

Educational Geopolitics and the 'Settler University' in Ariel

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Occupation proceeds from the same ideological infrastructure on which the 1948 ethnic cleansing was erected [...] and in whose name there take place every day detentions and killings without trial. The most murderous manifestation of this ideology is now in the Territories. It should and must be stopped soonest. For that, no expedient which has not yet been tried should be rejected. - Ilan Pappé, 8 May 2007[1]

Exploring the Geopolitics of Education in a Colonial-Settler Space

Along with patterns of neo-liberal transformation spreading through Israeli higher education, a distinctive element of Israeli academe is the extent to which university staff and researchers actively or more often tacitly support the broader aims of the government and the Occupation, including its daily murders, abominations and indignities against the Palestinians. University lecturers turn out the foot soldiers for the policies driven by the Israel national narrative and its territorial imperative. Platoons of university-based scientists in Israel work in weapons research, policy analysis, perfecting of surveillance and security, and related areas. Government contracts and a perfected meshwork of ties between academe, the defense and hi-tech industries and the military, driven by a deeply entrenched doctrinal framework of national chauvinism, characterize the topography of Israel academe in a striking way.[2] Yet far too many Israelis of all social strata function in a perverse bubble of non-engagement and denial, a radical disconnect from the political and human realities of oppression and injustice around them. A vast morass of inaction abounds within the vortex of what some of us think is a national political psychosis.[3] Those calling for an international boycott of Israeli academe, like Virginia Tilley, stress a situation where "moral paralysis becomes moral culpability".[4]

That 'moral culpability' manifest in Israeli academe is nowhere more arrogant than on the growing campus of the College of Judea and Samaria (CJS, *Ha-Mikhla Ha-Akademit Yehuda ve-Shomron*) in the ever expanding settler fortress city of Ariel on the Occupied West Bank. Recently unilaterally restyled as a 'University Center', the function of this institution as a 'power tool' of settler ideology and the consolidation of the Occupation is perhaps unique to higher education in an 'advanced' industrial economy, where a campus assumes what is in effect a vanguard geopolitical role.

The present essay examines some aspects of this 'geopolitics of education' in the ideologically charged context of the Israeli state and its pervasive 'ethnocracy'.^[5] It suggests the need for creating an Arab university inside Israel as a counter-project to Israeli-Jewish hegemony. It also looks a bit at the related broader topography of neo-colonialist projects of influence and control engineered from the wealthy economies and their academic turf into the spaces of the Global South and the formerly state-socialist European and Central Asian East, and the pressing need for 'decolonizing' such structures.^[6] Colonialized space in academe stretches across a complex typology of instantiation, from a vanguard settler university in an exclave of Occupation, to the projects of 'development' planet-wide.

West Bank U

Amidst all the current sleight of hand & tongue by the Olmert government, higher education in Israel took an ominous turn in the broader geopolitics of Occupation and permanent settlement. On 1 August 2007, the College of Judea and Samaria in Ariel, the second largest Jewish colony in the West Bank, unilaterally elevated itself to the official status of a university in the making,^[7] now called 'Ariel University Center of Samaria'.^[8] By legal legerdemain, long in planning, CJS has become in effect the first new 'provisional' Israeli university in 34 years, established at the heart of an illegal Occupation, the hated *Ihital* or 'Suffocation.' Now granted temporary university status while it seeks to qualify as a full bona fide university, it has been significantly upgraded as an academic power tool of control, colonization and academic promotion of the West Bank settlement project. It is an educational institution of legitimization for the ethos and ideology of colonial settlement and 'land redemption'.

A 'Hot Button' Re-emerges

Gush Shalom (Peace Bloc), Peace Now and a number of other progressive groups in Israel are now organizing to counter this unilateral move by CJS. A first joint protest was held at the campus on 3 August 2007, open-house day at the new 'University Center.' The campus saw protest demonstrations two years ago after a preliminary decision in the Sharon cabinet to upgrade the college,[9] and it is likely now that many more protests are to come.

Indeed, the move by the Ariel educational leadership and their allies in the Olmert government points up a major division in Israeli political alignment among 'liberal' and 'conservative' Zionist blocs: those who support and seek to maintain and strengthen West Bank settlement, in particular among the Likud party and its ideological associates, and those who nominally 'oppose' its expansion, centered in the Labor Party and other groupings on the Israeli Zionist left.

There are few educational topographies anywhere on the planet where the upgrading of a college to provisional university status can provoke such heated political debate. Leading opposition to the unilateral movement by the CJS in Ariel is the current Education Minister Yuli Tamir, of the Labor Party. In this sense, the row over 'Ariel University' becomes a prism through which to view the profound contradictions in the Israeli ruling and political class. Sharon in coma still casts a long shadow.

