

# The Occupation at 50: Pasts, Presents, Futures



*Image courtesy of Active Stills*

A Two Day Conference Marking 50 Years of  
Israel's Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza

11-12 May 2017

Fulton Building, University of Sussex

**SCSR**  
Sussex Centre for Conflict  
and Security Research

**US**  
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OF SUSSEX  
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THE MIDDLE EAST  
& NORTH AFRICA  
CENTRE AT SUSSEX

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Sussex Centre for  
Human Rights Research

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## About the Conference

2017 marks 50 years for the longest-standing military occupation in the world. During that time, the political, demographic, legal, economic and social dimensions of the occupation have changed dramatically – in Israel, in the West Bank and Gaza, in the region, and beyond. The two-state solution has moved from being perceived as a threat to Israel's existence, to the only possible solution, to one that is now slowly fading into the realms of an unrealistic prospect. The West Bank and Gaza, once viewed as indivisible, have taken different trajectories. Resistance has taken the form of violent uprising, civic protests and international collaboration. The legal system has been portrayed by some as the final frontier for the protection of Palestinian rights, but is seen by others as one of the main facilitators of the occupation. The terms of economic engagement have changed dramatically, from the incorporation of Palestinian labour and markets into the Israeli economy, to selective disengagement during times of upheaval, to complete removal of non-citizen Palestinians from the Israeli labour market, and to calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions. And the international community has moved from bewilderment, to active engagement, to frustration and, perhaps, to apathy.

This international conference seeks to take stock and shed light on these issues, by reflecting on the pasts, presents and futures of the occupation; on its implications not just for Palestinians but also for Israelis, and worldwide; on the multiple connections between Israel's occupation and developments elsewhere in the world; and on the distinctiveness of the occupation in global and historical context.

The conference will bring together leading Israeli, Palestinian and international speakers for two days of lively discussion and debate.

## Attendance and Registration

Attendance at the conference is free. However, pre-registration is required. To register, please go to: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/scsr/newsandevents/events/occupationat50/registration>.

Tea and coffee will be provided gratis between sessions. However, given our limited financial resources, food will not be provided (for speakers and chairs excepted). Hard copies of this programme will also not be available (except for speakers and chairs), so attendees are advised to bring their own.

## Sponsorship and Funding

The conference is sponsored by the Sussex Centre for Conflict and Security Research (SCSR), the Sussex Centre for Human Rights Research (SCHRR), the Middle East and North Africa Centre at Sussex (MENACS), and the Sussex Rights and Justice Research Centre. We are grateful to all four research centres for their generous financial contributions, as well as to the Leverhulme Trust for providing the core funding which has made this conference possible. Thanks also to Sussex's School of Global Studies and School of Law, Politics and Sociology for their support.

## Conference Committee

The conference is organised by Amir Paz-Fuchs, Senior Lecturer in Law; Jan Selby, Professor of International Relations and Director, SCSR; Jacob Norris, Lecturer in Middle East History; and Akanksha Mehta, Lecturer in International Relations. Thanks to Katy Joyce, Rachael Phelps and Alice Dale for their administrative support.

# Programme

## *Day One: 11 May*

09:30-10:00    **Coffee and Registration** (*Fulton Foyer*)

10:00-10:30    **Introduction and Greetings** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre B*)

Jan Selby, University of Sussex  
Amir Paz-Fuchs, University of Sussex

10:30 – 12:00    **Plenary Session: The Long Occupation** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre B*)

While occupations are normally thought of as temporary and short-term, the Israeli occupation is obviously an exception to this rule. What are the implications of an occupation extending over generations, for law, culture, economics, politics, and rights? In particular, the long-standing nature of the Israeli occupation has led many critics to prefer characterising it by reference to other legal and political concepts, including apartheid and colonialism. To what extent is this justified?

Chair: Amir Paz-Fuchs, University of Sussex  
Speakers: Alan Lester, University of Sussex  
Ghada Karmi, University of Exeter  
Neve Gordon, Ben Gurion University and School of Oriental and African Studies

12:00 – 13:00    **Lunch**

13:00 – 14:30    **Parallel Panels 1**

Panel A:        **Settlements** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre A*)

Today, 500,000 settlers live in the West Bank, a figure that has more than doubled in the past 20 years. Adding residents in Jewish neighbourhoods of East Jerusalem, the number passes 700,000. The number of settlers alone has led many to suggest that the occupation has reached the point of no return. In some families, three generations have been living in the settlements, sometimes on surprisingly good terms with Palestinian neighbours; while at other times, less surprisingly, relations are fractured and characterised by severe animosity. This panel asks: what is the current state of the West Bank settlement project, and what is its future?

Chair: Kamran Matin, University of Sussex  
Speakers: Marco Allegra, Universidad de Lisboa  
*Colonization by Consensus: The Birth of Ma'ale Adumim (1967-1975)*  
Yael Ronen, The Academic Centre of Law and Science  
*Until Bureaucracy Do Us Part: The Precarious Residence of East Jerusalem Palestinians*  
Ethan Morton-Jerome, University of Arkansas  
*Settler Colonialism at Work: Palestinian Labor on Settlement Plantations*

**Panel B: Palestinian Refugees and Diaspora** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre B*)

How has the Palestinian refugee and the diaspora community engaged with the occupation? The plight of Palestinian refugees living in camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel and elsewhere, is a long standing legal, humanitarian and political issue. As generation follows generation, what are the rights and interests involved, and who has the right and power to negotiate on behalf of refugees and the Palestinian diaspora?

Chair: Michael Collyer, University of Sussex

Speakers: Ruvi Ziegler, University of Reading

*Participation in Constitutive Referendums and the Palestinian Diaspora*

Ruba Salih, School of Oriental and African Studies

*Tawteen as Morphine. Palestinian Refugees and Cathartic Politics*

Jacob Norris, University of Sussex

*Which Diaspora, Which Occupation? The Politics of Palestinian Activism in Latin America*

14:30 – 14:45 **Break**

14:45 – 16:15 **Parallel Panels 2**

**Panel A: 1948, 1967 and the Occupation** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre A*)

While 2017 marks 50 years of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, for many observers, scholars and activists 1948 is at least as relevant. Israel's independence in 1948 was simultaneously the Palestinian *Nakba*, or disaster, and this places Palestinian citizens of Israel in a challenging situation. At times, they are seen as holding the key, or bridge, that may move the conflict towards peaceful resolution. At other times, they are viewed, mainly by some Israeli politicians, as an 'enemy within' who harbour conflicting loyalties and potentially even stand in the way of a permanent two-state solution.

Chair: Yonatan Mendel, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Speakers: George Bisharat, UC Hastings (by video)

*Law and the Continuing Nakba*

Sammy Smooha, University of Haifa and School of Oriental and African Studies

*The Role of Palestinian-Arab Citizens in Israel in Peace with the Palestinians*

Hagar Kotef, School of Oriental and African Studies

*On Violence, Belonging, and the Construction of Meaningful Space*

**Panel B: Philosophies of the Occupation** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre B*)

Time. Democracy. The internal morality of law. The occupation not only challenges law, politics and the economy in practical ways, but also encourages us to take a step back and think of the very nature of the concepts involved, and the way they can, or should be reconfigured in light of the nature of the occupation.

Chair: Tony Booth, University of Sussex

Speakers: Orna Ben-Naftali, The College of Management

*Off the Wall? - The Nomos of the Occupation*

Eric Heinze, Queen Mary, University of London

*The Question of Moral Coherence: What do we Mean by Ethics "in the Context" of Palestine and Israel?*

Adi Ophir, Brown University

*Palestine as the Exception; Palestine as the Rule*

16:15 – 16:30 **Break**

16:30 – 18:15 **Plenary Roundtable: Talking About Talking About the Occupation**

*(Fulton Lecture Theatre B)*

Western public discourse on Israel and the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is increasingly fraught. Accusations of anti-Israel bias and anti-Semitism abound, as conversely do descriptions of Israel as an apartheid state, and claims that pro-Palestinian activism and legitimate free speech are being intentionally stifled. This plenary roundtable discussion will address these difficult questions of language and representation, asking how Israel and its occupation are being – and how they should be – talked about. What can be said and what not said? How is public discourse on these questions changing, whether in the UK or beyond? And where lies the boundary between legitimate and illegitimate discourse? The session will be organised as a Question Time-style roundtable, without presentations.

Chair: Jan Selby, University of Sussex

Speakers: Annette Groth, Member of German Bundestag, Die Linke  
Hannah Weisfeld, Yachad  
Eric Heinze, Queen Mary, University of London  
Richard Falk, Princeton University (by Skype)

18:15 **Drinks Reception** *(Fulton Foyer)*

## ***Day Two: 12 May***

9:00-9:30 **Coffee and Tea** (*Fulton Foyer*)

9:30 – 11:00 **Plenary Session: Law and Human Rights under Occupation** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre B*)

The occupation is governed by law, but is not a subject of the law (that is – there is no recognised ‘illegal occupation’). But should there be? It may be argued that the ‘law of occupation’ is ill-fit to contain such long-standing occupations. Against this background, observers have become understandably cynical as to the role of international bodies to scrutinise Israel’s policy. The same can be said of human rights law. Once seen as a tool to alleviate the hardships under occupation, human rights discourse is increasingly seen as legitimizing the regime, and perhaps even exploited by the dominating power against those subject to power.

Chair: Andrew Sanders, University of Sussex

Speakers: Rosa Freedman, University of Reading

*Help or Hindrance? UN Scrutiny of and Focus on Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories*

Neve Gordon, Ben Gurion University and School of Oriental and African Studies

*Human Rights as Domination*

Aeyal Gross, Tel-Aviv University and School of Oriental and African Studies

*The Writing on the Wall: Can the Occupation Turn 50 Legally?*

11:00 – 11:30 **Break**

11:30 – 13:00 **Parallel Panels 3**

Panel A: **The Geography of the Occupation** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre A*)

Historically, the study of occupation included a strong focus on the capture of land. But, increasingly, attention has been drawn to the wider context of geography. This panel will shed light on the use and control of space, on the changing of borders, and the appropriation of natural resources.

Chair: Michael Kearney, University of Sussex

Speakers: Merav Amir, Queen’s University Belfast

*Settlements, Checkpoints and the Wall: On Counterfactual Spaces and the End of the Future in Israel/Palestine*

Hedi Viterbo, University of Essex

*Incarcerating the Mind*

Leila Sansour, Open Bethlehem

*The Architecture of Silencing*

Panel B: **The Occupation and the Transformation of Israeli Society** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre B*)

Whilst the Israeli occupation of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza is legally distinct from ‘Israel proper’ - within the 1967 borders – the occupation has had a transformative, perhaps even crucial, effect on society, politics, culture and economy on Israeli society. Papers in this panel will assess the nature of this impact to date, with a view towards the future.

Chair: Zdenek Kavan, University of Sussex

Speakers: Yoni Mendel, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

*How Can you End the Occupation when there is No Occupation?: The West Bank and Gaza Strip in Israeli Mainstream Discourse*

Yoav Peled, Tel Aviv University and University of Sussex

*1967 and the Decline of Labour Hegemony*

James Eastwood, Queen Mary, University of London

*Reading Abdul Fattab al-Sharif, Reading Elor Azaria: Anti-Mizrahi Racism in the Moral Economy of Zionist Settler Colonial Violence*

**Panel C: The Occupation in Context** (*Fulton G15*)

God, or the Devil, is said to be in the details. But, at times, one needs to observe the forest, and not the trees, so as to have a good appreciation of social phenomenon, political construct, or intellectual concept. This panel will analyse Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in relation to a series of broader contexts – both other occupations, and external actions and perspectives.

Chair: Hilary Kalmbach, University of Sussex

Speakers: Yutaka Arai, University of Kent

*Problematizing the Foundation of the Law of Belligerent Occupation*

Martin Evans, University of Sussex

*Arab Internationalist Imaginaries: Algerian Nationalism and Palestine 1926-1967*

Victor Kattan, National University of Singapore

*Another Missed Opportunity? The Untold Story of Jordan's Attempt to Seek an Advisory Opinion from the ICJ on the Legality of Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories*

13:00 – 14:00 **Lunch**

14:00 – 15:30 **Parallel Panels 4**

**Panel A: A Gendered Occupation** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre A*)

What does a gender lens offer to our understanding of occupation, resistance, and everyday politics in Israel and Palestine? What do feminist examinations of militarisation, space, conflict, violence, and politics in Israel and Palestine uncover? What tensions in feminist and gender theory are revealed when engaging with the politics of Israel and Palestine? How has gender been crucial to sustaining the occupation and its violence?

