



## **The Arab-Israeli Conflict**

**Instructor:** Professor S.B. Lasensky

### **Course Description**

This seminar will provide an in-depth understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict, as it has unfolded over the last century. By examining the origins of the conflict, the key events and crises, and the peace process, students will gain a greater appreciation for the complexities and dynamism of this subject.

The seminar will examine the origins of Zionism and Arab-Palestinian nationalism, assess the impact of external actors, and evaluate various diplomatic initiatives. The scope of the course will cover the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with most attention devoted to developments since 1967 – and up to the failed Camp David II negotiations and the collapse of the Oslo peace process. Although the course covers Arab-Israeli relations in their entirety, particular emphasis will be given to Israeli-Palestinian affairs. The seminar will also examine select theories of negotiation and conflict resolution, as they apply to this case.

### **Requirements**

Student responsibilities include: weekly readings, short papers, and a final exam. For the short papers, students must select a crisis or event (i.e. U.N. partition, 1967 war, Sadat's Jerusalem visit, first Oslo accord, etc.); or examine the impact of a political or ideological movement or trend (Gush Emunim, Revisionist Zionism, Hamas, etc.) Other options would include the examination of one of the following four Israeli-Palestinian final status issues (Jerusalem, Refugees, Security, and Borders/Settlements) by reviewing the development of Israeli and Palestinian negotiating positions and suggesting a sustainable solution acceptable to both sides. Papers should introduce the subject and assess its short and long-term impact on the course of the conflict. Papers are **not** to be longer than 3 single space typed pages.

There will be a final exam.

## Required Texts:

Quandt, William. *Peace Process*. Washington: Brookings/California, second edition, 2002.  
Morris, Benny. *Righteous Victims*. New York: Vintage, 2001.

**Recommended Text:** (not necessary to purchase but make sure it is available locally for reference)

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

**Stay informed!** Students are required to stay informed of current events. Sources for extensive coverage include: the *New York Times*, [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com); the Israeli dailies *Ha'aretz* (leans left), [www.haaretz.com](http://www.haaretz.com) and the *Jerusalem Post* (leans right), [www.jpost.com](http://www.jpost.com); and information from the Jerusalem Media and Communication Center ([www.jmcc.org](http://www.jmcc.org)). Knowledge of current developments, and relating these events to material covered in the course will influence the grade on the final exam.

## Course Sections:

- Nationalism: Jewish and Arab Zionism & Arab/Palestinian Nationalism
- British Mandate
- 1948 and 1956 – local struggles, global battles
- 1967 - six days that changed the Middle East
- 1973 and the beginning of the Middle East Peace Process
- A Breakthrough, Then Retreat: the triumph of Camp David and the failings of the '80s
- The Peace Process Resumes: Madrid, Oslo and beyond
- What makes peace work?
  - War and Peace and Israeli Politics
  - War and Peace and Palestinian Politics
  - The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict – U.S. domestic politics and the making of American policy
  - Conflict Unending?: Camp David II and the Collapse of the Peace Process
- Looking Ahead: the future of Arab-Israeli relations

## Readings

- NATIONALISM: JEWISH AND ARAB

Required Reading:

Zionism: Morris: pp. 14-26

Nationalism: Morris pp. 26-36 and ch. 4.

Nationalism: Migdal & Kimmerling: Intro and chapters 1-3 (pp. 3-95 in '94 edition)

Suggested Reading:

Nationalism: George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (London, 1938)

Zionism: Avineri: chapters 10-11 (on Nordau and Ahad Ha'am, pp. 101-124)

Zionism: Martin Buber, *On Zion: The History of an Idea*. London: East West Library, 1973.

- BRITISH MANDATE

Required Reading:

Morris: preface and pp. 3-13; and ch. 2 and 3.

Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete*, "Introduction" (pp. 2-10)

Suggested Reading

William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview, 2000, chapter 13.

- 1948 AND 1956 – LOCAL STRUGGLES, GLOBAL BATTLES

Video presentation: PBS "Is Jerusalem Burning"

Required Reading

Morris: ch. 5-6

Suggested Reading:

Avi Shlaim, *Collusion Across the Jordan*, New York: 1988.

Donald Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981.

