zionism and the elements from which its political significance is derived. They include a lamentation of the Jewish people’s exile from Palestine and subsequent dispersion, an affirmation that the Jewish nation’s unity of purpose and tie to the

Holy Land nonetheless remains and cannot be destroyed, and a profession of the Jews' unshakable faith that a restoration of their kingdom in Eretz Yisrael is part of God's plan and will accompany the arrival of Messiah'(Tessler 2009, 19).

In this line, not only the messianic religious message is distorted as shown above, into a political and national manifestation but messianic practices are also taken in a way that supports the Zionist idea:

'Although Messianic activity of this sort (those related to the coming of Messiah) was episodic, and usually confined to the more pious or even mystic elements of the Jewish community, other manifestations of traditional Zionist conceptions were much more routinized and widespread. Practicing Jews prayed daily for the time when the world would be delivered from evil and the people of Israel would be returned to Jerusalem'(Tessler 2009, 18).

The book creates some distance, however, between itself and Zionist historiography, in this regard, when recognizing that traditional Zionism is inspired by Jewish messianic beliefs, and does not entail any actual call to return to Palestine; it confirms, indeed, the opposite:

'While this constellation of beliefs continued to shape Jewish identity and thought into the modern era, Jews for the most part considered themselves passive before God. Indeed, this element of passivity, or patient anticipation, is also central to the definition of classical Zionism. Their sense of community and emotional attachment to Eretz Yisrael remained intense, but most Jews nonetheless did not believe it was appropriate to initiate steps toward the reconstruction of their national home in Palestine. On the contrary, such action would indicate a loss of faith and the absence of a willingness to wait for the creator's plan to unfold in its own divinely ordained fashion, and this, as a consequence, would rupture the covenant between God and the Jewish people and make illogical and illegitimate any proclamation of Jewish nationhood or any assertion of a continuing tie between Diaspora Jewry and the land of Israel'(Tessler 2009, 19–20).

The distance becomes wider when the book admits that nothing notable happened to signify a redemptionist effort by Jews to return to Palestine;

'It is for this reason, notes a prominent Israeli scholar, that the Jews' link to Palestine, for all its emotional and religious ardor, "did not change the praxis of Jewish life in the Diaspora ... the belief in the return to Zion never disappeared, but the historical record shows that on the whole Jews did not relate to the vision of the return in a more active way than most Christians viewed the second coming." These classical Zionist conceptions provided little motivation for a Jewish return to Palestine. As explained, quite the opposite was in fact the case; it would have been heretical for Jews to arrogate onto themselves the work of God, to believe that they need not await the unfolding of the divine plan but rather could take into their own hands the fulfilment of a destiny for which they considered themselves chosen by the creator. Thus, although there was an unbroken Jewish presence in Palestine from the destruction of the second commonwealth until the modern era, and while there were also periods of renaissance among the Jews there, during the early years of Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century, for example, the number of Jews residing in the Holy Land after the second century never constituted more than a small proportion either of the country's overall population or of world Jewry. Similarly, although small numbers of Jews travelled to Palestine from the Diaspora throughout the ages, sometimes making visits and sometimes going to settle, most sought only personal spiritual fulfilment and had no thought of contributing to the realization of political or nationalist objectives. At the dawning of the modern age in the latter half of the eighteenth century, only 5000 or so of the estimated 2.5 to 3 million Jews in the world resided in Palestine,...(Tessler 2009, 20)'

This statement might constitute the most non-Zionist statement in the book (of pre Zionism history) where the book rejects the Zionist claim that diaspora history witnessed continuous Jewish attempts to return to Palestine, introducing

Zionism as the last and the only successful one. The book, however, stresses messianic Zionism as a source to support Jewish nationhood:

‘As the preceding makes clear, traditional religious Zionism is inextricably bound up with the Jews’ definition of themselves as a nation. The Messianic idea expresses and brings together the political, religious, and spiritual destiny of the Jewish people, making the bonds of their peoplehood not only a shared recollection of their Divinely guided history as a nation in Palestine and the sociological content of the law they struggle to observe in their communities scattered throughout the Diaspora, but also a firmly held conviction that they will be gathered together in the future and thus united as they were in the past’(Tessler 2009, 19).

The book’s position on Jewish nationhood might represent one of most pro-Zionist aspects of the book, where it supports, fully, the Zionist historiographical claim of considering the religious community of Jews as a nation. There is a clear emphasis on this in the section on ‘Jewish History and the Emergence of Modern Political Zionism’;

‘It is inadequate to describe the Jews as a religious group in the modern-day sense of the term. Like Muslims, they are more appropriately regarded as a national community of believers. The Jews’ sense of peoplehood is extremely well developed, inextricably bound up with their collective historical experience, with the Land of Israel where they built their ancient kingdoms, and with the sociological and political content of their law’(Tessler 2009, 7).

This is taken a bit further in another statement in this section in the book: ‘Therefore, again, the Jews are more than a religious group. They are also a historically legitimated political community possessing many of the attributes associated with nationhood’(Tessler 2009, 8). The book emphasises, exclusively, Jewish religious law as a source that entitles Jews to the status of a nation: ‘Interwoven with this experience in nationhood and these ties to the land of Palestine is the role of Jewish law in defining the peoplehood of the Jews’(Tessler 2009, 13). The book appears eager, in another statement, to use

all available sources to justify Jewish nationhood, raising its claim to the point where Jews can be perceived as the first nation in history:

‘Thus, coupled with their historical experience in Eretz Yisrael, the law of the Torah and the Talmud makes the Jews a people, indeed a nation, rather than a religious group. The concatenation of these communal bonds produces a solidarity that is akin to nationalism, even though it is legitimized by an understanding of Divine as well as natural and historical right. As expressed in the context of the modern-day world by Moses Hess, a mid-nineteenth-century Zionist thinker, this communal solidarity has made the Jews from the beginning of their history a nation in the modern sense—indeed the first such nation’(Tessler 2009, 15–16).

It should be mentioned, at the same time, that the book does not use racial reasoning to support the Zionist claim of Jewish peoplehood. A thorough search in the book demonstrates that the holy land has not been introduced as the ancestral land of the Jewish people. In contrast, it has been introduced in several cases, on page 72, 73, 402, 433, and 439, as the ancestral land of the Palestinians.

The book’s treatment of the Arab history of the land is, relatively, far from the Zionist historiography in several ways. It does confirm the ancient roots of the Palestinian people in Palestine; ‘The Palestinians are descendants of two ancient peoples, the Canaanites and the Philistines’(Tessler 2009, 69). It affirms further their long possession of the land when considering them as a political community: ‘The Palestinians do possess a sense of political community built, in part, on bonds and experiences that make them unique, including centuries of life in their ancestral homeland, their particular response to currents of reform in the nineteenth century, and subsequent confrontations with Zionism and European imperialism’(Tessler 2009, 72). The book, at the same time, does not go particularly far to emancipate its view of the Palestinian people from the Zionist emphasis on a Western idea of nationalism as a determinative factor in recognizing them as a people who own the land: ‘Nevertheless, important as are these latter considerations, they did not come together to create and define a sense of Palestinian peoplehood, or nationalism, until the beginning of the

present century'(Tessler 2009, 72). Palestinian nationalism, however, is recognized as not less valuable than that of other Arab nations': 'One is to foster recognition that the late development of Palestinian nationalism represents a pattern that is common in the Arab world and, as a consequence, that the right to self-determination proclaimed by Palestinians is no less valid than that put forward by the Arab inhabitants of other territorial units'(Tessler 2009, 73). The book goes further, viewing the case from a wider, global perspective, to give further credit to Palestinian nationalism: 'It is thus no less indigenous, authentic, and genuine than that of dozens of societies whose claims to self-determination and national independence are today accepted without reservation'(Tessler 2009, 73). The book makes clear that the stake Palestinians have in the land entitles them to rule their own destiny in Palestine; 'It may be added that even were this not the case, Palestinians would still possess the right to reside in and rule over their ancestral homeland, managing their own affairs in accordance with the evolving will and consciousness of the majority of their country's citizens'(Tessler 2009, 73). The book, in this section, gives another non-Zionist credit to the Arabs of the land;

'They didn't carry an anti-Semitic view of the Jews of the land; 'A review of Arab history from pre-Islamic times until the present makes clear that this is not the case. Just as the history of the Jewish people has been shaped by both its own internal dynamics and the wider sweep of world events, and even in Palestine did not include a confrontation with Arabs until a century ago, ...(Tessler 2009, 73)'

The image of the land, before the arrival of the first Zionist settlers, is mostly the one that is advanced by Zionist historiography; 'Palestine was poorly governed and marked by a climate of broad insecurity, which contributed directly to its underdeveloped character'(Tessler 2009, 123). Palestine, according to the book, was a land of diseases; 'In addition, such diseases as cholera, smallpox, and malaria were widespread, with epidemics common'(Tessler 2009, 124). These serious problems, according to Zionist historiography made it a land without (a sizable number of) people. This Zionist view is reflected in the book:

'These conditions forced land out of cultivation and disrupted agriculture, making hunger a serious problem in many areas. Trade

and commerce were also discouraged by the unsettled circumstances of the territory, further reinforcing the country's impoverishment. These obstacles to development help to explain the small size of Palestine's population, which was approximately 300,000 during the latter part of the eighteenth century, or even less according to some estimates'(Tessler 2009, 124).

The book, however, provides some non-Zionist comments on that situation. First of all the condition is described as similar to that in many other regions: 'Shaping the character of early contact between Zionists and Arabs was the fact that in the nineteenth century Palestine was among the less-developed regions of the Arab world. The circumstances of the country were by no means unique; the problems it faced, while serious, did not differ greatly from those confronting many other regions'(Tessler 2009, 123). It also refers to some improvement in the land's condition that is not related to Zionist involvement: 'Further, economic and political conditions improved noticeably during the last decades of the century, in ways, moreover, that had little to do with the arrival of the first Zionist settlers'(Tessler 2009, 123). An Ottoman sultan is introduced as the man responsible for this development: 'The poverty, lawlessness, and chaos of life in Palestine began to decline under the reign of Abdul Hamid, the Ottoman sultan who ruled from 1876 until 1909'(Tessler 2009, 125). It is made clear that these developments improved the condition of Palestine before an active Zionist presence in the land: 'Under these conditions, the standard of living gradually improved and the indigenous population began to increase. There was even a small amount of Arab immigration from northern Syria'(Tessler 2009, 125). This is not in agreement with the Zionist historiographical tendency that portrays the land as an uninhabitable place where living conditions improved only when the Zionist settlers came in.

Summary of the Analysis

Generally speaking the book, as articulated in the Preface tends to sympathise with both sides of the conflict; Palestinians and Israelis. This tendency regulates the arguments and conclusions offered by the book. There are efforts, hence, to

portray a better and more understandable image of the conflicting forces in the land. This view not only advances the equality claim but also rejects any possibility of oppressor-oppressed or occupier-occupied relations between the two sides of the question. The Palestinians' history would be the main loser when such relations are ignored. It is notable that this tendency helps in some cases to exhibit a more understandable picture of the Palestinian case as well. The book seems willing to do this job. What limits the book's achievement in this area is its reliance, as a history based on secondary sources, on Zionist works. The book acknowledges, however, that there are biased works on both sides and tries to create a distance; 'Not surprisingly, Zionist supporters tended to minimize the figure, while pro-Arab sources inflated its magnitude'(Tessler 2009, 177).

The main concluding point, about this textbook, is related to the essential elements of the Zionist historiography of the pre-Zionist era: the book publishes, with considerable details, the Zionist history of ancient times. All the Zionist claims about the Jewish ancient achievements in Palestine are presented as historical facts. Nothing is found in the book to raise some sort of scientific scepticism about the myths or contested claims presented by Zionist historiography. The second element of Zionist historiography is made acceptable when the book takes the myth of expulsion as true history. The book makes no special effort to support this idea but it, clearly, takes it for granted, although with brief treatment. This brevity would not prevent the reader from relying on this story. In the next stage, the diaspora redemptionist efforts, the book creates some serious distance between itself and the standard Zionist historiography when it rejects such happenings in Jewish diaspora history. It also confirms that the Jewish tradition not only made no call for redemption in Palestine but made the opposite by calling it a divine plan (to be far from Zion). The book, however, supports the main Zionist claim of this era; that Jews thought of Palestine as their homeland and hoped to return to it. The book acknowledges the religious and messianic property of such an attachment but such an attitude is considered, according to the book, as an historical manifestation of Jewish aspiration, of a people who lost their home and hoped to return. In this regard the book emphasises strongly the peoplehood of the Jewish people but it refrains from using racial reasoning/arguments to prove the

existence of such a nation. There is a considerable reliance on the biblical narratives as the authoritative sources of history. The history of this book, generally, is influenced by the religious tradition. One instance can be seen when the book refers to 'false messiahs'; 'Messianic speculation continued through the ages, there being many false messiahs and many occasions when Jewish mystics proclaimed the Day of Judgment...' (Tessler 2009, 17). It is evident, without a kind of reliance on religious traditions, that there is no way to determine the falsehood of such messianic efforts.

The Arab history of the land also reveals a mixed treatment of the question; the book, similar to other Zionist histories, does not stress the long history of Arabs in the land. There is nothing to make the reader aware that the Jewish history of the land is not in a position to compete with the Arab history of the land; the difference between these two is very close to the difference between myth and fact; almost the whole factual history of the land is located in the Arab era. The book, at the same time, refers, very briefly, to the centuries of Arab history of the land. Palestine before the arrival of the first Zionists is portrayed as a barren and dangerous land with a small population as it has been exhibited in the Zionist historiography but at the same time, it considers this situation as not very different from that in other Arab lands, a consideration that might reduce the strength of the Zionist argument for a claim on the land. It also confirms that there were improvements in the land's condition before the Zionist involvement in the land. This might further weaken the Zionist argument. The Palestinians are introduced as a distinct community but not as a nation. Palestinian nationalism is introduced as a late phenomenon, compared to that of the Jews, but not less valuable than other nationalist movements in other Arab lands. The book's treatment of the Arab history of the land is different from the standard Zionist historiography that tends to reject or weaken the Palestinian claim on Palestine. Such treatment of the question's history provides some space, as the writer wishes, for both sides to have something in the land they 'historically' belong to.

Analysis of the Fifth Textbook:

The book, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, is written by an American writer, Howard Morley Sachar, and published in the United States by Alfred A. Knopf publishing house in New York. The book originally was the first volume of a two - volume book when it was published first in 1976. The second one, *A History of Israel: From The Aftermath of The Yom Kippur War*, was written in 1979 to cover the history from 1974 onwards. The book, now in its third edition (2007), covers the whole subject until the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 2006; through its last chapter: 'XLI A Middle Eastern Hour of Decision'. The book is now a long one, comprising 1296 pages. It is a common source of reference on the history of Israel. Figures provided in Google Scholar demonstrate that it has been cited by 473 articles and books. It is, also, a book recommended by pro-Israeli groups as an 'authoritative' reading on the history of Israel (Rozenman 2004). The survey conducted for the sake of this research shows that it has been adopted as a textbook in 5 countries (out of 6 countries of the research area) i.e. the US (66), the UK (10), Canada (6), Australia (4), and Ireland (1), altogether in 87 extracted syllabi. As a result, it ranked in this research as the fifth most adopted textbook in Western countries, in the area of History of Israel.

The book is comprised of 41 chapters; the first 13 chapters of the book are investigated for the sake of this research. Chapter 14 and succeeding chapters deal with Israel's history after the establishment of Israel in 1948. It seems unlikely that any major reference to pre-Zionist history of the land occurs in these unexamined chapters. A list of examined chapters is listed as follow:

- I The Rise of Jewish Nationalism
- II The Beginning of the Return
- III Herzl And the Rise of Political Zionism
- IV The Growth of the Yishuv
- V The Balfour Declaration
- VI The Establishment of the Mandate
- VII Building the Jewish National Home
- VIII The Seeds of Arab-Jewish Confrontation
- IX Britain Repudiates the Jewish National Home

- X Palestine in World War II
- XI The Yishuv Repudiates the Mandate
- XII The Birth of Israel
- XIII The War of Independence

Analysis: This book has chosen to deal with Israel's history from the rise of Zionism as its title reflects; there is not a separate chapter or even a full paragraph to represent Jewish history in antiquity. There are certain parts of its contents, however, that deal, explicitly or implicitly, with pre-Zionist history under other subjects. The first one is presented right in the first lines of the book when French Jews' encounter with Napoleon and how they responded to Napoleon's nationalist call is reported; French Jews, one can learn, held a meeting in Paris to formulate their answer to 12 questions asked by Napoleon. This meeting is called, in the book, 'a modern version of the council (Sanhedrin) that had issued and enforced the laws during the Jewish Commonwealth of antiquity. The ancient body plainly had languished following the destruction of Jewish statehood at the hands of the Romans'(Sachar 2007, 3). The book used a chance, here, to present some history about ancient Israel, mentioning the 'fact' that there was a '**Jewish statehood**' in Palestine that lasted until it was '**destroyed by Romans**'. Later in the book, another statement is constructed to report Napoleon's demands of French Jews, in return for what had been provided for them by the new French government: 'He demanded specific assurances that rabbinical jurisdiction in Jewish civil and judicial affairs was a thing of the past, that the **Jews had turned their backs forever on their separate nationhood**, on their corporative status, and not least of all **on their traditional hope for redemption in Palestine**'(Sachar 2007, 3). This assertion works to confirm the historicity of the Zionist claim that Jews considered themselves, before the rise of Zionism, as a **separate nation**, denial of which is what the writer believes that Napoleon asked for in abundance. A hope, carried by this nation, to return to Palestine is immediately introduced here as another fact that characterized Jews before the Napoleonic era. This report is continued with the French Jews' answers to the questions asked by Napoleon: that 'they "no longer formed a nation"; and that they had renounced forever their dream of collective exodus to the ancestral Land of Israel'(Sachar 2007, 4). This sentence 'No longer formed a nation' which is part of the Jewish answer to question 5 is taken as a basis for supporting the Zionist claim that there was an

original Jewish dream of collective 'exodus' to Palestine which is defined by the book as their 'ancestral land'. The knowledge provided by Shlomo Sand in 'The invention of the Jewish People' about the history of Jewish nationalism and its emergence in the second half of the 19th century informs us that using the term 'nation' should not imply a reference to its modern meaning when it is used here in 1807. It might be used to stress the fact that French Jews are part of the French nation and don't see themselves in any other way. This can be seen more clearly if the relevant questions are taken into consideration. The mentioned Jewish statement was part of the Jews' answer to the fifth question. The fifth question is asked in the context of the fourth one:

4. In the Jews' eyes, are Frenchmen considered as brethren or as strangers?

5. In either case, what relations does their law prescribe for them toward Frenchmen who are not of their religion?(de-Malkhuta and Graff 2003, 77)

As it can be seen here the questions posed are not about how Jews see themselves but how they view other French men who are not Jewish. This idea is supported in an answer to the next question, question 6:

6. Do the Jews born in France, and treated by the laws as French citizens, acknowledge France as their country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they bound to obey its laws and to follow all the provisions of the Civil Code? (de-Malkhuta and Graff 2003, 77–78)

The Jewish answer is reported as such: 'The response went on to declare that the Jews were so bound up with their country that a French Jew would feel himself a stranger in England, among Jewish company, and vice versa. Judaism was thus merely a religious confession' (de-Malkhuta and Graff 2003, 86). With all this, even if the writer's claim is valid, and this Jewish meeting in Paris used the term 'nation' in its modern sense, it is quite clear that he, in the wake of this French case, jumps to establish a general conclusion, without providing further evidence from other cases, about all Jews in Europe and America being a nation with an aspiration to return to the ancestral land i.e. Palestine. The writer stresses this in the conclusion of the account:

'To protect what they had achieved in civic freedom, moreover, Western Jews, in the United States and Europe alike, tended to accept the emerging nineteenth-century consensus that loyalty to a national state was incompatible with pluralism in cultures. In increasing numbers, they dropped the traditional allusions to Zion in their ritual observances and spoke of the messianic age less in terms of return to the Land of Israel than of a miraculous "end of days," or of an era of "universal brotherhood' (Sachar 2007, 4).

This statement works to establish, again, that 'returning to the land of Israel' was a Jewish national aspiration. This is not a fact. It is recalled that this is a Zionist claim produced by Zionist writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The statement also provides a justification, at the same time, for the fact that nothing significant can be found in any modern history of the Jews, in the US or Europe, which demonstrates the Jewish attachment to such an aspiration. The Jews dropped the idea, the writer claims, for the sake of modern national rights in Western countries.

The next story that serves the same purpose is that of the Russian Jews:

'Among the most cherished features of the Russian Jewish cultural heritage, surely, was the memory of the **ancestral homeland** ,the lost and lamented Zion that was enshrined in the ceremony and folklore of virtually every believing Jew. **The truth was that throughout all the centuries of Jewish dispersion until modern times**, Zion, hardly less than the Deity, functioned as a binding integument of the Jewish religious and social experience'(Sachar 2007, 5).

Here in support of another Zionist claim Zion (Palestine) is introduced as the 'ancestral homeland' of the Jewish people. In the next sentence the dispersion of the Jewish people from this land is confirmed. Later in this historical report the religious obsession of Jews with the Holy Land is contextualized in a nationalist aspiration: 'Rabbinic and midrashic literature, the prayer book, medieval literary treatises, all displayed a uniform preoccupation with the Holy Land. Poets, philosophers, mystics, liturgists in Spain, North Africa, and Europe

traditionally vied with one another in expressing the yearning of the People of Israel for the ravished cradle of its **nationhood**'(Sachar 2007, 5).

The dispersion from the national home was confirmed in another statement: 'Jewish festivities and holidays— Passover, Chanukkah , Sukkot, Shavuot—all evoked and refined memories of the **departed national hearth**'(Sachar 2007, 5). In a later statement the writer establishes that Russian Jews, also, wished for a time in the future when 'redemption of the sacred soil' is realized; 'In the manner, then, of other ethnic-religious Eastern communities— of the Greeks and Armenians, for example Russian Jews continued to nourish the vision of a future apocalypse, the **redemption of the sacred soil**'(Sachar 2007, 5).

In this section the writer produces another significant statement:

'On the other hand, the Jews of the Pale resisted all attempts to "force the end." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the excesses and perversions of a series of false messiahs had burned their fingers badly. Messianism was transformed, rather, into attendance upon a halcyonic era that alone would signal final redemption in the Land of Israel'(Sachar 2007, 5).

This statement has the capacity to support the Zionist claims in two ways: first it again stresses and supports the claim that there was a Jewish aspiration for redemption in Palestine, which has been resisted. At the same time it can provide some justification for why there was no sign of a major movement to realize such an aspiration for almost two thousand years of the Jewish 'diaspora'.

The next section of the book, 'The link with the land, is the main site where the writer supports Zionist historiography about the Pre-Zionist era including 'ancient Israel'. The section starts with a report of some Jewish families in Peki'in, a village near Safed, that can 'demonstrate' the Jewish presence in the land from the ancient time; 'But authentic they are, these little Arabized Jews, the embodiment of a physical Jewish connection with Palestine that never quite expired'(Sachar 2007, 18). Here a claim by a few Jews about their continuous settlement on the land for more than 2000 years is taken as a proof for the

Zionist contention that the 'Jewish connection with Palestine never expired'. A statement is presented after that which supports the historicity of the expulsion; 'The Romans may have laid the entire nation waste between A.D. 70 and 135, slaughtering as many as 600,000 Jews, and carrying off half that number in bondage. Yet even in the wake of this monumental dispersion, a few thousand Jews somehow remained on in the country'(Sachar 2007, 18). This presence also provides a context in a national sense, framing the settlement of a few Jews on the land as a 'remnant' of an ancient nation that has been expelled from the land. In line with another Zionist myth these Jews who lived, supposedly, about 2 thousand years in an Arab community and spoke Arabic are not considered Arabs. Another term, 'Arabized' is constructed to put some difference between them and other Arab inhabitants of the land; Muslim and Christians. This story is also a place where the destruction of the second temple is presented as a fact while an old synagogue in the village is described; 'It is an ancient structure. We are informed that the two carved stones in its walls once belonged to the original Temple of Jerusalem, destroyed by the Romans more than 1,900 years before'(Sachar 2007, 18). 'We are informed' can mean that this is an ancient structure according to what is said in this regard in the village but the writer's business is producing a 'fact' when dealing with the 'temple of Jerusalem' where an exact time for its destruction is also provided. The existence of this temple and where it was located is established in another statement; 'There, abutting the Haram el-Sharif complex of mosques, was the venerated Jewish Western Wall (often called the "Wailing Wall"), a remnant of the Hebrew Temple of antiquity'(Sachar 2007, 173). Other Zionist claims about Israel's antiquity such as Jerusalem being an 'ancient capital' of the Jewish state (Sachar 2007, 22 & 23), and the existence of a Jewish kingdom under King David (Sachar 2007, 20) are passed off as history in this section. However, the main function of this section in supporting the Zionist mythology is the one which is constructed to establish the myth of continuous Jewish 'redemptionist efforts' to return to the home land. A few migrations of a few Jews, such as might have happened in almost all lands in which Jews lived, are taken as establishing 2000 years of Jewish efforts 'to return to the ancestral soil'. A number of justifications are provided, also, to justify why, against all these efforts, the Jewish population was so limited on the land before the rise of Zionism. In this regard not only are contested stories suggested as facts but

also kinds of factual statements are made that no fair historian can dare to provide for a time that far away: 'During the three and a half centuries of Roman dominion after the first century A.D., not a single Jew had been permitted to set foot in the ravaged capital'(Sachar 2007, 20). Many different reasons are provided that include the crusaders' involvement in Palestine, Ottoman treatment of the Jews and even an earthquake to justify how all these redemptionist efforts have not resulted in increasing Jewish population in Palestine (Sachar 2007, 20).