Chair: Nadya Ali, University of Sussex

Speakers: Joy Stacey, University of Sussex

*I Am Rana: A Collaborative Performance of Gender, Youth and Identity under Occupation in the West Bank*

Akanksha Mehta, University of Sussex

*Agency/Coercion and the Right: Everyday Politics and Practices of Israeli Zionist Settler Women in the West Bank, Palestine*

Katharine Natanel, University of Exeter (by Skype)

*Borders of Feeling: Gender, Affect and Micro-geographies of Violence in Israel-Palestine*

**Panel B: Non-Violent Resistance** (*Fulton Lecture Theatre B*)

BDS. Domestic legal challenges. Student mobilisation in universities worldwide. International legal and political action. Weekly protests in Bil'in, Na'alin and elsewhere. When is resistance successful? When is helpful? When is it necessary? When, perhaps, does it legitimise the structure that it acts against?

Chair: Jane Cowan, University of Sussex

Speakers: Salma Karmi-Ayoubb, Al Haq, Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights

*Using the Law to Defend BDS*



Shahd Abusalma, School of Oriental and African Studies  
*The role of (Student) Activism in the Struggle for Justice in Palestine*  
Michael Kearney, University of Sussex  
*Incitement and the Denial of (Non-Violent) Resistance*

**Panel C: The Peace Process and the Occupation (Fulton G15)**

As the occupation turns 50, Palestinian ‘self-rule’ in the West Bank and Gaza is not far off turning 25; close to half of Israel’s long occupation, in short, has been accompanied by the Oslo peace process and its remnants. But how should we understand the connections between Israel’s occupation, Palestinian self-governance, and a protracted on-and-off process of peace-making? This panel will explore these complex issues.

Chair: Sam Solomon, University of Sussex  
Speakers: Nadia Naser-Najjab, University of Exeter  
*The Palestinian Leadership and the Persistence of the Political Status Quo*  
Ronald Ranta, Kingston University  
*The Decision not to Decide: Israel and the West Bank*  
Jan Selby, University of Sussex  
*Through the Lens of Water*

15:30 – 15:45 **Break**

15:45 – 17:15 **Plenary Roundtable: Where to Now?** (Fulton Lecture Theatre B)

This concluding panel will draw together insights from the conference as a whole, and reflect on possible scenarios for the future including, but also beyond, the well-trodden one- and two-state solutions. Panelists will offer some initial thoughts, to be followed by an open discussion.

Chair: Andrea Cornwall, University of Sussex  
Speakers: Adi Ophir, Brown University  
Yoav Peled, Tel-Aviv University and University of Sussex  
Leila Sansour, Open Bethlehem

17:15 **Conference Close**

## Abstracts

**Shahd Abusalma (School of Oriental and African Studies):** *The role of (Student) Activism in the Struggle for Justice in Palestine*

International (Student) Activists, fighting for justice in Palestine and resisting Israeli occupation through non-violent means are facing a plethora of increased challenges. These range from claims of anti-semitism, being embroiled in debates around 'free speech', increased opposition to events around Palestinian resistance on campuses, heightened security and police presence in universities, to targeted (and aggressive) media and online campaigns discrediting their voices. In the context of the UK, the government has increasingly adopted a definition of anti-semitism that conflates racism and violence against Jewish people to legitimate and political criticism of Israel and Zionism. With Mark Regev's appointment as the Israeli Ambassador to the UK and his campaign to visit and speak at various UK universities (and the protests these visits face, such as at SOAS in April 2017), student resistance and activism around Palestine faces a myriad of new challenges. As a Palestinian activist from Gaza, in this paper and presentation, I use personal-political experiences and my engagement with student activists to ask and address the key questions - How do we resist in this contemporary political climate? What is the role of student activism around Palestine in neoliberal and policed universities and campuses? How do we overcome these new political challenges and engage with debates on free speech and anti-semitism without exhausting our resistance? How do we work together to build a concrete movement that holds Israel and its supporters accountable for occupation and violence against Palestinians?

**Marco Allegra (Universidade de Lisboa):** *Colonization by Consensus: The Birth of Ma'ale Adumim (1967-1975)*

An examination of the events that brought about the creation of the first nucleus of the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim (1975) challenges some of the widespread stereotypes on Israel's settlement policy in the West Bank, as well as the conventional wisdom emerging from most scholarly contributions on the theme. The history of Ma'ale Adumim demonstrates how the proliferation of the settlements was the product of active cooperation between sectors of the Israeli Labour party, the Likud and the settler movement, and eased by the existence of a broad consensus on the creation of large suburban settlements in the periphery of Jerusalem.

**Merav Amir (Queen's University Belfast):** *Settlement, Checkpoints and the Wall: On Counterfactual Spaces and the End of the Future in Israel/Palestine*

The growing sense that the end of the Israeli occupation is highly improbable in the foreseeable future, a perception which is increasingly shared by Israelis and Palestinians, by laymen and experts, is usually attributed to political power relations. This perception hinges the unlikelihood of a peaceful resolution of this conflict on the historical setup of regional and international political leaderships, claiming that none of the influential political players has both a real interest in ending the occupation and the actual ability to affect its course. In this talk I will claim that the power-plays of political elites notwithstanding, the perpetuation of the Israeli occupation of Palestine should rather be understood as rooted in lived experiences, shared by both Israelis and Palestinians, that precludes the ability to effectively strive towards an alternative future. More accurately, I will aim to demonstrate that in its current stage, the continuation of the existing political circumstances in Israel/Palestine are dependent on a perpetual reconstruction of a foreclosed future which rests on two temporal frameworks which at once and at the same time negate the future: perpetual temporariness and future-as-present. The permanent temporariness of the occupation is harnessed towards the arbitrariness of the control over the Palestinians, in the name of the (always already) pending Palestinian independence, all the while serving the expansionist aims of the settler colonial project. Concurrently, the façade of the future to come fabricates a hollow Palestinian sovereignty and the presumed experience of a post-occupation Israel. These two configurations of temporality, of the perpetual temporariness and the future as present, which fail the progressive narrative, are not simply rhetorical ploys, used in language games, rather, my analysis will demonstrate that they are materialized through the re-shaping of spatial configurations of control and domination, and through the re-signification of the meaning of place and location. Through a spatial examination of seminal sites in Israel/Palestine, an examination which exposes their counterfactual articulation, I will demonstrate that this re-construction and re-articulation of these spaces renders the mere imagining of altered political power relations unfeasible.

**Yutaka Arai (University of Kent):** *Problematizing the Foundation of the Law of Belligerent Occupation*

In this paper, by unearthing the edifice of the traditional law of belligerent occupation, I suggest that both the foundation and conceptual framework of this body of law be critically evaluated in the light of its historical contingency and of the political context in which it has evolved. One of the basic assumptions of this law was that occupation ought to be temporary. This is because an occupying power is not vested with sovereignty over an occupied, foreign territory. However, a phenomenon of 'prolonged occupation' belies such a traditional presumption. One way to explain compatibility of protracted occupation is to suggest that the temporary nature of occupation itself is out of touch with reality. In contrast, an emerging thesis challenges the legality of protracted occupation, arguing that this becomes tainted with illegality because of its systemic irreconcilability with the right of self-determination of the local population. Historically, a dichotomised thought underlay the edifice of law of occupation. The application of this law was confined only to a belligerent sovereign's temporary occupation of a land of another civilised (sovereign) state. In contrast, a sovereign state's purportedly long-term occupation of a land appertaining to 'uncivilised' peoples fell outside the realm of laws of war. This dichotomised construct was coterminous with the binary structure of thought in parallel: a normative conviction that belligerent occupation ought to be temporary, as contrasted to the perception that the system of colonialism seemed to be (semi-)permanent. In the post-colonial, inclusive world, paradoxically, legal scholars turn to the view that prolonged occupation may be explained within the framework on the law of occupation. On the other, 'politics' have mixed *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* and erroneously condemned occupation (together with colonial system) as unlawful. These argumentative structures are compounded by the 'variable' of the self-determination of peoples whose universal validity is now confirmed. In the second part of this paper, I deconstruct the doctrine of sovereignty. By presenting sovereignty as a supreme law-making authority even of a loose form of social association, I will present a conceptual framework that can fill both historical and contemporary loopholes left by the law of belligerent occupation.

**Orna Ben-Naftali (The College of Management):** *Off the Wall? - The Nomos of the Occupation*

The paper explores the nature of the control Israel exercises over the OPT in the terms proposed by Robert Cover in *Nomos and Narrative*: we all inhabit a *nomos*, a normative universe which provides us with a common discourse where these shared narratives render our world legible and give our life a sense of direction. The paper posits first that Israel inhabits a *sui generis* *nomos* with respect to its control over the OPT. The text which succinctly exemplifies this *nomos* is contained in a report of a governmental expert committee established to examine the legal status of Israeli construction in the Judea and Samaria [the Levy Committee Report - LCR]. This report concluded that from an international legal perspective, the West Bank is not occupied territory; the law of belligerent occupation is not applicable to the area; the "prevailing view" in international law is that Jewish settlements are lawful; and that Israel has a valid claim to sovereignty over the territory. The proposition advanced in this paper is three-fold: (a) the LCR's construction of the law of belligerent occupation proposes a different *nomos* for the international community and indeed purports to advance a paradigmatic revolution; (ii) the arguments advanced by the LCR reflect a colonialist/Orientalist paradigm that has been discarded to the dust-bin of history and, in that sense, attempts to initiate a backward looking revolution; (iii) LCR's rejection of the *nomos* inhabited by the international community also explains why it does not advance international legal arguments as an apology for power. The latter operates within the structure of the international legal discourse, not outside it.

**George Bisharat (UC Hastings):** *Law and the continuing Nakba*

It is perfectly appropriate to mark the fifty years of Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights. However, this era and the set of institutions and dynamics it introduced must be situated against the broader background of the continuing Nakba - that is, the longer term process of the forced displacement of Palestinian Arabs in favor of Jewish settlers throughout all of former Palestine. The occupation is merely the current front line in the continuing Nakba, while displacements in the Naqab and elsewhere within Israel's pre-1967 borders are more on the order of mop-up operations. The occupations have endowed Israel's colonizing juggernaut with particular advantages, including uncontested control of land and resources, and since the mid-nineties advent of the Palestinian Authority, minimal responsibility for Palestinian lives. These conditions enabled continuing territorial expansion, and, no doubt, contribute to the lack of urgency of Israeli leaders to conclude any kind of peace agreement with Palestinians - which would, necessarily, bring that territorial expansion to a close. Law has played an essential role in the continuing Nakba, by justifying the violence necessary to displace Palestinians, by regulating the transfer of their property (mainly real but also immovable) to

Jewish ownership, and by rationalizing the pacification of Palestinian resistance. Only infrequently and exceptionally has law provided opportunities to blunt, slow, or deflect the continuing Nakba. Indeed, the very participation of Palestinians in Israeli courts - as litigants, as lawyers, as human rights activists - and of Israelis sympathetic to their rights and interests - may have cast a cloak of legality and legitimacy around the continuing Nakba, or even rendered it invisible, at least for some audiences. Yet the meager courtroom successes of opponents of the continuing Nakba by no means mandates their withdrawal from the legal sphere. Much of what we know about how the Nakba continues to operate in its administrative form derives from their engagement. Success, ultimately, is not only measured in the verdicts of courts, but also in the wider public's understandings of the situation on the ground. Israel's increasing international isolation suggests that law's capacity to conceal and rationalize injustice is not infinite.

**James Eastwood (Queen Mary, University of London):** *Reading Abdul Fattah al-Sharif, Reading Elor Azaria: Anti-Mizrahi Racism in the Moral Economy of Zionist Settler Colonial Violence*

This paper argues that anti-Mizrahi racism plays a crucial role in the legitimation of Israeli violence. It begins its analysis from the recent controversy surrounding the shooting of Abdul Fattah al-Sharif by Elor Azaria, a Mizrahi Jew. The paper places this furore in the wider context of Zionist attitudes towards Mizrahim, exploring three factors: (i) the prevalence of stereotypes portraying Mizrahim as violent; (ii) a military sociology of inequality in which Mizrahim are called upon to mete out the most conspicuous forms of military coercion; and (iii) the role of racial identities in the construction of Israeli military violence as "moral".

**Martin Evans (University of Sussex):** *Arab Internationalist Imaginaries: Algerian Nationalism and Palestine 1926-1967*

The first part of this paper will explore how the key Algerian nationalist party - the North African Star, founded in 1926 - viewed the Palestinian issue between the late 1920s and the beginning of World War Two. It will analyse how, although no Algerian nationalists physically visited Palestine, solidarity with Palestinian nationalism became anchored within an Arab internationalist imaginary that stressed anti-colonialism and pan-Arab nationalism. The second part of the paper will then outline how this sense of a common cause continued over into post-1945 Algerian nationalism, the War of Liberation and then post-independence. Here the paper will conclude by exploring the role of the Algeria - the beacon of global anti-colonialism in the 1960s - in supporting and legitimising the PLO as the spearhead of a Third World resistance movement against Western imperialism.