From CJS to Ariel University Center of Samaria

The College of Judea and Samaria was founded in 1982 in the 'radical messianic' Gush Emunim[10] settlement Kedumim, the self-styled "vanguard of the Jewish resettlement of Samaria" on the hills outside Palestinian Nablus. It functioned initially as a branch of Bar-Ilan University. Kedumim today, a small settlement of 2,900 zealots, is still a bastion of radical 'messianic' settler ideology and praxis, guided by one of its original first settlers, American-born ultra-nationalist mayor Daniella Weiss, a graduate of Bar-Ilan University.

The College was relocated to Ariel in 1991 and has functioned there until recently as a branch of the Orthodox religious Bar-Ilan University, whose main campus is located

in Ramat Gan east of Tel Aviv. With some 9,500 students, the CJS has been the largest public college in Israel, part of its rationale in now reinventing itself as a 'University' no longer formally affiliated with Bar-Ilan U. The Israeli Supreme Court rejected a petition earlier this year brought by progressive academics seeking an injunction to prevent CJS from acquiring university status, seeing this as a move in the politics of West Bank settlement.

Reflecting deep antinomies between different segments of the Israeli political class, Education Minister Yuli Tamir and some officials of the Council for Higher Education (CHE) in Israel say this self-initiated change is misguided, misleading, and unjustified; indeed Ms. Tamir (Labor Party) is irate.[11] The CHE, with authority for all tertiary education inside the 'Green Line', has officially declared it does not recognize this unilateral decision and will not deal with any requests from the Ariel campus as a self-designated 'University Center'. [12] But apparently CJS has the legal permits to declare itself the 'Ariel University Center of Samaria'. It operates technically under the aegis of the separate Council for Higher Education-Judea and Samaria, which does not function under laws binding inside the Green Line and the CHE that functions there. Yigal Cohen-Orgad, who heads the Ariel University Center's Executive Committee, said he was

very surprised that the education minister is acting in contrast to what she publicly committed to, which is to act only within the framework of the law. [...] All the steps to upgrade the college were carried out precisely in accordance with the directives of the deputy attorney general. According to legal opinions we have, there was no need to get the approval of the military commander.

Cohen-Orgad's reference to the military commander was the claim by the CHE that the decision by the College was "in opposition to the position of the Israel Defense Forces commander in the West Bank", [13] in itself a distinctive aspect of Israeli education policy under military rule.

These are the perverse paradoxes of Israeli colonial space. Prime Minister Olmert was beaming as he welcomed the move, long on his wish list of expansion.[14] Professor Dan Meyerstein, University president, announced that it now boasts six research centers and recently signed a major high-capital agreement with an American biotechnology company to develop and market a new pharmaceutical. Meyerstein has

sought hard to upgrade the campus as a research center in the heart of the occupied West Bank, the 'intellectual crown' of settlement. Among its research institutes are the Samaria & Jordan Valley Regional R&D Center, the Israel National Strategic Assessment Center, Mass Media Research Center, and, ominously, the Homeland Security R&D Center.

While Palestinian students under siege and Suffocation can barely travel to their universities in the *Ihtilal*'s 24/7 nightmare, Ariel University Center of Samaria is gearing up to become an apartheid tertiary education hub for the further Judaization of the northern West Bank. The University's International Board of Governors is chaired by Moshe Arens, former Israeli defense minister and a prominent hawk. Its Executive Committee head, Yigal Cohen-Orgad, is a former Israeli finance minister and Likud activist known for his right-wing views and support of settlement expansion. He was recently appointed to the Steering Committee of the Yesha Council of Settlements, the key settler representative body in the West Bank. Significantly, a long-time CJS faculty member and hi-tech expert, Danny Dayan, was elected in July 2007 as powerful head of the Yesha Council.[15]

Livnat's Ariel Dream

The CJS conversion to a university began in earnest two years ago under Ariel Sharon's former arch-conservative nationalist education minister Limor Livnat. Livnat has served as Vice Chairperson and Acting Chairperson of the World Likud Movement, and opposed the Oslo Agreements. Under Sharon, she pushed through a cabinet resolution in 2005 that considered the upgrading of the College in Ariel to be a matter of "national importance," as a "impetus to bolstering the region's higher education system," and a way to attract new "populations" to settle there.[16] At the time, Livnat argued that the proposal was related to "the agreements between the US and Israel concerning the strengthening of the settlement clusters of Ariel, Gush Etzion, and Ma'ale Adumim." She compared the transforming of Ariel College into a university to the creation of the University of the Negev in Beersheva in 1969, then inspired by a vision of David Ben Gurion.[17] The proposal was pushed through the Sharon cabinet in 2005 coupled with a plan to explore creating at the same time a new 'University of the Galilee', cobbled together from existing Jewish regional colleges there. This was clearly a kind of compromise to 'please the Labor Party critics', and as

a move to further bolster 'Judaization' of the Galilee. But it has been left to wither on the vine as totally impracticable. Not of course Ariel West Bank U.

The growing student body of 'Ariel University Center' today is drawn principally from the settlements, nearby metro Tel Aviv and central Israel. Several hundred students are evacuees from the Gaza settlements given special tuition scholarships - this even though most families relocated from the Gaza settlements of Gush Katif received nearly half a million US dollars each in 'removal compensation'. But the Israeli government under Sharon and Olmert has been eager to lure Gaza settlers to the West Bank, and especially Ariel, with additional sweeteners.

