

History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict
Hist 383/Pols 383
Emory University, Fall 2009
Tuesday/Thursday 10:00-11:15am, White Hall 208

Professor Kenneth W. Stein

Professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History, Political Science, and Israeli Studies

Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday 11:15 to 11:45am, or by appointment. For an appointment, always try e-mail first, kstein@emory.edu or call Ana Fuchs, Teaching Assistant at 404-727-3597, or asfuchs@gmail.com. The office is located at 121 Bowden Hall.

Course description: This course is an introductory survey to the history, politics, and diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The first half of the course will deal with the historical origins and development of the conflict to the establishment of Israel in May 1948. The second half will focus on more recent political, social, and economic aspects of the conflict, including the evolution of Palestinian national identity, the 1956, 1967, 1973, 2006 and 2008 Arab-Israeli Wars, involvement of regional and world powers in the conflict, and the various diplomatic efforts aimed at resolving the conflict. Reading and analyzing documents related to the conflict's 100-year history is a central feature of the course.

Please note: Students who have taken History 369, 370, 190 Freshman seminar on Modern Israel, or equivalent courses on the Arab-Israeli conflict at Emory or another university or institution, may not enroll in this course unless granted written permission by the instructor. This course was previously offered as HIST/PS/JS 169. Students who took this class under those course numbers, may not enroll in this course.

Readings: Documents book, selected readings on reserve, and purchased paperback books. The Stein/Lewis monograph noted below is not available at the bookstore; it is available on the web at www.ismi.emory.edu/usip.pdf. Uniquely prepared for this course, the documents book will be distributed by the instructor to you for a cost of \$30.00 -- cash or checks should be made payable to *Emory Institute for the Study of Modern Israel*. **(Please see the note at the end of the syllabus about book purchases and returns for this semester!)**

- Bickerton, Ian and Carla Klausner. A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Prentice Hall, Fifth Edition), 2006. (ISBN 0-19-090303-5)
- Quandt, William B. Peace Process American Diplomacy and The Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967 (Brookings/University of California), 2006. (ISBN 0-520-22515-5)
- Segev, Tom. One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate (Owl Books: 2nd Edition), 2001. (ISBN 0-80-506587-3)
- Stein, Kenneth W. Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace (New York: Routledge), 1999. (ISBN 0-415-92155-4)
- Stein, Kenneth W. and Samuel W. Lewis. Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute for Peace), 1991. (Accessible online www.ismi.emory.edu/usip.pdf)
- Stein, Kenneth W. History Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict Documents CD (Atlanta, GA), 2009. (To be purchased for \$30 by each student during the first week of class). On the

syllabus assignments in the Documents CD are noted as **D** with the number of the document you are responsible to read for the beginning of that week. **All readings should be read for a week, prior to the week's beginning!**

*** Indicates that the article is on Emory Library Reserve for Emory students.**

Grading: midterm (40%) and final (60%).

Examinations 2009 will be given as follows: The midterm examination will be given on Thursday, October 15, 2009, from 10--11:30 a.m., and the final examination will be given on **Tuesday, December 15, 2009, 4:30 -7pm.**

*Please note that no make-up examinations will be scheduled for the mid-term or the final. For the mid-term examination, please bring one large blue examination book. For the final, please bring two large blue examination books. Do not write on or in the blue books prior to either examination.

General guidelines for class activities and scheduling: You are encouraged to take a good set of lecture notes. To prepare for your examinations, integrate your notes with your assigned readings, and the documents which we shall be reading.

Note: **Cell phone use is prohibited.** If your cell phone rings, or you are texting, or using your phone for any purpose, you will be dismissed from class immediately. No questions asked, no negotiations. If this happens twice during the semester, you will receive an F in the class.

You may take notes on a laptop. However, **emailing, IMing, using facebook or doing anything other than taking notes, will result in dismissal from class and an F grade.** There will be no appeals on this policy.

All articles marked with an asterisk (*) can be obtained via Woodruff Library Reserves Direct on-line (<https://ereserves.library.emory.edu/reserves2/index.php>).

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COURSE SYLLABUS

August 27 and Week of August 31- Origins of the Conflict political cultures

August 27- course introduction

September 1 - Political Cultures

September 3- The setting in Palestine – Politics, economics, and society

Readings: B&K, pp. 1-44; Segev, pp.1-101.

*Mandel, Neville J. "Ottoman Policy and Restrictions on Jewish Settlement in Palestine: 1881-1908--Part I," Middle Eastern Studies (October 1974), pp. 312-332.

D 1,2,5,6

Week of September 7 - Zionism, and Arab Nationalism in Pre- and Post-World War I-

September 8- Herzl and his pre-cursors

September 10- Great powers and Arab national leaders

*Dawn, Ernest. "The Rise of Arabism in Syria," Middle East Journal, 1961, pp. 145-168.