Steven Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, chapters 2 and 3

- 1967 - SIX DAYS THAT CHANGED THE MIDDLE EAST

Required Reading:

Morris: ch. 7-8

Quandt: chapter 2, pp. 23-52

Suggested Reading:

Michael Oren, *The Six Day War* (2002)

Spiegel: chapter 5

- 1973 AND THE BEGINNING OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

Required Reading:

Morris: ch. 9

Quandt: chapters 4-5 on 1973 war and Kissinger's diplomacy (pp. 98-173)

Suggested Reading:

Henry Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, part four (pp. 347-462)

Quandt, ch. 3; Spiegel, ch. 6-7

- A BREAKTHROUGH, THEN RETREAT: THE TRIUMPH OF CAMP DAVID AND THE FAILINGS OF THE '80S

Required Reading:

Morris: ch. 10-11

Quandt: chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 177-242)

Suggested Reading:

Spiegel, ch. 8; and Carter, Vance, Brzezinski, Weizman, and Boutros-Ghali autobiographies

- THE PEACE PROCESS RESUMES: MADRID, OSLO AND BEYOND

Required Reading:

Morris: ch. 12-13

Quandt: chapter 10-11, (pp. 290-318, 321-340)

What makes peace work?

Chaim Kaufman, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," in Art and Jervis, *International Politics*, fifth edition, pp. 439-460.

Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles (1993), in the *Israel-Arab Reader*

Additional readings on negotiations and conflict resolution.

Suggested Reading:

Baker, Bush/Scowcroft autobiographies (Madrid), Uri Savir and Mahmoud Abbas autobiographies (Oslo); Edward Said, *Peace and Its Discontents* – collection of essays from an Oslo critic (1995)

- WAR AND PEACE AND ISRAELI POLITICS

Israeli domestic politics, e.g. rise of settler movement and Gush Emunim, Kach, Peace Now, impact of first Intifada.

Required Reading:

Ian Lustick, *For the Land and the Lord*, New York: CFR, 1988, Introduction and chapters 1-2, pp. 1-71 (on Gush Emunim and settler movement).

Dov Waxman, "The Elusive Consensus: Israeli Foreign Policy and the Politics of National Unity," *Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association*, Boston, MA, August 31, 2002.

Suggested Reading:

Avineri, chapter 15-16 (on V. Jabotinsky and Rabbi Kook, pp. 159-197)

- WAR AND PEACE AND PALESTINIAN POLITICS

Discussion of intra-Palestinian politics, PLO, Hamas

Required Reading:

Yezid Sayigh, "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt." *Survival* 43, No. 3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 47-60.

Khalil Shikaki, "Palestinians Divided," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002.

Mishal and Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas*, New York: Columbia, 2000, Introduction and chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-48), section on relations with PA and Fatah during Oslo process (pp. 108-112) and appendix 1 (structure) and 2 (charter).

Suggested Reading:

Glenn Robinson, "Palestine after Arafat," *The Washington Quarterly* 23, no. 4, Autumn 2000.

- THE OTHER ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT – U.S. DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE MAKING OF AMERICAN POLICY

Required Reading:

Quandt: chapter 1 "Introduction" (pp. 1-20) and chapter 13 (pp. 379-396).

Spiegel: chapter 1 "The Process of American Middle East Policy Making" (pp. 1-15) and chapter 9 "Stars and Ideas: the key to U.S. policy formation" (p. 281-294)

Case Study: Kissinger "Kissinger and the American Jewish Leadership after the 1973 War," Introduction by Zaki Shalom and primary documents in *Israel Studies*, vol. 7: (pp. 195-217)

Case Study: Clinton and the Oslo Rejectionists Sidney Blumenthal, "The Western Front," *The New Yorker*, 5 June 1995, (pp. 36-42).

Suggested Reading:

J.J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1996.

- CONFLICT UNENDING?: CAMP DAVID II AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE PEACE PROCESS

Required reading:

Quandt: chapter 12 (pp. 341-376)

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors." *The New York Review of Books*, August 9, 2001.

Shlomo Ben-Ami, former Foreign Minister of Israel, Interview by Ari Shavit, "End of a Journey." *Ha'aretz*, September 14, 2001.

Benny Morris, "Camp David and After: An Exchange (1. An Interview with Ehud Barak)," *The New York Review of Books*, June 13, 2002.

Moratinos report on Taba talks – (hand-out)

Jeremy Pressman, *International Security* article on the failure of Camp David

Suggested Reading:

Dennis Ross, "From Oslo to Camp David to Taba: Setting the Record Straight,"

Washington Institute for Near East Studies, August 8, 2001, [ww.washingtoninstitute.org](http://www.washingtoninstitute.org)

Deborah Sontag, "A Special Report; Quest for Mideast Peace: How and Why It Failed."

*The New York Times*, July 26, 2001.

Ehud Barak, former Prime Minister of Israel, Interview by Ari Shavit, "Eyes Wide Shut."

*Ha'aretz* (Magazine), September 6, 2002.

Bruce Riedel, "Camp David – The US-Israeli Bargain." [Bitterlemons.org](http://Bitterlemons.org), July 15, 2002, edition 26.

Gilead Sher, "An Israeli View: Comments on the Negotiation Strategies of Israel and the Palestinians." [Bitterlemons.org](http://Bitterlemons.org), June 17, 2002, edition 22.