Students and staff are overwhelmingly nationalist in ideology and generally supportive of the Occupation. Long-term plans include a medical school, developing from its School of Health Sciences, and major expansion to accommodate 20,000 students by the year 2020. Ever more research will be encouraged by the 'University Center' President Meyerstein, because full university status will depend in particular on demonstrating the solidity of a research faculty, at present in serious doubt at 'Ariel University Center'. Of course, the 'University' can seek to attract more research-oriented commuting staff from the metro Tel Aviv and Jerusalem areas, a short distance away on highway arteries reserved only for Jewish-Israeli drivers.

'Courting' Arab Students?

The institution has a small number of Arab students, some 320 or 3.5%, and may seek to recruit more, in part to enhance its 'image' as an 'inclusive' campus; many Jewish students remain dubious.[18] Some critics, like Helen Freedman of Americans for a Safe Israel,[19] think it is trying to project an 'inclusive' image and to court Arab students and some Arab leaders in a calculated bid to hasten full recognition as a university 'rooted' in its region and free of 'racism.' Freedman also has alleged that the CJS administration has steered clear of the Yesha Council and its far-right politics over the years, and discouraged 'extremism' among students, and alludes to "disgraceful actions on the part of President Don Mayerstein [sic!] in his effort to woo Arabs and turn against the Jews of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, in order to gain the credentials he seeks for the college." The fact that Danny Dayan, a long-time faculty

member, is now head of Yesha Council may portend new directions for the 'University Center' in the vortex of West Bank geo- and educational settler politics.

Pro-Active Varsity Zionism

Distinctive features of this 'demonstratively Zionist' campus are a Israel Heritage Department and a unique requirement that all students take a course in Jewish history every semester, a compulsory element unknown at other Israeli public institutions.[20] By standing regulation, the Israeli flag must be displayed in all classrooms, laboratories and auditoria. The 'University' has a support group American Friends of the College of Judea and Samaria with an office in Brooklyn, and is expanding in part due to the flow of generous contributions from North America.[21] The campus is a living *musée imaginaire* of the Zionist national narrative and its territorial imperatives.

Arielizing the School Curriculum?

Significantly, the new education overhaul in Israeli Jewish public schooling recently proposed by the Likud Party headed by Binyamin Netanyahu follows a very similar ideological tack on the infusion of 'heritage',[22] calling for a new curriculum on Jewish history, traditions and Zionism: "Tools for teaching the curriculum will be provided to all teachers, regardless of their teaching subject, to integrate Zionist values into the general life of the school." The Likud leadership is alarmed that "many young people in Israel don't understand why they live here" --- certainly not the problem in Ariel.

Fortress Ariel

The ever expanding artificial 'exclave' settlement of Ariel (established in 1978, now with some 20,000 residents), is at the core of the 'Ariel Bloc,' which includes 25 other settlements, secular and religious, among them radical Kedumim. The municipality has been keen to cultivate ties to Christian evangelical 'Zionists' in the U.S. and elsewhere.[23] Ariel is projected to expand by 50% over the next few years; it lies 25 miles east of Tel Aviv, connected to the metro Tel Aviv area by the Trans Samaria Highway, and 30 miles north of Jerusalem. The plateau-top fortress remains one of

the truly major obstacles blocking any reasoned hope of Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories. In April 2005, the Gush Shalom Peace Bloc noted in a letter to Professor Moshe Kaveh, President of Bar-Ilan University:

The creation and maintenance of Ariel entailed and continues to entail untold hardships to the Palestinians who happen to live in the nearby town of Salfit and in numerous villages a long distance all around. Palestinian inhabitants are exposed to ongoing confiscation of their land so as to feed the land hunger of the ever-expanding Ariel settlement, and their daily life are subjected to increasingly stringent travel limitations in the name of "preserving the settlers' security".

On 5 May 2005, the Palestinian organization Miftah highlighted views expressed in the paper *Ha'aretz*:

Ariel is stuck in the middle of the West Bank, and can neither be swallowed nor regurgitated. The fence cannot reach it because the United States , Europe and every reasonable person in Israel is against annexing it to Israel . On the other hand, the fact that the town has 17,000 residents creates the feeling that this is an irreversible situation. To send a message of political determination that was not even necessary, the education minister, backed by the prime minister, made a decision that is mostly declarative in nature - to turn the college in Ariel into a university. Finance Minister Benjamin Netanyahu described it best when he said that "it is important to establish a university in Ariel to prove that the Ariel bloc will forever remain part of the State of Israel".[24]

Now the plan initially "declarative in nature" under Sharon has become pro-active reality. The demonstrative strengthening of the Ariel stronghold through the creation of a 'university' beyond the 1967 Green Line needs to be spotlighted and opposed by a wide progressive front within Israel and internationally.