**Rosa Freedman (University of Reading):** *Help or Hindrance? UN Scrutiny of and Focus on Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories*

The United Nations has long been biased and selective in its treatment of Israel. Politicisation of an intergovernmental organisation is to be expected: as the late Sérgio Vieira de Mello, for some UN members to accuse others of being political is a bit like fish criticizing one another for being wet. Yet the spotlight on Israel has been so strong that some might say it has undermined the very cause that it seeks to promote. Excessive numbers of decisions and resolutions on the Occupied Territories have been passed at the General Assembly and both the Commission on Human Rights and its successor the Human Rights Council. UN human rights mechanisms have conducted more fact-finding missions into abuses in the Occupied Territories than in any other country. Those bodies, alongside others like UNESCO, have focused on Israel whilst staying noticeably silent on similar, and sometimes more egregious, situations elsewhere. Those actions have not translated into concrete action from the Security Council, where the threat of a United States veto has prevented coercive measures being used against Israel and the Occupation. While that tactic has been used by all five of the Security Council's permanent members to protect their allies - as we have seen most recently in Russia exercising its veto over action in Syria - the US has faced significant criticism for protecting Israel in this manner. This talk will focus on the ways that Israel has been brought to the attention of UN bodies and the reasons for that bias and selectivity. In particular, I will explore the extent to which those countries at the fore of keeping the spotlight on Israel have done so to advance the end of the occupation and of human rights abuses, or whether there are other unrelated reasons for the keen interest in keeping the focus on Israel. Moreover, I will discuss the extent to which such scrutiny has advanced those aims or, indeed, whether it has played into the hands of those who argue that any UN criticism of Israel is motivated by pernicious politicisation and therefore ought to be ignored altogether.

**Neve Gordon (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, and School of Oriental and African Studies):** *Human Rights as Domination*

While human rights are generally conceived as a counter-hegemonic instrument for righting historical injustices, in the past two decades they have also been deployed to further subjugate the weak and legitimize domination. Using Israel/Palestine as a case study, I describe the establishment of settler NGOs that appropriate human rights to dispossess indigenous Palestinians and military think-tanks that rationalize lethal violence by invoking human rights. The increasing appropriations of human rights by security agencies, settler organizations, and extreme right nationalists, underscores that political actors advocating repression and abuse frequently champion the dissemination of human rights. Human rights, on the one hand, have become the lingua franca of global moral speak, while on the other, they have been reconstrued as a tool for enhancing domination. I conclude the talk by asking what remains of human rights after their appropriation by right wing political projects, and offer suggestions on how to liberate human rights so that they can become a weapon of emancipation in the age of Trump.

**Aeyal Gross (Tel-Aviv University and School of Oriental and African Studies):** *The Writing on the Wall: Can the Occupation Turn 50 Legally?*

As Israel's control of the Occupied Palestinian Territory reaches its fiftieth anniversary, the talk will offer a critical perspective on the international law of occupation. Advocating a normative and functional approach to occupation and to the question of when it exists, it will analyze the application of humanitarian and human rights law, pointing to the risk of using the law of occupation in its current version to legitimize new variations of conquest and colonialism. The talk will point to the need for reconsidering the law of occupation in light of changing forms of control, such as those evident in Gaza.

**Eric Heinze (Queen Mary, University of London):** *The Question of Moral Coherence: What Do We Mean by Ethics 'in the context' of Palestine and Israel?*

Various discourses are deployed to assess the Occupation and its broader context, notably deontological, psycho-social, post-imperial, and power-political, yet often in altogether expedient ways, with inadequate attention to their various foundations, limits, or inter-relationships. This contribution will examine characteristic claims and counter-claims, with attention, for example, to questions of single and multiple ethical standards, identity politics, and historical and political contexts.

**Ghada Karmi (University of Exeter):** *Israel's Impunity and the Occupation at 50*

2017 marks the 50th anniversary of what is known as the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. This occupation and what it has led to are not stand alone events, but are the inevitable result of a far more significant anniversary in 2017, the centenary of the Balfour Declaration. It was the pledge made in 1917 by a British Foreign Secretary to a British Zionist leader that Britain would help to establish a 'National Home' for the 'Jewish people' in Palestine, without the knowledge or consent of its inhabitants, which led to the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. The subsequent expansion of that state into the rest of Palestine in 1967 was the natural consequence of this initial act. In that sense the word 'occupation' is a misnomer; it implies some sort of temporary or reversible situation, when the reality is one of permanent territorial and societal colonisation. This colonisation has had deleterious effects on every aspect of Palestinian life, some obvious and others more insidious. The paper will describe some of these effects by way of illustration and their ongoing and insoluble nature. There is only one reason for the continuation of this state of affairs, and that is the international impunity that the State of Israel enjoys. Western powers, and principally the US, have allowed Israel to become a state of exception. Their support through every kind of Israeli violation of international and humanitarian law has given Israel no incentive to stop, but has enabled it to continue these policies. It is time for the debate about Israel's 'occupation' of the Palestinian territories to move on towards a debate about the causes of Israel's impunity and how to end it.

**Salma Karmi-Ayoubb (Al Haq, Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights):** *Using the Law to Defend BDS*

I will examine recent attacks by European governments and pro-Israeli non-governmental organisations in European countries (with a focus on the United Kingdom) on the BDS movement, in which anti-discrimination law has been used in an attempt to curtail BDS initiatives. I will suggest that credible legal arguments focusing on, amongst other principles, the right to freedom of expression can be put forward in order to protect the right of individuals to engage in consumer boycotts of Israel. I will argue that, on the other hand, it is more difficult

to defend the right of public bodies (and other types of organisations such as trade unions) to boycott Israel because of the existence of laws that oblige such bodies not to discriminate on grounds of nationality when exercising their functions. I will propose that in order for the BDS movement to successfully expand the scope of its activities to ensure that public bodies and other similar institutions are able to engage in BDS initiatives, it will be necessary to grapple with the interaction between BDS and anti-discrimination law, and to formulate the legal arguments and the means by which public bodies may implement BDS initiatives without violating anti-discrimination law.

**Victor Kattan (National University of Singapore):** *Another Missed Opportunity? The Untold Story of Jordan's Attempt to Seek an Advisory Opinion from the ICJ on the Legality of Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories*

In the early 1980s, following the failure of the Camp David autonomy negotiations and Israel's invasion of Lebanon (1982) a series of high-level meetings on Israel's settlement policy took place between the Governments of Jordan, Egypt, and the United Kingdom. During these meetings there were discussions about referring a question to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for an advisory opinion questioning the legality of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, including in and around Jerusalem. The conversations were intimate and detailed, and led to the drafting of several questions for the UN General Assembly to refer to the ICJ. On the Jordanian side, the main players were Prince Hassan bin Talal, Awn al-Khasawneh, and Col. G.I A. Draper, a Professor of Law from the University of Sussex. In Egypt, the key player was Boutros Boutros Ghali. In the end, the question was never put before the UN General Assembly despite near universal support because of opposition from a most unlikely quarter. Instead, we had to wait another twenty years before the ICJ would clarify that civilians settlements established in occupied territory are contrary to international law. In this presentation, Victor Kattan revisits this untold story, gathered from the archives and interviews with some of the key players to ponder what might have happened had the matter gone to ICJ in the early 1980s when Israel's settlement project was in its infancy and when the ICJ was embroiled in the seminal case of *Nicaragua v the United States of America*. He also considers the lessons to be learned from this episode with regard to possible future references to the ICJ.

**Michael Kearney (University of Sussex):** *Incitement and the Denial of (Non-Violent) Resistance*

The recent forceful tendency to condemn all non-physical Palestinian action, including cultural celebration, educational materials, and legal advocacy, as incitement (to violence) works to advance the notion that: 'True acceptance of Israel's right to exist in peace cannot be achieved solely through signatures on a piece of paper; it must also exist in the hearts and minds of the Palestinian people.' The paper will consider how persistent focus on silencing Palestinian speech resisting Israel's policies and practices serves a strategy aimed at painting all Palestinian culture as inherently violent, all Palestinian violence as unlawful (terrorism), and all Palestinian claims to law and to rights as false since they sympathise with, or seek to explain, the context in which violence occurs. It will be proposed that in expanding the notion of what constitutes violence, by labelling all Palestinian action as incitement, and so denying Palestinians the capacity or possibility of resisting occupation through political and lawful means, we are witnessing a move towards forcing Palestinians to formally accept defeat. It will be suggested that this policy, as recently manifested in a caucus of the US Congress, through the repeated emphasis on incitement, is directed towards ensuring an acceptance of the continued domination (as domination is understood in the context of apartheid) by Israel over Palestinians.

**Hagar Kotef (School of Oriental and African Studies):** *On Violence, Belonging, and the Construction of Meaningful Space*

This paper examines the politics of 'home' and the production of political belonging (both national and individual) amidst conditions of structural violence. Focusing on Israel/Palestine, Kotef seeks to understand how people develop attachments to spaces and places when these attachments themselves facilitate state violence. Many critiques of violence seeking to understand how people negotiate their own political violence focus on collective forms of blindness and denial. Underlying these critiques is the assumption that if political identity is to be established within ethical frameworks, violence must be imagined-away from national narratives (or at least be re-imagined as necessary – almost imposed upon those inflicting it). Kotef, however, will point to a work of memory through which violence becomes not invisible but rather banal, rendered an uncontested part of one's political identity. It is through this work, she argues, that the space of the colony can be transformed to become a 'home' despite of—if not via—destruction.

**Akanksha Mehta (University of Sussex):** *Agency/Coercion and the Right: Everyday Politics and Practices of Israeli Zionist Settler Women in the West Bank, Palestine*

Women for Israel's Tomorrow (popularly known as Women in Green) was established in 1993 as the first women-only organisation under the Zionist umbrella in Israel. The organisation has gained political momentum in the last two decades, drawing within its ranks, women who are not only the embodiments of Zionism's patriarchal cultural nationalism, but who also simultaneously enforce violent and exclusionary Zionist settler colonial politics while contesting 'everyday' patriarchy. Committed to the expansion, settlement, 'security' and Jewish heritage of Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel), the organisation calls itself a 'grassroots' effort, organizing a variety of public spectacles, protests and demonstrations, violent 'settler-solidarity' efforts, and events of cultural, religious, and 'educational' importance in occupied Palestine. Women members of the organisation mobilize via street activism, 'charitable' and educational work, and violence. Their mobilisations render their bodies, the streets, and the nation as deeply gendered and contested private-public and personal-political spaces that are being constantly (re)imagined, (re)produced, (re)constructed, (re)negotiated, and (re)transformed. In this paper, drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Zionist settlements in the Southern West Bank, I deploy gender as an analytical category to examine the everyday politics of settler women. I argue that settler women use pedagogy, charity, intimacy/leisure, and violence as four spaces and sets of practices around which they organise their mobilisations and activities. I also argue that agency and empowerment frameworks deployed in dominant feminist analyses of right-wing women (and in particular, Zionist settler women) focus exclusively on maternal and familial themes. These analyses are therefore unable to capture the complex everyday politics within women's militant settler-colonial politics. This paper, therefore, aims to be a step towards examining how right-wing women's politics is a means through which larger patriarchal cultural nationalist/ settler colonial projects are transformed in order to accommodate women's goals and agendas. As a researcher whose political views differ vastly from those of the researched, this paper also aims to begin a conversation on the ethical and methodological issues that arise when conducting ethnographic research on gender, politics, and violence.

**Yonatan Mendel (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute):** *'How Can you End the Occupation when there is No Occupation?': The West Bank and Gaza Strip in Israeli Mainstream Discourse*

At the centre of this conference stands the anniversary of the 1967 War and the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories that continues to the present day in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip. However, the terms that stand at the very heart of this conference and its rationale -- 'occupation' and 'the occupied territories' -- are not being used in Israeli daily discourse, and are in fact considered as an extreme-leftist viewpoint. In my paper, I will provide a political analysis of the language used by the majority of Jewish-Israelis vis-a-vis the Occupied Territories, highlighting the way language, terminology, word choice, slang and expressions used by the media, can all unearth how language both reflects a political situation as well shapes a political reality and understanding. Focusing on language as the most basic element of human interaction, I will provide an outlook on the mainstream political discourse of Jewish society in Israel, according to which the occupation neither exists nor poses a crucial problem within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

**Ethan Morton-Jerome (University of Arkansas):** *Settler Colonialism at Work: Palestinian Labor on Settlement Plantations*

The Jordan Valley has some of the most devastating examples of settler colonial domination over the Palestinian population, including home demolitions, Israeli control of 87.5% of the territory, and stealing water resources. Additionally, settler plantation owners profit off the superexploitation of Palestinian labor. Although the Israeli High Court of Justice ruled in 2007 that Israeli labor laws apply to Palestinians employed on the settlements, the ruling is not enforced, and Israel has blatantly ignored settler employers' continued violations of labor laws. Palestinian middlemen are fundamental to labor relations in the Jordan Valley; they are a critical tactic used by settler employers to flout the law and deny any accountability. Although numerous reports from Palestinian, Israeli, and international human rights organizations have documented the labor rights abuses, these reports have had little to no impact in changing the experience of Palestinian workers on the settlement plantations. Palestinian workers are on their own in a daily struggle to survive a settler colonial regime that restricts them to a fraction of the land and, in the meantime, superexploits them for profits. My research focuses on the critical attitudes of Palestinian workers towards the middlemen and the importance of the role of the middlemen in supporting continued settler domination over the Palestinian population. Additionally, I focus on both Israeli and Palestinian unwillingness to enforce the law and protect the Palestinian workers on the settlement plantations.