There are other cases of advocating Zionist history in other parts of the book. The following statements by the writer represent some of them:

- CHAPTER II of the book titled 'The Beginning of the **Return**'
- 'As early as 1894, Chaim Nachman Bialik, the greatest of the Hebrew poets, captured the anguish of a **people deprived of its soil**' (Sachar 2007, 74)
- 'How far, then, had the **return to Zion** materialized?' (Sachar 2007, 88)
- 'It was the anniversary of Chanukkah, commemorating **the Maccabean triumph that had liberated ancient Palestine** and opened a renewed era of **Jewish national glory**'(Sachar 2007, 113).
- 'There were other advantages, too, well beyond the emotional compensation of **returning to the soil**' (Sachar 2007, 150).

These cases can support, in one way or another, Zionist mythology about the history of the question. In this way they work like the Zionist terminology that is used in Zionist reports of history. This terminology is constructed on the basis of Zionist stories, and loaded with Zionist claims. Using them without raising an awareness of its covert claims can reinforce the Zionist myth, and mislead the students of history. It is noteworthy that nothing can be found in the book to make such awareness possible or to challenge the historicity of these loaded terms. There is no sign of creating some distance when these proprietary terms are used, including applying quotation marks. As a result they can be taken easily as facts of history while some of them are contested claims. Many others come from a pure religious tradition or national myth, and not from an

authoritative source of history. Some of these terms are mentioned earlier. A non-exhaustive list of these terms which are used frequently in the book is made here:

- Jewish ancestral land, or ancestral soil
- Return or return to Zion
- The ancient capital
- Jewish National Home
- Jewish soil
- the exodus (of German Jews for instance)
- Exile
- Aliyah
- Diaspora
- Redemption or land of redemption
- Yishuv
- Expulsion

In this section, 'the Jewish history' of the land, the book avails itself of even tiny chances, if not inventing them, to portray this history as the real and principal history of the land. There is no reference, whatsoever, to inform the readers that this history concerns a time that is so far back, thousands of years ago, that history, in a scientific sense, has not a real chance to confirm what really happened. There is no awareness, as well, that in practice there is not enough historical evidence to support the Zionist ancient stories. The Arab history of the land, in comparison, is located in a very different part of history. It happened in times close to our time and to our eyes. And also it lasted more than 1000 years. This part of the land's history is documented in many trustworthy sources of history. The situation is so different here that one can dare to argue that the whole history of the land, in its accurate and scientific sense, is Arab. No other history of the land can compete with the Arab one in this sense. There might not be many places in the world with such clear history. However, all this clear and established history is ignored in Zionist historiography. One clear example can be seen in this book: no real reference, whatsoever, was made to such history. In contrast, all chances are used to undermine this history. There is a section in the book, in fact, that formulates a main thrust of this endeavour titled 'THE ARABS OF PALESTINE'. Without any mention of the long Arab history in the

land, the book starts with an interesting statement: 'As late as 1882 the Arab population of Palestine **barely** reached 260,000. Yet by 1914 this number had doubled, and by 1920 it had reached 600,000. Under the mandate the figure grew even more dramatically, climbing to 840,000 by 1931, and representing 81 percent of the country's inhabitants' (Sachar 2007, 167). This statement can work to give some clear messages about the Arab history of the land:

- The Arab population of the land was so limited: "It barely reached ...". The phrase 'as late as 1882' can mean that it was probably less in an earlier time. It is quite obvious, however, that this land had a large number of Arab inhabitants when the Zionist settlers first entered the land. This 'unpleasant' fact is explained, in the book, through a sudden growth that happened for different reasons including the Arab migration from other countries; 'It was not all natural increase. During those twenty-four years approximately 100,000 Arabs entered the country from neighboring lands'(Sachar 2007, 167).
- Palestine was, completely, an Arab land. Different strategies are used to undermine this reality. First of all Arab Jews are excluded from the Arab population when Christian Arabs are included regularly. Arab Jews who happened to oppose the Zionist project when it entered Palestine, however, are placed in another category, that of Jews, that regards them, wrongly, as part of the European Zionists. A different strategy is used by the writer in the quoted passage to show that the Arab population rate, 81 percent, is a figure that was reached after an increase in the Arab population, misleading the readers on the fact that that Palestine was fully Arab before the Zionist settlement.

The efforts to discount the Arab demographic reality in the land are reinforced by another statement:

'As a Marxist, Borochoy did not justify the choice of Palestine along romantic, nationalistic lines. Rather, he argued that Palestine was a site dictated exclusively by "stychic" (automatic, ineluctable) factors. In other nations, he explained, the absorptive capacity for immigration was limited. What was needed was a land in which Jews could freely enter all branches of the economy, where Jewish

workers could participate in basic industries and agriculture. The land must be semiagricultural and thinly populated. Such a country, in fact, was Palestine, for Palestine alone was lacking in a national tradition of its own, in attraction for European immigrants, or in significant cultural and political development'(Sachar 2007, 70).

The Zionist claim to Palestine did need a construction that undermined, not only the livelihood in the populated Palestinian land but also offered a gap, a vacuum in national tradition and institutions as the above passage manages to provide. The whole history of the land as a heartland of Arab population is ignored in this construction. The only valid principle for accepting the fact that there is a people who live in the land they own, is the Western idea of nationalism, that Palestine lacked; 'Perhaps the Zionists were not altogether culpable in failing to take Arab nationalism seriously. The phenomenon barely existed before 1908'(Sachar 2007, 164). In other parts of the book, the land, before Zionism, is introduced as a dry, fruitless and diseased land that was characterized by poverty, disease, bandits and backwardness; 'The Moslem Arabs— the majority— were much more backward'(Sachar 2007, 167).

Summary of the Analysis

The analysis of the book, elaborated here, demonstrates that this textbook passes off the Zionist mega narrative as fact; it confirms that there was an ancient Jewish statehood; that this was destroyed by the Romans, who expelled the Jews of the land, except a few thousand, to their diaspora; that an aspiration to Jewish nationhood, and also a hope for redemption in Palestine, as a national home, continued to live all the time after their expulsion from Palestine; that Palestine is the ancestral homeland of the Jews; that Jerusalem was the ancient capital of the Jewish state; that there was a Jewish kingdom under King David; that there were 2000 years of 'redemptionist efforts' to return to the home land. All this history, constituting the main elements of the Zionist historiography of the pre-Zionist era, is represented as factual history; nothing is found in the related statements that shows any kind of distancing from these Zionist claims, or refers to a challenge or any consideration that hints that this

might not reflect what really happened, that this might be a myth or a contested claim. The strategy that governs passing this account off as history is not, mainly, a direct one. The book commonly produces this history through statements that are directed at stating something else. The main elements of the Zionist historiography, presented in this book, are taken for granted when something else is apparently at stake. Some Zionist claims are naturalised through Zionist terminology such as “Jewish ancestral homeland”.

In contrast to how the book treats the Jewish ‘mythistory’ of the land, the long Arab history of the land that is supported by many solid facts is ignored. No real reference to lifetime Arab settlement in the land has been made; there are also attempts in the book to undermine it. Palestine, before the arrival of the Zionist settlers, is displayed as a dry and diseased land, with a tiny population, far from civilization or national aspiration.

Analysis of the Sixth Textbook:

The book, *Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, was first published in 1969 by Citadel Press in the USA. Its latest edition, the 7th one, is examined for this textbook analysis. The citation figure of the book in Google Scholar, 305, also introduces the book as a popular reference used by other writers in the field. The book's popularity in scholarly circles is confirmed by the results of the survey conducted in this research to identify the most adopted textbooks in Western universities; it has been, altogether, in 78 syllabi in 4 countries of the survey, the UK (7), Canada (9), New Zealand (2), and the US (60). These results position the book as the sixth most adopted textbook in Western academia to teach the history of Israel. The entire book is merely a collection of relevant documents that are organized in chronological order, from early Zionism in 1882 to the Annapolis Conference in 2007. There is no place for actual historiography in this book even to cover some common properties of a textbook such as 'Introduction' or 'Conclusion'. Very little is written by the editors of the book, Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, to narrate the Israel/Palestine history; a few lines are added in some cases to introduce the document. As a result, no real historiography can be found in its exact sense. This leaves not much chance of examining how the history of the question is written. There is nothing wrong with such a strategy. But the book is too short, measured against the existing expectations of a textbook at that level, to clarify how these documents are selected: why some documents are included and why others are excluded; how they are translated, in case of translation, how they are produced, in full or in part; and if in part, what is the governing principle for excluding some parts of the document. A possible bias might lie here that could be a source for an analysis through other methods, those which focus on these aspects and not just on historical narrative. The book's paucity of clarification on these points does not support its status as an unbiased textbook. The book is short, as well, on providing the proper references for the documents produced. From almost 190 documents produced in this book, only 46 have references. These references are too short, in many cases to provide enough information about the source of the documents. In one case, in the first footnote, only the translator's name is given (Laqueur and Rubin 2008, 10).

From the standpoint of research, one point might be made: the book opens with a document that was published, according to the book, by a Jewish group, the Bilu Group, in Constantinople in 1882. This manifesto, as it is called in the book, has many elements of Zionist mythology about the pre-Zionist era:

‘To our brothers and sisters in **Exile!**

If I help not myself, who will help me?’ **Nearly two thousand years have elapsed since, in an evil hour, after a heroic struggle, the glory of our Temple vanished in fire and our kings and chieftains changed their crowns and diadems for the chains of exile. We lost our country where dwelt our beloved sires. Into the Exile we took with us, of all our glories, only a spark of the fire by which our Temple, the abode of our Great One, was engirdled, and this little spark kept us alive** while the towers of our enemies crumbled into dust, and this spark leapt into celestial flame and shed light on the heroes of **our race** and inspired them to endure the horrors of the dance of death and the tortures of the autos-da-fé. And this spark is again kindling and will shine for us, a true pillar of fire going before us on the road to **Zion**, while behind us is a pillar of cloud, the pillar of oppression threatening to destroy us. Sleepest thou, O **our nation?** . . . WE WANT: 1. **A home in our country.** It was given us by the mercy of God; **it is ours as registered in the archives of history**... We hope that the interests of **our glorious nation** will rouse the **national spirit** in rich and powerful men, and that everyone, rich or poor, will give his best labours to the holy cause. Greetings, dear brothers and sisters! HEAR, O ISRAEL! The Lord our God, the Lord is one, and **our land Zion** is our one hope. GOD be with us!

THE PIONEERS OF BILU’ (Laqueur and Rubin 2008, 3–4)

The second document, Theodor Herzl: The Jewish State (1896), where a statement by Theodor Herzl is published, can reinforce the points made by the first document; ‘The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State’(Laqueur and Rubin 2008, 4).

Against this start with documents that contain a number of Zionist myths about the history of the question, there is no document, in this section (of the early phase of the conflict), that works as a source of information about the facts of the Arab history of the land. There is no more chance, as mentioned, in the book to support such possible bias by exploring other instances in such a documentary book. It looks impossible to verify such hypotheses from this piece of research's perspective. This constitutes, in fact, the main point about this book and its analysis.

However, it is evident that this book is recommended by some pro-Israeli bodies, such as CAMERA, as an authoritative reference: 'The Israel-Arab Reader is a thorough and up-to-date guide to the continuing crisis in the Middle East. It covers the full spectrum of the Israel-Arab conflict-from the earliest days, through the wars and peace - making efforts, up to the Israel-PLO and Israel-Jordan peace accords. This comprehensive reference includes speeches, letters, articles, and reports dealing with all the major topics of interest in the area from all of the relevant political parties and world leaders' ("Suggested Book List" 2015).

Table 10: A summary of the results of the textbook analysis¹⁴³

Textbook Title	Where History of the Land Starts	Zionist claims on Ancient Israel	How Jewish people disappeared: Expulsion?	Jewish Redemptionist Efforts to return	Position on Jewish Ethnos	Arab History of the Land	Jews in other Lands ¹⁴⁴
Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict	Canaanites	Questions the claim through challenging the Bible's historicity & archaeological findings	Expulsion and Roman policy	Challenges the idea	One people: a nation	Takes into account but not principal	None
A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict	Jews	Takes for granted	Mass expulsion but many left the land before	Yes but no actual step taken	One people: a nation	Ignores but does not suppress	None
Righteous Victims	Jews	Takes for granted	Mass expulsion	Takes for granted	One people: a nation	suppresses	None
A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	Jews	Takes for granted	Mass expulsion	Yes but no actual step taken	One people: a nation	Takes into account but not principal	None
A History of Israel	Jews	Takes for granted	Mass expulsion	Takes for granted	One people: a nation	suppresses	None

¹⁴³ This table is designed to show an overall picture of the results of the textbook analysis that was applied to six selected textbooks. The accuracy may be somewhat compromised for the sake of simplicity and brevity. Please refer to the texts for accessing more accurate representation of results of the analysis.

¹⁴⁴ Is there any mention of the Jewish kingdoms in other lands?

Chapter 5: Context Analysis

The way selected textbooks deal with the history of the Israel/Palestine question has been analysed in the last chapter, Chapter 4, by means of historical narrative analysis. This analysis allowed an investigation, the aim of which is to answer the question of 'how' in relation to a piece of research; how do certain Western textbooks treat the history of the Israel/Palestine question? This has been done in the previous chapter through an exploration of the structure/narratio of the selected histories. There is an emphasis in this analysis on the role of historians, whose tendencies/decisions are seminal in determining the main structure of a constructed history; the relevant point made in Chapter 4 should be borne in mind: 'It is argued that the meaning of the 'facts' produced in a certain history is dependent on the process of placing as it functions in the narratio. The rhetoric is considered ineffective if not reinforced by a structure to support it. It is revealed that such structure comes from the main ideological positions that historians take towards the history. There is an emphasis, in this methodology, on the role historians play in constructing historical knowledge. This analysis is influenced by an observation that promotes a shift from 'great stories' to 'great story tellers'.

From this perspective, historians are considered as primarily responsible for the history produced. They constitute the immediate context of the constructed knowledge, where wider contexts such as the social and the national are located farther, and they can be a relevant answer to the question, 'Why?': why do the selected histories treat the Israel/Palestine question in a the way they do?

The role historians play in determining historical knowledge is not stressed only in this methodology; it has been acknowledged and discussed in the broader literature on History; the matter is reflected in textbooks designed to address the key questions of the discipline. 'History and historians' is an instance. Its writer, Mark T. Gilderhus, gives an example about the historian's role in the clarification of this question: 'Lock ten of them in a room (or a cell) with the same bodies of evidence, and they would in all likelihood arrive at ten divergent judgments'(Gilderhus 1987, 82). He mentions some forms of identification,

class, race, and religion, as main factors that contribute to how historians write history (Gilderhus 1987, 82). This general idea develops when a deeper awareness of the roles played by historians is provided. This has been recorded in two different fields of History; theoretical and empirical studies. On the theoretical level, when epistemological matters are a concern, the matter has been discussed in the (critical) philosophy of History. Historiography, as a sub-discipline, became, also, a main site for the related discussions. This happened when the scholarly interest in the idea of 'narrative' and how this has been formed took place. Nowadays, new fields of academic endeavour such as 'Memory Studies' are engaged in this discussion as well.

Mink and White are introduced as pioneer scholars who provide a considerable source for the study of historians and their loyalties, in the question of producing history (Roberts 2001, Introduction). They found this factor more important than historical evidence and facts. They emphasize the idea that the historian imposes his ideological beliefs on the facts (Jeretz Topolsky 2013, 12). White in his remarkable contribution to the field, *Metahistory*, elaborates his idea about how this is possible, and how an historian actually does this, introducing 'emplotment' as a main method (Vanhulle 2009). According to him, the historian does not just explore the historical matters but makes them. This is possible, according to White, by:

- arranging events in a certain order
- answering questions: what happened? when? how? why?
- deciding which events in the chronicle to include and exclude
- stressing some events and subordinating others (V. Rea 2015)

In empirical studies, some areas of history are acknowledged as those that provide plenty of evidence about how historians produce histories that comply with their identity or advance their goals. National histories are regarded as clear instances. Historians, when producing national history of their own nationality, use the outcomes of archaeology and ancient history as a tool to advance a mythical national history that provides an advantageous place for his nation in the history (Berger and Lorenz 2010). The real scope of such

fabrication and its grave consequences has not been fully recognized but there are some scholarly works that touch upon this important matter; 'The Use and Abuse of History: Or How the Past Is Taught to Children' is a book designed to produce some instances of such biases in various regions of the world (Ferro 2004). Another book, 'Writing National Histories: Western Europe Since 1800' investigates the role of national historians who produce histories in different European countries, Italy, Germany and France, to advance national ideologies, and how they use history against their political rivals including socialist, communist and Catholic internationalism (Berger, Donovan, and Passmore 1999). A book has been edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, 'Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe' which analyses and compares the national histories produced by professional historians of different European nationalities in the modern era. This analysis can demonstrate the extent to which these histories produce opposing accounts, and introduces their producers, historians, as myth makers who produce such histories for the sake of their national ideology (Berger and Lorenz 2010).

There are other scholarly works that make some valuable contribution to the related discussion; 'The History and Narrative Reader' edited by 'Geoffrey Roberts' is one main instance that looks at the subject through the study of narrative (Roberts 2001). 'The structure of historical Narratives and the teaching of history' is another instance. In this article, the writer, Jeretz Topolski, provides a useful analysis of narrative and its three layer structure:

1. 'the surface of informing (logical and grammatical) layer;
2. the persuasive or rhetorical layer and
3. the theoretical-ideological or controlling (steering) layer' (Jeretz Topolsky 2013, 12).

The third level is considered, in this analysis, as the main place where an historian's mind, with its ideas and goals, conscious and unconscious, informs the historical narrative, and appropriates it accordingly (Jeretz Topolsky 2013, 18–19). The main elements of the historian's mind that intervene in such a process are introduced as follows:

1. 'the preliminary knowledge (factual and theoretical) in the light of which the historian is studying and conceptualising the past
2. the linguistic conventions shared by the historian which create a preliminary prism which (metaphorically) breaks up the light of the past into the set of words, notions, expressions. etc.
3. the fundamental myths present in the cultural 'environment' of the historian which influence his or her thinking and imagination as a sui generis pressure guiding his or her work:
4. the theoretical and quasi-theoretical (i.e. spontaneous) conceptions about the world and man;
5. the metaphors in their epistemological function. i.e. a linguistic and at the same time extra-linguistic vehicle for myths, quasi-theories and theories; and
6. the ideology (understood in a more or less coherent way) represented by the author of the text'(Jeretz Topolsky 2013, 19).

These elements are regarded as different glasses that mediate between an historian and the object of his study. The historian can see only what is allowed to pass through these glasses. This medium controls what a historian sees, understands, and ultimately writes(Jeretz Topolsky 2013, 19).

This crucial role which historians play in the production of history is emphasised, by others, particularly in relation to histories produced on the Israel/Palestine question: 'It hardly takes a regional expert to perceive that the way the "story" of the Arab-Israeli conflict is told depends on the perspective of the storyteller'(Isacoff 2005).

This chapter is designed to deal with this matter. For this purpose all producers of the textbooks selected, writers and editors, are subjected to analysis, to determine their background in relation to the subject matter of the knowledge they produce on the Israel/Palestine question. The eight historians chosen for this analysis are all those who wrote/edited the 6 selected textbooks. An investigation is conducted, the aim of which is to gain some insight into the

ideological positions of these historians from their works, interviews, autobiographies, acknowledgements, CVs and so on, all from open sources, material which should shed some light on their background. The following part of the chapter is devoted to the results of this investigation; the historians are introduced in alphabetical order:

Bickerton, Ian:

Ian James Bickerton is co-author of one textbook analysed, *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. He was born in Perth, Western Australia. Bickerton completed his undergraduate degree in History there before he moved to the US for post-graduate studies, receiving his MA from Kansas State University, and his PhD from the Claremont Graduate School, in California. He later joined the University of New South Wales to teach in the School of History. Bickerton taught a number of courses mainly on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the history of the modern USA, and the history of US foreign relations. He also lectured in several US universities including the University of California Santa Barbara and the University of Missouri at Kansas City. Apart from Australia and the USA, he has had some teaching experience in the United Kingdom, in other European countries and in Israel (“Ian J. Bickerton” 2015).

Bickerton has numerous publications on the Arab-Israeli conflict and other Middle Eastern questions, including:

- *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Guide for The Perplexed*
- *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History*
- *Historiography of The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Contested Spaces*
- *Forty-Three Days: The Gulf War*

He is considered as a prominent expert in Middle Eastern studies, and has contributed to a number of entries on Middle Eastern matters in world - class encyclopaedias/dictionaries, including:

- *Encyclopaedia Britannica*
- *Dictionary of American Foreign Policy*
- *SBS World Guide*

Bickerton in his recent book, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History*, acknowledging the reader's expectation that he would be given information about the writer's background, provides some material on this topic. He mentions his educational environment, where he was educated in pro-Israeli surroundings;

'As a teenager I recall thinking with pride, like most Australians, how important the Australian prime minister, Sir Robert Menzies, must have been as he sailed out of Australia in 1956 to 'sort out' the 'Suez crisis' although, again, I had little idea of Israel's role in that abortive Anglo-French-Israeli venture to force President Nasser to 'disgorge' the Suez Canal. As a graduate student in California, I do remember the 1967 war, however. Like most, I was amazed at Israel's quick and overwhelming success in that short war' (Bickerton 2009, 17).

He considers his background as coming from 'Irish Catholicism', and doesn't hide his 'serious reservations' about it (Bickerton 2009, 19). No record of a critical report of his views on the Israel/Palestine question has been found in Pro-Israeli academia monitors, including Campus Watch and CAMERA.

Klausner, Carla:

Carla L. Klausner, co-author of a textbook analysed, *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, is an American academic. She completed her degrees in different American universities:

- History: Barnard College in 1958
- MA in Middle East Studies: Radcliffe College in 1960
- PhD in History and Middle East Studies: Harvard University in 1963

After graduation she joined University of Missouri - Kansas City as a faculty member, and became director of the Judaic Studies Program in this university. As a professor of history, she taught various courses in the field of Middle East history; History of Islam, Arabs, Jews and Ottomans ("Department of History: Carla L. Klausner" 2014). Her main monographs, two in fact, are co-authored with others:

- From Destruction to Rebirth: The Holocaust and the State of Israel with Dr. Joseph Schultz, New York: University Press of America, 1978
- A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, with Ian J. Bickerton, New York: Prentice Hall, 1991

Outside academia, she is an active speaker. Gatherings of the Jewish community in Kansas are a main platform for her activities. She teaches frequently in 'The Rabbi Morris B. Margolies Centre of Adult Studies' 'in 'Congregation Beth Shalom'. 'The Three Affairs' series is one instance. Klausner talked in this program, beside two other speakers, a Rabbi and an Assistant Rabbi, on a title called 'The Damascus Affair'. The Congregation introduced these three speakers, in the relevant announcement, as 'three of the best teachers that Congregation Beth Shalom has to offer' ("The Scroll" 2009). Another case of such service is a joint presentation with Rabbi Scott White on 'The Arab Spring and What It Means to Israel' ("The Scroll" 2011). Carla Klausner is mentioned and thanked repeatedly in 'Scroll', the Congregation periodical, for her contributions. Her name is also mentioned in the periodical as a 'Minyan Participant' who has attended the 'minyanin on a regular basis' ("The Scroll" 2008). Her mother, Rose Levine, and her husband, Tiberius Klausner, take part in the Congregation's activities ("Tiberius Klausner" 2015). She also contributed to writing an article titled 'Rabbi Simon Glazer and the Quest for Jewish Community in Kansas City, 1920-1923' that she co-authored with Joseph P. Schultz. In this article, a leading Zionist Rabbi in Kansas, Rabbi Simon Glazer, is commended for his achievements in developing an organization for the Jewish community in the city, and for improving cooperation among Jewish Orthodox congregations. One notable achievement mentioned in the article is his campaign to have the US Congress support the Zionist movement to colonize Palestine as a homeland for Jews: 'Rabbi Glazer's almost one-man campaign had resulted in the most formal possible American commitment in favor of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and the congressional resolution, the first time Congress had been actually involved in support of the Zionist enterprise, is eloquent testimony to his vision, commitment, political acumen, and persuasiveness' (Schultz and Klausner 1983).

It is worth mentioning that Congregation Beth Shalom is a Conservative congregation based in Kansas City. It is a main centre for the Jewish

community in the city, and holds events to support Israel. A joint program with Ohev Sholom Congregation on 'Media Bias Against Israel: What We Can Do About It' is one instance ("The Scroll" 2011). It also contributes to celebrating 'Israeli Independence Day' and 'Israeli Memorial Day' where the congregation 'assemble gift packages for soldiers in the Israel Defence Forces'("The Scroll" 2014).