Building the Boycott of Israeli Academe Throughout Palestine

The immediate occasion for the letter to Moshe Kaveh was the boycott announced in April 2005 against Bar-Ilan University by British university lecturers,[25] later revoked. Published as "You Brought the Boycott Upon Yourself", the letter is all the more relevant now.[26]

A boycott is imperative. Pressure should be brought to bear on the Ministry of Education in Israel to scale down and eventually close what is poised to become Ariel University, further consolidating Israeli settlement 'facts on the ground.' Academics, professionals, scientists and students worldwide building a movement for a boycott of

higher institutions of learning and research in Israel [27] should raise the demand that the CJS revoke its unilateral move to upgrade into what is a 'university of Occupation,' joining hands in this with unlikely allies in the paradoxes of hegemony,[28] such as current Education Minister Yuli Tamir. The forces banding together to press forward with pressure on Israeli academe should foreground the turn in Ariel as part of the 'geopolitics of higher education' of the Israeli state as an occupying power.

Instead, the University should be challenged on moral turf, called on to spearhead a movement for Ariel to disband as a model mega-settlement within a historic decision of prime magnitude. Such a call for disbandment must be part of a concerted massive withdrawal from the West Bank, in the name of future Arab-Jewish '*ta'ayush*' - radical togetherness, synergy -- and an end to the exclaves of dispossession and ethnic cleansing.[29] The 'Jewish heritage' which the Ariel campus seeks to foreground should be a *rage for justice*.

Moral Culpability

Many scholars have doubts about the justification and efficacy of an academic boycott. But there are persuasive arguments, as advanced by the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel.[30] Colin Green writes in the *British Medical Journal* on the "overwhelming evidence for deliberate and savage undermining of the health of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories" and the need for concerted international action by medical professionals.[31] Virginia Tilley's defense of a broad-scale academic boycott takes on renewed salience in the shadow of the turn in Ariel:

In democratic countries where human rights abuses abound as rampantly as in Israel, it is not tenable that faculty entertain and promote the notion that their institutions -- cranking out the architects and professional foot soldiers of occupation -- have no role in those abuses and can join in mixed company as fine upstanding members of the international scholarly club. It is especially not tenable when universities themselves perpetrate discrimination in their research and their grants and admission policies. University faculties are supposed to hold their institutions accountable to basic standards of objectivity, fairness, and non-discrimination. Where they are capable of acting on those standards and refuse, the hack becomes the hypocrite. Moral paralysis becomes moral culpability.[32]

This 'moral culpability' manifest in Israeli academe is at the core of an ideological 'geopolitics of settlement and education' that is now being struggled over inside the Israeli Zionist elites and among the organic intellectuals of the Israeli national narrative. Anti-Zionist Israeli Jews and virtually all Palestinians everywhere oppose the very existence of the Ariel settlement, and most certainly the use of an educational institution as a tool in its bolstering and the broader geopolitics of the Zionist national imaginary.

Building Counter-Movement: Forward to an Arab Palestinian University in the Galilee

Instead of an apartheid university under the *Ihtilal*, an Arab Palestinian university should be established in the Galilee in northern Israel, to serve the Arab majority population there and elsewhere inside the Green Line. The College of Sakhnin for Teacher Education in central Galilee, established in 2001,[33] could with determination and special funding from abroad be rapidly expanded into the first Palestinian, Arabic-medium university at the center of northern Israel.

In May 2005, Mossawa, the Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel,[34] called on the Education Ministry and the government to establish an Arab university in Israel's north, preferably in Nazareth. It was responding in anger to a plan by Education Minister Livnat to press forward with upgrading the status of the College in Ariel, now stark reality. The original plan for an Arab college in Galilee to be creatively pioneered and rapidly built into a full-fledged Arabic-medium university was launched by the Council for Higher Education in Israel in February 2000 under P.M. Ehud Barak (himself then Education Minister as well), but was put on nationalist ice the next year under Sharon's appointee Livnat. It has been recently restressed in the key document "The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel", issued by the National Committee for the Head of the Arab Local Authorities in January 2007.[35] Sakhnin is likewise seen by many Palestinians as an appropriate space for such a paradigm experiment in people's pedagogy.[36] And of course, isolated capsules of bridging exist as prototypes of justice and cooperation under the Zionist dispensation, such as the Jewish-Arab Center at Haifa University, however minimal their real impact.[37]

Nazareth and Sakhnin lie in the 'Heart of the Galilee' sub-region, which is nearly 80% Arab in population; the Galilee (*al-Jalil*) as a whole is some 52% Arab, despite repeated efforts of the state for its 'Judaization' over nearly six decades. The objective need cries out: an autonomous state-supported democratically administered Arab university is an imperative on anyone's agenda of struggle for fundamental justice, equity and an even playing field. Any such university will be plagued by the paradoxes of ethnocratic hegemony in Israel, but can actively struggle to counter them, and to resist manipulation from above through the praxis of *tsumud*, untiring persistence with grit from below. The Christian initiative at Ibilin in Galilee for upgrading Arab education is also worth exploring.[38]