**Nadia Naser-Najjab (University of Exeter):** *The Palestinian Leadership and the Persistence of the Political Status Quo*  
This paper asks why the Palestinian political leadership continue to remain so strongly attached to the established framework of political engagement, in spite of its continued and clearly evidenced failure. In developing the theory of settler colonialism, it argues that this persistence cannot be attributed to the absence of an alternative. In illustrating this point, it draws attention to an alternative version of the two-state framework, which was quite clearly developed and articulated during the course of the First Intifada. Given the present facts on the ground and in the absence of a sustained re-engagement with the priorities of the revolutionary leadership, I argue, the established framework will reproduce the conditions of its own failure, perpetually failing to meet the preconditions for a just and lasting settlement of the conflict. This paper therefore seeks to demonstrate that the persistence of the political status quo is attributable to the self-interest of a narrow Palestinian political elite, who have come to function as the means through which colonial relations are relayed and reproduced.

**Katharine Natanel (University of Exeter):** *Borders of Feeling: Gender, Affect and Micro-geographies of Violence in Israel-Palestine*

This paper extends previously published work, which focused on how embodied experience both reflects and shapes the relationship between gender, militarisation and space in Israel-Palestine. Based on 12 months of ethnographic research conducted in Tel Aviv and West Jerusalem, this article ('Border Collapse and Boundary Maintenance: Militarisation and the Micro-geographies of Violence in Israel Palestine', published in *Gender, Place and Culture* 2016) explored how relations of violence, occupation and domination rely upon gendered dynamics of border collapse and boundary maintenance. Through analysing narratives of everyday movement and interaction articulated by Jewish Israelis, I argued that the borders between homefront and battlefield breakdown at the same time as communal boundaries are reproduced, generating conditions of 'total militarism' wherein military interests and agendas are both actively and passively diffused. Drawing upon subaltern geopolitics and feminist geography, the article directed attention to how individuals construct, navigate and regulate the everyday spaces of occupation, with the aim of detailing more precisely how macro political power endures. Subsequent to publication, I have become increasingly interested in the role of affect in sustaining Israel's settler colonial project, particularly through producing emotions or sensations regarded as 'apolitical' – for example, melancholia and love. While political discourses and popular imaginaries overwhelmingly invoke hate and fear as drivers of violence in Israel-Palestine, at times opening discussion of suspicion and trauma, narratives analysed for the above-detailed publication indicate that more subtle and surprising affective registers play a significant role in maintaining existing political conditions. Following Raymond Williams (1977), this presentation for 'The Occupation at 50' considers how embodied experiences of gender, sexuality, violence and space create "structures of feeling", or socially constructed patterns of intimacy that connect individuals and either weaken or strengthen existing hierarchies of power. Williams, Raymond (1977) *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Jacob Norris (University of Sussex):** *Which Diaspora, Which Occupation? The Politics of Palestinian Activism in Latin America*

This paper explores the complex landscapes of the Palestinian diaspora in Latin America and its approach to the Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Often left out of debates concerning diaspora and right of return, but increasingly well organised at the political level, the Palestinians of Latin America do not engage with the Occupation in the same way as many other diasporic Palestinians. In contrast to the forced displacements of 1948, most of the diaspora in Latin America traces its roots to much earlier waves of economic emigration out of the Ottoman Empire. These movements of choice and opportunity produced economically successful and relatively well integrated Palestinian immigrant communities that were later denied re-entry to Palestine under the British Mandate citizenship laws of the 1920s – long before the Nakba. The paper uses this historical context to evaluate the specific forms of activism towards the Occupation and Palestine/Israel more generally that have recently taken shape among fourth and fifth generation Palestinians in Latin America. The paper will adopt a particular focus on Chile where the largest community of Palestinians outside the Middle East resides.

**Adi Ophir (Brown University):** *Palestine as an Exception; Palestine as the Rule*

Not long ago, the most urgent philosophical question about "the occupation" and a major concern of critical thinkers was a rather basic Socratic question: what is it, precisely? But recently, this question has been answered,



conclusively, not only by critics, scholars, and activists, but also, and quite explicitly, by many of the people responsible for keeping the occupation alive and thriving. For this reason, critical theory has little to offer to the study of the occupation today; its real concern should be with the construction of “The Occupation” as an object of critique. Palestine in general, and the occupation in particular have often been understood as a blatant exception to existing rules and historical patterns, but also as their paradigmatic example. Following a brief survey of examples for both cases, I will argue that “the occupation” has become a synecdoche for Palestine, and as such serves critical scholars today as a show case in which the exemplary demonstration of the rule meets its paradigmatic exception. This observation will lead me to question the unusual status of “the occupation” as a privileged site for critical studies and theory as well as academic and non-academic activism.

**Yoav Peled (Tel-Aviv University, and University of Sussex):** *1967 and the Decline of Labor Hegemony*

Following the 1967 war the governing Labor party was internally split with respect to the future of the territories that had been captured: keep them under Israeli rule or return most of them for peace. The split was in large measure generational: the old, foreign born leadership favored withdrawal from most of the territories under certain conditions, primarily out of concern for international public opinion; the younger generation of leaders, consisting mostly of retired military technocrats, wanted to keep some or all of the territories, primarily for alleged security reasons. More fundamentally, the two sides to this debate represented two conflicting imperatives whose synthesis had guided Labor's historical settlement strategy: the geographic and the demographic. The geographic imperative dictated trying to acquire through settlement as much territory as possible; the demographic imperative dictated maintaining a Jewish majority, and thus the possibility of democracy, even at the price of limiting territorial expansion. The older generation, by and large (Golda Meir was a notable exception), continued to abide by the demographic imperative, while their younger colleagues embraced the geographic one. This split resulted in indecision and policy paralysis and inconsistency which created a political vacuum into which the young guard of religious Zionism, aspiring for hegemony, were only too happy to enter.

**Ronald Ranta (Kingston University):** *The Decision not to Decide: Israel and the West Bank*

Since the election of US President Donald Trump, and the perceived US diplomatic carte blanche given to Israel, Israeli decision makers have returned a full circle back to the 1967 debate over the West Bank and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Back then, it became evident that ministers were unable to agree on the future status of the West Bank and the Palestinian population under occupation. Conflicted over a number of contradictory strategies, decision makers decided not to decide and instead adopted a number of ad hoc approaches. Despite the establishment of settlements, and the creation of numerous facts-on-the-ground, Israel's policy towards the West bank is still governed by the decision not to decide. It is the main reason behind Israel's approach during the Oslo period and its unwillingness to engage in meaningful negotiations over the future of the West Bank.

**Yael Ronen (The Academic Centre of Law and Science):** *Until Bureaucracy Do Us Part: The Precarious Residence of East Jerusalem Palestinians*

Since the early 1970s, Israel has been actively pursuing policies to minimize the Palestinian population in East Jerusalem, which currently numbers over 300,000. At first the government tried to incentivize Palestinians to relocate to towns outside the municipal borders. When this failed, the government turned to policies that effectively pushed Palestinians out of the city. The primary one is the limiting of the residential potential in Jerusalem. Another policy, which affects both those who relocate to the West Bank and those who go aboard, is the revocation of residence status. This policy has taken various forms through the years, at times more aggressive than others. Since 1967, some 14,000 Palestinians have lost their residence in East Jerusalem. This presentation examines the respective roles of different international legal regimes in determining the legality of Israel's policy relating to the residence of Palestinians in light of international law. It focuses on norms relating to individual rights, rather than on the status of the territory. The first body of law examined is the law of occupation. Applying the international community's view of East Jerusalem as occupied territory, the transfer policy is a violation of GC IV Article 49(1), which prohibits internal displacement of population within the occupied territory. A second perspective is Israel's, which holds that the territory is under Israeli sovereignty. Ironically, under Israel's own interpretation of the status of the territory and of GC IV Article 49(6), its policy is a violation of that provision. The second strand of examination is IHRL. From with the international perspective, Israel's policy is a violation of ICCPR Article 12(1) guaranteeing movement and residence within a territory. Under the Israeli perspective, the policy is a violation of Israel's obligations under the 1954 Convention

on stateless persons, and probably also of ICCPR 12(4). A number of conclusions can be drawn from this mapping. First, that regardless of the legal regime that is applied, Israel is in violation of its international obligations under both the law of occupation and IHRL. Second is that, not surprisingly, if the territory is regarded as occupied, the law of occupation offers stronger protections to the individuals, while if it is regarded as sovereign, IHRL does so. Nonetheless, the third finding is that to defend itself against allegations that it is violating GC IV Article 49(6) Israel would have to adopt an interpretation of this provision that is antithetical to the one that it presently holds to counter allegations that the settlements in the West Bank are unlawful. These conclusions do not impact directly on dealings with the Israeli government. International actors are not expected to adopt the Israeli stance even *arguendo*. Domestic actors appearing before Israeli courts will have difficulty relying on provisions emanating from international conventions. But they demonstrate that no matter which way Israel turns the matter, its policy is a violation of individual's rights.

**Ruba Salih (School of Oriental and African Studies):** *Tawteen as Morphine. Palestinian Refugees and Cathartic Politics*

Palestinian refugees and stateless are often perceived as exceeding humanities suspended in a non-political space, in need of humanitarian aid or awaiting return. Undoubtedly, the most tragic and ironic aspect of this predicament is that the prohibition of resettlement (*tawteen*), which often legitimized the suspension of Palestinian refugees from legal rights, has been represented as a method of vindicating and preserving their right to return to Palestine. Yet, in a condition of permanent temporariness - *tawteen* and return have become simulacrum reminding refugees that they are orphans of both rights and revolution. In this paper I ask what does liberation and political subjectivity look like for those currently excluded or marginalised from the emotive project of a Palestine sovereign nation-state under occupation? How might refugees, exiled and displaced, i.e. those centrally imbricated in, but benefitting little from, the current hegemonic national project challenge its central logics and/or break free of its fallacies? Refugees and displaced - with their aspirations to return but also to social justice in their places of exile - advance a more radical claim for radical democracy than that embodied by the nationalist project and its current configuration. I suggest that they are involved in a cathartic politics that takes exile as the springboard for a chaotic but radical political imagination, an ethico-political form in Gramscian terms, that has been painfully freed from the mythologies of the nation-state.

**Leila Sansour (Open Bethlehem):** *The Architecture of Silencing*

This talk will explore the elements that form the landscape of silencing and its consequences to artistic expression and cultural mobility.

**Jan Selby (University of Sussex):** *Through the Lens of Water*

This paper examines Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza 'through the lens of water', asking: what does the politics - or more accurately the techno-politics - of water tell us about how Israel's occupation operates. To this end, the paper explores three aspects of the techno-politics of water in the West Bank and Gaza: the geography of water supply; the Israeli-Palestinian water 'cooperation' regime; and international aid to the Palestinian water sector. This leads me to identify four key features of the occupation's structure and functioning: 1) the centrality of bureaucratic power; 2) the importance of Palestinian participation in the occupation's functioning; 3) the centrality of anti-political discourse; and notwithstanding all of this 4) the very different ways in which the West Bank and Gaza have been made subject to Israeli control. Overall, the paper supports interpretations of Israel's occupation as a dispersed techno-political and in large measure civilian regime, that is only maintained in this form thanks to the active participation of (some of) those who are occupied.

**Sammy Smooha (University of Haifa, and School of Oriental and African Studies):** *The Role of Palestinian-Arab Citizens in Israel in Peace with the Palestinians*

The Palestinian-Arab citizens of Israel constitute about 15% of the Palestinian people and 18% of Israel's citizen population. They are marginal to both Palestinian and Israeli society. They are inescapably part of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. The occupation of the West Bank and the siege on Gaza intensify the Arab-Jewish divide in Israel. The question is what role Israeli Arabs can play in reaching peace between Israel and the Palestinians. One renowned role is "a bridge for peace". The Arabs know well both sides and can greatly benefit from peace by ceasing to be an enemy-affiliated minority and by mediating between Israel and the Arab world in the peace era. Yet, they cannot really play the broker role because they are not strong enough and have a close

affinity to the Palestinian side. The other possible role is “a peace spoiler”. The Arabs may insist on including their demands from Israel among the issues to be negotiated and resolved for concluding a peace agreement. These demands comprise the right of internal refugees to reconstruct their ruined villages, to be compensated for confiscated lands and to change Israel’s Jewish character. In addition to overburdening peace negotiations with extra demands, Israeli Arabs can hurt peace chances by abstaining from or voting against a peace agreement in a national referendum if their claims are ignored. Israeli Arab demands can invoke and justify Jewish counter-demands that peace settlement should provide for the ceding of Israeli Arab areas to the new state of Palestine. A third and more pragmatic and constructive role is “a disengaged party” that distances Palestinian citizens from pipedreams (a bridge for peace) and a destructive player (a peace spoiler). This is the position that they take today and what the State of Israel, the Palestinian Authority and the PLO expect them to take. As a disengage party they will contribute to peace by separating their issues from the peace process and by waging a separate struggle for improving their status in Israel.