There is other information which would categorise Klausner as a pro-Israeli Jew: she was a member of a pro-Israeli society; Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME)(Klausner 1999). She has made many trips to Israel; her husband describes how 'We always ended up in Israel'. She has stayed in Israel several times; she stayed there with her family for 6 months in one visit. Her daughters went to Israeli kindergarten and Kita Aleph to learn Hebrew. Their father, in an interview, expressed his joy over their Israeli accent. He came back to the US but admits in the interview: 'I would have loved to stay in Israel'. He mentions job considerations as a reason for their return to the United States(Klausner 1999).

There are other links to Israel in her family. Her husband, Tiberius (Tibor) Klausner, was a member of a Zionist underground organization(Klausner 1999). He is introduced in a book, titled 'From the Heart: Life Before and After the Holocaust' published by 'The MidWest Center for Holocaust Education' as one of '52 Kansas City Holocaust survivors and war refugees who began their lives in homelands far away, who saw their lives unalterably changed by the Holocaust, and who rebuilt their lives in America'(Education and Star 2001). In a message to Jewish children on the Holocaust, which is published in the MidWest Centre's website, Tiberius Klausner calls them to support Israel: 'My message for you, our future generation, is to preserve your Jewish heritage and be proud of your Jewishness. When I was studying in Paris, they never let me forget I was a foreigner and a Jew. How do you change that? How do you change antisemitism? You must continue to learn about Judaism, practice it, live by its values, pray, and hope. And you have to support Israel'(TIBERIUS KLAUSNER 2014). Tibor's immediate family, parents and brothers, are Israeli. His younger brother served in the Israeli army, and participated in four Israeli wars(Klausner 1999).

Laqueur, Walter:

Walter Laqueur, an editor of the textbook analysed, *Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, was born into a Jewish family. His parents are reported as victims of the Holocaust, and Walter, himself, is regarded as a 'survivor'. He moved to Israel in 1938 and studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In Israel, he joined a Kibbutz, and worked as an agricultural labourer for many years before he moved to Jerusalem to work as a political journalist. He was engaged in reporting the important developments of the Zionist movement in Palestine before 1948 and afterwards. He had personal relationships with many Zionist leaders including Weizmann, Ben-Gurion, Sharett, Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin ("Biography" 2015).

He later joined academia; Laqueur taught in Tel Aviv University as a visiting professor from 1972 till 1982. He has also taught in many high - ranking universities including Harvard, the University of Chicago, and Johns Hopkins University in the USA. He has written and edited a number of monographs on the Israel/Palestine question:

- A History of Zionism: From the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel
- The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day

He has also published an autobiography titled 'Thursday's Child Has Far to Go: A Memoir of the Journeying Years'(Laqueur 1992). This title changed later to 'Best of Times, Worst of Times: Memoirs of a Political Education'(Laqueur 2009). A large part of his activities in the Zionist movement, and his ideas about Israel are recorded in this book. He moved to the USA in 1953 but his children and grandchildren have remained in Israel("Biography" 2015).

The pro-Israeli organization, CAMERA, recommends Laqueur's book (*The Israel-Arab Reader*) in its program, Adopt a Library, as a 'reliable' source of knowledge on the Israel/Palestine question: 'The Israel-Arab Reader is a thorough and up-to-date guide to the continuing crisis in the Middle East. It covers the full spectrum of the Israel-Arab conflict from the earliest days, through the wars and peace - making efforts, up to the Israel-PLO and Israel-

Jordan peace accords. This comprehensive reference includes speeches, letters, articles, and reports dealing with all the major interests in the area from all of the relevant political parties and world leaders' ("Suggested Book List" 2015).

Morris, Benny:

Benny Morris, an Israeli historian, is the author of another textbook selected, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist – Arab Conflict*, which has been analysed in this research. He was born in Israel, in a Kibbutz (Ein HaHoresh), to Jewish parents who migrated from the UK to Israel. His father, Ya'akov Morris, was an Israeli diplomat. Benny Morris served in the Israeli army, and participated in the 1967 war. He was wounded in 1969 in an exchange of fire with Egyptian troops in the occupied Sinai near the Suez Canal. He completed his undergraduate studies in History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and his PhD at the University of Cambridge. After graduation, he joined the Middle East Studies department of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in southern Israel, where he subsequently became Professor of History (Wilson 2007; Slater 2012; "Professor Benny Morris Biography" 2015). He has written extensively on the history of the Israel/Palestine question. The following can be mentioned in this regard:

- 1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War
- The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949
- One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict

In some circles, he is regarded as a post - Zionist or 'new' historian who challenged the Zionist myths. But he regards himself as a Zionist (Ari Shavit 2004). His strong Zionist tendency has led him to justify the ethnic cleansing of Arabs in 1948 and to wish for the expulsion of more Palestinians by Zionists (Abunimah 2004). The Acknowledgments in his book, *The Righteous Victims*, demonstrate that all the funds he received to complete this book are from Israeli sources except one contribution from the French Embassy in Israel (Morris 2001, xi); the archives he consulted to write the book are all Israeli, including the 'Israel State Archives', 'the Central Zionist Archives' and 'the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Archive' (Morris 2001, xii). Furthermore, all the people he thanks, in

the Acknowledgments (in this textbook), for their support are Israelis; there are a few from the US or the UK but no one is Arab (Morris 2001, xi). He is known as a historian who uses and relies on Israeli sources, and not Arab ones.

Rubin, Barry:

Barry Rubin, an Israeli academic, is the second editor of a textbook selected; 'Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict'. He was born in the USA, and completed his PhD (from Georgetown University) in that country. After graduation, he taught in many Israeli and American universities. For almost two decades, he was the director of the Global Research in International Affairs (GLORIA) at the 'Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya' in Israel. He worked for The Jerusalem Post as a columnist for a long time. The Middle East and terrorism was his area of expertise. He served as an editor on a number of specialised journals including the Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA), and the Turkish Studies Journal (Solomon 2014; Haaretz 2014). Rubin was a hardworking writer who authored and edited many books and articles, including:

- Israel: An Introduction
- The Arab States and the Palestine Conflict (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East)
- Revolution Until Victory?: The Politics and History of the PLO (Selection of the History Book Club)

His personal blog, The Rubin Report (<http://rubinreports.blogspot.com>), is a main source for his writings. Rubin is considered as a 'strenuous defender of Jews, Israel, and US interests'. In relation to a solution for the Israel-Palestinian conflict, he advocated the idea that 'Jews should defend themselves'. He was critical of the West for its shortcomings in support of Israel. He has written about his ancestry, mentioning some members of his family as victims of the Holocaust. He was very passionate about the Zionist idea of the Jewish state. He wrote in this regard: 'For 2000 years my ancestors dreamed of returning to their homeland and re-establishing their sovereignty. I have had the privilege of living that dream. How amazing is that?' (Solomon 2014)

Sachar, Howard:

Howard Morley Sachar, an American historian, is the author of another textbook selected; 'A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time'. He was born in St. Louis, Missouri, in the USA into a Jewish family, and studied in that country. He completed his undergraduate education at Swarthmore and received his PhD from Harvard. Sachar is based in Washington, D.C. as Charles E. Smith Professor of History Emeritus at George Washington University. He is known as an expert on Middle East affairs, and lectures in many American universities in this field. He also acts as a consultant in this area for many governmental bodies in the US. Sachar has testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee in the US Congress. He has contributed to training programs for US diplomats. Sachar has edited a thirty-nine-volume history of the question; *The Rise of Israel: A Documentary History* (Sachar 2007, 1271). He is the author of many articles and 14 books in the field including:

- *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (1958)
- *Diaspora* (1985)
- *Aliyah* (1961)
- *Egypt and Israel* (1981)

He has strong links with Israel, Jews and pro-Israeli circles: He lived in Israel for many years, worked on a kibbutz and founded the 'Jacob Hiatt Institute' in Jerusalem, one of the first academic centres for American students to visit and study in Israel. He secured funds from the US State Department, in 1965, to found this institute, and served as its director for several years. He has also taught in Israeli universities: The Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University. Two National Jewish Book Awards have been granted to him. Sachar, also, was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1996 (Sam Fuchs 2009; Sachar 2007, 1271). He is a member of the advisory council of 'J Street', a pro-Israeli lobby in the US ("Advisory Council" 2015).

Sachar's father, Abram (Abe) Leon Sachar, was also a leading Zionist figure: he was one of the founders of the 'B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation'. He acted as the director of the Illinois sector, and then as National Director of this pro-Israeli Foundation (1933 to 1947). Abram Sachar was active in supporting Israel, and

a close friend of its first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion(“Abram L. Sachar” 2015).

There are other links in his family to Israel; his daughter and grandchildren live in Israel. When he visited Israel after his graduate studies, and engaged in founding the Jacob Hiatt Institute, he described his mission thus: ‘I was so infatuated with the land and the people and [I had a personal] resolve to get Jewish people closer to it’(Sam Fuchs 2009).

Smith, Charles:

Charles Duryea Smith is an American academic who wrote a textbook selected ‘Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict’. He completed his studies in the field of History and Middle East Studies at US universities: his undergraduate degree was from Williams College, his MA from Harvard, and his PhD from the University of Michigan. He has taught in various American universities including San Diego State University, Wayne State University, University of Virginia, George Mason University, the Virginia Military Institute, and the Virginia Commonwealth University. He joined The University of Arizona School of Middle Eastern & North African Studies as a Professor Emeritus of Middle East History. He has had teaching experience both in Israel and in Arab countries; in Israel, he worked in the Institute for Advanced Study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In Egypt, he acted as president of the American Research Centre(“Charles Smith | School of Middle Eastern & North African Studies” 2014).

Smith has authored a number of publications on Middle East History in general, and on the Israel/Palestine question in particular:

- The Modern Middle East and North Africa: A History in Documents (co-authored with Julia Clancy-Smith)
- ‘The United States and the 1967 War’ in ‘The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: Origins and Consequences’
- ‘The Arab-Israeli Conflict’ in ‘International Relations of the Middle East’

In 2012 he received, from the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), a 'Mentor Award' for his efforts 'in advising and guiding students at the graduate and undergraduate levels'. In 2013, his co-authored book (*The Modern Middle East and North Africa: A History in Documents*) was accredited, by MESA, as 'the best book on undergraduate education' ("Charles Smith | School of Middle Eastern & North African Studies" 2014).

There are some occasions on which Smith has been attacked by Pro-Israeli protesters for statements he made about the Israel/Palestine question; one instance is recorded by the pro-Israeli monitoring body, Campus Watch' which published a report, under 'Middle East studies in the News' titled 'On-Campus Panels Attack Israel (Again) [incl. Charles Smith, Leila Hudson, Asher Kaufman]'. The report is written by Shlomo Aronson, a professor from the 'American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise'. In this report, Smith is described as a 'self styled expert on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue, who is known for missing command of both Hebrew and Arabic'(Aronson 2009). The report contains a letter, from 'an outraged listener', on what went wrong in this panel. The letter, supposedly, states: 'Professor Smith left no question regarding his stance on the recent conflict. His presentation began by arguing, somewhat correctly, that Israel was responsible for the birth of Hamas. However, he continued to tell falsehoods and half-truths, culminating in a justification for Hamas' actions'(Aronson 2009). The letter criticises Smith for another statement: 'He also made mention that the breakdown of the 2000 Camp David talks was, despite all accounts from individuals present at those negotiations, the fault of the Israeli leadership. He even went as far as to say, "Clinton, Dennis Ross, and [Ehud] Barak all lied about what happened there"(Aronson 2009).

There are other cases of criticism of Smith from a pro-Israeli stance. One can be seen on a website called 'Rate my Professor'. A student, allegedly, makes another point in this regard: 'I took this class expecting an interesting account on Israeli-Arab relations, but instead I stepped into an anti-Semitic smear fest. Professor Smith is insensitive to the Holocaust and the aftermath of it. There are several issues that he just doesn't get. This class is a way over the top bias toward the Arab end of the spectrum'("Rate My Professors" 2015). In another

case, Huffington Post Monitor, a pro-Israeli monitoring website, published a report titled 'Charles Smith Predicts the Future (and Israel's Demise)'. The report starts with: 'The latest red meat for the Huffington Post Jew haters is Charles Smith's article about "Israel's fateful hour". In it, this American academic takes the bold, courageous stance of...criticizing Israeli settlements. Smith leads off with predictions about where the settlements will take Israel in the future, predictions that as usual don't make any sense' ("Charles Smith Predicts the Future" 2012). The report continues with another notable statement: 'Smith then quotes more from a book he read, repeats himself about Israel's imminent demise because of the settlements, describes Netanyahu as "messianic", and accuses Israel of acting like Bar Kochba, the Jewish revolt leader famous for committing suicide rather than surrendering to the Romans' ("Charles Smith Predicts the Future" 2012).

In 2004 Smith acted as commentator for a panel on the Israeli attack on the USS Liberty at a conference held by the US State Department. He made a mild critique of the Israeli attack; in relation to Israel's claim that Liberty was mistaken for an Egyptian ship, Smith stressed that Israel should have recognized the identity of the American vessel. He concluded that 'If they didn't know, they didn't try hard enough to find out' (UA News Services 2004).

Tessler, Mark:

Mark Tessler, an American academic, is the author of another textbook selected; 'A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict'. He completed his education in the USA, and received his PhD from Northwestern University in Political Science. He also had chances to study in Israel and in Arab countries; Tessler studied in The University of Tunis, and received a Certificate of North African Sociology (1964-1965). He also studied in The Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Israel (1961-1962). Tessler served in this university as a research associate in political science in 1982. He stayed in Israel more than three years. He served as a research associate at the University of Tunis (1972-1973) as well. His knowledge of relevant languages includes 'good Hebrew' and 'some Arabic' ("Vita" 2014). Tessler is considered as one of the very few American

scholars who has studied and lived in both the Arab world and Israel (“Mark A. Tessler” 2015).

Tessler has taught in various American universities as a professor of Political Science; the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the University of Arizona and the University of Michigan. He has taught a number of courses including Politics and International Relations of the Middle East and North Africa, the Arab-Israeli Conflict, and Literature and Politics in North Africa. He has been appointed to numerous academic posts including:

- Director of the Centre for International Studies, 1991-1999 (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)
- Director of the Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, 1999-2001 (University of Arizona)
- Director of the International Institute, 2005-2010 (University of Michigan)

Tessler has also occupied some national positions in the area of Israeli/Palestine studies; He served the Association for Israel Studies on the Board of Directors (1985-present), as Vice-President (1987-1989), and as President (1989-1991). He is a member of the Editorial Board of the association’s journal, ‘Israel Studies’. Tessler is, also, a member of the Steering Committee of the Palestinian American Research Centre (“Vita” 2014). He has researched and written extensively on the Middle East and the Israel/Palestine question:

- Israel, Egypt, and the Palestinians: From Camp David to Intifada (co-authored with Ann Lesch)
- Democracy, War, and Peace in the Middle East (as co-editor)
- Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics (editor)

His selected book, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, attained national honour, and was named by The New York Times as a ‘Notable Book of 1994’ (“Vita” 2014). The American Institute for Maghreb Studies (AIMS) awards a prize to students in Maghrib studies, that is called ‘The Mark Tessler AIMS Graduate Student Prize Award’ for what is described as being ‘in honor of his

enduring interest in the Maghreb and his sustained efforts to develop graduate students prepared to work in the field' ("AIMS Newsletter" 2009).

Campus Watch published an article, under 'Middle East studies in the News' titled 'The Clash over Middle East Studies: Critics say the programs are biased against U.S. foreign policy and need a review board'. This article written by Jennifer Jacobson, and published originally in 'Chronicle of Higher Education' reports a discussion on the subject. In this discussion, Kramer, a well-known pro-Israeli activist and writer, charges Middle East professors with discouraging scholarly work on terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism. Tessler, an attendee at this discussion, opposed Kramer's claim by mentioning some book titles published by Indiana University Press including 'Islamic Activism'. He concludes his response to the Kramer charges; 'The notion that [these centers] are not doing their job and that they're soft on terrorism and anti-Israel that is just not the case in my experience'(Jacobson 2004).

In another report, published by the pro-Israeli organization, CAMERA, which has been written to critique a radio series, 'A Middle East History', presented under a radio program, The World, Tessler is criticized; 'The PRI series relies heavily on interviews with historian Mark Tessler from the University of Michigan, hardly an impartial scholar. A review of his 1994 book, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, pointed to Tessler's selective citations of documentary sources, misleading quotes, one-sided reporting of facts and events, biased choice of language, and even the use of a fabricated quotation attributed to Israel's then military chief of staff, Yitzchak Rabin. The review concluded that Tessler's work presents only the version of events most damaging to Israel, doing "so much to promote myth and so little to advance the truth" (Midstream Magazine, May-June 1999). The same can be said to sum up The World's special series on the history of the Middle East'(Hollander 2002).

The Results:

The information that has just been provided about the background of the producers of the most adopted textbooks, in Western universities, for teaching the history of Israel/Palestine question, reveals some notable results as follows:

- All writers/editors of the selected textbooks come from a particular national background; they are either American or Israeli, or both: Klausner, Smith and Tessler are American; Morris and Rubin are Israeli; Laqueur and Sachar have, probably, both citizenships. Laqueur was an Israeli citizen who moved to the US, and Sachar was an American citizen who moved to Israel. The only exception is Bickerton; he is an Australian with Irish roots. He, however, has strong links with the US; he received his PhD in the US, and taught in American universities for a long time. His selected textbook, is also co-authored with a Jewish American writer. None of the writers/editors of these dominant textbooks come from a Palestinian or Arab background.
- All producers of the textbooks selected come from a particular educational environment; they are educated in the USA or Israel or both; there are two who received part of their higher education in other countries; Bickerton did his undergraduate work in Australia, and Morris received his PhD in the UK. The information provided suggests that none of them received any part of their education in a Middle Eastern or Arab country. The only exception is Tessler, who studied about one year in Tunis.
- The information provided about the languages that writers can use suggests that 6 of them (Klausner, Laqueur, Morris, Rubin, Sachar and Tessler) have good Hebrew. In contrast, there is only one (Tessler) who has only 'some Arabic'. This fact can reveal how Arab and Israeli sources are being treated differently while writing the selected histories on the Israel/Palestine question.
- All historians come from a particular religious background; they are either Jewish or Christians; five historians, from eight, come from a Jewish background including Klausner, Laqueur, Morris, Rubin and Sachar. Bickerton introduces 'Irish Catholicism' as his background. No evidence was found that introduces the other two, Smith and Tessler, as Jews. They probably come from a Christian background. There is certainly not anyone who comes from a Muslim background. There is evidence that introduces all Jewish historians of the study (five in total) as having some record of supporting Zionist ideas and/or Israel. The non-Jewish historians of this study (three in total) had a greater link with Israel,

compared to their link with Arab countries; they have a noticeable record, as has been detailed in this chapter, of living, studying and teaching in Israel.

- The non-Jewish historians of the study, Smith and Tessler, are criticized for the views they offer on the Israel/Palestine question, by pro-Israeli organizations such as Campus Watch and CAMERA. Bickerton, who co-authored his book with a Jewish scholar, is the only non-Jew who escaped such criticism. Nothing has been found, in Campus Watch or CAMERA records, of such an attack on their Jewish counterparts who feature in this study.

Table 11: A summary of the results of the context analysis ¹⁴⁵

Author	Nationality	Religion	Education	Language ¹⁴⁶	Israel ¹⁴⁷
Bickerton	Australian	Christian	Australia/US	No Arabic? No Hebrew?	Teaching in Israel
Klausner	American	Jewish	US	Hebrew	Pro- Israeli
Laqueur	Israeli/ American	Jewish	Israel	Hebrew	Pro- Israeli
Morris	Israeli	Jewish	Israel/UK	Hebrew	Pro- Israeli
Rubin	Israeli	Jewish	US	Hebrew	Pro- Israeli
Sachar	Israeli/ American	Jewish	US	Hebrew	Pro- Israeli
Smith	American	Christian	US	No Arabic No Hebrew	Teaching in Israel
Tessler	American	Christian	US	Hebrew Some Arabic	Lived in Israel

¹⁴⁵ This table is designed to show an overall picture of the results of the context analysis that was applied to 8 relevant historians. The accuracy might be undermined for the sake of simplicity and brevity. Please refer to the text to access more accurate representation of results of the analysis.

¹⁴⁶ The knowledge of the historians of the language of the conflicting sides of the question; Hebrew and Arabic

¹⁴⁷ How historians are related to Israel?

Conclusion

This study originated in a political theory concerning Western support of Israel. Preceding studies in this field managed to advance that theory by examining Western treatment of Israel in certain areas such as foreign policy, human rights policy, the mass media and cinema. The controversy about the idea and the extent to which the West supports Israel, however, exists in numerous areas of Western treatment of Israel which have not been explored yet. This study is designed to extend knowledge of the question by mounting an investigation into Western academic knowledge in relation to the Israel/Palestine question, allowing us to establish the depth and scope of Western support (of Israel) in the knowledge produced in the West about the question. Does the academic knowledge produced in the West, about the Israel/Palestine question, show the same pro-Israeli bias that Western products in some other areas, including the mass media and cinema, exhibit?

The treatment of Israel in Western academia is regarded as a fascinating subject for an academic examination for more than one reason; firstly, it can contribute to advancing a more inclusive notion about the idea of Western support of Israel, and its real dimensions, by covering another area of the Western map of pro-Israeli bias; secondly, it addresses a question which can reveal relevant points about the causes of such a tendency in Western policy. This case is related to the leading role that knowledge plays in social and political affairs. Thirdly, Western knowledge on the question is important not only for its impact on Western societies; it can occupy a dominant position, like many other bodies of knowledge that come from the West, across a worldwide spectrum. Its capacity to inform a much wider audience in the world makes its impact on the question important on a global scale. Fourthly, knowledge occupies an important place in the West, and is considered the main reason for Western progress and the development that makes the region significant now, as a different and prominent part of the world. This achievement is introduced as an outcome of successful efforts to detach knowledge from political and religious influences. Any possibility of undermining this fundamental quality in Western society can be a serious matter of investigation.

Knowledge produced in the West on the Israel/Palestine question can be found in almost all the human sciences and disciplines. There is no way that a single piece of research of this size can cover all of them. History, as an academic discipline, is selected to constitute the precise subject area of this analysis. This choice is informed by the idea that the history of the Israel/Palestine question is a main academic field where pro-Israeli activities can be observed. Since Israel's occupation of historical Palestine depends on the argument that History gives the Jewish people a right to Palestine as the Promised Land, then how the Palestine question is represented in History texts is a vital area of enquiry; History, in this sense, is a main source of the arguments and evidence to defend Israel's occupation of historical Palestine.

The first methodological question of the research emerges when access to the relevant knowledge is at stake; is there any site where such knowledge can be accessed? The relevant literature suggests textbooks, encyclopaedia articles and journal articles as the main sources of knowledge. Textbooks are introduced, at the same time, as a resource with a governing position. This was the main reason for calling textbook knowledge an official or dominant form of knowledge. The second methodological question of the research is related to textbooks that can represent Western knowledge on the question's history. History of the Israel/Palestine question is taught in many courses across Western universities. Many books are introduced in these courses as the main source of the relevant knowledge. An extensive survey was conducted to find the most frequently adopted textbooks that are used in Western universities to teach the history of the question. This survey allowed the formation of a list of the most commonly used textbooks in Western academia, six of which, the leading ones, are selected for the main analysis of this study. One chapter (the third chapter) of this thesis is devoted to the relevant evidence and arguments that support the selected textbooks' status as truly representative of Western knowledge in this area. The following list reflects the results, exhibiting a textbook's position:

1. Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents (by Charles D Smith)
2. A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (by Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner)

3. Righteous Victims: a History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict (by Benny Morris)
4. A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (by Mark A. Tessler)
5. A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time (by Howard M. Sachar)
6. The Arab-Israeli Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict (by Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin)

In advance of the main analysis of the study, that of textbook analysis, the related literature is reviewed; all works, about 36 titles, that are produced to analyse the textbook treatment of the question, in Western countries, are included in that review. There are many studies that deal partly, and through wider targets such as the Middle East or the Arabs, with the question, but only two investigations were explored that were designed exclusively to conduct an empirical textbook analysis of the Israel/Palestine question; one on US textbooks and another on Swedish ones. Another result of this review demonstrates that all textbooks analysed in those investigations are school textbooks. No research was found that analysed textbooks that are used at the college level. Furthermore, empirical studies in the field relied, while analysing school textbooks, on college textbooks as authoritative sources of relevant knowledge. The college textbook's status as a true source of relevant knowledge is taken for granted. No research went further into the question of the knowledge offered in college textbooks. Chapter 2 of this thesis presented the detailed findings of this review, and its concluding remarks.

The results of the studies identified in the literature review introduce bias as a main problem; two studies support the idea that textbooks are suffering from an anti-Israeli bias. Others support the opposite. This review suggests that history textbooks are deconstructed through different critical methods. Historical narrative analysis, the method taken for the main analysis in this research, focuses on the textbook (or any other history) as a whole rather than on its parts. The stress, in this analysis, has moved away from portrayal of distinct historical 'facts' to how the whole history is presented, or how the mega story is structured. It engages with the central structure of the narrative. It is revealed that such a structure comes from the main ideological positions that historians take towards history. This structure can convey the principal message of the

constructed history, and refers to the main reason a given history is written. With this method in the centre of the analysis, identifying a pro-Israeli structure in the analysed histories was a main target. Other possible targets including finding cases of error, or of true or false statements, or disproving what pro-Israeli history claims is outside the main realm of this investigation.