For decades, a pattern has prevailed: Arab Palestinian academics raised in Israel frequently emigrate by sheer necessity of professional survival, and Israeli universities have but few permanent staff who are Palestinian.[39] Human Rights Watch notes that of the more than 5,000 teaching staff in Israeli higher education, less than one percent are Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel, although the Arab population is nearly 20 percent of total Israeli population, and Arab students comprise about 9 percent of the present student body inside the Green Line (even 18 percent at Haifa University).[40] Yet Haifa University, despite its comparatively large Arab student population due to its geography, has only a handful of Arab faculty members. Some Arab leaders say there are not enough Arab academics to staff any serious university venture in Israel, but that of course is a direct result of this process of forced brain drain and exile, and in effect a form of 'de-Palestinization' of Israeli intellectual and academic topography. Edward Said and Mahmoud Darwish are two outstanding examples, Azmi Bishara is the most recent prominent intellectual forced into exile.

This is the time for renewed international advocacy of this necessary and fundamental vision. The call for a boycott of Israeli academe here & now needs to be coupled with demands for the radical transformation of that academic topography, pressing for the creation of a public Arab university, perhaps building on the College of Sakhnin. It is badly needed to serve the Arab Palestinian community, and especially students and adults from impoverished working families, inside the Israeli ethnocratic state. The watchword for such educational struggle, in a spirit of Zapatismo transported to the Middle East, is *¡ya basta!* / *khalas!*.[41]

Educational Geopolitics and Neo-Colonialist Projects

Educational geopolitics under an openly colonialist settler regime needs to be further explored in its specificities. In part its dynamics of promoting ideological agendas to further a national narrative of ethnic dominance is integral to familiar Western colonial educational projects of the past, and the neo-colonial configurations of the present, particularly in the Global South.[42] But significantly, it is also germane within a typology of dominance to spaces of renewed neo-colonial control and tutelage in formerly state-socialist European and Central Asian East. In that sense, such research is part of the analysis of educational imperialism in its present topographies and typologies, and new contours of Europe's "internal neo-colonialism".[43]

That neo-colonialism is in high gear in the educational dynamics of the 'Europe of the bankers', the 'united Europe' that became reality in lieu of the long-struggled for and still unachieved 'Europe of the workers.' It is more than symbolic that the Fifth Enlargement of the European Union to include former state-socialist countries officially occurred with great hullabaloo by Europe's capitalist elites on May Day 2004, the day of working-class struggle and the dream of a united workers' Europe.

Bulgaria Recolonized from the West

Higher education in countries like Bulgaria is being reshaped not only along lines of managerialism, but of strong EU-colonialist dominance, where the 'West' tutors and guides the 'East.' Or, in the parlance of Bulgarian academics, the present situation where academics and advisors from the 'advanced' West, what Bulgarians wryly term '*byal chovek*' (the 'white man'), teach Bulgarian scientists and scholars how 'really' to run their universities, organize their curricula, and teach their subjects and integrate their degree programs into the massive *Gleichschaltung* powered and imposed by the West.

In Bulgaria, the absolute state-of-the-art edge in instruction in English is English for Military Purposes developed by NATO with the major participation of the British Council (which needs such programs to make money). English for Military Purposes has become a major sub-field of 'professional EFL' over the past decade, pioneered in

part by the British Council and publishing firms such as Macmillan (privately owned by the billionaire Georg von Holtzbrinck publishing magnate family in Stuttgart). A huge battery of teaching aids for English for police and military purposes have been developed to be used at Bulgarian 'military universities' and in programs on bases inside the Peacekeeping English Project (PEP), a hands-on 'NATOization' of English for Special Purposes.[44]

Universities as Handmaidens to the Military-Industrial Complex

Giroux's fresh analysis of the "creeping militarization" of American society and the infusion of values of militarism and military research big bucks into the changing topography of North American higher education[45] can be applied to realities in Israel, arguably an extreme paradigm of this model in any comparative international topology of militarization of academic values, praxis and discourses.[46] His insights about the need for "taking back the university" and redemocratizing its spaces, especially at the lower scales of maintenance personnel, staff members and students can be applied to Israel, and more empirical research is needed on the contours of

military-oriented institutions with a powerful arm-twisting ability capable of shaping research agendas, imposing military values, normalizing militarized knowledge as a fact of daily life, supporting military solutions to a range of diverse problems, and bending higher education to its will.[47]

It seems apparent this his model calls out for a comparative and historical dimension, since the relation between higher education, research and the military in regimes like Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union under Stalin or certain Warsaw pact countries at the height of the Cold War provides nodes in a typology of militarization and handmaidenship even more extreme than Israel, though of course not in a nominal Western-style bourgeois 'democracy'. The weakness of Giroux's discourse in a recent interview[48] is his lack of any concrete reference whatsoever to any specific university, military-industrial firm or Pentagon contract. The topic demands a radical empirical base, but the connections and realities on the ground are often shrouded in secrecy as 'classified' data.