*Hourani, Albert. "Ottoman Reform and Politics of Notables," Beginning of Modernization in the Middle East, 1968, pp. 41-68.

*Kolatt, Israel. "The Organization of the Jewish Population of Palestine and the Development of its Political Consciousness Before World War I," Studies in Palestine During the Ottoman Period (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), pp. 211-245.

D 2,3,7-13.

Week of September 14 - The Palestine Mandate, 1920-1939 (I)

September 15- Arab, British, Jewish Triangle

September 17- The Land Question in Palestine

Readings: B&K, pp. 44-67; Segev, pp. 102-359.

*Horowitz, Dan, and Moshe Lissak. "Ideology and Politics in the Yishuv," The Jerusalem Quarterly (Winter 1977), pp. 12-26.

*Kolatt, Israel. "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs," Studies in Zionism (April 1982), pp. 129-157.

*Mattar, Philip. "The Mufti of Jerusalem and the Politics of Palestine," Middle East Journal, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 227-240.

*Nashif, Taysir. "Palestinian Arab and Jewish Leadership in the Mandate Period," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 6 (1977), pp. 113-121.

*Porath, Yehoshua. "Social Aspects of the Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement," in Menachem Milson (ed.) Society and Political Structure in the Arab World (Jerusalem, Van Leer Foundation, 1973), pp. 93-144.

*Stein, Kenneth W. "Palestine's Rural Economy, 1917-1939," Studies in Zionism, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1987), pp. 25-49.

D 14-33; On September 17, please bring copies of 26 and 33 to class

Week of September 21- The Palestine Mandate, 1939-1948

September 22- Was there a Jewish State in 1939?

September 24- Palestinian and Arab politics in the 1940s

Readings: B&K, pp. 68-115; Segev, pp. 360-443.

*Bickerton, Ian J. "President Truman's Recognition of Israel," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, Vol. 58, 1968, pp. 173-189; 192-259.

*Cohen, Michael J. "Truman, the Holocaust, and the Establishment of the State of Israel," The Jerusalem Quarterly, Vol. 23, Spring 1982, pp. 79-94.

*Khalaf, Issa. "The Reasons for the Disintegration of Palestinian Society with an Emphasis on the Persistence of Factionalism," Politics in Palestine (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 231-248.

*Shapira, Anita. "Conclusion: The Birth of the State," Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948 (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 353-370, 414-415.

*Shapira, Anita. "History, Memory, and Identity," in Stuart A. Cohen and Milton Shain, (eds.), Israel Culture, Religion, and Society, 1948-1998 (Bar-Ilan University, 2000), pp. 6-22.

*Sheffer, Gabriel. "Involvement of Arab States in Palestine Conflict and British Arab Relationship Before World War II," Asian and African Studies, 1974, pp. 59-78.

D 34-52

Week of September 28 - The End of the Mandate, Armistice Negotiations, Israeli Nation-Building, and Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement

Readings: Segev, pp. 447-519.

* Khalaf, Issa. "The Effect of Socio-Economic Change on Arab societal Collapse in Mandate Palestine," International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, (1997), Vol. 29, pp. 93-112.

*Khalidi, Rashid. "The Palestinians and 1948: the Underlying Causes of Failure," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948 (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 12-36.

*Morris, Benny. "Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein (ed.), New Perspectives on Jewish Studies (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 42-56.

*Teveth, Shabtai. "The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and its Origin," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 26, No. 2, April 1990, pp. 214-249.

D 53-63

Week of October 5- Great Power Interests in the Middle East; the Cold War, and the Suez War and the June 1967 War

Readings: B&K, pp. 116-159; Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 1-73; and Quandt, pp. 1-52.

*Safran, Nadav. "America's Israel Connection," The Jerusalem Quarterly (Summer 1977), pp. 3-30.

*Rabinovich, Itamar. "The Suez-Sinai Campaign: The Regional Dimension," in S. I. Troen and M. Shemesh (eds.), The Suez-Sinai Crisis, 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal (Columbia University Press), pp.162-171.

Review D 1– 63.

Week of October 12 –

October 13-no class, fall break

October 15- MIDTERM (bring blue book, do not write in, or on, the book prior to class)

Week of October 19- Attempted and Failed Diplomacy, 1967-1973

Readings: B&K, pp. 160-171; Quandt, pp. 55-129.

*Ajami, Fouad. "The End of Pan-Arabism," Foreign Affairs (Winter 1978-1979), pp. 355-373.

D 64-80, 94

Week of October 26- The October 1973 War and successful diplomacy

Readings: Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 74-96; Stein and Lewis, Making Peace, pp. 1-8.