A model of a Zionist/pro-Israeli structure of the history of the question is recognized in the relevant literature. Israel/Zionist historiography structures the relevant history as such to support the Zionist claim to the land. This construction has explicit targets:

- Proving the historical Jewishness of the land
- Disregarding other historical choices of Jewish land/s outside Palestine
- Suppressing Arab history of the land

The history of the question is structured, as follows, in a way to secure the above Zionist historiographical goals:

- It has a certain beginning: The history of the land starts with the Jews' presence in the land, ignoring others who possessed the land before them,
- The supposed Jewish time of possession of the land, that of ancient Israel, is constructed as the main history of the land: it is narrated, also, in a way to provide the essentials of a Jewish state; such as 'Jewish people', 'Jewish kingdom', and 'Jewish independence',
- This 'glorious Jewish time' has a certain ending; the forced expulsion of the Jews from the land by the Romans, is articulated as the ending of the 'Jewish state', and the main event responsible for the absence of the Jews in the land for the last two millennia,
- The main bulk of the land's history, the last 2000 years, that constitutes, almost, the whole documented history of the land is not taken as a significant period in its history; the main history of this time, according to the Zionist historiography, is located outside Palestine where Jews lived, who supposedly regarded Palestine as their homeland; their history is summarised simply as

their efforts to keep the link with the mother land, their hoping to return to it, and their striving to realize that hope.

Accordingly, the land's history is structured in a way that starts with the Jews, and ends with them, and leaves no space in between, in the land's thousands of years of history that might be filled by others' history. This structure secures a history - long Jewishness of the land, providing a safe historiographical place for the Jews where they are not bothered by others' presence, history and rights. At the same time, all Jews of different nationalities and races in all times are taken as one; one ethnos, and one nation. Consequently, when a Jew migrates to Israel, from any part of the world, be he of any race and colour, with any nationality, he is regarded as the same Jew in ancestry as he who, supposedly, was forced to leave the Holy Land 2000 years ago.

With a model of a pro-Israeli structure at hand, all selected histories of the Israel/Palestine question, have been put under extensive investigation, through historical narrative analysis, to identify the central structure of these histories in relation to the pro-Israeli model. One selected textbook (The Arab-Israeli Reader) is examined briefly but exempted from the main analysis. The entire book is merely a collection of relevant documents that are organized in chronological order. There is no place for actual historiography in this book even to cover some common properties of a textbook such as 'Introduction' or 'Conclusion'. Very little is written by the editors of the book, Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, to narrate the Israel/Palestine history; a few lines are added in some cases to introduce the document. As a result, no real historiography can be found in its exact sense. This leaves not much chance of examining how the history of the question is written. For that reason, the results of the main analysis (the next paragraph) come from examination of 5 other textbooks.

The textbook analysis supports the conclusion that all analysed textbooks have, more or less, a pro-Israeli structure. Significant differences, however, exist; all histories of the land start with the Jewish people. 'Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict' is the only exception that starts the question's history with the Canaanites. This textbook is the only one, as well, that challenges the main narratives about ancient Israel. It mentions the results of archaeological discoveries in the Holy Land that do not provide evidence to support the biblical

stories of ancient Israel. Other textbooks do not question the main elements of the Zionist historiography of this time such as the Jewish people, the Jewish kingdom and Jewish independence. Some of them, Righteous Victims for instance, deal with this aspect of the question very briefly, others such as Tessler's textbook, support this history with many details.

The second element of the Zionist historiography, the forced expulsion of the Jews, is accepted as a historical fact in all textbooks. Varying degrees of confirmation, however, are exercised. 'Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict' is the only account which does not support, openly, a mass expulsion of all Jews by the Romans but it confirms, at the same time, the general idea of expulsion, and that Jews left the Holy Land because of Roman policy. Others do not challenge this story; one textbook, A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, however, presents the idea that many Jews left the land, voluntarily, before the expulsion.

In relation to another element of Zionist historiography, the Jews' link, outside Palestine, with Palestine as a homeland and their redemptionist efforts to return, textbooks do not reject this story but take different positions towards this idea; again, 'Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict' is the only one that shows a very limited sympathy with this Zionist account, providing the idea that the religious traditions expressed by Jews in the pre-Zionist era about a final gathering in Zion are different from the Zionist ideas about the return to Palestine as a national home. In contrast, Morris considers Zionism as a modern version of the old Jewish yearning to return to their home in Palestine. Sachar makes more effort, relatively, to support this Zionist idea. Others, Tessler and Bickerton (and Klausner), provide some arguments to support the idea, mentioning, at the same time, that no actual step has been taken by Jews in this period, almost 2000 years, to make that 'return' happen.

The selected textbooks demonstrate different treatments when the Arab history of the land is at stake; Sachar and Morris, not only ignore the significance of the Arab history of the land but make clear efforts to suppress it. Smith and Tessler, on the other hand, take the Arab history of the land into consideration. Bickerton (and Klausner) ignore the history but make no effort to downgrade it.

All of them, at the same time, do not take the Arab history of the land as its principal history.

There are, also, other cases of accepting pro-Israeli elements: all textbooks support the Zionist idea of regarding Jews as one people, as a nation. All of them regard the European Jews, from different nationalities, as the same Jews who, supposedly, were expelled from the land, 2000 years ago. All of them ignore Jewish links to other lands, and their achievements in establishing independent states outside Palestine. One, Bickerton & Klausner, 'A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict', rejects such a possibility. None of the textbooks analysed in this research regard the pro-Israeli structure of the dominant histories of the question as a real problem to understanding the Israel/Palestine question.

The overall results of this analysis introduce 'Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict' as the only textbook that entertained considerable reservations about some main elements of the Zionist historiography, and that has not accepted, uncritically, the pro-Israeli structure of the history. All others failed to do this. Two different classes, at the same time, can be identified in this category; two textbooks, those written by Sachar and Morris, reproduced all the main elements of the Zionist historiography without distancing themselves from them. The other two, however, managed to show some distance between their own position and that of the pro-Israeli narrative in some cases. As a result, this analysis does not regard these two as histories that were developed to advance the Zionist version of history, but as histories that have been influenced heavily by that history.

Four arguments can support the idea that textbook knowledge on the Israel/Palestine question in the West is biased; the first one is based directly on the results of the main analysis of the research. All histories analysed, except one, have a pro-Israeli structure. This structure is a common character of all Zionist historiographies of the question. And it is rooted in fundamental Zionist documents including Israel's Declaration of Independence, as elaborated in Chapter 4.

The second argument is related to another aspect of the identified structure i.e. its origin. This structure/mega story is invented by Zionist historians in the 19th century. It is a recent phenomenon, and has no precedent in history, and historical sources of the pre-Zionist era. It was constructed when the Zionist movement needed such a construction to advance its ideology.

The first argument bases the main claim, the identified bias, on an answer to the question of how a Zionist history of the Israel/Palestine matter is narrated. The second one is based on a different question: when has such history been narrated, and by whom. Answers delivered necessitate a scholarly sensitivity to the political motivations responsible for such narratives, and their grave consequences for the Zionist historiography of the question. All selected histories are found free of such sensitivity. Uncritical acceptance of the Zionist narratives, in such circumstances, is far from an objective historiography.

The fourth argument that supports the biased character of Western knowledge on the question is related to the historical and scientific value of the Zionist historiographical elements. There are serious problems, as revealed by critical Israeli historians, which undermine, severely, the historicity of the Zionist accounts. The main elements of the Zionist history, including those that are related to ancient Israel, the forced expulsion of the Jews and their redemptionist efforts to return, suffer from such problems. There is not enough evidence to introduce them as historical facts; this has been elaborated in Chapter 4. There is evidence, in fact, that disproves such theories. It is not expected from an unbiased history to represent them as historical facts. An unbiased history makes enough effort to differentiate between myth and fact, and to place what can be categorised as not strictly either, in its correct position. The way the history of the question is presented in the selected textbooks is quite different; Zionist historical elements are reported as the true history of the question. Nothing serious is mentioned to reflect the real problems with these accounts. The only real exception is the textbook written by Charles Smith.

At odds with the documented bias of the selected textbooks, they make evident efforts to market their work as objective and unbiased products. For such purpose, they frequently stress that both the Israeli and Palestinian sides and their arguments are taken into (equal) consideration in narrating the related

history. All six selected textbooks, except one (A History of Israel), offered such assertions in the book's opening section, the Preface or Introduction. Bickerton and Klausner presented their own statement in the Preface of the book: 'We have attempted to achieve some balance and objectivity about a subject upon which most people feel it necessary to adopt a partisan point of view. Throughout the book, we have tried to present both sides of the issues, although we realize that even the selection of material to be included reveals some subjective judgment on our part' (Bickerton and Klausner 1998, xvi). Benny Morris made a similar claim in the Preface to his textbook as well: 'I have tried to compensate by using relevant Arab materials to the extent that they were accessible, and by ferreting out the "Arab side" or "perspective" as manifested in documentation in Zionist-Israeli and Western archives (for example, by using intelligence documents reporting on thinking and activities from the Arab side) and writings. In doing so, I have attempted to approach the subject as objectively as possible, to bring reason and fairness to my reconstructions of the past' (Morris 2001, xiv). Laqueur and Rubin, the editors of the 'Israel-Arab Reader' made such a claim in brief in the Introduction of their textbook; 'For four decades, The Israel-Arab Reader has tried to document these developments as objectively as possible'(Laqueur and Rubin 2008, xiv). Tessler, especially, is detailed in describing the 'unbiased' character of his textbook; 'This book seeks not only to provide an objective history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but also to encourage an engaged and sympathetic understanding of the parties to this continuing dispute. The aim of this approach may be described as objectivity without detachment' (Tessler 2009, xiv). This claim has been emphasised again in the book; 'Second, and consistent with this perspective, the book seeks not only to present a balanced and accurate history of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, it also strives to encourage a sympathetic understanding of the parties involved' (Tessler 2009, xiii). Tessler made enormous efforts to stress the objectivity of his work and its fair representation of both sides; 'Beyond this, however, my aim has been to maintain a stance of considered objectivity. I have tried to represent both sides fairly when fundamental issues are discussed'(Tessler 2009, xvii). He claims further that no conclusion is advanced by the book; it is left to the readers to make their own: '...the volume strives for a nonpartisan point of view; it seeks to present both Palestinian and Israeli analyses and to enable readers to form their own

conclusions about the persuasiveness of competing arguments'(Tessler 2009, xvii). This is stressed again in the opening of the book: 'My goal is not to foster specific conclusions about central issues in the conflict but to provide a basis for understanding and evaluating the actions of both Israelis and Palestinians'(Tessler 2009, xvii). It is quite illuminating that the most humble claim about the book's unbiased character and its capacity for true representation of both sides is made by the least biased book of the survey, 'Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict'; 'From its inception, this book has given equal emphasis to the modern histories of both Palestine and Israel, beginning with extended treatment of the nineteenth century, the critical era of World War I, and the period of British mandatory rule down to 1947 as points of departure for the era since Israel's independence'(C. D. Smith 2013, VI). The demonstrated pattern in the other selected textbooks, laying emphasis on objectivity when the book is biased, and stressing fair representation of both sides while the book is pro-Israeli, leads to the conclusion that such claims are not only untrue but also misleading. It also suggests the idea that such stress and emphasis might be made deliberately to sell a pro-Israeli product as a non-partisan and reliable source of the related knowledge.

A further analysis of the selected textbooks, from the perspective of the authors' background, supports the results of the main analysis (textbook analysis) of the thesis. The second analysis went further, to ascertain the context of the texts produced, to provide some knowledge about why the selected histories are constructed in that particular way. Historians (the authors) have been chosen as the most influential factors in the social context of textbook authorship, for their significant role in how a college-level textbook is written. They are the main authority that determines textbook contents. This second analysis has provided a conclusion that pro-Israeli textbooks are written by historians who come from a pro-Israeli background. This is evident in two pro-Israeli textbooks of this study i.e. Sachar and Morris, both from a pro-Israeli Jewish background. Other textbooks, which showed less pro-Israeli bias, originate in a different background.

This analysis offers other significant results: All writers/editors of the six selected textbooks come from a certain national background; they are either

American or Israeli, or both: Klausner, Smith and Tessler are American; Morris and Rubin are Israeli; Laqueur and Sachar have, probably, both citizenships. The only exception is Bickerton, an Australian historian. None of them come from a Palestinian or Arab national background. All producers of the popular textbooks come from a certain educational environment; they are educated in the USA or Israel or both; there are only two who received part of their higher education in other countries i.e. in Australia and the UK. None of them received any major part of their education in a Middle Eastern or Arab country. The language used, in the relevant studies, is another source of bias: 6 of the historians (Klausner, Laqueur, Morris, Rubin, Sachar and Tessler) have good Hebrew. In contrast, there is only one (Tessler) who has 'some Arabic'. All historians come from a particular religious background; they are either Jewish or Christian; five historians, from eight, come from a Jewish background including Klausner, Laqueur, Morris, Rubin and Sachar. There is not, even, one who comes from a different religious background. The related evidence introduces all Jewish historians of the study (five in total) as having some record of supporting Zionist ideas and/or Israel. The non-Jewish historians of this study (three in total) do not have such a background, but they still have a greater link with Israel, compared to their link with Arab countries. The non-Jewish historians of the study, Smith and Tessler, are criticized for the views they offer on the Israel/Palestine question, by pro-Israeli organizations such as Campus Watch and CAMERA. Bickerton, who co-authored his book with a Jewish scholar, is the only non-Jew who escaped such criticism. Nothing has been found, in Campus Watch or CAMERA records, of such an attack on their Jewish counterparts who feature in this study.

The main analyses of this study, textbook analysis and context analysis, have been conducted to provide some answers to the questions of 'how' and 'why' in the research: 'How the knowledge of history of the Israel/Palestine question is presented in Western academia, and why it has been presented in that particular way'. The results of the first analysis, textbook analysis, support the claim that the textbook knowledge on the question is mainly pro-Israeli in bias. In relation to the question "why", the analysis offers the 'Jewish pro-Israeli producer' as the main factor that can explain that bias in the products. Another factor is identified in this analysis as well; the relevant knowledge has been

produced in a particular, American or Israeli, national and educational environment. One needs to take into consideration that the US is the most pro-Israeli country in the world, to grasp the real dimensions of the social, national, and educational environments that govern the production of these textbooks. It is equally significant to take into account the fact that there is no place in that context for the views of the other side, the Arabs, or the views of less pro-Israeli countries in the West as influences on the related processes. This thesis supports the idea that the dominant knowledge in Western academia, on the history of the Israel/Palestine question, is produced under the influence of an Israeli/American context.

The findings of this study can open a discussion about the grave consequences that such a state of affairs can have at the practical level. Knowledge itself can be regarded as the first victim. Western knowledge is credited with being objective and dispassionate when compared with other bodies of knowledge in the world. The results of this study might undermine this idea; it is quite politicized when it comes to Israel. This problem cannot be discounted as an unavoidable social bias that no one/society can escape; it is involved in undermining a fundamental quality of Western knowledge; Western knowledge flourished when the fundamentalist religious ideas about the world were abandoned by scholars who replaced them with a scientific and objective method of producing knowledge. This tradition is still powerful in the West and governs its academia. The results of this study demonstrate that Western knowledge, when it comes to the Israel/Palestine question, is influenced heavily by the fundamental ideas of the biblical stories. These stories, in the history of the question, are taken as scientific facts as shown in the analysis.

Education is another area of practical consequences for the results of this research. Textbooks are taken, in this study, to represent knowledge but they can represent education as well. Some relevant points made in the first chapter, that introduce the textbook as a central player in education, are recalled here; The relevant literature supports the argument that instructors rely on and believe in textbooks as “the principal source of knowledge” (S. Foster 2006b, 157). Students, who are the main consumers of this medium, commonly regard a textbook’s content as ‘important’ and ‘true’. Textbooks occupy a dominant

position in educational activities; one source (Airasian 1994, 793) refers to 'up to 75 percent' as a figure which represents the proportion of influence assumed by the textbook in those activities. There are many references to its position as 'dominant' and its influence as 'profound' in education (for instance Buckingham 1960, 1518; S. Foster 2006b, 157). The textbook appears closer than any other educational tool to assuming the position of determining what students learn. It contributes significantly to shaping their views about the world (S. Foster 2006a, ix). In doing so, textbooks approach the position similar to that of a "holy book". They place the presented knowledge above suspicion as religious rituals do (Keith Crawford 2003b, 48). Furthermore, their status as a textbook is determined by a hierarchy in education. As a result, the findings of this study can support the idea of a pro-Israeli treatment of the question in Western higher education. The results of the literature review suggest that the situation in lower level education, schools, is worse. Some studies of that level introduce the school textbooks as pro-Israeli biased when compared with the dominant scholarly works, accepted in these studies as objective knowledge.

The presented ideas about the dominant role of textbooks in education can refer to the fact that the consequences of a pro-Israeli textbook can be grave. They reveal what knowledge students receive about the Israel/Palestine question. This, in turn, can exhibit the influential power of certain powerful elites to manipulate knowledge of the question. It can display how scientific knowledge is undermined by political and ideological motivations. It exhibits how the governing standards of teaching history are damaged in this case, where differentiating idea from fact is articulated as a main objective; 'There are some objectives assumed for teaching history such as: knowledge and facts, understanding, and critical thinking to realize the difference between fact and idea'(Blisshen 1969 History, teaching of).

Textbook knowledge does not only influence students; it has a wider impact on society as a whole. This case constitutes the third level of the practical consequences of biased knowledge. Textbook knowledge has a profound impact on social beliefs and ideas. This influence is compared, in this sense, with that of holy books. Historical knowledge, compared with other bodies of knowledge, has a particular power, enabling it to play a central role in society;

presenting the past through history contributes significantly to controlling the present and shaping the future (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6). What people receive and believe as the past is able to produce huge social energy; it can make people die for a cause or kill for it (S. Foster and Crawford 2006, 6). Public opinion is informed and formed by knowledge. Public opinion is translated into public policy in democracies. Holsti makes a valuable contribution in this field through his idea of the 'belief system' (Holsti 1962). This system determines, he argues, how leaders take decisions and develop a policy, foreign policy for instance;

'In a democracy, leaders must be responsive to the views of their constituents and thus, leaders' belief systems are linked with those of the public. For example: if the people of the United States believe that inhabitants of the Middle East are terrorists, the people will support policies within the U.S. that reflect that, and they will be unlikely to support aid and policies friendly towards the Middle East. Even enlightened leaders will have to respond to these demands or face electoral defeat. Thus the belief systems of ordinary people are crucial to understand' (Brockway 2007, 4).

Holsti elaborates how this national state is related to international conflicts: 'The relationship of national images to international conflict is clear: decision-makers act upon their definition of the situation and their images of states — others as well as their own. These images are in turn dependent upon the decision-makers' belief system. And these may or may not be accurate representations of "reality" (Holsti 1962). He concludes that for resolving conflicts it is necessary to correct the erroneous image of others. This theory can explain how biased knowledge on the Israel/Palestine question can form biased and erroneous public opinion. This biased public opinion, in turn, will influence Western policy towards the question.

The findings of this thesis suggest some points on the theoretical level; this study, as mentioned earlier, is conducted to test the theory of Western support of Israel in a novel area i.e. knowledge. The results support the conclusion that Western treatment of the question in this field, academic knowledge, is biased, as it is in other areas of Western treatment of the question that have been

investigated by earlier studies. How the impact of biased knowledge works in education and in wider public opinion has just been mentioned: it influences Western policy towards the Israel/Palestine question. As a result, this case of biased Western treatment, the biased knowledge, has the capacity to work as an explanatory factor for the whole problem as well; it might explain why the West supports Israel. This enables this study to propose, while not proving it, a theory in this regard; biased knowledge is the main reason, or one of the most important reasons, for the support of Israel by Western countries.

Another theoretical implication of the results of this research is related to Western knowledge. This study confirms that Western knowledge on the question is biased. This might be attributed to a general problem in History, as an academic discipline, and the Social Sciences, where all historical narratives in general and national histories in particular are considered biased from one perspective. But it might refer, also, to a bigger and particular problem. Western knowledge on the Israel/Palestine question might represent an exception, an exceptional level of bias in Western academia. This study has not been conducted to assess this hypothesis. Such assessment is left to those who are familiar with other areas of bias in Western knowledge including national, racial and sexual bias, to those who can compare different existing levels of bias in the West. This study suggests, at the same time, that such a theory about a particular and exceptional bias in this area of Western knowledge can be taken into consideration. One finding of this study, the fundamentalist nature of the relevant knowledge on Israel/Palestine history, where fundamental texts, at odds with the governing values of Western science, are taken as factual statements, can support such a theory.

The last theoretical implication of this research can enforce the previous relevant point i.e. the exceptional nature of Western scholarly treatment of Israel. This point is related to the general theory of the relationship between the history produced and the historians, the producers. The findings of this study support the idea that historians produce histories that are in agreement with their background. Pro-Israeli historians, in this case, produced pro-Israeli histories. This conclusion supports the historical theory on the relationship between history and historians. There are, however, relevant considerations

that limit such support. These considerations introduce the pro-Israeli historians as exceptional historians and not normal ones. There are reasons for such an assertion; first of all pro-Israeli historians are aware that without a historical justification of the Zionist involvement in Palestine the whole legitimacy of Israel is in danger. Israel might constitute the only case in the international community whose legitimacy faces such a grave challenge. Secondly, they undoubtedly know that without effective Western support Israel cannot survive. Again, this is not a common reality in the world. There are governments, here and there, that might not survive without Western support but in Israel's case this survival is related to the very existence of a Jewish state. The third reason is related to the image that pro-Israeli scholars carry about the Jewish question and the outside world. Zionism was born out of the idea that the outside world is hostile to Jews, and Jews need a refuge of their own to survive. The holocaust is taken by them as evidence that there is a powerful tendency in the world at large, to annihilate the Jews as a people. They consider, accordingly, the existing resistance to the occupation of Palestine, as efforts by anti-Semite forces to destroy this sole refuge of the Jewish people. It is understandable why, with such an image in mind, they promote the version of history they do. The case, for them, is a case of life and death. They, consequently, might use whatever is at hand to advance a history that guarantees the survival of this only 'sole refuge'. These considerations, hence, might differentiate them from other/normal historians. Normal historians produce bias when they are engaged in writing national histories, for instance. It is hard, at the same time, to perceive that their background provides such extraordinary motivations for writing self-history in this particular way.

Appendix

Table 12: All extracted syllabi from US universities¹⁴⁸

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date ¹⁴⁹	Taught Date
1	The University of Texas at Austin	Re-Forming the 20th Century Arab East ¹⁵⁰	HIS 364G MES 322K	March 22	Spring 2011
2	University of Wisconsin	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹⁵¹	Political Science 333	March 22	Spring 2009
3	University of Puget Sound	War and Peace in the Middle East ¹⁵²	IPE 180	March 22	Fall 2009
4	The University of Alabama	A: Multi-Ethnic Israel ¹⁵³	Core 174C	March 22	2011
5	Syracuse University	The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Religion, International Relations, and the Media ¹⁵⁴	PSC 600.001 MES 600.001	March 22	Spring 2011
6	University of Utah	Introduction to the History of the Middle East from 1750 to the Present ¹⁵⁵	HIST 1460 MID E 1545 UGS 1460	March 22	Spring 2012
7	University of Virginia	Government and Politics of the Middle East ¹⁵⁶	PLCP 3410	March 22	Summer 2012
8	University of California, San Diego	Representations of the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict ¹⁵⁷	COSF 188	March 22	Spring 2011

¹⁴⁸ In this table all syllabi extracted from US universities are listed. Some information about the syllabus, title of the course, code of the course, date it has been taught, name of the university, and date this information was accessed through the Internet is provided. A link to the address of the syllabus on the Internet is also produced in the footnote.