**Joy Stacey (University of Sussex):** *I am Rana: A Collaborative Performance of Gender, Youth and Identity under Occupation in the West Bank*

This paper will discuss my practice-based research in collaboration with young women living in cities in the West Bank. Exploring the intersections of heritage, youth culture and gendered experiences of life in West Bank cities, my research is conducted through use of fictional performances to engage discussions of society, politics and the urban post-Oslo generation. *I am Rana* is a feature length film in-development, using collaborative and reflexive performance techniques. The narrative follows the life of Rana, a fictional young woman from Qalandiya refugee camp, who faces an identity crisis after being denied access to Jerusalem and reclaims her sense of self by wearing traditional dresses in daily life. This paper will discuss the project's approach to examining gendered experiences of the occupation, and the resulting narratives created to date.

**Hedi Viterbo (University of Essex):** *Incarcerating the Mind*

Israel's restriction of Palestinian movement has received relatively considerable public and academic attention, and so has the mass incarceration of so-called Palestinian 'security offenders'. Yet, Israeli authorities hinder not only physical movement - the movement of individuals from one place to another - but also the movement of political thought across time and space. Similarly, the prison within which Palestinian prisoners (and Palestinian society at large) have been placed is a mental as well as physical prison, erecting barriers not only between and within physical territories but also between sites, subjects, and objects of the socio-political imagination. Exploring this incarceration of the mind, this paper examines recent Israeli practices and policies hindering the ability of Palestinian prisoners and detainees to envisage beyond the here (the prison) and now.

**Ruvi Ziegler (University of Reading):** *Participation in Constitutive Referendums and the Palestinian Diaspora*

All democratic states set eligibility criteria for participation in elections of their institutions of government and in direct electoral processes (such as referendums). Broadly speaking, these criteria fall into two categories: individual competence and membership of the political community. The latter criterion is manifested by ubiquitous exclusion of non-citizen residents from national (and oftentimes also sub- or supra-national) elections. Concurrently, some states impose residency requirements which disqualify their (long and/or short term) non-resident citizens. Stake-holding across time and ties features prominently in jurisprudential and theoretical discourses surrounding disenfranchisement of non-resident citizens (and, in parallel, of non-citizen residents). However, in the main, it is assumed that most of the state's citizens reside therein and that the geographical boundaries of the state are stable. Thus, electoral processes affect the governance of an existing political unit, to which non-citizens qua citizens retain the internationally recognised right to return. In contradistinction, the paper addresses the constitutive role of eligibility of non-residents to participate in an electoral process which may transform political and geographical borders and lead to the creation of a new country whose putative citizens are ex ante either stateless or citizens of other countries. The Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has previously announced that, following the conclusion of any agreement between Israel and Palestine, a ratification referendum will be held, while refraining from specifying its eligibility criteria. The non-residents concerned are members of the Palestinian Diaspora. The extension of the franchise beyond the polity's (prospective) geographical boundaries raises important questions about the link between eligibility for prospective citizenship of a nascent state and eligibility for participation in constitutive electoral process(es).

## Biographies

### **Shahd Abusalma (School of Oriental and African Studies)**

Shahd Abusalma is a Palestinian feminist writer, journalist, activist, and artist, born and raised in Jabalia Refugee Camp, in Palestine's northern coastal enclave of the Gaza Strip. She holds an MA in Media and the Middle East from SOAS, University of London, and her research and work look at activism, resistance, art, and media. She is the author of *Palestine from My Eyes*, which is reproduced at the Electronic Intifada, and was published in Italian in 2013.

### **Marco Allegra (Universidade de Lisboa)**

Marco Allegra is postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (ICS-UL), and Principal Investigator of the project exPERTs (<https://expertsproject.org/>). His publications include several articles in journals such as *Citizenship Studies*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *Environment and Planning A*, *Urban Studies*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *Planning Theory & Practice*; a book on the history of the Palestinian people (Carocci 2010); and an edited collection on planning conflicts (with Enrico Gualini and João Mourato, Jovis 2015). With Ariel Handel and Erez Maggor he has recently edited the volume *Normalizing Occupation. The Politics of Everyday Life in the West Bank Settlements* (Indiana University Press 2017).

### **Nadya Ali (University of Sussex)**

Nadya Ali is Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Sussex.

### **Merav Amir (Queen's University Belfast)**

Dr Merav Amir is a lecturer of Human Geography at Queen's University Belfast. She is a cultural and political geographer with particular interest in critical perspectives on security, processes of border making, geographies of embodiment, critical cultural analysis and feminist and queer theory, with regional expertise in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Recent publications include: 'Revisiting politicized state annihilation in Israel/Palestine,' *Territory, Politics, Governance* (2016); 'Limits of Dissent, Perils of Activism: Spaces of Resistance and the New Security Logic,' *Antipode* (2015) (with Hagar Kotef); and 'Women Speaking of National Security: The Case of Checkpoint Watch,' *International Political Sociology* (2014).

### **Yutaka Arai (University of Kent)**

Yutaka is a professor of international law and international human rights law at University of Kent, Brussels (BSIS), Belgium. He studied law at Keio University before obtaining PhD at University of Cambridge. So far, he has published two books: *The Margin of Appreciation Doctrine and the Principle of Proportionality in the Jurisprudence of the ECHR* (Intersentia/Hart, 2002); *The Law of Occupation - continuity and interaction between international humanitarian law and international human rights law*, (Martinus Nijhoff, 2009). He has published numerous articles in international referred journals, including in *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*, *International Review of the Red Cross*, and *Yearbook of European Law*. His recent publication includes two articles to, Clapham, Gaeta, and Sassoli (eds), *The 1949 Geneva Conventions - Commentary*, (Oxford Univ. Press, 2015).

### **Orna Ben-Naftali (The College of Management)**

Professor Orna Ben-Naftali is the Emile Zola Chair for Human Rights, the Striks School of Law, the College of Management Academic Studies, Israel. She has published extensively on the role law has played in sustaining the control Israel exercises over the Palestinian Territory and People. Her book, co-authored with Michael Sfard and Hedi Viterbo, *The ABC of the OPT: A Legal Lexicon of the Israeli Control of the Palestinian Territory* will be published in late 2017 in Cambridge University Press.

### **George E. Bisharat (UC Hastings)**

George E. Bisharat was a trial lawyer for the Office of the Public Defender in San Francisco before joining the UC Hastings faculty in 1991. Professor Bisharat studied law, anthropology, and Middle East studies at Harvard, and wrote a book about Palestinian lawyers working under Israeli military occupation in the West Bank. He writes frequently on the Middle East, both for academic audiences and for major media sources in the U.S. and

abroad. After taking emeritus status in 2015, Bisharat, as “Big Harp George,” has recorded two blues albums that earned award nominations and critical acclaim.

**Tony Booth (University of Sussex)**

Tony Booth is Senior Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Sussex.

**Michael Collyer (University of Sussex)**

Michael Collyer is Professor of Geography at the University of Sussex, specialising on issues of migration.

**Andrea Cornwall (University of Sussex)**

Andrea Cornwall is Professor of Anthropology and International Development at the University of Sussex, and Head of Sussex’s School of Global Studies.

**Jane Cowan (University of Sussex)**

Jane Cowan is Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Sussex, and Director of the Sussex Rights and Justice Research Centre.

**James Eastwood (Queen Mary, University of London)**

James Eastwood is Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Queen Mary, University of London. He previously taught at SOAS, University of London, where he also completed his PhD. His thesis was awarded the 2016 Malcolm H Kerr Dissertation Award by the Middle East Studies Association, and was jointly awarded the 2016 Michael Nicholson Prize by the British International Studies Association. He has previously published in the *European Journal of International Relations* and his forthcoming book *Ethics as a Weapon on War: Militarism and Morality in Israel* will soon be published with Cambridge University Press.

**Martin Evans (University of Sussex)**

Martin Evans is Professor of Modern European History at Sussex University. He is the author of *Algeria: France’s Undeclared War* (OUP, 2012) which was a *Financial Times* history book of the year. He is the co-author (with John Phillips) of *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed* (Yale, 2007). He is a regular contributor to *History Today* and was a British Academy-Leverhulme Fellow in 2007. He is presently writing a history of contemporary Morocco to be published by Yale University Press.

**Richard Falk (Princeton University)**

Richard Falk is Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice Emeritus, Princeton University and currently Research Fellow, Orfalea Center of Global Studies, UCSB. He was UN Special Rapporteur for Occupied Palestine, 2008-2014. In 2017 he co-authored a UN report entitled “Israeli Practices towards the Palestinian People and Question of Apartheid” that generated controversy and widespread discussion. He is Senior Vice President of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. Recently published books: *Palestine’s Horizon: Towards a Just Peace*, London, Pluto, (2017); *Exploring Emergent Global Thresholds: Towards 2030* (edited with Manoranjan Mohanty and Victor Faessel) Delhi, (2017).

**Rosa Freedman (University of Reading)**

Rosa Freedman is the inaugural Professor of Law, Conflict and Global Development at the University of Reading. She received her LLB, LLM and PhD from the University of London and is a member of Gray’s Inn. Freedman’s research focuses on the UN and human rights, in particular the impact of politics upon the creation and protection of international human rights law. She has published extensively on the UN human rights bodies and on UN peacekeeping and accountability for human rights abuses committed during such operations, including two monographs, two co-edited collections, and articles in *American Journal of International Law*, *European Journal of International Law*, *Leiden Journal of International Law* and *Human Rights Quarterly*, amongst others. She frequently appears in international and national media, works closely with the UN and with state governments, and sits on the advisory boards of international NGOs.

**Neve Gordon (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, and School of Oriental and African Studies)**

A Leverhulme Visiting Professor at SOAS, Neve Gordon’s research focuses on international law, human rights, the ethics of violence, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and political theory. Gordon wrote *Israel’s Occupation*

(University of California Press 2008) and co-authored (with Nicola Perugini) *The Human Right to Dominate* (Oxford University Press 2015), while editing two volumes, one on torture in Israel (with Ruchama Marton) and the other on marginalized perspectives on human rights. He has published over 50 academic articles and book chapters and is currently working on a new book project dealing with the history and politics of human shields.

#### **Aeyal Gross (Tel-Aviv University, School of Oriental and African Studies)**

Aeyal Gross is professor of law at the Faculty in Tel Aviv University's Faculty of Law. He is also a Visiting Reader in Law at SOAS, University of London. He teaches and publishes in areas of international and constitutional law, human rights and law and sexuality. He is the author of *The Writing on the Wall: Rethinking the International Law of Occupation* (CUP, 2017) and co-editor with Colleen Flood of *The Write to Health at the Public/Private Divide: A Global Comparative Study* (CUP, 2014). He is also a board member of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and of Gisha – Legal Center for Freedom of Movement.

#### **MdB Annette Groth (Die Linke)**

Annette Groth, Sociologist, spokeswoman on Human Rights for The Left Party Parliamentary Group, focus on the Middle East, migration, austerity policy in Greece, European asylum policy. Chairwoman of the German-Greek parliamentary friendship group in the German Bundestag. Member of the Migration Committee of the Council of Europe. During her professional career Annette Groth worked on human rights and migration issues (Research Institute in Rotterdam; Education Officer – UNHCR, Geneva; Consultant for Scholarship Programmes in Africa, Bread for the World, Germany) and was “Special Rapporteur on the situation of Roma in Europe” and “Rapporteur for a stronger European response to the Syrian refugee crisis” of the Council of Europe.

#### **Eric Heinze (Queen Mary, University of London)**

Eric Heinze is Professor of Law, QMUL (Maitrise, Paris; JD, Harvard; PhD, Leiden; Fulbright, DAAD, Chateaubriand). His books include *Hate Speech and Democratic Citizenship* (OUP, 2016), *The Concept of Injustice* (Routledge, 2013), *The Logic of Constitutional Rights* (Ashgate, 2005); *The Logic of Liberal Rights* (Routledge, 2003); *The Logic of Equality* (Ashgate, 2003); *Sexual Orientation: A Human Right* (Nijhoff, 1995), and *Of Innocence and Autonomy: Children, Sex and Human Rights* (ed. Ashgate, 2000). His articles appear in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, *Modern Law Review*, *Ratio Juris*, *Legal Studies*, *Law & Literature*, *Law & Humanities*, *International Journal of Law in Context*, *Michigan Journal of International Law*, *National Black Law Journal*, *Journal of Social & Legal Studies*, *Law & Critique*, *Canadian Journal of Law & Jurisprudence*.