Exclaves of Colonial Influence and Control

Through the prism of a typology of educational geopolitics in our era, the colonial/colonizing settler campus in Ariel and the neo-colonized largely radically underfunded university campuses on the former turf of state-socialist countries, including Soviet Central Asia, appear as diverse nodes in a single reticulation of colonizing dominance. There is a sense in which certain university departments or programs dominated and funded by the rich countries are becoming 'exclaves' in the topography of the reformed educational space the West is attempting to 'develop' where it can. The watchword here is the need for 'decolonization': of methodologies, of asymmetries of power and knowledge, of control and influence, the colonial power of Western scholarship and Eurocentric paradigms of knowledge construction and the educational factory.[49] And in the case of the fortress city of Ariel and its 'University Center', the complete end to Zionist 'exclaving' settlement there and its expanding educational bastion. The withdrawal from the Occupied West Bank should encompass all settlements and 'settlement blocs'. The call among progressives in Israel is "*Eyn hitnahalut hukit!*" (There is no legal settlement!).

Educators and all stakeholders in a people's pedagogy need to begin to craft a "decolonizing pedagogy" [50] and "decolonizing educational politics" specific to the needs of its topography of reclamation and empowerment - in Israel/Palestine, a vernacular radical pedagogy springing from a new communitarian post-capitalist basis of *horizontalidad*. [51] Such a pedagogy can also look to the work of Kris Gutiérrez and the notion of 'white innocence' that informs much educational research. [52]

In discussing Massimo de Angelis' vision for transformation, McLaren and Jaramillo list a number of characteristics of a new vernacular humanism of the working multitude that links with this perspective, though forged more in the smithy of struggle in Latin America:

the production of various counter-summits, Zapatista Encuentros; social practices that produce use values beyond economic calculation and the competitive relation with the other and that are inspired by practices of social and mutual solidarity; horizontally-linked clusters outside vertical networks in which the market is protected and enforced; social co-operation through grassroots democracy, consensus, dialogue, and the recognition of the other; authority and social co-operation developed in fluid relations and self-constituted through interaction; and a new engagement with the other that transcends

locality, job, social condition, gender, age, race, culture, sexual orientation, language, religion, and beliefs.[53]

Their educational transformative project, geared to class struggle consciousness and praxis, envisions a revolutionary critical pedagogy that can work to demolish structures of exploitation by Capital and "force a recomposition of class relations by directly confronting capital in all of its multifaceted dimensions".[54] The grassroots struggle among Jewish Israelis and Arab Palestinians as a united working class needs this dimension of bridge-building and radical *ta'ayush*, oriented to a kind of Zapatista education in which the people rearticulate and define their vernacular values, concerned to create the "Other Education".[55] The enemy is a class one: the elites that seek to run and reproduce hegemony in both the Jewish and Palestinian communities, and shape an educational system tethered to their interests. It is a war on the workers, both Arab and Jewish, of which Ariel as a militarized settler exclave on illegally occupied land is a primary instrument. Such utopian pathways forward in Israel/Palestine are the only realistic exit to the present impasse, but are not the focus of the present paper. As Henry Giroux notes: "Higher education should be a place where imagining the unimaginable matters as part of an effort not only to get students to think otherwise but also to act otherwise in the service of taking the promise of democracy seriously".[56]

Notes

[1] See Pappé (2007) and the between Pappé (Haifa University) and Uri Avnery (Gush Shalom peace bloc) on the notion of a single democratic secular state for Jews and Arabs, <https://zzzen.secured.co.il/sites/gush/home/en/channels/archive/1178972526/>.

[2] Giroux's (2007a) analysis of the military-industrial-academic complex in North America holds all the more so for Israel, probably the most profoundly and perversely militarized of any advanced industrial society. See comments below.

[3] This is well described from the inside in Warschawski 2004a; see also Warschawski 2004b, a version of chap. 8 in the book (2004a) <http://www.monthlyreview.org/1204warschawski.htm>. He is founder and co-director of the Alternative Information Center in Jerusalem (<http://www.alternativenews.org/>).

[4] See Tilley 2007, <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article6955.shtml>; note also her broader argument on economic and cultural boycott, Tilley 2006, <http://www.counterpunch.org/tilley08052006.htm>.

[5] On Israel as an ethnocracy, see Yiftachel 1998, <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer207/yift.htm>; see also Yiftachel 2006 for a detailed analysis. Yiftachel, a geographer at the University of the Negev, identifies a "creeping apartheid" throughout Israel society.

[6] A useful new site for decolonizing methodologies in research and the project of a decolonizing pedagogy is the Online Center for the Study of Migrant Education and Labor (2007), see esp. their collection of readings <http://www.decolonizing.com/researchliterature.htm> . The aspect of decolonizing pedagogy is often neglected in critical pedagogy analysis as a specific focus. See also Gutiérrez 2006. A center devoted to decolonizing pedagogy headed by Gutiérrez is the Center for the Study of Urban Literacies, UCLA <http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/~centerk/> .

