

# History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Hist 169/Pols 169/JS 169

Emory University

Fall 2007

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** are Tuesday and Thursday 11:15 to 11:45 am or by appointment. For an appointment, always try e-mail first: kstein@emory.edu or call 404-727-4472. 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, and 2006 Arab-Israeli Wars, the involvement of regional and world powers in the conflict and its resolution, 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.

**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](http://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 the *Middle East Research Program*.

- Bickerton, Ian and Carla Klausner. A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Prentice Hall, Fifth Edition), 2006. (ISBN 0-19-090303-5)
- Golan, Galia. Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals from Oslo to Disengagement (Marcus Weiner Publishers), 2007. (ISBN 1-55876-421-6)
- 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: 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. (Available online; see note above)
- Stein, Kenneth W. History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict Documents Book (Atlanta, GA), 2007. (To be purchased by each student during first week of class)

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

**Examinations will be given as follows:** The mid-term examination will be given on Wednesday, October 11, 2007, from 10--11:30 a.m., and the final examination will be given on Monday, December 17, 2007, 4:30 pm-7:00 pm.

\*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.

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 30 and Week of September 3 - Origins of the Conflict political cultures**

**August 30 - course introduction**

**September 4 - Political Cultures**

**September 6 - 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.

**Week of September 10 - Zionism, and Arab Nationalism in Pre- and Post-World War I**

**September 11 - Herzl and his pre-cursors**

**September 13 - Great powers and Arab national leaders**

Bring documents book to class both days this week!

\*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.

**Week of September 17 - The Palestine Mandate, 1920-1939 (I)**

**September 18 - Arab, British, Jewish Triangle**

**September 20 - 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.

\*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.

**Week of September 24 - The Palestine Mandate, 1939-1948**  
**September 25 - Was there a Jewish State in 1939?"**  
**September 27 - 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. 173-239.

\*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.

**Week of October 1 - The End of the Mandate, Armistice Negotiations, Israeli Nation-Building, and Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement**  
**October 2 - How Israel come into being and not an Arab state in state?**  
**October 4 - A review to 1949**

**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.

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

\*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 Origins," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 26, No. 2, April 1990, pp. 214-249.

**Week of October 8 -**

**October 9 - no class, fall break**

**October 11 - mid-term examination**

**Week of October 15 - 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.

**Week of October 22 - 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.

**Week of October 29 - 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.

**Week of November 5 - 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.

**Week of November 12 - 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.

**Weeks of November 19 and 26 - 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, Golan, pp.1-54; 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.

**Week of December 3 - 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; Golan, pp. 55-223.

\*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.

**Week of December 10 - Israel's unilateralism and the Hizbollah-Israeli war**  
**December 11 - 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>

**Final Examination - Monday, December 17, 2007, 4:30-7:00pm, White Hall 208**

*(Please bring two large unmarked blue books.)*