#### **Hilary Kalmbach (University of Sussex)**

Hilary Kalmbach is Lecturer in Middle East History at the University of Sussex, and Director of the Middle East and North Africa Centre at Sussex (MENACS).

#### **Zdenek Kavan (University of Sussex)**

Zdenek Kavan teaches International Relations and human rights at the University of Sussex.

#### **Ghada Karmi (University of Exeter)**

Ghada Karmi is a Palestinian academic and writer. Currently she is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter, where she has taught conflict resolution in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Previously she was a Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, and at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Her major area of work has been on the Palestine/Israel conflict and she has published widely on this subject. Her most recent books include *In Search of Fatima*, *Married to another man*, and *Return*.

#### **Salma Karmi-Ayoubb (Al Haq, Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights)**

Salma Karmi-Ayyoub is a criminal barrister and legal consultant for the Palestinian human rights organisation Al Haq. Salma also provides legal research, consultancy and advice services to campaigning organisations and solicitors firms on issues related to Palestinian human rights. Salma regularly writes on topics related to the law and Palestine, her articles having appeared in publications such as the *London Review of Books*, *The Huffington Post* and *The Nation*.

**Victor Kattan (National University of Singapore)**

Victor Kattan is a Senior Research Fellow at the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore (NUS) and an Associate Fellow at the Faculty of Law also at NUS where he was a Post-Doctoral Fellow from 2013-2015. Before Victor moved to Singapore, he was the Legal Adviser to the Palestine Liberation Organization's Negotiation Affairs Department in Ramallah on secondment from the United Nations Development Program. Previously, Victor was a Teaching Fellow at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Victor has lectured extensively overseas and taken part in workshops organized by the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross. In addition to his academic work, Victor has acted as a consultant for the European Council on Foreign Relations, the Oxford Research Group, and several Governments. He has provided research assistance to senior counsel in cases before the English courts and authored joint opinions. Victor has recently been announced the winner of the inaugural Asian Society of International Law Young Scholar Prize.

**Michael Kearney (University of Sussex)**

Dr Michael Kearney is Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Sussex, where he convenes the LLM in International Criminal Law. Michael has published on propaganda and incitement in international law, including *The Prohibition of Propaganda for War in International Law* (OUP 2007). His most recent paper is *On the Situation in Palestine and the War Crime of Transfer of Civilians into Occupied Territory* 28 Criminal Law Forum 1 (2017).

**Hagar Kotef (School of Oriental and African Studies)**

Hagar Kotef is a Senior Lecturer of Political Theory and Comparative Political Thought at the Department of Politics and International Relations, SOAS, The University of London. She is the author of *Movement and the Ordering of Freedom: On Liberal Governances of Mobility* (Duke University Press, 2015).

**Alan Lester (University of Sussex)**

Alan Lester is Professor of Historical Geography in the Department of Geography at Sussex. He is also Deputy Pro Vice Chancellor (Interdisciplinary Research), and holds a Research Professorship in Historical Studies at La Trobe University, Melbourne.

**Kamran Matin (University of Sussex)**

Kamran Matin is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Sussex, specialising on international historical sociology and the contemporary Middle East, especially Iran.

**Akanksha Mehta (University of Sussex)**

Akanksha Mehta is a Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Sussex. She holds a PhD in Gender Studies from SOAS, University of London. Her PhD research examines the politics of women in right-wing movements, specifically the Hindu nationalist movement in India and Zionist settlers in Israel-Palestine. Her broader research interests include gender and sexuality, feminist and queer theory, political violence, war and conflict, visual ethnography, and critical pedagogy. She is also a documentary photographer.

**Yonatan Mendel (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute)**

Yonatan Mendel's research area is the sociology of language, specifically, the influence of political conflict on the study and status of language. In that regard, he analysed the political and intellectual history of the study of Arabic in the Jewish community in Palestine/Israel in the 20th Century. Mendel is a post-doctoral researcher, the head of the Van Leer Center for Jewish-Arab Relations, and a regular contributor to the *London Review of Books*.

**Ethan Morton-Jerome (University of Arkansas)**

Ethan Morton-Jerome is a PhD candidate in Anthropology at the University of Arkansas. From 2013 until the summer of 2016 he conducted fieldwork in Palestine on Palestinian labor in West Bank settlements. During the 2015-2016 academic year he was a Research Fellow at the Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies at Birzeit University. He received funding for his fieldwork from the Palestinian American Research Center, the Mellon Mediterranean Regional Research Fellowship, and the Center for Middle East Studies at the University of Arkansas.

**Nadia Naser-Najjab (University of Exeter)**

Nadia Naser-Najjab is a Research Fellow, European Centre for Palestine Studies- Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. Prior to this she was an Assistant Professor, Birzeit University, Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies and the MA program in Arab Contemporary Studies. Her research work is related to Palestine and Palestine-Israel conflict. Nadia holds a PhD in Middle East Studies from the University of Exeter.

**Katharine Natanel (University of Exeter)**

Katherine Natanel is a Lecturer in Gender Studies at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. Her recent monograph titled *Sustaining Conflict: Apathy and Domination in Israel-Palestine* (University of California Press 2016) details the gendered 'work' that produces political apathy among Jewish Israelis and thereby sustains settler colonialism. Katherine's research interests include political participation and mobilisation, feminist and gender theory, conflict and political violence, political emotions, and feminist research methods.

**Jacob Norris (University of Sussex)**

Jacob Norris is Lecturer in Middle Eastern History at the University of Sussex in the UK. He was previously Research Fellow at Pembroke College, Cambridge, after completing his PhD in 2010, also at Cambridge. His monograph, *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948*, was published by OUP in 2013. His current research looks at the history of Bethlehem through the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and its interactions with the wider world. This project is leading towards two major outputs: firstly a monograph written in a 'global microhistory' methodology on one merchant from the town, as well as a digital archive project in collaboration with Bethlehem film maker Leila Sansour.

**Adi Ophir (Brown University)**

Adi Ophir is professor emeritus at Tel Aviv University and a visiting professor at the Cogut Center for the Humanities and the program for Middle East Studies at Brown University. Among his books, *Divine Violence: Two Essays on God and Disaster*, *The One State Condition* (co-authored with Azoulay); and *The Order of Evils* (Zone Books 2005). His forthcoming book, *The Birth of the Gentile*, co-authored with Ishay Rosen-Zvi, reconstructs the emergence of the "goy" as a concept and a special type of "Other." Ophir is the founding editor of *Theoria v-Bikoret*, and *Maft'eakh: Lexical Review of Political Thought*.

**Amir Paz-Fuchs (University of Sussex)**

Amir Paz-Fuchs is a Senior Lecturer at the Sussex Law School, where he is also Director of Sussex Clinical Legal Education. Following his LL.B. at the Hebrew University School of the Law (*magna cum laude*), Amir finished his D.Phil at Oxford University. His areas of interests include labour and employment law, jurisprudence, social rights and social justice, access to justice, legal aspects of privatisation, and social and economic aspects of the Israeli occupation. Amir served on the board of several human rights and social justice NGOs and has trained as an employment specialist for Citizens' Advice Bureau.

**Yoav Peled (Tel-Aviv University, and University of Sussex)**

Yoav Peled is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Tel Aviv University and in 2016-2017 a Leverhulme Professorial Fellow at Sussex University and a Visiting Professor at the LSE. His book, co-authored with Gershon Shafir, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) won the 2002 Albert Hourani Award of the Middle East Studies Association of North America for best book on the Middle East published that year. He is co-author, with Horit Herman Peled, of *The Religionization of Israeli Society* (Routledge, forthcoming) and co-editor, with John Ehrenberg of *Israel/Palestine: Alternative Perspectives on Statehood* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2016).

**Ronald Ranta (Kingston University)**

Ronald Ranta is a senior lecturer in politics and international relations at Kingston University London. His main areas of interest are foreign policy, nationalism and food studies. He is the author of *Political Decision Making and Non-Decisions: The Case of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (Palgrave, 2015) and co-author of *From the Arab Other to the Israeli Self: Palestinian Culture in the Making of Israeli National Identity* (Routledge, 2016).



**Yael Ronen (The Academic Centre of Law and Science)**

Prof. Yael Ronen is professor of international law at Sha'arei Mishpat Academic Center for Law and Science and is a research fellow at the Minerva Center for Human Rights at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She is the academic editor of the *Israel Law Review*, a journal of human rights, international and public law, published by Cambridge University Press. Her research focuses on the law of occupation, as well as on the intersection between human rights law, international criminal law, and questions of territorial status.

**Ruba Salih (School of Oriental and African Studies)**

Ruba Salih is a social anthropologist and a Reader at SOAS, University of London. Her forthcoming publications include a book (co-authored with Sophie Richter Devore) titled: *Palestinian refugees. The politics of rights and the politics of return*, Cambridge University Press, and a special issue of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *Palestine beyond national frames: emerging politics, cultures and claims* (also co-authored with S. Richter-Devore) which will be out in 2018. She has just published: *Bodies that Talk, Bodies that Walk, Bodies that Love. Palestinian Women Refugees, Affectivity and the Politics of the Ordinary*, Antipode, A Journal of Radical Geography, Volume 49, Issue 3, June 2017, Pages 742–760.

**Andrew Sanders (University of Sussex)**

Andrew Sanders is Professor of Criminal Law and Criminology, and Head of the School of Law, Politics and Sociology at the University of Sussex.

**Leila Sansour (Open Bethlehem)**

Leila Sansour is an acclaimed film maker and the founder and CEO of Open Bethlehem, a public diplomacy project that works internationally to position Bethlehem as a window into Palestine.

She began her career in television as a producer on Al Jazeera's leading documentary series "Encounter in Exile" and moved on to create a number of award winning shorts and two feature length documentaries both of which were released in cinemas across the UK. Leila has worked as a consultant on a number of media projects with the UN and IFES and she freelances regularly as a producer with ITN news.

**Jan Selby (University of Sussex)**

Jan Selby is Professor of International Relations at the University of Sussex, and Director of the Sussex Centre for Conflict and Security Research (SCSR). His books include *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (IB Tauris, 2003) and most recently *What's the Point of International Relations?* (Routledge, 2017; co-edited with Synne Dyvik and Rorden Wilkinson).

**Sammy Smootha (University of Haifa, and School of Oriental and African Studies)**

Dr. Sammy Smootha is Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of Haifa. He studies Israeli society, with a focus on state policy and ethnic relations, in comparative perspective. He has published widely on the internal divisions and conflicts in Israel, and authored articles and books on Arab-Jewish relations. He conducts, since 2003, the annual Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel. During the 2016-17 academic year he is serving as Israel Institute Visiting Professor at Near and Middle East Department, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

**Sam Solomon (University of Sussex)**

Sam Solomon is Lecturer in Creative and Critical Writing at the University of Sussex.

**Joy Stacey (University of Sussex)**

Joy Stacey is a practice-based PhD researcher at the University of Sussex, developing her thesis *Staging Identity: The dresses of Palestinian resistance and occupied performances of femininity*, alongside her first feature-length film, *I am Rana*. Stacey has worked in Palestine for seven years, and in 2015 she curated *Autonomy of Self: Rejecting violence with the lens in former Ottoman territories* at P21 Gallery, London Kings Cross.

**Hedi Viterbo (University of Essex)**

Hedi Viterbo is a lecturer in law at the University of Essex. His research examines issues at the intersection of state violence, childhood, and sexuality from an interdisciplinary perspective. Among his recent articles are

'Rights as a Divide-and-Rule Mechanism: Lessons from the Case of Palestinians in Israeli Custody' (Law & Social Inquiry); 'Ties of Separation: Analogy and Generational Segregation in North America, Australia, and Israel/Palestine' (Brooklyn Journal of International Law); and 'Seeing Torture Anew: A Transnational Reconceptualization of State Torture and Visual Evidence' (Stanford Journal of International Law).

### **Hannah Weisfeld (Yachad)**

Hannah is the director and a founder of Yachad which was set up in 2011 to build support in the mainstream British Jewish community for a political resolution to the conflict and end to occupation, through education, debate and advocacy. She has campaigned professionally on a wide range of issues including climate change, the conflict in Darfur and fair-trade. She has spent time living and working in Israel and Malawi and holds a BA in English Literature from Sussex University and MSc in Global Politics from the London School of Economics.