[7] See Traubmann & Stern 2007 <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/888918.html> .

[8] See the website of the 'Ariel University Center' in English <http://www2.yosh.ac.il/www1/About.asp>. In Hebrew, the University calls itself 'Ha-Merkaz Ha-Universita'i Ariel Ba-Shomron'; see also Wikipedia 2007 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/College_of_Judea_and_Samaria .

[9] See Zelikovich 2005 <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3081070,00.html>.

[10] On the 'Bloc of the Faithful', see Metz 1988 <http://countrystudies.us/israel/102.htm>.

[11] See Traubmann 2007a <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/889592.html> .

[12] Traubmann 2007b <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/891854.html> .

[13] Ibid.

[14] Olmert's abiding keen interest in CJS is reflected in: College of Judea and Samaria 2006a <http://www2.yosh.ac.il/www1/news/press.asp#75>.

[15] See Sheleg 2007 <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/884523.html>. Dayan's wife is marketing manager at CJS/Ariel University Center. These bonds will doubtless strengthen the position of the fledgling 'University' among the settler power elite, and its ramified ties to Binyamin Netanyahu. The Yesha Council is the umbrella organization of the various municipal councils of the Occupied Territories, and consists of 25 mayors and ten community leaders. It has a mandate to provide for security, oversee infrastructure improvement, and act to represent settlers, including lobbying in Jerusalem.

[16] See College of Judea and Samaria 2005a <http://www2.yosh.ac.il/www1/news/news-cjs-020505.asp>.

[17] Ariel U would indeed be the first such university created in Israel since the formal renaming of the university in Beersheva as Ben Gurion University of the Negev after Ben Gurion's death in Nov. 1973.

[18] See College of Judea and Samaria 2005b <http://www2.yosh.ac.il/www1/news/news-cjs-121205.asp>. See also Israel Today 2006 <http://www.israeltoday.co.il/default.aspx?tabid=128&view=item&idx=875>.

[19] See Freedman 2005, <http://www.afsi.org/id46.html>.

[20] The department is known in Hebrew as 'Moreshet Yisrael', Israel Heritage, but is officially termed Dept. of Jewish Studies in the English version of the University website: <http://www2.yosh.ac.il/www1/js/About.asp> (accessed 9 August 2007). It states there: "The Department of Jewish Studies mirrors the worldview on which the Ariel University Center of Samaria was founded".

[21] An article in *The Jewish Press* features an interview with Yigal Cohen-Orgad, see Mauer 2007 http://www.thejewishpress.com/page.do/21041/College_Of_Judea_And_Samaria:_A_Remarkable_Israeli_Success_Story.html. On the Brooklyn office see College of Judea and Samaria 2006b

<http://www2.yosh.ac.il/www1/news/press.asp#88>. The Milken Family Foundation in the U.S. is one major donor, and there are many others.

[22] See Rettig 2007 <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1185893683676&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull>.

[23] See Ariel's own webpage and self-promotional platform, Ariel Municipality 2007: <http://go.ariel.muni.il/ariel/en/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=37&Itemid=50>; the showcasing of evangelicals there and their interest in Ariel is striking. For contrast from a Palestinian vantage, see Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem 2005 http://www.poica.org/editor/case_studies/view.php?recordID=664.

[24] See Haaretz 2005 <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=7367&CategoryId=5>.

[25] See Kimmerling et al. 2005 <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=107&ItemID=7741>.

[26] See Gush Shalom 2005 <http://gush-shalom.org/biu.html>.

[27] See University and College Union 2007 <http://www.ucu.org.uk/index.cfm?articleid=2622>. An excellent statement on the need for boycott is Qumsiyeh 2007 http://www.academicsforjustice.org/CallforBoycott_FAQ.htm, the Academics for Justice web space created by Palestinian geneticist and activist Mazin Qumsiyeh.

[28] Yoshie Furuhashi 2007 (<http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/furuhashi010807.html>), editor of *mrzine*, reminds us that force can never build an empire, let alone expand it. In a Gramscian sense, a critical mass of subjects, prepared by intellectuals, must "spontaneously" consent to the rule that subordinates them, or else the ruler cannot control the rest. The struggle under *Ihtilal* and apartheid inside Israel is riddled with hegemony's myriad often perverse paradoxes. So we may find ourselves at times allied with elements that hegemony fuses together in odd even incongruous melds. And hegemony can inculcate grim 'toleration' even of the most gross inequities.

[29] For a geographical analysis of the dynamics of enclavization and exclavization in Israel/Palestine, see Falah 2005 <http://peoplesgeography.com/2005/12/10/ghazi-walid-falah-the-geopolitics-of-enclavisation/>.

[30] See PACBI 2007 <http://www.pacbi.org/>.

[31] See Green 2007 http://www.pacbi.org/boycott_news_more.php?id=568_0_1_0_C.

[32] See Tilley 2007 <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article6955.shtml>.