Readings: B&K, pp. 171-192; Quandt, pp. 130-173; and Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 97-186.

D 81-113

Week of November 2- The Carter Administration's Comprehensive Goals Lead to a Separate Egyptian Peace: How and Why?

Readings: B & K, pp. 192-209; Quandt, pp. 177-242; and Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 187-228.

D 114-135

Week of November 9- The 1980s: The Decade of Not Getting Together: Reagan-Shultz, Shamir, Assad, Hussein, and Arafat; Lebanon and the Intifadah; Hizbollah and Hamas emerge

Readings: B&K, pp. 210-243; and Quandt, pp. 245-318.

*Garfinkle, Adam. "Getting it Right? U.S. Middle East Policy in Bush Administration," The Jerusalem Quarterly (Fall 1989), pp. 55-78.

D 63,66,68,69, 136, 140-146, 153, 183-196 From these documents summarize American efforts and PLO responses as prelude to the US opening a dialogue with the PLO. What did the US seek from the PLO and how did the PLO respond?

On November 12, please bring copies of 63 and 184 to class

Weeks of November 16 and 23- The 1990s: Shaping a Productive Negotiating Environment: The Gulf War, The Madrid Peace Conference, Oslo I – to Camp David II

Readings: B&K, pp. 244-279; 280-312; Stein and Lewis, pp 8-39, and Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 229-268.

*Garfinkle, Adam. "Israel and Palestine: A Precarious Partnership," The Washington Quarterly (Summer 1997), pp. 3-22.

*Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in A. Yaniv (ed.), National Security and Democracy in Israel (Boulder, 1993), pp. 11-53.

*Indyk, Martin. "Peace Without the PLO," Foreign Policy (Summer 1991), pp. 30-38.

*Salame, Ghassan. "Inter-Arab Politics: Return of Geography," in William B. Quandt (ed.), The Middle East, Ten Years After Camp David (1988), pp. 319-353.

*Stein, Kenneth. "Continuity and Change in Egyptian-Israeli Relations, 1973-1997," Israel Affairs (Spring/Summer 1997), pp. 296-320.

D173 and 110 Compare and Contrast- Discuss the historical context of each; how were the relative strengths and priorities of the respective sides to the conflict different? Please also read 204-216; please summarize what Secretary of State Baker had to promise the respective sides? 226-231,

Week of November 30- 2000 and beyond- The Bush Administration, the al-Aqsa Intifadah, 9/11 and Iraq, and the call for a Palestinian State

Readings: B&K, pp. 313-360.

*Fouad Ajami. "The Sentry's Solitude," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 80, No. 6 (November/December 2001), pp. 2-17.

*David Makovsky. "Middle East Peace Through Partition," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 80, No. 2 (March/April 2001), pp. 28-46.

*Yezid Sayigh. "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt," Survival, Volume 43, No. 3 (International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Autumn 2001), pp. 47-60.

D 255-258 and 264; Read and summarize 268, 270, 271, 272, 276, 278, 282-297 – What were President George Bush's views on the Palestinian issue and resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?)

Week of December 7- Israel's unilateralism, the 2006 Hizbollah-Israeli war and 2008-9 Gaza war with Hamas

December 8- Continuity and change in the Arab (Palestinian)-Israeli Conflict

Readings:

Barry Rubin, "The Decline and Fall of the Palestinian National Movement," MERIA, Vol. 10, No.2, June 2006, Article 9 - June 2006, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2006/issue2/jv10no2a9.html>

Kenneth W. Stein, "Israel's Disengagement from the Gaza Strip: Precedents, Motivations, and Outcomes," LA COMMUNITA INTERNAZIONALE, FASC, 4/ 2005, pp. 633-641 (ROME), <http://www.ismi.emory.edu/Articles/InternationalPress/Kenneth.Stein.pdf>

D 297-301 Compare similar and differing objectives in the Obama (June 2009) and Netanyahu speeches of June/July 2009.

Final Examination- 4:30-700pm, Tuesday, December 15, 2009 (no alternative dates!)

Please bring two large unmarked blue books. Do not write in, or on, the book prior to class.

Note on Book purchases this semester:

If you want to buy your books from the Emory Bookstore this semester, you can **not wait to buy them as the semester moves forward! It is your responsibility to have read the assigned readings.**

Barnes and Noble will replace Follett as the vendor overseeing the bookstore. The October 1 bookstore transition to Barnes & Noble will allow our students only a limited window this fall to purchase their textbooks. Please be aware of these dates:

September 3: Final Day for textbook refunds for all classes except those that meet only Mondays!

September 28-October 4: Bookstore closed for transition

October 5: Bookstore reopens as Barnes & Noble