### **Ruvi Ziegler (University of Reading)**

Dr. Reuven (Ruvi) Ziegler is a tenured Lecturer in Law at the University of Reading, where he is Programme Director of the LLM in Human Rights, International Law, and Advanced Legal Studies. He is Editor-in-Chief of the Working Paper Series, Refugee Law Initiative, University of London; Academic Fellow of the Inner Temple; Research Associate, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford; and the Civil Liberties & Human Rights Section Convenor of the Society of Legal Scholars. Ruvi is also a researcher at the Israel Democracy Institute, analysing the treatment of African asylum seekers in Israel as part of the Institute's 'Democratic Principles; project. Ruvi's areas of research interest include Citizenship & Electoral Rights, International Refugee Law, Comparative Constitutional Law, and International Humanitarian Law. His recently published book: 'Voting Rights of Refugees' (Cambridge University Press, 2017). Previously, Ruvi was a visiting researcher at Harvard Law School's Immigration and Refugee Clinic and with the Human Rights Program; and a Tutor in Public International Law at Oxford. Ruvi holds DPhil, MPhil, and BCL degrees from Oxford; an LLM (with specialisation in public law) from Hebrew University; and an LLB, BA (Economics) from Haifa. He was called to the Israeli bar in 2003.

## Sussex Centre for Conflict and Security Research



The Sussex Centre for Conflict and Security Research (SCSR) is an interdisciplinary research centre dedicated to promoting original research, and enriching public and policy debate, on issues of conflict and security. It is led from Sussex's Department of International Relations, but includes researchers from across the University – including from Anthropology, Development Studies, Education, History, Law, Media and Film, Politics, Psychology, Sociology, and Science Policy. With a membership of over 40 faculty and 25 doctoral and post-doctoral researchers, plus visiting fellows and associates, SCSR is one of the largest centres of its kind in the UK.

SCSR's research is informed by a critical yet pluralist ethos, and by a simultaneous commitment to theoretical innovation and public and policy engagement. Its work ranges across issues of the changing character of war, militarism and the arms trade, environmental conflict and security, global health security, terrorism and anti-terrorist policies, gender violence, peace-building and peace processes, the new geopolitics, religion and international relations, and human rights struggles. We draw upon a variety of theoretical traditions – constructivist, Marxist, feminist, liberal, post-colonial and more. We have particular strengths in the study of militarism and war; in supporting conversations across disciplines; and at the boundaries between political economy, international development and security issues.

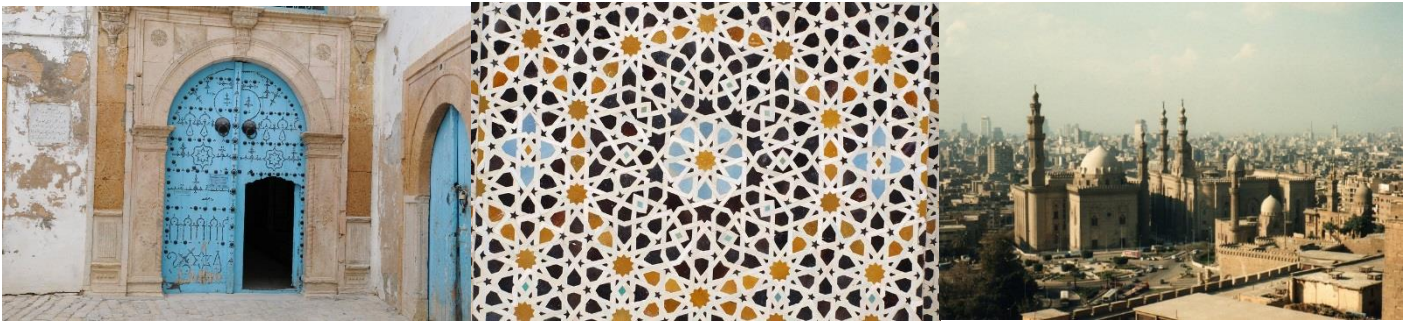
SCSR's programme of events includes an annual lecture given by a leading scholar of conflict or security issues (our inaugural lecture, in 2015, was given by Mahmood Mamdani of the Makerere Institute of Social Research and Columbia University; our 2016 lecture, 'The New Middle East: Implications for the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict' was given by Yoav Peled, Professor Emeritus at Tel Aviv University and Leverhulme Visiting Professor at SCSR); fortnightly research cafes to support the development of research projects and collaborations; and termly Research Jamborees based on thematic sessions and designed to encourage cross-disciplinary collaboration. In addition we run periodic guest lectures and seminars (our 2017 Leverhulme Lecture 'The Religionization of Israeli Society' featured Professor Yoav Peled and Horit Herman Peled, an interventionist and Israeli cultural researcher). Recent academic conferences and symposia have included 'The Ambivalent Influence of Religion in Global Politics: From the Global Crisis of Freedom of Religion or Belief to Violent Extremism' (2017); 'What's the Point of IR?' (2015); and 'Rethinking Climate Change, Conflict and Security' (2012).

SCSR undertakes extensive non-academic engagement work. It and its members regularly hold practitioner-oriented conferences, including recent events on 'Peacebuilding and its Limits' (held at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, April 2015) and 'Developing a Multilateral Approach to Freedom of Religion and Belief' (held at Wilton Park, February 2015). We regularly take our research to non-academic audiences, for instance by organising book launch events, and by producing research briefings. Many of our funded research projects involve extensive collaboration with policymakers and practitioners.

Further information about SCSR is available at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/scsr/>.

Connect on Twitter @sussexscsr

## The Middle East and North Africa Centre at Sussex



The Middle East and North Africa Centre at Sussex (MENACS) is a diverse group consisting of over 30 full-time academics from across the University of Sussex. Drawing on a rich history of area studies and interdisciplinary research at Sussex, MENACS members engage in cutting-edge research and teaching related to the Middle East and North Africa from the perspective of specific disciplines.

MENACS is particularly strong in modern history, anthropology, international relations, politics and development studies. The centre combines a focus on the region with strong ties to specific disciplines, enabling us to consider critically what particular disciplines bring to regional studies, and vice-versa, with the goal of advancing debates in both. It places the Middle East in a global context, examining connections between individual countries and sub-regions within the Middle East and ties between the Middle East and other parts of the world, as well as how the Middle East fits into wider transnational, global, and international networks. It has an especially wide geographic scope, as it brings together academics studying contexts stretching from North Africa to Afghanistan, and Turkey to Sudan and the Indian Ocean coast, as well as Muslims in Europe. Its core of academics study the Arabic-speaking Middle East from 1800 onwards, but it also integrates the study of North Africa and Israel within the umbrella of Middle Eastern Studies. Finally, the centre's research and teaching programmes include an emphasis on application of knowledge, and engagement with educators, policymakers, and business interests.

We have partners across the globe. They include: Qatar University College of Arts and Sciences; Cairo University (Egypt); Lund University (Sweden), London School of Economics; and the *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration* (Paris, France).

Some of our recent events include: film screenings of *Starve your Dog* (Hicham Lasri, 2015), *Open Bethlehem* (Leila Sansour, 2014), and *The Sea is Behind* (Hicham Lasri, 2016); workshop with film director Ani Laurie; Annual lecture with Ms Frances Guy, former ambassador to Yemen and Lebanon; Conference on American-Israeli Relations; co-sponsoring of Professor Yoav Peled's Leverhulme Lecture on the 'Religionization of Israeli Society'; postgraduate conference on 'Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Middle East and North Africa'; book launch for Dr Anthony Booth 'Islamic Philosophy and the Ethics of Belief'; Nation and State meeting on 'The Unmaking of the Middle East: Thinking Through the Nation-State Crisis'.

Some of our upcoming events include: Annual lecture with Professor Keith David Wattenpugh on 'The Drowned, the Saved and the Forgotten: Genocide and the Foundations of Modern Humanitarianism' (May 2017); film screening of *On a Wind and a Prayer* at the Poetics and Politics Symposium (June 2017).

Further information about MENACS is available at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/menacs/>  
Connect on Twitter @MENACSussex



# The Sussex Centre for Human Rights Research

Sussex Centre for  
Human Rights  
Research



The Sussex Centre for Human Rights Research (SCHRR) was launched in August 2015. The core aim of the Centre is to foster a vibrant research culture for human rights researchers within the Sussex Law School. Our work has a global as well as national focus and we adopt a range of different approaches to human rights research (e.g. doctrinal, critical, theoretical, practical and inter-disciplinary). Although based in Sussex Law School, SCHRR has fostered links with researchers across the university, in particular Global Studies and the Sussex Rights and Justice Research Centre.

SCHRR aims to support the academic research of members and generate opportunities for public engagement. Key areas of research strength within SCHRR include migrants and refugee rights (Nuno Ferreira, Bal Sokhi-Bulley, Samantha Velluti), minority rights (Stephanie Berry, Elizabeth Craig, Verona Ní Drisceoil), freedom of religion or belief (Stephanie Berry, Kim Brayson, Nuno Ferreira, Charlotte Skeet), womens rights (Kim Brayson, Sue Millns, Charlotte Skeet), sexual orientation and gender identity (Nuno Ferreira, Moira Dustin), global security and human rights (Alex Conte) and the interface between international human rights and international humanitarian law (Alex Conte) and international criminal law (Michael Kearney). Research conducted within SCHRR often takes a critical or interdisciplinary approach (Kim Brayson, Sue Millns, Charlotte Skeet, Bal Sokhi-Bulley). PhD students are actively encouraged to become involved in the work of the centre. Members of SCHRR often engage with and advise international organisations, INGOs and NGOs. Furthermore, SCHRR is currently developing links with the Equality and Diversity Forum Research Network, through a new partnership set up within the School of Law, Politics and Sociology.

SCHRR's programme of events includes the Rights Research Series, doctoral debates research workshops and academic conferences. In Spring 2017, the Rights Research Series included work in progress papers from members as well as research seminars given by external speakers: Merris Amos (Queen Mary, University of London), spoke about 'the Human Rights Implications of Brexit' and Hugh Tomlinson Q.C. on 'Free Speech and Protecting Privacy: Balancing Two Human Rights'. In January 2017, SCHRR held its inaugural conference, 'Challenging Human Rights Disenchantment 50 Years on from the ICCPR and ICESCR'. The conference attracted over 100 participants and included keynote papers by Prof. Andrew Clapham (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland); Mona Rishmawi (Chief of the Rule of Law, Equality and Non-Discrimination Branch of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights); Prof. Pamela Palmater (Ryerson University, Canada). An additional programme of events is organised by the PhD working group, with support from SCHRR.

Further information on SCHRR is available: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/schrr/index>

Connect on Twitter: @sussexhumanrts

# The Sussex Rights and Justice Research Centre



The Sussex Rights and Justice Research Centre (SRJRC) promotes research initiatives and intellectual exchange on ‘rights’ and ‘justice’, both of which have long been central intellectual and political concerns within the University of Sussex. The Centre began its life in the early 2000s as the ‘Justice, Violence and Rights Research Centre’, which drew particularly from the departments of anthropology, law and international relations. An expanded centre was re-launched in 2015. Its aim is to bring together faculty, doctoral and postdoctoral researchers, and interested postgraduate students from across the University and enable them to share their own work, build relationships and exchange ideas with each other in a rigorous but friendly interdisciplinary forum. The Centre, moreover, facilitates collaboration with other scholars, practitioners and institutions interested in the study of the ethics and politics of rights and justice.

Our core activities are *monthly research workshops* during term time, at which we discuss our current work and ideas ‘in progress’ with one another. Work to be discussed ranges from conference papers, draft journal articles, book proposals, draft thesis chapters, grant applications and so forth. Generally, our format involves 2-4 researchers giving short presentations (10-12 minutes) around a shared theme, followed by a generous period available for group discussion. In academic year 2016-17, we held workshops on ‘*Human Rights and the Private Sector*’ (October 2016), ‘*Migrants, Non-Migrants and Work*’ (November 2016), ‘*Interdisciplinarity in Rights/Justice*’ (February 2017) and ‘*Activism*’ (March 2017); our autumn calendar will include ‘*Health and Evidence*’ (October 2017) and ‘*The European Union and Social Rights*’ (November 2017). Our aim is to provide each other feedback in an inter-disciplinary and supportive environment akin to a peer review college. We strive in particular to offer challenging and constructive feedback from disciplinary perspectives other than the researcher’s own, alerting researchers to views from ‘outside the disciplinary box’ and preparing them for peer review processes at interdisciplinary journals and/or at multidisciplinary research funding bodies.

In 2015-16 and 2016-17, we have been able to offer small faculty grants and doctoral/postdoctoral bursaries to support the research of several active centre members. We also co-operate with other research centres at both the University of Sussex and the University of Brighton in co-sponsoring events.

We are delighted to welcome new members. Further information about the SRJRC is available at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/justice/>

# Venue and Directions

## Conference Location at Sussex

The conference will be held in the Fulton Building at the University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9SJ. Plenary sessions take place in Fulton Lecture Theatre B, with parallel panels being in Fulton seminar rooms, and registration, refreshments and displays in the Fulton foyer area. A campus map can be found on the next page.

## Travelling to the University of Sussex

### Train

Falmer train station is directly opposite the University campus. Pedestrian access is through a subway under the A27 – follow signs for the University of Sussex (the University of Brighton has a campus at Falmer too). Falmer is on the line between Brighton and Lewes, about eight minutes travel time in each direction. Four trains an hour go there during the day time. Visitors travelling via London and the west should take a train to Brighton and change there for Falmer. The journey time from London to Brighton is just under an hour. You can also change at Lewes for Falmer, if you are coming from the east. You can book your train tickets through National Rail.