¹⁴⁹ All access dates are located in 2013

¹⁵⁰ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDoQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.utexas.edu%2Fcola%2Ffiles%2F1022375&ei=qwN4UZrUPLL50gXl6YHwAQ&usg=AFQjCNHc_O_E0HB1N6JQkXgAJBlzixfmwg&sig2=tljKDirEZPBGDck3gcNv1w&bvm=bv.45580626,d.d2k
http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDoQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.utexas.edu%2Fcola%2Ffiles%2F1022375&ei=0_B3Ub-PAqnM0QWhqoGYCw&usg=AFQjCNHc_O_E0HB1N6JQkXgAJBlzixfmwg&sig2=QjEzELVLiFuUe0hP0oc-gQ

¹⁵¹ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CEcQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdept.polisci.wisc.edu%2Fsyllabi%2F1094%2F%2520333%2520The%2520Arab-Israeli%2520Conflict.doc&ei=MWhMUfXnLMi00QXEiIHQCg&usg=AFQjCNG5Mo_zi9ILzmPA9tovJgZ6r6JocA&sig2=K_-XkBkfQOd-v830qEdDGg

¹⁵² <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=7&ved=0CF0QFjAG&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwebpace.pugetsound.edu%2Ffaculty%2Fbillman%2F1syllabus180Fall2009.doc&ei=MWhMUfXnLMi00QXEiIHQCg&usg=AFQjCNGiQM5YHJmSVcemgXHaLTeUUIgb1Q&sig2=WEGNzv0ZKIWLvWtAshP8rQ>

¹⁵³ http://daniel.j.levine.people.ua.edu/uploads/1/3/4/9/13498793/syllabus_-_multi-ethnic_israel_-_3_feb_2011.pdf

¹⁵⁴ <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/melman/pdfs/Elman%20M%20PSC%20600,%20Israeli-Palestinian%20Conflict,%20Spring%202011.pdf>

¹⁵⁵ https://www.humis.utah.edu/humis/docs/organization_298_1326237497.pdf

¹⁵⁶ http://www.ise.virginia.edu/syllabi/A12/Barghothi_PLCP3410_GovtandPolitics.pdf

¹⁵⁷ <http://communication.ucsd.edu/courses/cosf-188/cosf-188-s-11.html>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
9	University of Florida	The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ¹⁵⁸	NA	March 22	Fall 2009
10	University of Florida	Israelis and Palestinians ¹⁵⁹	Jewish Studies 16740000	March 22	Fall 2012
11	University of Notre Dame	Comparative Conflict Regulation: Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka ¹⁶⁰	POLS 34557	March 22	Fall 2011
12	University of Utah	Introduction to the History of the Middle East from 1750 to the Present ¹⁶¹	HIST 1460 MIDE 1545 UGS 1460	March 22	Spring 2010
13	University of Wisconsin	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹⁶²	Political Science 631	March 22	Spring 2013
14	Brandeis University	Sociology of the Israeli-Palestinian Confrontation ¹⁶³	Sociology 157a	March 22	Spring 2007
15	San Francisco State University	International Political Economy ¹⁶⁴	IR/PS312	March 22	2010
16	Columbia College Chicago	Middle Eastern History and Culture ¹⁶⁵	49-1504-01/MW	March 22	Spring 2008
17	University of Wisconsin	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹⁶⁶	Political Science 631	March 22	Spring 2011
18	University of Wisconsin	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹⁶⁷	Political Science 333	March 22	Spring 2008
19	University of Florida	Israelis and Palestinians ¹⁶⁸	NA	March 22	Spring 2013
20	University of Florida,	Ethnic Conflicts in Comparative Perspective ¹⁶⁹	SYA7933, section 1370 POS 6933, section 04H1	March 22	Fall 2011

¹⁵⁸ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=14&ved=0CF4QFjADOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fplaza.ufl.edu%2Ftsorek%2Farticles%2FSyllabus%2520IP%2520fall%252009.doc&ei=V3hMUa_nGOnX0QXHkoDoBg&usq=AFQjCNE7JNJUV175nlg2iqEEuM9IAhF_sw&sig2=_os_4oVsJimbJ7gLvDCR4Q

¹⁵⁹ http://fora.ua.ufl.edu/docs/47//21Feb12//UCC_21Feb12_JST3XXX.pdf

¹⁶⁰ http://www3.nd.edu/~ndlondon/ug/FA11_syllabi_web/Syllabus_FA11_POLS34557.pdf

¹⁶¹ <http://www.humis.utah.edu/humis/syllabi/Syllabus1257176544.pdf>

¹⁶² <http://jewishstudies.wisc.edu/jewishstudies/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Political-Science-631-The-Arab-Israeli-Conflict1.pdf>

¹⁶³ <http://www.brandeis.edu/departments/sociology/syllabi/Spring2007/Soc157aSyllabus-Spring2007.pdf>

¹⁶⁴ <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/aymouke/syllabi/ir-312.htm>

¹⁶⁵

https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=21&ved=0CDwQFjAAOBQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Foasis.colum.edu%2Ffics%2FPortlets%2FICS%2FHandoutportlet%2Fviewhandler.ashx%3Fhandout_id%3D11eb46e1-4bc1-473c-8ffc-eff4c8107437&ei=LlxMUc_IOMir0AWdjYHIDg&usq=AFQjCNESS_UaIUGBU1RszeN-liRUHVrgZg&sig2=CqyKlfpFsHfNO4avtbfq&cad=rja

¹⁶⁶ <http://dept.polisci.wisc.edu/syllabi/1114/PS%20631%20Arab-Israeli%20Conflict%20Spring.pdf>

¹⁶⁷ <http://dept.polisci.wisc.edu/syllabi/1084/333.pdf>

¹⁶⁸ <http://plaza.ufl.edu/tsorek/articles/IPconflict.pdf>

¹⁶⁹ <http://plaza.ufl.edu/tsorek/articles/ethnic.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
21	Portland State University	Introduction to the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Peace Process ¹⁷⁰	PS 362U	March 22	Winter 2010
22	University of Mary Washington	The History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ¹⁷¹	HIST-385-13654	March 22	Spring 2012
23	Georgia State University	Through the Looking Glass: Perceptions and Misconceptions of Israeli-Arab Relations ¹⁷²	PERS2001	March 22	2011 Spring
24	Brigham Young University	International Conflict Bargaining and Management ¹⁷³	B140 JFSB	March 22	NA
25	The University of Southern California	International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East ¹⁷⁴	IR 362	March 22	Spring 2011
26	University of Wisconsin-Whitewater	Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1900-Present ¹⁷⁵	HIST 338	March 22	Fall 2007
27	The College of Wooster	Modern Middle East ¹⁷⁶	Hist 227	March 22	Fall 2011
28	University of South Carolina	The History of Zionism and the State of Israel ¹⁷⁷	NA	March 22	Fall 2009
29	University of Northern Colorado	Conflict in the Middle East ¹⁷⁸	PSCI 325–001	March 22	Spring 2012
30	Nazareth College	Conflict and Crisis in the Middle East ¹⁷⁹	HIS/PSC 309G PII	March 22	Fall 2007
31	University of San Francisco	International Relations of the Middle East ¹⁸⁰	Politics 354	March 22	Spring 2006
32	Southern Connecticut State University	Narrating the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ¹⁸¹	JST 110	March 22	NA

¹⁷⁰ <http://www.pdx.edu/sites/www.pdx.edu.sociologyofislam/files/Lindsay%20Benstead%20Arab%20Israeli%20Conflict%20362.pdf>

¹⁷¹ http://www.academia.edu/1749233/Arab-Israeli_Conflict_Syllabus_Spring_2012

¹⁷² http://www.academia.edu/1788849/Syllabus_Through_the_Looking_Glass_Perceptions_and_Misconceptions_of_Arab-Israeli_Relations

¹⁷³ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/Sp08/Blimes_379R_Sp08.pdf

¹⁷⁴ http://www.wrigley.usc.edu/assets/sites/32/docs/362_Spring_2011.pdf

¹⁷⁵ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&ved=0CGAQFjAEOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Facadaff.uww.edu%2FUCC%2F2006-07%2F012607%2FHISTORY338.doc&ei=MihPUabFAeS40QWlhYH4CA&usg=AFQjCNFbaAXEgAHuadyNtPYeZcvx2ELjIA&sig2=Vk_i6f7VLUJut-1wzRRL4g

¹⁷⁶ <http://middleeast.voices.wooster.edu/syllabus/>

¹⁷⁷ <http://artsandsciences.sc.edu/jstp/courses/Kerenji.HIST492H.Fall.2009.pdf>

¹⁷⁸ http://www.unco.edu/PSCI/current/sp12_syllabi/PSCI%20sp12%20syl%20pdfs/PSCI_325_reading_list_blair_sp12.pdf

¹⁷⁹ <http://www-pub.naz.edu:9000/~psc309/index.htm>

¹⁸⁰ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=27&ved=0CGsQFjAGOBQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fisnet.ccit.arizona.edu%2Fsections%2Ffpa%2Fsyllabi%2FNew_2009%2FIRME_2006.doc&ei=djNPUYqsKu-mOwXciYgWdW&usg=AFQjCNGSC0GfRtkfS9pCJF1E9ZF_hG5z3g&sig2=6fQj058X8gBmT7BxviUIvQ

¹⁸¹ http://www.academia.edu/1748524/Narrating_the_Israeli-Palestinian_Conflict

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
33	Oberlin College	Emergence of the Modern Middle East ¹⁸²	Hist-122	March 22	2012
34	University of Colorado Boulder	International Behavior: Conflict Bargaining and Management ¹⁸³	PSCI 3193	March 22	Fall 2006
35	University of Wyoming	Historical Methods: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ¹⁸⁴	History 3020-1	March 22	Spring 2011
36	Swarthmore College, Department of History	History of the Modern Middle East from the Ottomans to the Iraq War ¹⁸⁵	History 6b	March 22	Fall 2009
37	Clark College	Geopolitics of the Middle East ¹⁸⁶	GEOG/PO SC 220	March 22	Spring 2011
38	Columbia University	Civil Wars and Peace Settlements ¹⁸⁷	INAF U8869	March 22	Fall 2008
39	University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Department of Political Science	International Relations of the Middle East and North Africa ¹⁸⁸	POLITICAL SCIENCE 405K	March 22	Fall 2009
40	Penn State University	Introduction to the Middle East ¹⁸⁹	HIST 181, Section 1	March 22	August 24, 2009
41	California State University, Northridge	Israel's History and Peoples ¹⁹⁰	JS 427	March 22	Fall 2013
42	Wofford College	Modern Middle East ¹⁹¹	HIS 391	March 22	2008
43	Clark College	Geopolitics of the Middle East ¹⁹²	GEOG/PO SC 220	March 22	Winter 2012
44	University of California, Berkeley	History of the Middle East from the 18th Century: From Ottoman Rule to the Arab Spring ¹⁹³	History 109C	March 22	Fall 2012

¹⁸² <http://new.oberlin.edu/dotAsset/3867199.pdf>

¹⁸³ <http://sobek.colorado.edu/~blimes/3193.pdf>

¹⁸⁴ http://www.uwyo.edu/history/_files/documents/syllabi/kampsyllabushist3020spr2011.pdf

¹⁸⁵ <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Documents/academics/history/F09%206b%20Syllabus.pdf>

¹⁸⁶

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=34&ved=0CFMQFjADOB4&url=http%3A%2F%2Fweb.clark.edu%2Fpcole%2Fsyllabi%2FGEOG%2FSp11%2FGEOGPOLS220_1DL_Kheirabadi_Sp11_syl.docx&ei=dT1PUeakCsup0AXMkIA4&usg=AFQjCNFJ2s4rL_1iOxcnluoUac2P1MZIBg&sig2=D8f_sKLEHRBoLGyXIsHDNw

¹⁸⁷ <http://www.columbia.edu/~sa435/SevCW08.pdf>

¹⁸⁸ http://liberalarts.unlv.edu/Political_Science/Syllabi/Fall%202009/PSC%20405KTamadonfar.pdf

¹⁸⁹ http://www.altoona.psu.edu/upload/syllabi/fa09_hist181001.pdf

¹⁹⁰

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=43&ved=0CF4QFjACOCg&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.csun.edu%2F~cohumcur%2FJS%2FNC_JS_427_11_29_11.doc&ei=uU1PUfrMN4PD0QXwnoCYAQ&usg=AFQjCNGCMotpYLS0XgN6Zr0Zafiktzw2xQ&sig2=0KBFnj2vffPJkluj_bAzfa

¹⁹¹ <http://webs.wofford.edu/whisnantcj/his391/bibliography.htm>

¹⁹² http://web.clark.edu/pcole/syllabi/GEOG/W12/GEOG_POLS_220_1DL_Kheirabadi_W12_syl.pdf

¹⁹³

<http://history.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/syllabus/109C%20Syllabus%20T%20W%20Hill%20Final.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
45	Lincoln Memorial University (LMU)	Middle Eastern Civilizations ¹⁹⁴	HIST 495	March 22	Spring 2006
46	Columbia University Department of Political Science	Politics of the Middle East and North Africa ¹⁹⁵	W4445x	March 22	Fall 2011
47	University of California, San Diego	Middle East in the Twentieth Century ¹⁹⁶	HINE 118	March 22	Spring 2011
48	California Lutheran University	The History and Politics of the Modern Middle East ¹⁹⁷	History/Political Science 384	March 22	Fall 2008
49	Brigham Young University	International Conflict Bargaining and Management ¹⁹⁸	PI Sc 379r	March 22	
50	Ithaca College	Seminar: Law, Nation and Occupation: Israel and Palestine ¹⁹⁹	310-40100-03	March 22	2005
51	The University of Georgia	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁰⁰	HIST 4580	March 22	Fall 2012
52	Kent State University	Oil, Suicide Bombers, & the Veil: Demystifying the Politics of the Middle East ²⁰¹	POL 40591-001	March 22	Fall 2009
53	Brown University	History of the State of Israel - 1948 to the Present ²⁰²	JUDS1981Q	April 10	Fall 2012
54	Boston University	The History of Israel ²⁰³	CAS. HI. 392	April 10	Spring 2012
55	New York University	World Cultures: Modern Israel ²⁰⁴	MAP V55.0537	April 10	Fall 2009
56	Loyola Marymount University	Modern Israel ²⁰⁵	JWST 398 /POLS 495	April 10	Spring 2012

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http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=49&ved=0ClwBEBYwCDgo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.lmunet.edu%2Ffactools%2Fbb%2Farchives%2FSPRING2006%2FARTS_SCIENCES%2FHUMN_FA%2FSyllabi%2FHIST495.doc&ei=uU1PUfrMN4PD0QXwnoCYAQ&usg=AFQjCNHYZQ2FqAix3oycBK_rFMprD5QKg&sig2=FhM2IfY-mRbrd3QFfDH0FQ

¹⁹⁵ http://polisci.barnard.edu/sites/default/files/inline/ps_4445me2011.pdf

¹⁹⁶ <http://history.ucsd.edu/Syllabi/Spring%202011/HINE%20118-SP11-Gheissari.pdf>

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http://www.callutheran.edu/admission/undergraduate/cal_lu/2009_spring/academics/professorial_pas/times/documents/384f08sy.pdf

¹⁹⁸ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/W09/Blimes_379R_W09.pdf

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.ithaca.edu/hs/depts/politics/courses2005/coursesf05/>

²⁰⁰ http://history.uga.edu/_syllabi/HIST4580_walde_0812.pdf

²⁰¹ <http://www.personal.kent.edu/~jstacher/docs/FINAL.MEPoliticsSyllabus.Fall2009.pdf>

²⁰² <http://www.brown.edu/Courses/uploads/JUDS%3A1981Q%3A2012-Fall%3AS01.pdf>

²⁰³ <http://www.bu.edu/history/files/2012/02/392Sprg12.pdf>

²⁰⁴ <http://map.cas.nyu.edu/docs/CP/2248/0537zweig093.pdf>

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<http://bellarmine2.lmu.edu/cds/Spring%202012/JWST/JWST%20398%2001%20SS%20Modern%20Israel-Soomekh.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
57	University of California, San Diego	The Middle East in the Twentieth Century ²⁰⁶	HINE 118	April 10	Winter 2013
58	University of California, San Diego	The Middle East in the Twentieth Century ²⁰⁷	HINE 118	April 10	Spring 2009
59	Emory University	Viewing Israel: Current Issues ²⁰⁸	MESAS 190-002	April 10	Fall 2011
60	University of California, San Diego	The Middle East in the Twentieth Century ²⁰⁹	HINE 118	April 10	Spring 2010
61	Portland State University	Sociology of the Middle East ²¹⁰	INT/SOC 483U	April 10	Fall 2009
62	The University of Utah	The Middle East Since 1914: Imperialism, Nationalism, Revolution and War ²¹¹	History 3400/6920 MIDE 3540/5540	April 10	Spring 2013
63	New York University	War and Peace in Israel and Palestine in the 20th Century ²¹²	NA	April 10	NA
64	Loyola Marymount University	Modern Israel ²¹³	Pols 398/Jewish Studies 398	April 10	Fall 2012
65	San Diego State University Department of History	Modern Jewish History ²¹⁴	HIST 488	April 10	Fall 2012
66	Loyola Marymount University	Israel and its Historical Perspectives ²¹⁵	Jewish Studies 3xx	April 10	9/13/2012
67	Fordham University	History of Modern Israel ²¹⁶	HSRG 3675-001	April 10	Spring2009

²⁰⁶ <http://history.ucsd.edu/Syllabi/Winter%202013/HINE%20118-WI13-Kayali.pdf>

²⁰⁷ <http://history.ucsd.edu/Syllabi/Spring%202009/HINE%20118-SP09-Kayal%C4%B1.pdf>

²⁰⁸ http://college.emory.edu/home/academic/course/schedules/2011/fall/section/regular/middle_eastern_south_asian/MESAS190-002.html

²⁰⁹ <http://history.ucsd.edu/Syllabi/Spring%202010/HINE%20118-SP10-Kayali.pdf>

²¹⁰ <http://www.pdx.edu/sites/www.pdx.edu.sociologyofislam/files/Sociology%20of%20Middle%20East%20Fall%202009%20Tugrul.pdf>

²¹¹ https://www.humis.utah.edu/humis/docs/organization_298_1357334033.pdf

²¹² http://www.nyu.edu/content/dam/nyu/globalPrgms/documents/florence/academics/syllabi/HBRJD-UA9800_Simoni.pdf

²¹³ <http://bellarmine2.lmu.edu/cds/Fall%202012/POLS/POLS%20398%20&%20JWST%20398%20Modern%20Israel%20%28Soomekh%20F12%29.pdf>

²¹⁴ <http://sdsu-dspace.calstate.edu/bitstream/handle/10211.10/2805/488%20%20Modern%20Jewish%20Hist%20%20Naor.pdf?sequence=1>

²¹⁵ <http://www.lmu.edu/Assets/Centers+!2b+Institutes/Center+for+Teaching+Excellence/Levitsky-Syllabus.pdf>

²¹⁶ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDkQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.fordham.edu%2Fimages%2Fundergraduate%2Fspecial_programs%2Fstudyab%2Fhistory%2520of%2520modern%2520israel%2520-

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
68	University of Texas at Arlington, Department Of Political Science	Israel Identity and the Arab-Israeli Conflict ²¹⁷	5381	April 10	Fall 2009
69	University of Texas At Arlington, Department of Political Science	Israeli Identity and the Arab-Israeli Conflict ²¹⁸	5339-001	April 10	Fall 2012
70	The University of Texas At Austin	Israel: Politics, Society, Foreign Relations ²¹⁹	GOV 365N	April 10	Spring 2010
71	University of California, San Diego	Zionism and Post Zionism ²²⁰	NA	April 10	Summer 2012
72	The George Washington University	History of Modern Israel ²²¹	History 101.17	April 10	Spring 2008
73	University of Wisconsin	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²²²	Political Science 631	April 10	Spring 2010
74	University of Wisconsin	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²²³	Political Science 631	April 10	Spring 2012
75	Brandeis University	Arab-Israeli Conflict ²²⁴	NA	April 10	Summer 2011
76	Oral Roberts University	The Rise of Modern Israel ²²⁵	HIS 473	April 10	Spring 2010
77	Oral Roberts University	The Rise of Modern Israel ²²⁶	HIS 473	April 10	Spring 2002

%2520syllabus.doc&ei=GpRIUYmhEckSOPiHgKAI&usg=AFQjCNGW6Z6rD0I-

WrNdhsN7micitPQN4Q&sig2=me5LZFuXUQUFDWr8LehQ2A&bvm=bv.44990110,d.d2k

²¹⁷ <http://www.uta.edu/faculty/bsasley/5381%20Syllabus.pdf>

²¹⁸ https://www.uta.edu/ra//real/syllabi/20816_1934__5339_syllabus.pdf

²¹⁹ <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/depts/government/courses/archive/27629>

²²⁰ http://icenter.ucsd.edu/_files/pao/global-seminars/jerusalem/Course2.pdf

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http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CD8QFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.gwu.edu%2F~history%2Fdocs%2FSchwartz_hist101.doc&ei=Rp9IUbr0HceLONiVgZAO&usg=AFQjCNGFY9brBQZbYe8FnZU1aQhtn3P_kQ&sig2=S-AbEKyBGFyHpxzC6l6Rsw

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<http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CEcQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdept.polisci.wisc.edu%2Fsyllabi%2F1104%2F%2520631%2520The%2520Arab-Israeli%2520Conflict.doc&ei=Rp9IUbr0HceLONiVgZAO&usg=AFQjCNff7Ld86a6oDqWVtHgMULOaqnkvhA&sig2=Gh0ShzkGwmlhf7-w7oet0g>

²²³ <http://jewishstudies.wisc.edu/jewishstudies/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/Political-Science-631-The-Arab-Israeli-Conflict.pdf>

²²⁴ <http://www.brandeis.edu/summer/courses/coursesyllabi/2011/nejs189a.pdf>

²²⁵ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=7&ved=0CFwQFjAG&url=http%3A%2F%2Fsyllabi.oru.edu%2F%3Fid%3D32769&ei=Rp9IUbr0HceLONiVgZAO&usg=AFQjCNEJdBEOwGH TBb1PvwZOKMgBnf6hKg&sig2=SBla7iFI40JtNQOsyvm2kA>

²²⁶

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&ved=0CGMQFjAH&url=http%3A%2F%2Fsyllabi.oru.edu%2F%3Fid%3D6286&ei=Rp9IUbr0HceLONiVgZAO&usg=AFQjCNG_UWWBviirnf TlnvN3mw2CFrTz&sig2=uiOyyOb5qKpExSjxFXAUmQ

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
78	University of California, Los Angeles	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²²⁷	POL 129	April 10	Fall 2006
79	University of Memphis	Political History of Israel ²²⁸	JDST 4820 POLS 4820	April 10	Fall 2010
80	The University of Alabama	Special Topics in Political Science: The Israel-Palestine Conflict ²²⁹	Psc 321-003	April 10	Fall 2012
81	The State University of New Jersey	Advanced Topics in Middle Eastern Politics: Arab Israeli Conflict ²³⁰	790 and 685:452	April 10	Spring 2010
82	University of Wisconsin-Whitewater	Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1900-Present ²³¹	HIST 338	April 10	Fall 2007
83	New York University	Modern Israel ²³²	MAP V55.0537	April 10	Spring 2006
84	The George Washington University	History of Modern Israel ²³³	History 3820	April 10	Fall 2010
85	Liberty University	History of the Jewish People (From Ca. 2000 B.C.E. to the Present) ²³⁴	BIBL 497-371 / HIEU 497-371	April 10	2011
86	American Jewish University Los Angeles	Israel: Socio-Political History and Analysis ²³⁵	NA	April 10	NA
87	The University of Maryland	Israel: Politics and Society ²³⁶	JWST 419X	April 10	Winter/Spring 2009
88	UC Davis	Arab – Israeli Relations ²³⁷	POL 136 and 198	April 10	2010

²²⁷ <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/syllabi/lists/120b/arab-israeli/maoz1.pdf>

²²⁸ https://www.memphis.edu/jdst/pdf/JDST_4820-001_Abosch.pdf

²²⁹ http://daniel.j.levine.people.ua.edu/uploads/1/3/4/9/13498793/ip_conflict_-_poli_sci_revise_version_-_fall_2012.pdf

²³⁰ <http://polisci.rutgers.edu/dmdocuments/PS452%20Abdel-Jaber%20syllabus%20S%2010a.pdf>

²³¹

<http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=13&ved=0CD4QFjACOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Facadaff.uww.edu%2FUCC%2F2006-07%2F012607%2FHISTORY338.doc&ei=latIUaPzO9Cr0AWJ14DoAQ&usg=AFQjCNFbaAXEgAHuadyNtPYeZcvx2ELjiA&sig2=viAV0pWHdNCfphavj5FTEg>

²³² <http://map.cas.nyu.edu/docs/CP/2252/zweigspring2006.pdf>

²³³

<http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=17&ved=0CFwQFjAGOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdepartments.columbian.gwu.edu%2Fhistory%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fu9%2FHist%25203820%2520syllabus%2520FA%252010%2520.doc&ei=latIUaPzO9Cr0AWJ14DoAQ&usg=AFQjCNGqZGLxnDHOV9eMFO4TwplwsfKVQ&sig2=gdkBxYpsKdyKBoNe94-H5w>

²³⁴

<http://www.liberty.edu/media/1144/pdf/History%20of%20the%20Jewish%20People%20INTENSIVE%20-%20UNDERGRADUATE%20Syllabus.pdf>

²³⁵ <http://currentstudents.ajula.edu/assets/0/68/76/104/856/9e9a064b-ad72-4da6-afc7-6f4d913becc7.pdf>

²³⁶ <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/courses/spring2009/399lasensky.pdf>

²³⁷ <http://summer-abroad.ucdavis.edu/programs/syllabus/Arab-Israeli%20Relations-2010.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
89	University of Wisconsin–Madison	Israeli Politics and Society ²³⁸	Political Science 665	April 10	Fall 2007
90	University of California, Los Angeles	History of the Yishuv and Israel, 1917-1948 ²³⁹	191L	April 12	Spring 2008
91	UC San Diego	Modern Jewish Societies and Israeli Societies ²⁴⁰	Sociology 188F	April 12	Fall 2006
92	Oral Roberts University	The Rise of Modern Israel ²⁴¹	HIS 473	April 12	Spring 2012
93	American Jewish University, Department of Political Science	Israeli Politics ²⁴²	POL 251	April 12	Fall 2007
94	The University of Chicago	Seminar on Zionism and Palestine ²⁴³	Political Science 28500	April 12	Spring 2011
95	Northwestern University	Historical Background to Establishment of Israel ²⁴⁴	847/467-3896	April 12	Fall 2012
96	The State University of New Jersey	Advanced Topics in Middle Eastern Politics: Arab Israeli Conflict ²⁴⁵	790-452 and 685:452	April 12	Spring 2011
97	Wesleyan University	Political Thought and Politics of Israel ²⁴⁶	GOVT 394	April 12	Spring 2013
98	Oral Roberts University	The Rise of Modern Israel ²⁴⁷	HIS 473	April 12	Spring 2006
99	Brandeis University	History of the State of Israel ²⁴⁸	NEJS 145a	April 12	Fall 2008