[33] See College of Sakhnin <http://www.sakhnin.ac.il/heb/?catid=217>.

[34] See Mossawa Center 2007 www.mossawacenter.org.

[35] See National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel 2007 <http://www.alternativenews.org/news/english/the-future-vision-of-the-palestinian-arabs-in-israel-20070109.html>.

[36] See SPME 2005 <http://www.spme.net/cgi-bin/facultyforum.cgi?ID=2022>.

[37] See Jewish-Arab Center 2007 <http://research.haifa.ac.il/~jew-arab/about.htm>.

[38] See in particular Mar Elias High School (from 1982), Mar Elias College (1994), and the Arab Regional Teachers' Center (1998), in: Mar Elias Educational Institutions 2007 <http://www.meei.org/about/history.html>.

[39] One such outstanding scholar and fighter for justice was Sami Khalil Mar'i, at Haifa University, who authored the classic study *Arab Education in Israel* (1978). Dr. Mar'i was under surveillance for his ideas, detained by the Israeli Security Service Shin Bet and humiliated. He wrote: "Arab education is a victim of Israeli pluralism not only in that it is directed and managed by the majority, but it is also a tool by which the whole minority is manipulated [...] it is also a means through which the lack of power can be maintained and perpetuated." (Mar'i, p. 180). Another major scholar is the internationally well-known Galilee-born geographer Ghazi-Walid Falah, trained in Israel and the U.K. , and generally ostracized as a "geographer of Palestine" within the guild of nationalist Israeli geographers. On a return family visit to Israel in

2006, Falah, a full professor of geography at a large state university in the U.S. and editor-in-chief of the peer-review journal *The Arab World Geographer*, was detained incommunicado and brutally abused (including more than 60 hours of sleep deprivation, a common detention tactic) by the Shin Bet for over three weeks underground in Al-Jalama Prison, principally because of the nature of his research over two decades (see Falah 2005 for an example) on Zionist land and settlement policy, see Falah 2007; an international campaign led to his release, see Nally 2006 <http://www.counterpunch.org/nally07262006.html>. Few Israelis have any idea of what goes on behind the walls of al-Jalama (Kishon) Prison, a short drive from Haifa.

[40] See Zureik 2002 http://www.palestinemonitor.org/Reports/palestinian_education_under_occupation.htm.

[41] Re *khalas!*, Arabic for "we've had enough, no more of this bullshit!", see the site of the Palestinian rock band *Khalas* based in the ancient city Akka north of Haifa, Khalas 2007 <http://www.khalas.net/bio.php>. "They grew up denied their basic rights and services and for them it is time to send a message to the world that enough is enough ... `Khalas'". The expression was long ago borrowed into Israeli popular slang.

[42] On this, see in part the analysis of Phillipson 1992; note likewise Phillipson 2003, esp. Chap. 5, 'Towards equitable communication', pp. 139-174. This is imperial asymmetry in the realm of the dominance of English as an elite lingua franca.

[43] See Tejeda et al. 2007 http://www.decolonizing.com/pdfs/Tejeda_Decolonizing.pdf.

[44] PEP is a project in a large number of former countries of the Eastern bloc; for Bulgaria, see Peacekeeping English Project 2004 <http://www.britishcouncil.org/ba/pep15.pdf>.

[45] See Giroux 2007a.

[46] On the 'militarization' of Israeli society and consciousness and values and education, far beyond a 'creeping' phenomenon, see New Profile 2007 <http://www.newprofile.org>. New Profile is principally feminist, and situated on the Zionist far left.

[47] Giroux 2007b <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2007/08/07/giroux>.

[48] Ibid.

[49] For a powerful framework from the perspective of a Maori social scientist and feminist, see Smith 1999, online in part at <http://www.decolonizing.com/researchliterature.htm>.

[50] See Tejeda et al. 2007 and Online Center for the Study of Migrant Education & Labor 2007 <http://www.decolonizing.com>; Gutiérrez 2006.

[51] See Sitrin 2006a; see also the interview Sitrin 2006b <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=42&ItemID=11737>. Of relevance for some aspects of Zapatista approaches to education is the book by Illich (1980) that interrogates the rise of national bourgeois values as embodied in the nation-state and its educational systems, <http://www.preservenet.com/theory/Illich/Vernacular.html>.

[52] See Gutiérrez 2006, where she notes: "Because research about cultural communities is generally implemented from a majoritarian point of view, white innocence or the dominant discourse is invisible. White innocence here is not about whiteness, the racial category; rather, it is about the dominant subject position, about dominant discourses that sustain the dominant framework and block opportunities for non-dominant groups". http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/files/gutierrez/gutierrez_whiteInnocence.pdf

[53] McLaren & Jaramillo 2007, p. 39.

[54] Ibid., p. 49.

[55] See Coppin & Trujillo 2007 <http://www.narconews.com/Issue46/article2743.html>. A book of central salience on transnational Zapatismo is Olesen 2005, esp. chapters 2-4.

[56] See Giroux 2007b.

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