### Coach

National Express Coaches to Brighton depart from London Victoria Coach Station and arrive at Pool Valley in the centre of the city. Services are every hour during the day and take about two hours. Coaches also run to Brighton from Gatwick and Heathrow. From Pool Valley you need to walk 100 metres to the Old Steine where you can catch a bus direct to the University (see Local buses section below), or you can take a taxi. You can book your tickets through National Express Coaches.

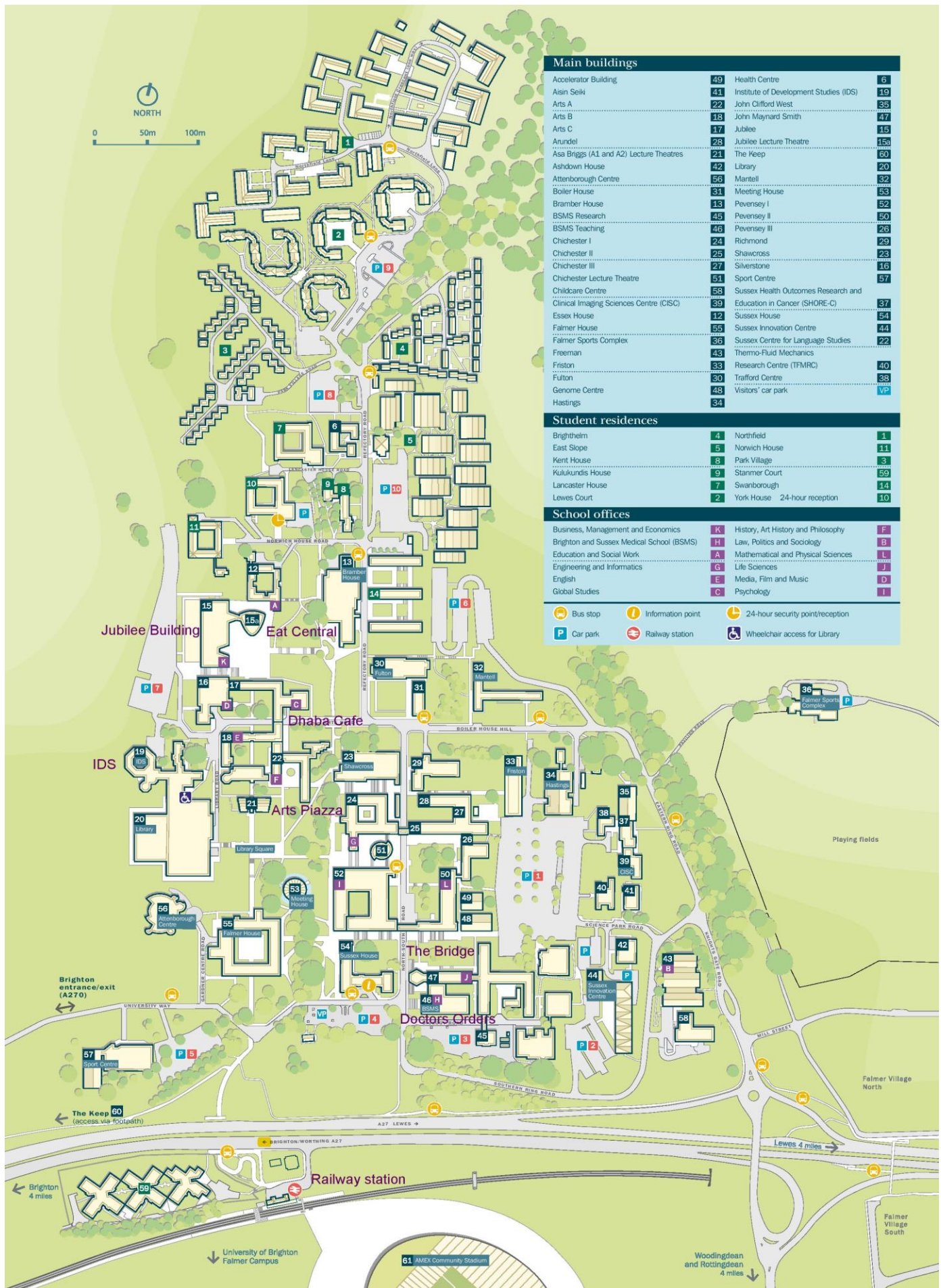
### Taxi

Taxis are available at both Brighton and Lewes train stations and at many places in the centre of Brighton. It is about four miles (six kilometres) from central Brighton to the University. (There is no taxi service at Falmer station itself.) It is often quicker to catch the train direct to Falmer from Brighton or Lewes. You can book your taxi with Streamline Taxis on 01273-202020.

### Car

The University is at Falmer on the A27 between Brighton and Lewes, about four miles (six kilometres) from the centre of Brighton. (Please follow signs for University of Sussex on the north side of the A27; the University of Brighton also has a campus at Falmer on the south side of the A27.) Visitors from London and the north should take the M23/A23 road towards Brighton. Before entering the centre of Brighton, join the A27 eastbound signposted Lewes. Drivers from the east or west take the A27 direct to the University. See our location on Google maps [here](#).







# University of Sussex

## Reception

- 54 Main reception..... Sussex House

## Academic units

- 18 American Studies ..... Arts A & B  
 17 Anthropology ..... Arts C  
 18 Art History ..... Arts A  
 15 Business and Management ..... Jubilee  
 28 Chemistry ..... Arundel  
 15 Economics ..... Jubilee  
 12 Education ..... Essex House  
 29 Engineering and Design ..... Richmond  
 18 English ..... Arts B  
 48 Genome Centre  
 17 Geography ..... Arts C  
 22 History ..... Arts A  
 24 Informatics ..... Chichester I & II  
 17 International Development ..... Arts C  
 17 International Relations ..... Arts C  
 43 Law ..... Freeman  
 47 Life Sciences ..... John Maynard Smith  
 50 Mathematics ..... Pevensey II  
 16 Media and Film ..... Silverstone  
 46 Medical School ..... BSMS  
 16 Music ..... Silverstone  
 22 Philosophy ..... Arts A  
 24 Physical Geography labs ..... Chichester I  
 50 Physics and Astronomy ..... Pevensey II  
 43 Politics ..... Freeman  
 52 Psychology ..... Pevensey I  
 12 Social Work and Social Care ..... Essex House  
 43 Sociology ..... Freeman  
 15 SPRU – Science Policy Research Unit ..... Jubilee  
 22 Sussex Centre for Language Studies ..... Arts A

## University offices

- 20 Careers and Employability Centre ..... Library  
 13 Conference Centre ..... Bramber House  
 54 Development and Alumni Relations ..... Sussex House  
 34 Estates and Facilities Management ..... Hastings  
 34 Health and Safety Office ..... Hastings  
 34 Occupational Health ..... Hastings  
 55 Research and Enterprise ..... Falmer House  
 61 Student Recruitment and Marketing ..... AMEX Community Stadium  
 10 Security Office (24-hour reception) ..... York House  
 44 Sussex Innovation Centre  
 55 University of Sussex Students' Union ..... Falmer House  
 54 Vice-Chancellor's Office ..... Sussex House

## Student services

- 54 Admissions Office ..... Sussex House  
 55 Advice & Representation Centre (USSU) ..... Falmer House  
 20 Careers and Employability Centre ..... Library  
 53 Chaplaincy ..... Meeting House  
 54 Finance Office ..... Sussex House  
 55 Muslim prayer facility ..... Falmer House  
 13 Residential Sport and Trading Services ..... Bramber House  
 13 Student Life Centre ..... Bramber House  
 13 Student Systems and Records Office ..... Bramber House  
 52 Student Support Unit ..... Pevensey I  
 34 Sussex Abroad Office ..... Hastings  
 6 University Counselling Service ..... Health Centre

## Other units on campus

- 39 Clinical Imaging Sciences Centre (CISC)  
 41 IMRA Europe UK Research Centre ..... Aisin Seiki  
 19 Institute of Development Studies (IDS)  
 33 International Study Centre ..... Friston  
 37 Sussex Health Outcomes Research and Education in Cancer (SHORE-C)  
 40 Thermo-Fluid Mechanics Research Centre (TFMRC)  
 32 University of Gothenburg ..... Mantell

## Learning services

- 56 Attenborough Centre for the Creative Arts (opens 2016)  
 26 Attenborough Centre Creativity Zone ..... Pevensey III  
 23 IT Services ..... Shawcross  
 20 Library  
 60 Mass Observation Archive ..... The Keep  
 60 Special Collections ..... The Keep

## Campus services and shops

- 54 Barclays ..... Sussex House  
 20 Bookshop ..... Library  
 58 Childcare Centre  
 13 Conference Centre ..... Bramber House  
 13 The co-operative (supermarket) ..... Bramber House  
 6 Dentist ..... Health Centre  
 6 Health Centre  
 3 Laundrette ..... Park Village  
 13 Newsagent (in The co-operative) ..... Bramber House  
 6 Pharmacy ..... Health Centre  
 13 Post Office (in The co-operative) ..... Bramber House  
 34 Print Unit ..... Hastings  
 57 Sport Centre  
 55 Students' Union Shop ..... Falmer House  
 36 Sussexsport (Sport Services) ..... Falmer Sports Complex

## Cafés on campus

- 22 Arts Piazza Café ..... Arts A  
 50 Bridge Café ..... Pevensey II  
 17 Dhaba Café ..... Arts C  
 46 Doctor's Orders Café ..... BSMS  
 5 East Slope Bar ..... East Slope  
 13 Eat Central (ground floor) ..... Bramber House  
 13 Dine Central (first floor) ..... Bramber House  
 19 IDS Café and Bar ..... IDS  
 15 Jubilee Café ..... Jubilee  
 20 Library Café ..... Library  
 44 Sussex Innovation Centre Café ..... Sussex Innovation Centre  
 55 The Union Bar ..... Falmer House

## Can't find what you're looking for?

- Drop in to the main reception, Sussex House 54 9am to 5pm
- To find a person on campus, call switchboard on (01273) 606755
- In an emergency call (01273) 873333 or visit Security Office (24-hours)
- For more information, visit  
[www.sussex.ac.uk](http://www.sussex.ac.uk)  
[www.facebook.com/uniofsussex](https://www.facebook.com/uniofsussex)  
[www.twitter.com/sussexuni](https://www.twitter.com/sussexuni)

## Dining

Refreshments will be served prior to the conference opening and during conference breaks. There will also be a drinks reception at the end of day one. Lunch is not provided. Speakers will be provided with lunch vouchers which can be used at any of the campus cafes. A full list of campus cafes and eating venues is provided below:

**Eat Central** is the hub of food culture at Sussex. Freshly cooked breakfast, lunch and dinner is available every day, with our international chefs preparing dishes from around the world. Explore the menus [here](#). This is building number 13 on the map.

**Jubilee Cafe** offers a “Roasted ‘n’ Stuffed” range as a healthy lunch. Basically, a big root vegetable stuffed with additional goodness. Jubilee is also famous for its classic American waffles and maple syrup which everybody talks about. Explore the menu [here](#). This is building number 15 on the map.

**The Dhaba Cafe** is unique to Sussex as it is the only vegetarian cafe on campus. There is an enormous self-service salad bar alongside international street food dishes. Explore the menu [here](#). This is building number 17 on the map.

**Dine Central** is on the first floor of Bramber House and is the place to experience outstanding food for amazing value: fresh fish, luxury salads, inspiring vegetarian options and a roast of the day. There's also a wok counter or broth bar where authentic Oriental dishes are cooked to order. Explore the menu [here](#). This is building number 13 on the map.

**Doctors' Orders** is in the Brighton and Sussex Medical School (in the far north-east corner of campus). Favourite food items here are On the Pulse (gluten-free, dairy-free and vegan), One Pot Wonders and GINGERMAN sausage rolls. Explore the menu [here](#). This is building number 46 on the map.

**Arts Piazza** is the coffee is barista-served and made to enjoy. There's also an amazing collection of teas. These drinks go perfectly alongside the delightful selection of home-made, cake, bakes and other treats. Explore the menu [here](#). This is building number 22 on the map.

**The Bridge** is SussexFoods' secret gem. Tucked away between Pevensey I and Pevensey II, the cafe forms a bridge over North-South Road in the science area of campus. Explore the menu [here](#). This is building number 50 on the map.



## **Connecting to the Internet**

Visitors to the university can get online for free with the O2 wi-fi network.

Select O2 Wifi on your device from the available wi-fi networks. You will be asked to enter your phone number to which a code will be sent. You can then enter the code as directed and this will enable the connection. Your device will now be registered with O2 Wifi and it will be able to connect to any public O2 network in the country.