²³⁸ <http://dept.polisci.wisc.edu/syllabi/1082/665.pdf>

²³⁹ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDEQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.international.ucla.edu%2Fmedia%2Ffiles%2FLavsky-UCLA-yishuv.doc&ei=Lg5oUb2THeKy0QWayoCgDQ&usg=AFQjCNGoUKw0XiGSJac4L8BmTVZFq-5oDg&sig2=UOsqC9Q0UhhIqwOuDcvew&bvm=bv.45175338,d.d2k>

²⁴⁰ http://www.academia.edu/1731687/Modern_Jewish_Societies_and_Israeli_Society

²⁴¹ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=13&ved=0CEIQFjACOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fsyllabi.oru.edu%2F%3Fid%3D36179&ei=YhNoUbi7DKO70QWY3IC4AQ&usg=AFQjCNFgqL1ygAJtZJKi50as3Jc4QMga3g&sig2=KzWZRIMxDO4Qh2R3EtYBCw&bvm=bv.45175338,d.d2k>

²⁴² http://www.ajula.edu/Media/Images/SCM/ContentUnit/fall07/POL_251.pdf

²⁴³ <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/S0013.pdf>

²⁴⁴ <http://www.northwestern.edu/class-descriptions/4480/WCAS/HISTORY/300-0/12312.html>

²⁴⁵ http://polisci.rutgers.edu/dmdocuments/PS%20452_01%20Abdeljaber%20sp11.pdf

²⁴⁶ https://iasext.wesleyan.edu/regprod/!wesmaps_page.html?crse=013459&term=1131

²⁴⁷ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=65&ved=0CEwQFjAEDw&url=http%3A%2F%2Fsyllabi.oru.edu%2F%3Fid%3D19290&ei=CCNoUcmzDa6o0AXftYQCbg&usg=AFQjCNGLVl5Um5QixCHnuaTPHXf7IfVDw&sig2=4FNWVhoQu5FrnQqPSW0B0Q>

²⁴⁸ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=71&ved=0CDAQFjAAOEY&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brandeis.edu%2Fdepartments%2Fnejs%2Fsyllabi%2Fdocs%2F2008fall%2FNEJS145aFall2008.doc&ei=wyoUYW_OOiY0AXg8IDgCw&usg=AFQjCNGjI_-V6-cqk_9AoQ5PtBYCFEu8og&sig2=uLF0KfxjzuGgBx2Z08WHgg

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
100	Brandeis University	History of the State of Israel ²⁴⁹	NEJS 145a	April 12	Fall 2004
101	Brandeis University	History of the State of Israel ²⁵⁰	NEJS 145a	April 12	Fall 2006
102	Brandeis University	History of the State of Israel ²⁵¹	NEJS 145a	April 12	Fall 2005
103	Brandeis University	Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁵²	NEJS 189a	April 12	2012
104	Brandeis University	History of the State of Israel ²⁵³	NEJS 145a	April 12	Fall 2007
105	American Jewish University	Israeli Politics ²⁵⁴	POL 270	April 12	Spring 2009
106	Emory University	History of Modern Israel ²⁵⁵	HIST 370-000	April 12	Spring 2010
107	UC Davis	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁵⁶	POL 136	April 12	Spring 2011
108	Northwestern University	Historical Background to Establishment of Israel ²⁵⁷	847/467-3896	April 12	2011
109	UC Davis	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁵⁸	POL 136	April 12	Winter 2012
110	University of California, San Diego	Government and Politics of the Middle East ²⁵⁹	Pol. Sci. 121	April 12	Winter 2010
111	Amherst College	A History of the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict ²⁶⁰	FYSE-118	April 12	Fall 2011
112	New York University Department of Politics	Israeli National Security Strategy, Policy and Decision Making ²⁶¹	G53.1732.001	April 12	Spring 2008
113	University of Wisconsin	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁶²	Political Science 333	April 12	Spring 2009

²⁴⁹ <http://www.brandeis.edu/departments/nejs/syllabi/docs/2004/NEJS145aFall2004.pdf>

²⁵⁰ <http://www.brandeis.edu/departments/nejs/syllabi/docs/2006/njes145a-f2006.pdf>

²⁵¹ <http://www.brandeis.edu/departments/nejs/syllabi/docs/2005/nejs145a-f2005.pdf>

²⁵² <http://www.brandeis.edu/summer/courses/coursesyllabi/2012/nejs189a.pdf>

²⁵³ http://www.brandeis.edu/hornstein/pdfs/syllabi/nejs145a_syllabus.pdf

²⁵⁴ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=88&ved=0CGkQFjAHOF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fcurrentstudents.ajula.edu%2FWorkArea%2FDownloadAsset.aspx%3Fid%3D2443&ei=pCloUdrOI-nJ0QXt4ICgCQ&usg=AFQjCNEt_3Og0U9DXo8siPNHJ_YPXb40eg&sig2=Unz8ctczKhGGL31o5zuntQ

²⁵⁵

<http://college.emory.edu/home/academic/course/schedules/2010/spring/section/regular/history/HIST370-000.html>

²⁵⁶ <http://psfaculty.ucdavis.edu/zmaoz/A-l%20Conflict/Spring%202011/a-i-syllabus2011.pdf>

²⁵⁷ <http://www.northwestern.edu/class-descriptions/4360/WCAS/HISTORY/300-0/22980.html>

²⁵⁸ <http://psfaculty.ucdavis.edu/zmaoz/A-l%20Conflict/Winter%202012/a-i-syllabus2012.pdf>

²⁵⁹ <http://courses.ucsd.edu/syllabi/W110/671728.pdf>

²⁶⁰ <https://www.amherst.edu/academiclife/departments/courses/1112F/FYSE/FYSE-118-1112F>

²⁶¹ http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/6106/freilich_1732_sp08_syllabus_final.pdf

²⁶² http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=143&ved=0CEEQFjACOlwB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdept.polisci.wisc.edu%2Fsyllabi%2F1094%2FSPS%2520333%2520The%2520Arab-Israeli%2520Conflict.doc&ei=eD5oUe6vGqSZ0QX_mYGoCg&usg=AFQjCNG5Mo_zi9ILzmPA9tovJgZ6r6JocA&sig2=AbikU1VkfMIVStQwwjnXUA

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
114	New York University	Cultures and Contexts: Modern Israel ²⁶³	MAP V55.0537	April 12	Fall 2010
115	UC Davis	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁶⁴	POL 136	April 12	Winter 2010
116	New York University	Cultures and Contexts: Modern Israel ²⁶⁵	MAP_UA 513	April 12	Spring 2013
117	University of Wisconsin–Madison	Israeli Politics and Society ²⁶⁶	Political Science 665	April 12	Spring 2007
118	George Mason University	Israel and Palestine: Conflict Resolution: Peace Building and Development ²⁶⁷	NA	April 12	January 2009
119	California State University, Northridge (CSUN)	Israel's History and Peoples ²⁶⁸	Hist/JS 496ih	April 12	Spring 2012
120	University of California, San Diego	Modern Jewish Societies and Israeli Society ²⁶⁹	Sociology 188F	April 12	Spring 2009
121	New York University	Cultures and Contexts: Modern Israel ²⁷⁰	MAP UA 513	April 12	Spring 2012
122	New York University	World Cultures: Modern Israel ²⁷¹	MAP V55.0537	April 12	Spring 2008
123	Oakland University	The Modern Middle East ²⁷²	History 356	April 12	Fall 2005
124	Liberty Christian University	History of the Jewish People ²⁷³	OBST 597-371	April 12	2011
125	College of Charleston	Modern Jewish History ²⁷⁴	History 359	April 12	Fall 2004
126	American Jewish University	Modern Jewish History ²⁷⁵	HIS 460.01	April 12	NA
127	California State University, Northridge	Israel's History and Peoples ²⁷⁶	Hist/JS 496ih	April 12	Fall 2009

²⁶³ <http://cas.nyu.edu/docs/CP/3878/0537zweig103.pdf>

²⁶⁴ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=164&ved=0CEYQFjADOKAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fmesa.ucdavis.edu%2Ffiles%2Fdocuments%2Flink-documents%2Fa-i-syllabus-w-2010.pdf%2Fat_download%2Ffile&ei=XEFoUe_KKseO0AWW-oCwBQ&usg=AFQjCNGO_WWkmlYtMakyo7_fe1l0eud9A&sig2=9y7ED_wQeFmM6_YFUqoZ6A

²⁶⁵ <http://map.cas.nyu.edu/docs/IO/24191/537zweigS13.pdf>

²⁶⁶ <http://dept.polisci.wisc.edu/syllabi/1074/665.pdf>

²⁶⁷ <http://globaled.gmu.edu/docs/Israe-Palest-syll-09.pdf>

²⁶⁸ <http://www.csun.edu/faculty/jody.myers/documents/HistJS496ihsyllabus2.17.12.pdf>

²⁶⁹ <http://sociology.ucsd.edu/undergraduates/documents/SOCD188FSP09SHAFIR.pdf>

²⁷⁰ <http://map.cas.nyu.edu/docs/IO/20434/537zweig121b.pdf>

²⁷¹ <http://map.cas.nyu.edu/docs/CP/2250/zweigspring2008.pdf>

²⁷² <http://www2.oakland.edu/sehs/mde2/syllabi/socialstudies/sylHST356.pdf>

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<http://www.liberty.edu/media/1144/pdf/History%20of%20the%20Jewish%20People%20INTENSIVE%20-%20GRADUATE%20Syllabus.pdf>

²⁷⁴ http://knees.people.cofc.edu/pdfs/knee_359_f04.pdf?referrer=webcluster&

²⁷⁵ <http://currentstudents.ajula.edu/assets/0/68/76/104/918/84249f63-3360-40a0-b532-1d34efe20cd4.pdf>

²⁷⁶ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=12&ved=0CDcQFjABOAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.csun.edu%2Ffaculty%2Fjody.myers%2Fdocuments%2FHistJS496ihsyllabus8.25.09.doc&ei=7mFoUaq2NuSW0AXPv4HQBw&usg=AFQjCNFsyf6dzBfh1oOE8YPQ_WZtBr1U8w&sig2=trNA3yTQnttdBDfUvhFeQ

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
128	New York University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Can It Ever Be Solved? ²⁷⁷	GA.1733.001	April 14	Spring 2013
129	University of Colorado	Israel, Its Neighbors and the Great Powers: War and Peace in the Middle East in A Comparative Perspective ²⁷⁸	NA	April 14	Fall 2007
130	Boston University	The War for the Greater Middle East ²⁷⁹	KHC HI 101	April 14	Fall 2011
131	University of North Carolina at Asheville	150 Years Ongoing Conflict : Israel - Palestine ²⁸⁰	NA	April 14	Spring 2013
132	University of California, Berkeley	Israel and the Palestinian Economy in the West Bank and Gaza: Perceptions and Realities, 1967 – 2007 ²⁸¹	Middle Eastern Studies 130	April 14	Spring 2008
133	Harvard University Harvard Kennedy School	Sixty Odd Years of Middle Eastern Diplomacy ²⁸²	IGA330M	April 14	Fall 2008
134	University of Colorado	History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁸³	IAFS/JWST 3650	April 14	Spring 2013
135	University of Rochester	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁸⁴	PSC 276, REL 284, JST 276	April 14	Spring 2006
136	Harvard University Kennedy School of Government	Sixty Years of Middle Eastern Diplomacy ²⁸⁵	ISP 335M	April 14	Fall 2007
137	American University Washington D.C.	Israel: A Mosaic of Cultures, Identities and Landscapes ²⁸⁶	SIS-303-N03 N04 & SIS-603-N03/N04	April 14	NA
138	The University of Utah	The History of the Middle East from 1945 to the Present ²⁸⁷	HIST 3420/ 5420, MID E 3542/5542	April 14	Spring 2008

²⁷⁷ http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/27054/Arab_Israeli_conflict_NYU_spring_2013.pdf

²⁷⁸ http://www.colorado.edu/IAFS/Files/077_IAFS3000-002_syl.pdf

²⁷⁹ <http://www.bu.edu/cas/files/2011/12/KHC-HI101-F11-The-War-for-the-Greater-Middle-East.pdf>

²⁸⁰ http://ncccr.unca.edu/sites/ncccr.unca.edu/files/Instructor_Handouts/Amara/Amara_Ahmad-150_Years_of_Conflict-Course_Content_and_Schedule.pdf

²⁸¹ http://emlab.berkeley.edu/users/webfac/arnon/e190_s08/syllabus.pdf

²⁸² [http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/DF15627DEF13F43B852574BF005FD549/\\$FILE/syllabus.pdf](http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/DF15627DEF13F43B852574BF005FD549/$FILE/syllabus.pdf)

²⁸³ <http://www.colorado.edu/history/chester/IAFS3650Syllabus.pdf>

²⁸⁴ <http://www.rochester.edu/College/PSC/syllabi/gluckman/PSC276.pdf>

²⁸⁵ [http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/6908f520ba8571128525734e00579e15/\\$FILE/ISP%20335M%20Syllabus%20Fall%202007.pdf](http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/6908f520ba8571128525734e00579e15/$FILE/ISP%20335M%20Syllabus%20Fall%202007.pdf)

²⁸⁶ <http://www.american.edu/sis/faculty/upload/2011SU-SIS-603-N03-4.pdf>

²⁸⁷ <http://www.humis.utah.edu/humis/syllabi/Syllabus1199724460.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
139	The University of Alabama	Religions, Politics and Cultures of the Middle East ²⁸⁸	REL 372.001	April 14	Fall 2008
140	Boston University	The War for the Greater Middle East ²⁸⁹	NA	April 14	Fall 2010
141	University of Colorado	Borderlands of Empire ²⁹⁰	History 4339	April 14	NA
142	University of Texas At Arlington	International Relations of the Middle East ²⁹¹	4370-001	April 14	Spring 2010
143	The University of Utah	The Middle East Since 1914: Imperialism, Nationalism, Revolution and War ²⁹²	History 3400/6920: MID E 3540/5540	April 14	Fall 2011
144	University of Texas At Arlington	International Relations of the Middle East ²⁹³	4370-001	April 14	Spring 2012
145	University of Washington	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁹⁴	Political Science 325A	April 14	Summer 2009
146	Wesleyan University	Cold War International Relations ²⁹⁵	GOVT120	April 14	Autumn 2011
147	New York University	Revolution and Continuity: Comparative National Security Strategies of the Countries of the Middle East ²⁹⁶	NA	April 14	Spring 2012
148	University of Missouri - Kansas City	Politics of the Middle East ²⁹⁷	NA	April 14	NA

²⁸⁸ <http://www.as.ua.edu/rel/pdf/REL372jacobsSyllabusFall2008.pdf>

²⁸⁹ <http://www.bu.edu/khc/files/2010/09/UHC-HI-101-Fall-2010.pdf>

²⁹⁰ <http://www.colorado.edu/history/chester/HIST4339Syll.pdf>

²⁹¹ https://www.uta.edu/ra/real/syllabi/13092_1934_4370_syllabus.pdf

²⁹² https://www.humis.utah.edu/humis/docs/organization_298_1309900467.pdf

²⁹³ https://www.uta.edu/ra/real/syllabi/17172_1934_4370_syllabus.pdf

²⁹⁴ http://www.polisci.washington.edu/Undergraduate/Undergrad_Courses/UndergradSummerQtr2009.pdf

²⁹⁵ <https://wesfiles.wesleyan.edu/courses/syllabi/1119-mjwilliams-013317-361.pdf>

²⁹⁶ http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/22034/ME_NS2012.pdf

²⁹⁷ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CEoQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fh.web.umkc.edu%2Fhafezm%2Fcourses%2Fpmeq.doc&ei=dRhrUY_HEcTeOuXpgYgF&usg=AFQjCNHd1fiDjEM5lf7b9JcUtJ3cCQSEw&sig2=hF4xPth5GxR3xvUxkq_i_g

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
149	University of Wisconsin-Whitewater	Special Topics in Peace and Social Justice ²⁹⁸	PAX 488	April 14	Fall 2011
150	Western Illinois University	The Modern Middle East and the Arab-Israeli Conflict ²⁹⁹	H344	April 14	2013 Spring
151	The University of Utah	The Middle East Since 1914: Imperialism, Nationalism, Revolution and War ³⁰⁰	History 3400/6920: MID E 3540/5540	April 14	Fall 2009
152	Harvard Extension School	Comparative National Security of Middle Eastern Countries ³⁰¹	GOVT E-1961	April 14	Spring 2011
153	University of Pennsylvania	The Arab-Israeli Conflict Through Literature and Film ³⁰²	History 166	April 15	NA
154	University of Colorado At Boulder	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁰³	IAFS 3000-001	April 15	Spring 2010
155	University of Michigan	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁰⁴	NA	April 15	NA
156	University of Colorado at Boulder	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁰⁵	IAFS 3000-001	April 15	Spring 2011
157	University of California, San Diego	The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ³⁰⁶	INTL190	April 15	Spring 2012
158	University of Hawaii at Manoa	Topics in Comparative Politics – ME's Contemporary Issues ³⁰⁷	POLS 307F	April 15	Summer 2013
159	Wayne State University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁰⁸	CRN 28447	April 15	2012 –13 Semester1
160	University of Pennsylvania	Arab-Israeli Relations ³⁰⁹	Political Science 398	April 15	Fall 2004

²⁹⁸http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CFEQFjAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uww.edu%2Facadaff%2Fucc%2F2010-11%2F090310%2FPAX488.doc&ei=dRhrUY_HEcTeOuXpgYgF&usg=AFQjCNEy5KliTi-pWwkk4-Um06nY2eQG4Q&sig2=j8_1JdrbmeuxwMEM_RIX7g

²⁹⁹http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=7&ved=0CGAQFjAG&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.wiu.edu%2Fcas%2Fhistory%2F344%2520spring%25202013.doc&ei=dRhrUY_HEcTeOuXpgYgF&usg=AFQjCNGIU2yuER1zA_b1KG8Zcd6EVugp9Q&sig2=gOasnwnnGoMROJcyqaqqg

³⁰⁰[https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDUQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fevuls.ugs.utah.edu%2FuploadedFiles%2FMID%2520E%25203540%2520\(since%25201914\)%2520Fall%25202009.doc&ei=YvN3UfPrJYWe0QWu1oC4Dg&usg=AFQjCNFhCsbGdh6ahVHJMI3dcO2N1rTXeg&sig2=_gg_DAj4qd78tFjQamS6YQ&bvm=bv.45580626,d.d2k&cad=rja](https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDUQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fevuls.ugs.utah.edu%2FuploadedFiles%2FMID%2520E%25203540%2520(since%25201914)%2520Fall%25202009.doc&ei=YvN3UfPrJYWe0QWu1oC4Dg&usg=AFQjCNFhCsbGdh6ahVHJMI3dcO2N1rTXeg&sig2=_gg_DAj4qd78tFjQamS6YQ&bvm=bv.45580626,d.d2k&cad=rja)

³⁰¹http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=19&ved=0CGoQFjAIOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fsites.harvard.edu%2Ffiles%2Fdocs%2Ficb.topic864784.files%2Fext%2520school%2520-%2520ME%2520NS%2520spring%25202011.doc&ei=ZB1rUY2uI4mCOOKQgJAO&usg=AFQjCNGdljYeHFuzh_PqAPut-HEBqgh2pQ&sig2=5Zqndpoy2ROyPmTV3QM3Ow

³⁰²<http://www.history.upenn.edu/courses/syllabi/hist166/powell.pdf>

³⁰³http://iafs.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/files/Syllabi/101_3000_Levey-syllabus.pdf

³⁰⁴http://sitemaker.umich.edu/kirschner/files/kirschner_arab_israeli_syllabus.pdf

³⁰⁵http://iafs.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/files/Syllabi/2111_3000_Levey-syllabus.pdf

³⁰⁶http://isp.ucsd.edu/_files/Syllabi/190_SP12_Shafir_Syllabus.pdf

³⁰⁷http://www.politicalscience.hawaii.edu/courses/syllabi/sum13/pols307f_plassecouture_sum13.pdf

³⁰⁸http://studyabroad.wayne.edu/salford_modules/modulebooklet_politics.pdf

³⁰⁹<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/syllabi/lists/120b/arab-israeli/lustick.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
161	The University of Maryland	Comparative Study of Foreign Policy ³¹⁰	GVPT 450	April 15	Summer 2006
162	Brigham Young University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³¹¹	PL SC 474	April 15	Winter 2013
163	Rhodes College	An Introduction to Selected Nationalisms and Islamist Ideologies of the Middle East ³¹²	INTS 244-1 CRN 10315	April 15	Fall 2009
164	Wayne State University	Arab-Israeli Conflict ³¹³	CRN 28447	April 15	2009 –10 Semester2
165	American University Washington D.C.	U.S. Foreign Policy toward the Middle East ³¹⁴	SIS-496.003 SIS-653.012	April 15	NA
166	Brigham Young University	Arab-Israeli- Palestinian Conflict ³¹⁵	Political Science 474-001	April 15	Fall 2003
167	Brigham Young University	NA ³¹⁶	Political Science 474	April 15	Fall 2010
168	Skidmore College	The Middle East ³¹⁷	GO 239	April 15	Fall 2010
169	Brigham Young University	Political Systems of the Middle East ³¹⁸	Political Science 357-001	April 15	Winter 2012
170	Brigham Young University	Political Systems of the Middle East ³¹⁹	Political Science 357-001	April 15	Fall 2012
171	New York University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Can It Ever Be Solved? ³²⁰	NA	April 15	Spring 2012
172	UC Davis	Diplomacy and Negotiation ³²¹	Political Science 190	April 15	Winter 2005
173	Portland State University	Introduction to Middle East Politics ³²²	PS 361U	April 15	Fall 2012
174	University of Florida	Arab-Israeli Conflict: Analysis ³²³	CPO 4401 (7384)/ JST 4905 (7440)	April 15	Fall 2007
175	New York University	International Politics of the Middle East ³²⁴	V53.0760	April 15	Fall 2010

³¹⁰ http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/courses/Summer2006/GVPT450_SU06.pdf

³¹¹ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/W13/Gubler_474_W13.pdf

³¹² <http://dlynx.rhodes.edu/jspui/bitstream/10267/4983/1/INTS%20244-01.pdf>

³¹³ http://studyabroad.wayne.edu/mis-documents/10_salford_level_2_module_booklet.pdf

³¹⁴ <http://www.american.edu/sis/usfp/upload/653-012-USFP-Towards-the-ME-Ziv.pdf>

³¹⁵ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/F03/Bowen_474_F03.pdf

³¹⁶ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/F10/Gubler_474_F10.pdf

³¹⁷ <http://cms.skidmore.edu/government/syllabus/upload/GO239sylFall2010.pdf>

³¹⁸ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/W12/Bowen_357_W12.pdf

³¹⁹ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/F12/Bowen_357_F12.pdf

³²⁰ http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/22034/Arab_Israeli_conflict2012.pdf

³²¹ <http://psfaculty.ucdavis.edu/zmaoz/diplomacy2005syl.pdf>

³²² <http://www.pdx.edu/hatfieldschool/sites/www.pdx.edu.hatfieldschool/files/PS%20361U.pdf>

³²³ <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/pjwoods/aicfall2007.pdf>

³²⁴ <http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/15214/IPMEFall2010FirstVersion.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
176	American University School of International Service (Sis)	International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program (IPCR) Peace Building in Divided Societies: The Case of Israel and Palestine ³²⁵	SIS 516.001 HURST 208	April 15	Fall 2009
177	Portland State University	Politics and Policy of the Middle East ³²⁶	PS 507 PAP 607	April 15	Fall 2012
178	University of Georgia	Comparative Politics of the Middle East ³²⁷	INTL 8315	April 15	Fall 2008
179	New York University	International Politics of the Middle East ³²⁸	V53.0760	April 15	Summer 2007
180	MIT - Massachusetts Institute of Technology	The Causes and Prevention of War ³²⁹	/17/sp11/17.42/	April 15	Spring 2011
181	Rutgers University	Contemporary Politics of the Middle East ³³⁰	790/685:351	April 15	Summer 2012
182	University of Nevada, Las Vegas	Middle East and North Africa ³³¹	Political Science 760.1	April 15	Fall 2008
183	George Washington University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³³²	PSc2476	April 15	Spring 2013
184	Emory University	Politics of the Middle East ³³³	Pols 338	April 15	Fall 2004
185	University of Michigan	International Security Affairs ³³⁴	SPP 673	April 15	Winter 2012
186	The University of Texas At Austin	Arab-Israeli Politics ³³⁵	Government 320L/MES 323K	April 15	Fall 2008
187	University of California, San Diego	Representations of the Israel/Palestinian Conflict ³³⁶	COSF 188	April 15	Spring 2010

³²⁵ http://www.american.edu/sis/ipcr/upload/sis-516_abunimer_pb-in-divided-societies-f09.pdf

³²⁶ <http://www.pdx.edu/hatfieldschool/sites/www.pdx.edu.hatfieldschool/files/PS%20507-003.pdf>

³²⁷ <http://intl.uga.edu/lowrance8315fa08.pdf>

³²⁸ http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/5397/v53.0760_erbal_sum07.pdf

³²⁹ <http://web.mit.edu/ssp/people/vanevera/1742syllabus-2011.pdf>

³³⁰ <http://polisci.rutgers.edu/dmdocuments/PS351-B6%20Sum%202012%20Weirich%20Syllabus.pdf>

