

The Arab-Israeli Conflict
IR 318 – Fall 2003

Professor S.B. Lasensky
Class meetings: Tues 2-4:50 p.m.
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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 20th 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.

Student participation is expected. Student responsibilities include: weekly readings and discussion, one essay (1500 word limit), and a final paper (3000-4000 word limit) – including a possible in-class presentation. 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.) Papers should introduce the subject and assess its short and long-term impact on the course of the conflict.

The second and final paper, due one week after the last class meeting, should:

- A) present an argument to explain the origins of the Oslo process (1993-2000) or the reasons for its ultimate collapse; OR
- B) examine 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.

Grading is based on the following formula: 25 % first paper, 50 % final paper, 25 % participation.

Required Reading: (for purchase at bookstore)

* Quandt, William. *Peace Process*. Washington: Brookings/California, second edition, 2002.

* Morris, Benny. *Righteous Victims*. New York: Vintage, 2001.

* Course packet: A course packet of required readings is being compiled and will be available for purchase. All readings (both required and suggested) will also be available at the library.

Additional articles, maps and other documents will be distributed in-class throughout the semester.

Recommended Reading:

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003. (an updated version of the '94 first edition)

* Stay informed! Students are required to stay informed of current events – many of which will be discussed in class. Sources for extensive coverage include: the *New York Times*, www.nytimes.com; the Israeli dailies *Ha'aretz* (leans left), www.haaretz.com and the *Jerusalem Post* (leans right), www.jpost.com; and information from the Jerusalem Media and Communication Center (www.jmcc.org). The instructor will circulate select news stories throughout the semester. Knowledge of current developments, and relating these events to material covered in the course, will influence the participation grade.

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

COURSE CALENDAR:

Tuesday September 9	First class meeting
Tuesday October 21	* NOTE * Class may be re-scheduled, TBA
Tuesday October 28	First paper due
Tuesday November 11	Discussion of Final Paper
Tuesday December 2	Half-page description of Final Paper due
Tuesday December 9	Last class meeting
Tuesday December 16	Final paper due

Readings (to be updated throughout the semester)

- NATIONALISM: JEWISH AND ARAB

Required Reading:

Zionism: Morris: pp. 14-26

Zionism: Avineri: pp. 3-13, chapters 7-9 (pp. 73-100)

P/A Nationalism: Morris pp. 26-36 and ch. 4.

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

Suggested Reading:

P/A 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* (hand-out)

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

Discussion of 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.

Speeches by Yitzhak Rabin (1992) and Benjamin Netanyahu (1996) – handout.

Additional readings.

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 (forthcoming) hand-out

Suggested Reading:

Dennis Ross, "From Oslo to Camp David to Taba: Setting the Record Straight," Washington Institute for Near East Studies, August 8, 2001, 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, July 15, 2002, edition 26.

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

- LOOKING AHEAD: THE FUTURE OF ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS

Readings to be assigned.