³³¹ http://liberalarts.unlv.edu/Political_Science/Syllabi/Fall%202008/760-001Tamadonfar.pdf

³³² http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CEIQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdepartments.columbian.gwu.edu%2Fpoliticalscience%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fu43%2F_PSC%25202476_Stern_Spring%25202013.doc&ei=JTzUYOIGuLG0QWG9IGwDQ&usq=AFQjCNE9Zxv66Sf fyz4VpDtkstO-O20PoQ&sig2=LMN9ZNSp3STcK-l8lUNuoA&bvm=bv.45175338,d.d2k

³³³ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=19&ved=0CHsQFjAIOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fhumanrights.emory.edu%2Fdownload%2FPOLS%2520338%2520-%2520Politics%2520of%2520the%2520Middle%2520East.doc&ei=fzhsUZT1lob80QW-uICgDQ&usq=AFQjCNEKZYcm6h86r7tsfS_UZiToiM7hkA&sig2=p-fNMn2hsmDDTMz4ewgS5A&bvm=bv.45175338,d.d2k

³³⁴ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=28&ved=0CGYQFjAHOBQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww-personal.umich.edu%2F~axe%2FSyllabus%2BSPP%2B673%2BW%2B12.doc&ei=lztsUfrlGo3Y0QWvjHoDQ&usq=AFQjCNFHQlmgEZYEO3k3pygvJzM3UQq4zw&sig2=EAX6OZnQFTodlhRBOudEPw&bvm=bv.45175338,d.d2k>

³³⁵ <http://chenry.webhost.utexas.edu/aip/syl.html>

³³⁶ <http://communication.ucsd.edu/courses/cosf-188/cosf-188-s-10.html>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
188	University of Delaware	History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ³³⁷	SHL 116	April 15	Spring 2009
189	University of Michigan	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³³⁸	POLSCI 353	April 15	Winter 2002
190	University of Michigan	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³³⁹	POLSCI 353	April 15	Winter 2001
191	College of Charleston	Politics of the Middle East ³⁴⁰	POLS 324-001	April 15	Fall 2006
192	American University	International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program (IPCR) Peace Building in Divided Societies: The Case of Israel and Palestine ³⁴¹	SIS 516.001	April 16	Fall 2011
193	University of California, San Diego	Introduction To Contemporary Israeli Society and Culture ³⁴²	NA	April 16	Summer 2012
194	Johns Hopkins University	The History and Dynamics of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁴³	NA	April 16	Fall 2009
195	Emory University	History of Israeli Politics: Institutions and Society ³⁴⁴	NA	April 16	Fall 2007
196	Oberlin College	Zionism and the Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁴⁵	Hist-290	April 16	NA
197	Texas A&M University	U. S. History from 1865 to Present ³⁴⁶	History 1302.01E	April 16	Fall 2010
198	Texas A&M University	U. S. History from 1865 to Present ³⁴⁷	History 1302.01W	April 16	Fall 2010
199	University at Albany	Political Violence ³⁴⁸	TPOS 260	April 16	Fall 2012
200	American Public University System	Arab-Israeli Conflict: Contemporary Politics & Diplomacy ³⁴⁹	MILH 669	April 16	NA
201	American Public University System	Arab-Israeli Conflict: Contemporary Politics & Diplomacy ³⁵⁰	IRLS463	April 16	NA

³³⁷ <http://www.udel.edu/History/matthee/ARIS380-09.html>

³³⁸ <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/saa/publications/courseguide/winter/archive/w02final/450.html>

³³⁹ <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/saa/publications/courseguide/winter/archive/winter01cg/450.html>

³⁴⁰ http://sacsarchive.oiep.cofc.edu/documents/syllabi-fall/s067_POLS324001_Creed_J.pdf

³⁴¹

http://www.american.edu/sis/ipcr/upload/SIS_516_001_PeacebuildingInDividedSocieties_AbuNimer_F11.pdf

³⁴² http://icenter.ucsd.edu/_files/pao/global-seminars/jerusalem/Course1.pdf

³⁴³ http://krieger.jhu.edu/internationalstudies/PDF/191.335_Fall_2009.pdf

³⁴⁴ <http://ismi.emory.edu/home/assets/syllabi/H385004HistIsrlPol.pdf>

³⁴⁵ <http://new.oberlin.edu/dotAsset/3867227.pdf>

³⁴⁶ <http://www.tamuc.edu/academics/cvSyllabi/syllabi/201080/82858.pdf>

³⁴⁷ <http://www.tamuc.edu/academics/cvSyllabi/syllabi/201080/82859.pdf>

³⁴⁸ <http://www.albany.edu/rockefeller/syllabi/fall2012/Fall%202012/TPOS%20260%20Asal%20fall%202012.pdf>

³⁴⁹ <http://www.amu.apus.edu/sebin/w/w/MILH669-Arab-Israeli%20Conflict%20Contemporary%20Politics%20and%20Diplomacy.pdf>

³⁵⁰ <http://www.apu.apus.edu/sebin/g/y/IRLS463%20Arab-Israeli%20Conflict%20Contemp%20Politics%20and%20Dip.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
202	Mount Holyoke College	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁵¹	IR 318	April 16	Fall 2003
203	UC Davis	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁵²	NA	April 16	Winter 2008
204	Brown University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁵³	JS110 / PS 182 Sec 27	April 16	Spring 2006
205	Tulane University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁵⁴	JWST 322-01 HISM 322-01	April 16	Spring 2009
206	Indiana University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁵⁵	JSTU-J 204	April 16	NA
207	University of Colorado at Boulder	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁵⁶	PSCI 2028-705	April 16	NA
208	Rutgers University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁵⁷	Middle Eastern Studies 685:352 / Jewish Studies: 563:383 Political Science 790:352	April 16	Fall 2009
209	San Diego State University	Arab-Israeli Relations, Past and Present ³⁵⁸	HIST 574	April 16	Spring 2011
210	University of Colorado at Boulder	History of Israel ³⁵⁹	HIST-343	April 16	Spring 2007
211	American University Washington, D.C.	History of Israel ³⁶⁰	His 343-001	April 16	Spring 2009
212	The University of Illinois	A History of Israel ³⁶¹	HIST 396	April 16	Fall 2011
213	The University of Texas At Austin	History of Israel: Politics, Society, Foreign Relations ³⁶²	40350 38940 42260	April 16	Spring 2010
214	University of California, Davis	History of Modern Israel ³⁶³	His 113	April 16	Spring 2009
215	Emory University	History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁶⁴	History 169 Political Science 169 Jewish Studies 169	April 16	Fall 2000
216	University of Virginia	Intro to Israel Studies ³⁶⁵	RELG 3559	April 16	Spring 2012

³⁵¹ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/Lasensky.pdf>

³⁵² http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/arabisraeliconflict_benporat.pdf

³⁵³ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/SteinKennethArabIsraeliConflictSeminar.pdf>

³⁵⁴ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/conflict_Naor.pdf

³⁵⁵ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/arabisraeliconflict_Tsimhoni.pdf

³⁵⁶ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/arabisraeliconflict_levay.pdf

³⁵⁷ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/conflict_Peleg.pdf

³⁵⁸ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/Relations_Meyers.pdf

³⁵⁹ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/NaomiGalehistoryofIsraelsyllabi.pdf>

³⁶⁰ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/history_Perri.pdf

³⁶¹ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/historyofisrael_seidelman.pdf

³⁶² http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/historyisrael_Nevo.pdf

³⁶³ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/historymodernisrael_benporat.pdf

³⁶⁴ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/Steinhispol.pdf>

³⁶⁵ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/introtoisraelstudies_shelleg.pdf

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
217	University of California, Los Angeles	Major Debates in Israeli Historiography ³⁶⁶	History 191L-2	April 16	Fall 2009
218	The University of Arizona	Modern Israel ³⁶⁷	JUS377	April 16	Fall 2009
219	The University of Arizona	Modern Israel ³⁶⁸	JUS/NES/HIST/POL 377	April 16	Spring 2008
220	The University of Texas at Austin	The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict in Palestine ³⁶⁹	NA	April 17	Spring 2007
221	United States Naval Academy	The Roots of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁷⁰	NA	April 17	Spring 2013
222	Brandeis University	Sociology of the Israeli-Palestinian Confrontation ³⁷¹	Sociology 157a	April 17	Spring 2005
223	Brown University	Zionism, Anti-Zionism and Post-Zionism: Israel - Past, Present, Future ³⁷²	JUDS 09800	April 17	Fall 2008
224	University of Southern California	Zionism, Israel and the Modern World ³⁷³	JS 214	April 17	NA
225	University of California Davis	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁷⁴	POL 129	April 17	Fall 2006
226	MIT - Massachusetts Institute of Technology	The Middle East in 20th Century ³⁷⁵	21H.615	April 17	Spring 2003
227	MIT - Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Seminar on Politics and Conflict in the Middle East ³⁷⁶	17.405 / 17.406	April 17	Fall 2003
228	MIT - Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Israel: History, Politics, Culture, and Identity ³⁷⁷	17.565	April 17	Spring 2011
229	University of Texas at Arlington	Politics and Foreign Policy of Israel ³⁷⁸	4371-001	April 17	Spring 2013

³⁶⁶ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/majordebates_likhovski.pdf

³⁶⁷ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/modernisrael_talshir.pdf

³⁶⁸ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/modernisrael_Aronson.pdf

³⁶⁹ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/OriginsoftheArab-JewishConflict_YoavGelber.pdf

³⁷⁰ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/ZisenwineConflict.pdf>

³⁷¹ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/IlmanGordonSociologyoftheIsraeliPalestinianConfrontation.pdf>

³⁷² http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/zionism_Lehman-Wilzig.pdf

³⁷³ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/syl/zionismisrael_mendelsson.pdf

³⁷⁴ <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/syllabi/lists/120b/arab-israeli/maoz1.pdf>

³⁷⁵ <http://ocw.mit.edu/courses/history/21h-615-the-middle-east-in-20th-century-spring-2003/>

³⁷⁶ <http://ocw.mit.edu/courses/political-science/17-405-seminar-on-politics-and-conflict-in-the-middle-east-fall-2003/>

³⁷⁷ <http://ocw.mit.edu/courses/political-science/17-565-israel-history-politics-culture-and-identity-spring-2011/>

³⁷⁸ https://www.uta.edu/ra/real/syllabi/24981_1934__4371_syllabus.pdf

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
230	University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire	Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁷⁹	Political Science 336/536	April 17	Winter 2006
231	The Ohio State University	Politics of the Middle East ³⁸⁰	Political Science 546	April 17	Winter 2001
232	California State University, Northridge	Israel's History and Peoples ³⁸¹	JS 427	April 17	Spring 2013
233	CUNY - The City University of New York	Transformational Moments in the Arab/Israeli Conflict ³⁸²	History 255	April 17	Spring 2012
234	Northwestern University	The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ³⁸³	Political Science 395	April 17	Winter 2012
235	Rutgers University	Israeli Politics ³⁸⁴	Political Science 790:352	April 17	Fall 2012
236	University of Alaska Fairbanks	Isaac Versus Ishmael: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ³⁸⁵	RELG F193 CRN 35734	April 17	Spring 2011
237	Georgetown University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁸⁶	LSHV-490-01	April 17	Spring 2010
238	Penn State	Society And Cultures in Modern Israel ³⁸⁷	JST/PL SC/SOC 060.001	April 17	Fall 2009
239	University of Colorado Boulder	Cultures of Israel and Palestine ³⁸⁸	JWST 4050/ANTH 4050/5050	April 17	Fall 2011
240	Georgetown University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ³⁸⁹	LSHV-490-01	April 17	Spring 2011
241	Tufts University	The Israeli Political System: A Guide to the Perplexed ³⁹⁰	PS 13808	April 17	Fall 2010
242	The George Washington University	Israeli Politics and Foreign Policy ³⁹¹	PSC 2379	April 17	Spring 2013

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<http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&ved=0CGUQFjAH&url=http%3A%2F%2Fpeople.uwec.edu%2Fbootaar%2Fcoursesyllabi%2FSYLL336%2520WINTERIM%25202006.pdf&ei=PtRuUauBLJCc0wXt9ID4CA&usg=AFQjCNFwPOO5Fc4g3EKpdaS5jr9yC2dd0Q&sig2=CFhGBZU7rcbFFISEmfPKmg>

³⁸⁰ http://polisci.osu.edu/sites/polisci.osu.edu/files/PS%20546.%202001_0.pdf

³⁸¹ http://www.csun.edu/~cohumcur/JS/NC_JS427_71612.pdf

³⁸² https://senate.qc.cuny.edu/Curriculum/Syllabi/HIST-255_2012-10-26.pdf

³⁸³ [http://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/wendy-](http://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/wendy-pearlman/documents/SyllabusPoliSci395Israeli.PalestinianConflictWinter2012.pdf)

[pearlman/documents/SyllabusPoliSci395Israeli.PalestinianConflictWinter2012.pdf](http://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/wendy-pearlman/documents/SyllabusPoliSci395Israeli.PalestinianConflictWinter2012.pdf)

³⁸⁴ <http://polisci.rutgers.edu/dmdocuments/PS352%20Peleg%20syllabus%20F%202012.pdf>

³⁸⁵ http://www.uaf.edu/files/uafgov/99-UNC_RELG-F110-IPC-revised-syllabus.pdf

³⁸⁶ [http://info.scs.georgetown.edu/pf/12/webfiles/LS%20Syllabi/LS%20Spring%202010/LSHV-](http://info.scs.georgetown.edu/pf/12/webfiles/LS%20Syllabi/LS%20Spring%202010/LSHV-490_Spring_2010_Syllabus.pdf)

[490_Spring_2010_Syllabus.pdf](http://info.scs.georgetown.edu/pf/12/webfiles/LS%20Syllabi/LS%20Spring%202010/LSHV-490_Spring_2010_Syllabus.pdf)

³⁸⁷ <http://www.la1.psu.edu/online/courses/syllabus/jst060syllabus.pdf>

³⁸⁸ <http://www.colorado.edu/anthropology/courses/documents/Fall2011CulturesofIsraelandPalestineSyllabus.pdf>

³⁸⁹ [http://info.scs.georgetown.edu/pf/12/webfiles/LS%20Syllabi/Graduate%20Spring%202011/LSHV-](http://info.scs.georgetown.edu/pf/12/webfiles/LS%20Syllabi/Graduate%20Spring%202011/LSHV-490_Spring_2011_Syllabus.pdf)

[490_Spring_2011_Syllabus.pdf](http://info.scs.georgetown.edu/pf/12/webfiles/LS%20Syllabi/Graduate%20Spring%202011/LSHV-490_Spring_2011_Syllabus.pdf)

³⁹⁰ http://ase.tufts.edu/polsci/curriculum/syllabi/Spring2011/ps138-08_Blander.pdf

³⁹¹ http://departments.columbian.gwu.edu/politicalscience/sites/default/files/u43/PSC%202379_Rynhold_Spring%202013.pdf

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
243	Syracuse University	Religion and Politics in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ³⁹²	PSC/MES/REL/JSP 300	April 17	Fall 2009
244	Emory University	History of Modern Israel ³⁹³	HIST190-02P/JS190-02P/MES190-01P	April 17	Spring 2006
245	Michigan State University	Regional Politics, Cooperation, and Conflict in the Middle East ³⁹⁴	MC324a	April 17	Spring 2011
246	University of Southern California	Third World Negotiations ³⁹⁵	IR 383	April 18	Spring 2011
247	University of Wisconsin–Madison	Israeli Politics and Society ³⁹⁶	Political Science 665	April 18	Fall 2012
248	University of California, Santa Barbara	Israeli Politics ³⁹⁷	POLS 149	April 18	Spring 2012
249	Kansas State University	Seminar International Politics of Middle East ³⁹⁸	POLSC 799	April 18	Spring 2009
250	The Ohio State University	History of Zionism and Modern Israel ³⁹⁹	History 334	April 18	NA
251	New York University	Israeli Politics and Society ⁴⁰⁰	V53.0540	April 18	Spring 2005
252	University of Kentucky	Middle Eastern Politics and Diplomacy ⁴⁰¹	DIP-755	April 18	Fall 2010
253	University of Wyoming	Modern Middle East ⁴⁰²	RELI 3220-40 HIST 3220-40	April 18	Spring 2011
254	Brown University	History of Zionism and the Birth of Israel ⁴⁰³	JUDS 0650	April 18	Fall 2011
255	Brown University	History of Zionism and the Birth of Israel ⁴⁰⁴	JUDS 0650	April 18	Fall 2009

³⁹² <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/melman/pdfs/PSC%20300%20Elman%20Fall%202009%20syllabus.pdf>

³⁹³ <http://ismi.emory.edu/home/assets/syllabi/H190ModernIsrael.pdf>

³⁹⁴ <http://jmc.msu.edu/syllabus/2.pdf>

³⁹⁵ http://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/32/docs/383_Spring_2011.pdf

³⁹⁶ <http://jewishstudies.wisc.edu/jewishstudies/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Israeli-Politics-and-Society.pdf>

³⁹⁷ <http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/hstoll/classes/polisci149/syllabus.pdf>

³⁹⁸ http://www.k-state.edu/polsci/faculty/sciftci/Sylabus_POLSC%20799_Final.pdf

³⁹⁹ <http://crmtview.asc.ohio-state.edu/currofc/docs/1613/History%20334%20Syllabus.pdf>

⁴⁰⁰ http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/5397/v53.0540_zubida_s06.pdf

⁴⁰¹ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDsQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uky.edu%2F~stempel%2FDIP755SyllabusFall2010.doc&ei=eeJvUd-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDsQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uky.edu%2F~stempel%2FDIP755SyllabusFall2010.doc&ei=eeJvUd-9N6nL0QW004C4Bg&usg=AFQjCNEyJizprdMNFyuHS7JdxBLpuTEqhA&sig2=MEHL9ZdT5PS0-mPGTJgVUQ)

⁴⁰² [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CFAQFjAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uwyo.edu%2Faward%2Fspring2011%2Fmme-reli4500-hist3220.htm-online-uw.doc&ei=eeJvUd-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CFAQFjAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uwyo.edu%2Faward%2Fspring2011%2Fmme-reli4500-hist3220.htm-online-uw.doc&ei=eeJvUd-9N6nL0QW004C4Bg&usg=AFQjCNEFZSm8Wrcx87YvwmH-fSmcyFJvjg&sig2=uTP7If5Zk7SckSI9B80CyQ)

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⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

⁴⁰⁴ [http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CDMQFjAAO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FJUDS%3A0650%3A2009-Fall%3AS01.doc&ei=BuhvUemEA-uX0QWz4oCwCA&usg=AFQjCNFwkz6tjpp_tk7ZDXWnYrI43eoBpA&sig2=hWs-erRrfbojfbSD8XpJQ)

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
256	University of Kentucky	Middle Eastern Politics and Diplomacy ⁴⁰⁵	DIP-755 PS 711-003	April 18	Fall 2008
257	Boston University	The Great Powers and the Eastern Mediterranean ⁴⁰⁶	CAS IR 325 / HI 229	April 19	Fall 2012
258	Truman State University	US Relations with the Islamic World ⁴⁰⁷	History XXX	April 19	Spring 2007
259	University of Kansas	Sociology of the Middle East ⁴⁰⁸	SOC532	April 19	Fall 2010
260	The University of Utah	Senior Seminar: The Arabs and Israel; An Endless Conflict ⁴⁰⁹	History 4990- 003	April 19	Spring 2008
261	The University of Utah	The History of the Middle East 1914-1948 ⁴¹⁰	HISTORY 3410/ 5410, MID E 3541/5541	April 19	Fall 2007
262	The University of Utah	The Contemporary Middle East: Crises and Revolutions ⁴¹¹	History 4450/6450: MID E 4546/6546	April 19	NA
263	The City University of New York	The Modern Middle East ⁴¹²	Political Science / History 3086	April 20	Spring 2010
264	Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey	Jews in the Islamic World ⁴¹³	Jewish Studies 563:308:01/ History 508:391:01 / Middle Eastern Studies 685:395:03	April 20	Fall 2011
265	Roosevelt University	International Relations of the Middle East ⁴¹⁴	POS 358	April 20	Fall 2011

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⁴⁰⁶ http://www.bu.edu/ir/files/2012/09/Syllabi_Fall2012_IR325_Goldstein.pdf

⁴⁰⁷ http://provost.truman.edu/facsenate/archive/2006-2007/April_2006/SB4905.pdf

⁴⁰⁸ <http://people.ku.edu/~andac/Sociology%20532-fall10.pdf>

⁴⁰⁹ <http://www.humis.utah.edu/humis/syllabi/Syllabus1199724527.pdf>

⁴¹⁰ <http://www.humis.utah.edu/humis/syllabi/Syllabus1187361527.pdf>

⁴¹¹ <https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CEQQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fevals.ugs.utah.edu%2FuploadedFiles%2FHIST%25204450%2520revamped%25202010.doc&ei=gX1xUbD8O8av0QWN94GYAw&usg=AFQjCNFpNFmvBoDEK20vBQuHrnH9yXS5QQ&sig2=Nt9YAwvNIrG3SmCnsVCPCw&cad=rja>

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⁴¹³ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=19&ved=0CHkQFjAIOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fhistory.rutgers.edu%2Fcomponent%2Fdocman%2Fdoc_download%2F429-508391gribetz&ei=3oNyUaaqNpCk0AXAIYHoCw&usg=AFQjCNG9xO49JncjVxpWPCDqldT1cm-oA&sig2=CavcCDuMuVHaFFHAMyUmUg

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
266	Rhodes College	Government and Politics of the Middle East ⁴¹⁵	INTS 243-1 CRN 19539	April 20	Fall 2008
267	University of California Davis	Topics in Judaism - Israel-Palestinian Encounter ⁴¹⁶	Religious Studies 124	April 20	Spring 2010
268	University of California Davis	Palestinian/Israel Film ⁴¹⁷	Religious Studies 124	April 20	Spring 2009
269	St. Lawrence University	Palestine and the Arab – Israeli Conflict ⁴¹⁸	HIS 368A	April 20	Spring 2012
270	University of California, San Diego	Contemporary Conflicts in the Modern Middle East ⁴¹⁹	HINE 119	April 20	Fall 2008
271	Oberlin College	Palestine-Israel Conflict ⁴²⁰	Politics 122	April 20	Na
272	MIT – Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Seminar on Politics & Conflict in the Middle East ⁴²¹	17.405 / 17.406	April 20	Fall 2011
273	College of Charleston	International Relations of the Middle East ⁴²²	POLS 379-001	April 20	Spring 2012
274	University of California, Los Angeles	International Politics in the Middle East ⁴²³	Government 1968	April 20	Fall 2003
275	College of the Holy Cross	Politics of the Middle East ⁴²⁴	Political Science 272	April 20	Fall 2007
276	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	Israeli Society and the Palestinians: Social and Political Perspectives ⁴²⁵	GPOL 6016	April 20	Spring 2006
277	Columbia University	Islam and Politics ⁴²⁶	POS S 4429 - D	April 20	Summer 2000
278	Emory University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴²⁷	HIST 383-000	April 20	Fall 2011

⁴¹⁴ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=20&ved=0CIABEBywCTgK&url=http%3A%2F%2Fsites.roosevelt.edu%2Fdfaris%2Ffiles%2F2011%2F11%2FFall2011IRMiddleEast.docx&ei=3oNyUaaqNpCk0AXAIYHoCw&usg=AFQjCNFogxuO14qJ4E4IF79S5754ZAlDjw&sig2=G0l_FgR2HjuR7zBS9WG1QA

⁴¹⁵ <http://dlynx.rhodes.edu/jspui/bitstream/10267/15596/1/INTS%20243-1.pdf>

⁴¹⁶ <http://religions.ucdavis.edu/archived-course-schedules/spring-2010?destination=node/76>

⁴¹⁷ <http://religions.ucdavis.edu/archived-course-schedules/spring-2009>

⁴¹⁸ http://www.stlawu.edu/academics/sites/stlawu.edu/academics/files/368_eissenstat.pdf

⁴¹⁹ <http://history.ucsd.edu/Syllabi/Fall%202008/HINE119-FA08-Provence.pdf>

⁴²⁰ <http://new.oberlin.edu/dotAsset/2705356.pdf>

⁴²¹ [http://web.mit.edu/polisci/people/faculty/syllabus/Choucri.17.405-](http://web.mit.edu/polisci/people/faculty/syllabus/Choucri.17.405-406_Fall%202011.Updated%20October%2024.pdf)

⁴²² [http://polisci.cofc.edu/pv_obj_cache/pv_obj_id_88AC94F5E739067D5163C4D89C6B089C8ACC0100/f](http://polisci.cofc.edu/pv_obj_cache/pv_obj_id_88AC94F5E739067D5163C4D89C6B089C8ACC0100/filename/379creed-s12-1.pdf)

⁴²³ <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/syllabi/lists/120b/arab-israeli/saivetz.pdf>

⁴²⁴ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=6&ved=0CFkQFjAF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fcollege.holycross.edu%2Ffaculty%2Fvlangohr%2FME%2520Pol%2520F07%2520syllabus.doc&ei=86dyUevsO62g0wXt4YHoBA&usg=AFQjCNFkDhLJlJixpmynoRTli2gYmvmQOQ&sig2=kq_bSYE87LdRjp9aH_542A

⁴²⁵ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=7&ved=0CGAQFjAG&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.unc.edu%2F~kurzman%2FMideastSociology%2FRam_Syllabus_2006.doc&ei=86dyUevsO62g0wXt4YHoBA&usg=AFQjCNFzF7WzSA3sytoxqVu9Egfc0EKb-Q&sig2=rzki0HTj3AqHUECJWifBw

⁴²⁶ http://www.columbia.edu/~ljb34/islam_and_pol/summer.html

⁴²⁷

<http://college.emory.edu/home/academic/course/schedules/2011/fall/section/regular/history/HIST383-000.html>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
279	Heidelberg University	The CIA Declassified: The 1973 Arab-Israeli War ⁴²⁸	HNR 103-20	April 20	Spring 2013
280	Oakland University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴²⁹	History 357/557	April 20	Winter 2008
281	Rowan University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴³⁰	NA	April 20	Spring 2011
282	Brandeis University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴³¹	NEJS 189a	April 20	Fall 2005
283	Emory University	Israeli Society and Politics ⁴³²	HIST 385	April 20	Spring 2012
284	University of Wisconsin-Whitewater	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴³³	History 338	April 20	Spring 2011
285	University of West Georgia	Arab Israeli Conflict ⁴³⁴	POLS4985/5985	April 20	Summer 2012
286	DePaul University	Global Connections of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴³⁵	INT 150	April 20	Fall 2012
287	Haverford College	Modern Mediterranean History ⁴³⁶	H117B	April 20	Spring 2009
288	American University	U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East ⁴³⁷	SIS- 419-048	April 20	Spring 2013
289	New York University	World Cultures: Nations and Nationalism: Islam, Jews, and the West ⁴³⁸	NA	April 20	Spring 2006
290	Brown University	The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Contested Narratives ⁴³⁹	University Course 0980	April 20	Spring 2011
291	American University Washington D.C.	Seminar: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Law and Policy ⁴⁴⁰	NA	April 20	NA

⁴²⁸ <http://people.heidelberg.edu/~moreilly/syllabus-403.pdf>

⁴²⁹ <http://www2.oakland.edu/sehs/mde/syllabi/Secon.%20Social%20Studies/HST%20357%20Syllabus%20W08.pdf>

⁴³⁰ <http://www.rowan.edu/colleges/chss/departments/history/current/syllabi-sp11/Alsys11.pdf>

⁴³¹ <http://www.brandeis.edu/departments/nejs/syllabi/docs/2005/nejs189a-f2005.pdf>

⁴³² <http://ismi.emory.edu/home/assets/syllabi/Israeli%20Society%20and%20Politics%20Ayalon.pdf>

⁴³³ <http://courses.uww.edu/Files/2111/HISTORY/HISTORY338Patterson01.pdf>

⁴³⁴ http://www.westga.edu/~gdixon/courses_c/pols4985/pols4985_aris_pack_su2012.pdf

⁴³⁵ <http://las.depaul.edu/int/docs/CourseSyllabi/INT150Fall2012Kamin.pdf>

⁴³⁶

<http://www.haverford.edu/history/kittroeff/courses/Modern%20Med%20Syllabus%20Spring%2009.pdf>

⁴³⁷ <http://www.american.edu/sis/usfp/upload/USFP-Middle-East-Spring-2013.pdf>

⁴³⁸

<http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CEQQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fhistory.fas.nyu.edu%2Fdocs%2FIO%2F5943%2FMapBerenson.doc&ei=mNRyUdiDG8PG0QXep4HACA&usg=AFQjCNGQd2LaNPC9mnKqDUAHRthK7UcjNQ&sig2=FckuGNHKQZzbNCSGm8Pogw>

⁴³⁹ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CEwQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.brown.edu%2FCourses%2Fuploads%2FUNIV%253A0980%253A2012-Spring%253AS01.doc&ei=mNRyUdiDG8PG0QXep4HACA&usg=AFQjCNEpJpkX-2yTJATW1IBUz2FNh_rHgg&sig2=AKmTb6xHSGtQtwN EoXX3aA

⁴⁴⁰ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=7&ved=0CGQQFjAG&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.wcl.american.edu%2FRegistrar%2Fcoursesapp%2Fsyll%2Fspring_2011_LAW-795-003.doc&ei=mNRyUdiDG8PG0QXep4HACA&usg=AFQjCNHH2VZE0I-1RdSdqylL744aAea3w&sig2=62EZ5aF1voTi8RbaN5-HGA

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
292	Bryn Mawr College	Case Studies of Ethnopolitical Conflict ⁴⁴¹	NA	April 20	2005 Summer
293	University of Michigan	Modern Middle East History ⁴⁴²	HISTORY 443 AAPTIS 487	April 20	Winter 2001
294	University of Colorado Boulder	Cultures of Israel and Palestine ⁴⁴³	JWST 4050 /ANTH 4050/5050	April 22	Fall 2010
295	Boston University	Israel: History, Politics, Culture, Identity ⁴⁴⁴	HI 393	April 22	Fall 2012
296	University of South Carolina	Jews & Race ⁴⁴⁵	RELG 388	April 22	NA
297	Georgia State University	Israeli & Palestinian Peacemongers ⁴⁴⁶	NA	April 22	Fall 2010
298	The George Washington University	Israeli Politics and Society ⁴⁴⁷	PSC 3192	April 22	Spring 2013
299	Duke University	War and Middle East Security ⁴⁴⁸	POLSCI - 199D.01	April 22	Fall 2003
300	University of Oklahoma	The Modern Middle East ⁴⁴⁹	Hist. 3953 Sec. 001	April 22	Spring 2004
301	Wartburg College	Modern History and Culture of the Middle East ⁴⁵⁰	HI 224	April 22	May 2011
302	Gustavus Adolphus College	Israel and Palestine ⁴⁵¹	REL-256	April 22	J-Term 2003
303	Bryant University	The Middle East in War and Peace ⁴⁵²	POLS365	April 22	Fall 2003
304	The University of Memphis	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁵³	UNHP 1100-303	April 22	NA

⁴⁴¹ <http://www.brynmawr.edu/aschcenter/asch908/si99-05/05syllabus.html>

⁴⁴² <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/saa/publications/courseguide/grad/winter/archive/W01/390.html>

⁴⁴³ <http://www.colorado.edu/anthropology/courses/documents/08.06.10FinalSyllabuFall2010CulturesofisraelandPalestine.docx.pdf>

⁴⁴⁴ <http://www.bu.edu/history/files/2012/10/393Fall12.pdf>

⁴⁴⁵ <http://people.cas.sc.edu/vehlowk/relg388.pdf>

⁴⁴⁶ http://www.academia.edu/1788848/Syllabus_Israeli_and_Palestinian_Peacemongers_GSU

⁴⁴⁷ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=46&ved=0CfcQFjAFOCg&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdepartments.columbian.gwu.edu%2Fpoliticalscience%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fu43%2FPSC%25203192W_Finkel%2520%28Israel%29_Spring%25202013.docx&ei=Q1V1Ub2eAaLB0gXD1ICwAQ&usg=AFQjCNENP_Gc4YhrWLeZSBI-lzA5Fj_cwg&sig2=d3R2jM-WusLMGVFHulOJvW

⁴⁴⁸ <http://people.duke.edu/~roshan/PS199.htm>

⁴⁴⁹ http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=11&ved=0CD8QFjAAOo&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffaculty-staff.ou.edu%2F%2FJoshua.M.Landis-1%2FMod_Mid_East_2004.doc&ei=72p1UaSgBqbB0QXjs4DoCg&usg=AFQjCNF5VTgdOfwAhjmOCSLqHhLS8oACGg&sig2=wgsDvIDFFnb5SarnhMtzg

⁴⁵⁰ http://faculty.wartburg.edu/walther/courses/hi224/h224_syl%20m11.htm

⁴⁵¹ <http://homepages.gac.edu/~wolfe/J-term/israel-2003/>

⁴⁵² http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=28&ved=0CGYQFjAHOBQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fweb.bryant.edu%2F~marshapp%2FP365syl.doc&ei=pmx1UZyOKYKc0wWS2IHgDQ&usg=AFQjCNFPEcFLfeOczwqYzxx_VNwIVObjTA&sig2=ake-VKUjDWX43i0aUEznqg

⁴⁵³ <https://umdrive.memphis.edu/jjudaken/public/Arab-Israel.html>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
305	Emory University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁵⁴	JS 169	April 22	Fall 2002
306	Tufts University	U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East ⁴⁵⁵	PS 162	April 22	Spring 2003
307	Hobart and William Smith Colleges	Introduction to International Relations ⁴⁵⁶	Political Science 180	April 22	Spring 2001
308	Emory University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁵⁷	HIST 383-000	April 22	Fall 2010
309	Juniata College	Introduction to International Politics ⁴⁵⁸	PS102	April 22	Spring 2008
310	Juniata College	Introduction to International Politics ⁴⁵⁹	PS102	April 22	Spring 2011
311	Juniata College	Introduction to International Politics ⁴⁶⁰	PS102	April 22	Spring 2007
312	University of Illinois	Psychology of Ethnic Conflict ⁴⁶¹	PSY450	April 22	Spring 2004
313	Emory University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁶²	JS 169-000/001/002	April 22	Fall 2000
314	Juniata College	Introduction to International Politics ⁴⁶³	PS102	April 22	NA
315	Juniata College	Introduction to International Politics ⁴⁶⁴	PS102	April 22	Fall 2006
316	Emory University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁶⁵	JS 169-000/001/002	April 22	Fall 2006
317	University of Colorado at Boulder	Political Economy of the Middle East ⁴⁶⁶	Econ 4999	April 22	Spring 2004
318	University of Oklahoma	The Modern Middle East ⁴⁶⁷	Hist. 3953 Sec. 001	April 22	Spring 2002
319	New York University	Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁶⁸	G53.1735.001	April 22	Spring 2010
320	University of Oklahoma	The Us in the Middle East ⁴⁶⁹	IAS 5940-001	April 22	Fall 2004

⁴⁵⁴ <http://www.js.emory.edu/undergrad/Fall2002ug.htm>

⁴⁵⁵ <http://ase.tufts.edu/polsci/curriculum/syllabi/ps162.pdf>

⁴⁵⁶ <http://people.hws.edu/beckman/pol180/syllabuspol180.html>

⁴⁵⁷

<http://college.emory.edu/home/academic/course/schedules/2010/fall/section/regular/history/HIST383-000.html>

⁴⁵⁸ <http://jcsites.juniata.edu/faculty/nagengast/PS102Spring08.html>

⁴⁵⁹ <http://jcsites.juniata.edu/faculty/nagengast/PS102Spring11syll.html>

⁴⁶⁰ <http://jcsites.juniata.edu/faculty/nagengast/PS102Spring07.htm>

⁴⁶¹ <http://internal.psychology.illinois.edu/~lyubansk/Conflict/syllabus.pdf>

⁴⁶² <http://www.js.emory.edu/undergrad/Fall2000ug.htm>

⁴⁶³ http://jcsites.juniata.edu/faculty/nagengast/intro_ip.htm

⁴⁶⁴ <http://jcsites.juniata.edu/faculty/nagengast/PS102Fall2006.htm>

⁴⁶⁵ <http://www.js.emory.edu/undergrad/Fall2006ug.htm>

⁴⁶⁶ <http://www.colorado.edu/Economics/Syllabi/spring04-syllabi/spring04-4999-006syllabus.htm>

⁴⁶⁷ <http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/L/Joshua.M.Landis-1/modmideast2002.htm>

⁴⁶⁸ http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/12734/freilich_sp10_syllabus_1735.pdf

⁴⁶⁹ http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/L/Joshua.M.Landis-1/IR_grad_2004.htm

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
321	Wartburg College	Modern History and Culture of the Middle East ⁴⁷⁰	HI 224	April 22	Fall 2003
322	MIT - Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Causes and Prevention of War ⁴⁷¹	17.42	April 22	Spring 2009
323	The George Washington University	Economics of the Middle East ⁴⁷²	Economics 295.13	April 23	Spring 2008
324	University of Missouri	Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁷³	NA	April 23	Na
325	Brigham Young University	History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁷⁴	Political Science 474	April 23	Winter 2011
326	University of California, Berkeley	Social and Revolutionary Movements in the Middle East ⁴⁷⁵	Political Science 149Z	April 23	Spring 2012
327	University of California, San Diego	The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Rashomon of Perspectives ⁴⁷⁶	138D	April 23	Fall 2006
328	The University of Vermont	International Politics of the Middle East ⁴⁷⁷	Political Science 157	April 23	Spring 2013
329	The University of Vermont	International Politics of the Middle East ⁴⁷⁸	Political Science 157	April 23	Spring 2011
330	Brandeis University	The Making of the Modern Middle East ⁴⁷⁹	NEJS 185b	April 23	Spring 2005
331	University of Nevada, Reno	Middle East In World Affairs ⁴⁸⁰	Political science 407p/607p	April 23	Fall 2009
332	University of Nevada, Reno	Middle East in World Affairs ⁴⁸¹	Political Science 407p/607p	April 23	Fall 2008
333	Lehman College of the City University of New York	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁸²	HIW 305	April 23	NA

⁴⁷⁰ http://faculty.wartburg.edu/walther/Courses/Hi224/hi224syl_f03.html

⁴⁷¹ http://ocw.mit.edu/courses/political-science/17-42-causes-and-prevention-of-war-spring-2009/readings/furthr_reading/

⁴⁷² http://www.gwu.edu/~iiep/assets/docs/syllabi/economics_of_middle_east_spring_2008.pdf

⁴⁷³ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDIQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fh.web.umkc.edu%2Fhafezm%2Fcourses%2Faic.doc&ei=zW12UYKvHMqG0AWw8oH4CQ&usg=AFQjCNGdFVqDUQ361Gf2kQcm0PTyvBC3g&sig2=vl3jilfhNBJ0s24Pbr5nyw>

⁴⁷⁴ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/W11/Gubler_474_W11.pdf

⁴⁷⁵ <http://polisci.berkeley.edu/research/courses/syllabi/2012/spring/PS149Z-SP12.pdf>

⁴⁷⁶ <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dformanb/138D.pdf>

⁴⁷⁷ <http://www2.uvm.edu/~polisci/syllabi/Spring%2013%20Syllabi/POLS%20157A%20-%20International%20Politics%20of%20the%20Middle%20East%20-%20Gause%20-%20S13.pdf>

⁴⁷⁸ <https://www2.uvm.edu/~polisci/syllabi/Spring%2011%20Syllabi/POLS%20157A%20-%20Intern%20Pols%20of%20Middle%20East%20-%20Gause%20-%20S11.pdf>

⁴⁷⁹ <http://www.brandeis.edu/departments/nejs/syllabi/docs/2005/nejs185b-s2005.pdf>

⁴⁸⁰ <http://www.unr.edu/cla/polisci/documents/PSC407pFall2009.pdf>

⁴⁸¹ <http://www.unr.edu/cla/polisci/documents/PSC407PFall2008.pdf>

⁴⁸² http://www.lehman.edu/lehman/about/senate/reports/history_march06a.pdf

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
334	The University of South Florida	Conflict in The World ⁴⁸³	INR 4083 602	April 23	Spring 2005
335	The University of Oklahoma	Relations-Mid East ⁴⁸⁴	IAS 3433 001	April 23	Fall 2007
336	Mount St. Mary's College	History of the Middle East ⁴⁸⁵	SOC 192	April 23	Fall 2003
337	Tufts University	US Foreign Policy ⁴⁸⁶	PS 165	April 23	Spring 2007
338	East Carolina University	War, Peace and Security in the Middle East ⁴⁸⁷	POLS 6425	April 23	2008
339	Brandeis University	The US and the Middle East ⁴⁸⁸	NA	April 23	Spring 2005
340	Harvard Extension School	Comparative National Security of Middle Eastern Countries ⁴⁸⁹	GOVT E-1961	April 23	Spring 2010
341	Juniata College	Introduction to International Politics ⁴⁹⁰	PS102	April 23	Fall 2010
342	Wartburg College	Modern History and Culture of the Middle East ⁴⁹¹	HI 224	April 23	May 2009
343	The Texas A&M University System	International Relations of the Middle East ⁴⁹²	Political Science 586	April 23	Summer 2010
344	University of Colorado Boulder	Political Economy of the Middle East ⁴⁹³	Econ 4999-004	April 23	Fall 2006
345	Fairfield University	Islamic Societies and Cultures ⁴⁹⁴	NA	April 23	Fall 2006

⁴⁸³ http://dspace.nelson.usf.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10806/6289/INR4083_Ravid_2005Spring.pdf?sequence=1

⁴⁸⁴ <http://www.ou.edu/honors/curriculum/newsletters/fall07.pdf>

⁴⁸⁵ <http://www.msmc.la.edu/PDFFiles/WCSyllabiarchive/Fall2003/his124fa03.pdf>

⁴⁸⁶ <http://ase.tufts.edu/polsci/curriculum/syllabi/ps165.pdf>

⁴⁸⁷

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&ved=0CGQQFjAH&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ecu.edu%2Fcs-acad%2Fgcc%2Fupload%2F10_15_08_POLS_6425_Course_Proposal_Form.doc&ei=9YF2UZDGIMis0QXZo4DgBw&usg=AFQjCNGW7QNPKtBX_s_A8_ZqRSjOzTUHN&sig2=Mcn8ClTos54uG7B7cgW-A

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http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=10&ved=0CHIQFjAJ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fpeople.brandeis.edu%2F~hoffmann%2FPapers%2FReadings%2520Class%2520US%2520Middle%2520East%2520Spring%252005%2FUS-Middle%2520East%2520Bibliography%2520Feb10.doc&ei=9YF2UZDGIMis0QXZo4DgBw&usg=AFQjCNGOOOKa2RLzdSF86MA00z55_C4dMA&sig2=2hVvpXFyBC_7Msew9fb2ug

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<http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=12&ved=0CDgQFjABO&url=http%3A%2F%2Fsites.harvard.edu%2Ffs%2Fdocs%2Ficb.topic698875.files%2FHarvard%2520extenstion%2520-%2520ME%2520NS%2520biblio%2520spring%25202010.doc&ei=MYV2UdSgB8jQ0QWahYDoCA&usg=AFQjCNF41glerQkQHLq3lQWVzD9TkVDEYg&sig2=aOq9MM3OblL6w0Lab9bZjw>

⁴⁹⁰

<http://jcsites.juniata.edu/faculty/nagengast/PS102Fall10syll.html>

⁴⁹¹

http://faculty.wartburg.edu/walther/Courses/Hi224/h224_syl%20m09.html

⁴⁹²

<http://www2.ct.tamus.edu/jeffreydixon//online/mideast.html>

⁴⁹³

<http://www.colorado.edu/Economics/Syllabi/fall06-syllabi/fall06-4999-004syllabus.html>

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http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/dcrawford/06f_islam.html

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
346	Emory University	The Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁹⁵	HIST383-000	April 23	2013
347	Emory University	Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁹⁶	POLS 383	April 23	Fall 2009
348	Washington University	Israeli Politics in Broad Perspective ⁴⁹⁷	L32 3781 Pol Sci	April 23	Spring 2010
349	Brigham Young University	History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁴⁹⁸	Political Science 474	April 23	Summer 2011
350	Emory University	History of the Near East, 1914 to the Present ⁴⁹⁹	MESAS 370	April 23	Fall 2007
351	Emory University	Land of Israel 1882-1948: Sources, Narratives, Perspectives ⁵⁰⁰	MESAS 370SWR	April 23	Fall 2007
352	San Diego State University	Arab-Israeli Relations, Past and Present ⁵⁰¹	HIST 574	April 23	Fall 2012
353	Washington University	Israeli Politics and the Arab Spring ⁵⁰²	L32 3781 Pol Sci	April 23	Spring 2013
354	Brigham Young University	International Relations of the Middle East ⁵⁰³	PI Sc 381	April 23	Summer 2010
355	Brigham Young University	Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁵⁰⁴	Political Science 474	April 23	Winter 2012
356	Millsaps College	The Twice-Promised Land ⁵⁰⁵	H.3500	April 23	Na
357	Tufts University	U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East ⁵⁰⁶	PS 172	April 23	Fall 2011
358	Tufts University	Israeli Foreign Policy and National Security ⁵⁰⁷	PS80	April 23	Fall 2006
359	College of the Holy Cross	Politics of the Middle East ⁵⁰⁸	Political Science 272	April 23	Spring 2009
360	College of the Holy Cross	Political and Social Life in the Muslim World ⁵⁰⁹	NA	April 23	Spring 2010
361	Western Illinois University	The Modern Middle East and the Arab-Israeli Conflict ⁵¹⁰	H344	April 23	2011 Fall

⁴⁹⁵ <http://atlas.college.emory.edu/fall2013/section/HIST/HIST383-000.html>

⁴⁹⁶ <http://polisci.emory.edu/home/undergraduate/schedules/2009fall.html>

⁴⁹⁷ <http://costa.wustl.edu/IsrPol/syllabus.pdf>

⁴⁹⁸ <https://syllabus.byu.edu/view/tNpNDmnUxbhk.html>

⁴⁹⁹ <http://mesas.emory.edu/home/undergraduate/schedules/fall07.html>

⁵⁰⁰ <http://mesas.emory.edu/home/undergraduate/schedules/fall07.html>

⁵⁰¹ <http://sdsu-dspace.calstate.edu/bitstream/handle/10211.10/2811/574%20Arab-Israeli%20Relations%20Naor.pdf?sequence=1>

⁵⁰² http://polisci.wustl.edu/files/polisci/imce/l32_3781.pdf

⁵⁰³ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/Su10/Nelson_381_Su10.pdf

⁵⁰⁴ https://politicalscience.byu.edu/Syllabi/W12/Gubler_474_W12.pdf

⁵⁰⁵ http://www.millsaps.edu/_resources/author_files/peace_studies_history_syllabus.pdf

⁵⁰⁶ <http://ase.tufts.edu/polsci/curriculum/syllabi/Fall2011/ps172.pdf>

⁵⁰⁷ <http://ase.tufts.edu/polsci/curriculum/syllabi/ps80.pdf>

⁵⁰⁸ <http://college.holycross.edu/faculty/vlangohr/ME%20Pol%20F09%20Syllabus.pdf>

⁵⁰⁹ http://college.holycross.edu/faculty/vlangohr/honors_syllabus.pdf

⁵¹⁰ <http://www.wiu.edu/cas/history/pdf/History344Fall2011.pdf>

No	College	Course Title	Course Code	Access Date	Taught Date
362	Oberlin College	Middle East and North Africa History (Ii): From 1800 to Present ⁵¹¹	HIST-122,	April 23	Spring 2010
363	Harvard University	International Relations of the Middle East ⁵¹²	IGA-340	April 23	Fall 2009
364	The University of South Florida	Comparative Governments/Politics of the Middle East ⁵¹³	CPO 4930 601	April 23	Fall 2005
365	The University of South Florida	Comparative Governments/Politics of the Middle East ⁵¹⁴	CPO 4930 601	April 23	Fall 2006
366	Harvard University	Middle Eastern Politics and Policy ⁵¹⁵	IGA 207	April 23	Spring 2009
367	The University of South Florida	Comparative Governments/Politics of the Middle East ⁵¹⁶	CPO 4930 601	April 23	Spring 2005
368	San Diego State University	Arab-Israeli Relations, Past and Present ⁵¹⁷	HIST 574	April 23	Spring 2013
369	Tarleton State University	International Relations of the Middle East ⁵¹⁸	Political Science 586	April 23	Fall 2008
370	The University of West Georgia	History of Modern Israel ⁵¹⁹	History 4485-25H	April 24	Spring 2005

⁵¹¹ <http://new.oberlin.edu/dotAsset/1688613.pdf>

⁵¹² [http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/517C281E44F2562685257608005681C6/\\$FILE/iga-340-syl-2009.pdf](http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/517C281E44F2562685257608005681C6/$FILE/iga-340-syl-2009.pdf)

⁵¹³ http://dSPACE.nelson.usf.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10806/5809/CPO4930_Ravid_2005Fall.pdf?sequence=1

⁵¹⁴ http://dSPACE.nelson.usf.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10806/6228/CPO4930_Ravid_2006Fall.pdf?sequence=1

⁵¹⁵ [http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/4932767B6FB4EAEC85257562007CF842/\\$FILE/syllabus.pdf](http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/degreeprog/Syllabus.nsf/0/4932767B6FB4EAEC85257562007CF842/$FILE/syllabus.pdf)

⁵¹⁶ http://dSPACE.nelson.usf.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10806/6290/CPO4930_Ravid_2005Spring.pdf?sequence=1

⁵¹⁷ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDIQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2FdSPACE.nelson.usf.edu%2Fxmlui%2Fbitstream%2Fhandle%2F10211.10%2F3612%2FHistory%2520574%2520Naor.doc%3Fsequence%3D1&ei=w792UbjmM6uQ0QWqxICoBA&usq=AFQjCNHTJTbrBZYD2QGLb0YoefID4VVADg&sig2=X3OAaly2dzAK9NW0dkUVng>

⁵¹⁸ <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=7&ved=0CF8QFjAG&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww2.ct.tamus.edu%2Fjeffreydixon%2F%2FMiddleEastSyllabus.doc&ei=w792UbjmM6uQ0QWqxICoBA&usq=AFQjCNFH-EEIG6ptKU2bBhyX7Co7HuxLPg&sig2=N6n9VNWFoJxdKyYNPx7urA>

⁵¹⁹ <http://www.westga.edu/~history/FacultyUpdated/Goldstein/IsraelsyllabusSUWG2005.htm>

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