

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT
JS110 / PS 182 Sec 27
Spring 2006
Brown University, Wed 6:00pm-8:30 pm,
(Junior -Senior Seminar for Political Science and Jewish Studies major)

Professor Kenneth W. Stein
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Course Summary:

This is an advanced survey of the Arab-Israeli conflict's history, politics, and diplomacy. Divided at 1948-49, the first half of the course deals with the conflict's social, political, ideological, and diplomatic origins; the second half with the period since, focusing on Israeli and Palestinian national emergence, Arab-Israeli wars, the subsequent diplomacy from each, and the impact of American, European, and Cold War engagement upon the conflict's unfolding. Integral to the course are analyses of documents associated with the conflict's 100-year plus history.

Required books:

Bickerton, Ian and Carla Klausner. A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Prentice Hall, Fourth Edition), 2002, ISBN 0-19-090303-5.

Quandt, William B. Peace Process American Diplomacy and The Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967 (Brookings/University of California), 2001, ISBN 0-520-22515-5.

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.

Khalaf, Issa. Politics in Palestine Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948 (SUNY, Albany NY), 1991, ISBN 0-7914-0708-X.

Documents Packet- History Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Providence, 2006. (To be purchased by each student during first week of class at ALLEGRA. Please give them 24 hours notice.) Referred to in the syllabus as "DP."

Course Grading:

This class meets once a week. There will be class discussion for each topic on the syllabus. Class participation is essential. Each student will write two papers, a 25-page research paper of the student's choosing, and one 10-page paper on an assigned topic. A written in-class mid-term examination will be given on March 15, 2006. Please bring two blue books. The final grade for the course will be determined as follows:

short paper - 20% - "The Camp David II Accords"

mid-term examination - 20% - Question: "Discuss the Arab-Israeli conflict to December 1949"

class participation - 20%

research paper - 40%

Course Guidelines:

For the short paper, each student will be asked to analyze the same topic: the July 2000, Camp David II Summit. Students will use Israeli, Palestinian, American, and other sources. Each student will use the same source material, but will work independently of one another. The source material consists of more than 500 pages of primary source materials translated from Arabic, Hebrew, and English as assembled by the instructor. The short paper should be no longer than 12-pages in length, including **endnotes** and bibliography. It is due on February 22, 2006. The material provided is the only source material that can be used in writing the paper. Each student seeks to answer the same questions:

1. Why was the summit convened in July 2000 and not earlier/later?
2. What were the expectations of each side prior to the summit?
3. How was the summit conducted?
4. Who was responsible for the summit's collapse?

For the long research paper, the topic will be chosen in consultation with the professor. The bibliography (minimum of nine journal articles and six books) for the research paper is due in class on March 1, 2006.

The final paper is due on April 26, 2006 by 5pm. In terms of length, the research paper must be no longer than 25 pages, (not including endnotes and bibliography). If you wish the paper returned to you, you may include a self-addressed stamped envelope when you turn in your paper.

In writing both the short and long papers (described below), the following presentation format **must** be used. Every paper must be typed, double-spaced (for the long paper, no more than a 6500 words—approximately 25-pages), and paginated with **endnotes/footnotes** and bibliography following. For a stylistic outline of how the notes and bibliography are to be arranged and presented in the research paper, see the Chicago Manual of Style. For guidance of acceptable citation style, arrangement of the endnotes and bibliography, please use the same style employed in Stein, Kenneth W. Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace. Please note that the abbreviated citation method (Stein, p.2) used in the body of a paper in political science and scientific papers is **not** an acceptable format. Use either endnotes or footnotes.

For the research paper, students may not use source material from web-based origins; in other words, research papers in this course must be completed with the use of scholarly books and journals. These journals may be secured on-line of course, but blogs, organization web-sites, chat-rooms etc., may not be used. In special cases newspapers may be used. Primary source use is encouraged.

Class sessions will be a combination of lecture and discussions. Class attendance is mandatory! For each class session, students will be assigned readings from original sources from the documents packet, and they are expected to read the source material before classes. Students are expected to participate actively in all class discussions.

Important class assignment dates:

February 1 - material distributed for first paper
 February 22 – short paper due
 March 1 - topic and bibliography for research paper due
 March 15 - mid term examination
 April 26 - research paper due

CLASS ASSIGNMENTS**January 25**

Course introduction- What is political culture?
 Arab and Jewish political cultures

February 1

Origins of the Conflict, Zionism, and Arab Nationalism in
 Pre- and Post-World War I
 Discussion Theme: Promise or Perfidy or Both?

Readings:

B&K, pp. 1-44.
 DP, pp. 1-21.

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

*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.

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

Discussion Theme: A look at the 2006 Palestinian elections

February 8

The Palestine Mandate, 1920-1948 (I)

Readings:

B&K, pp. 44-67.
 Khalaf, pp. 1-44.
 DP, pp. 25-48.

*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," Society and Political Structure in the Arab World, 1973, pp. 93-144.

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

Discussion Theme: The dual obligation and institutional partition

February 15

The Palestine Mandate, 1920-1948 (II)

Readings:

B&K, pp. 68-115.

Khalaf, pp. 45-158.

DP, pp. 55-83.

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

*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.

Discussion Theme: Was there a Jewish state in 1939-1945?

February 22

The End of the Mandate, Armistice Negotiations, Israeli Nation-Building, and status of the Palestinian Arab National Movement

Short paper is due

Readings:

Khalaf, pp. 161-230.

DP, pp. 84-165.

*Khalidi, Rashid. "The Palestinians and 1948 the underlying causes of failure," in Eugene L. Rogan

and Avi Shlaim (ed.) 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.

*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.

*Teveth, Shabtai. "Charging Israel with Original Sin," Commentary, 88, September 1989, pp. 24-33.

*Morris, Benny. "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds. The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948," Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 37-59.

*Shlaim, Avi. "The Debate about 1948," The International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 287-304, 1995.

*Stein, Kenneth W. "One Hundred Years of Social Change: The Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein (ed.), New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State, New York University Press, 1991, pp. 57-81.

Discussion Theme: Historiography and the narratives (holocaust, refugees, responsibility, memory)

March 1

Great Power Interests in the Middle East; the Cold War, Suez War, and the June 1967 War

Readings:

B&K, pp. 116-159.

Quandt, pp. 1-52.

DP, pp. 166-178.

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

*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 (New York: Columbia University Press), pp.162-171.

Discussion Theme: Open

March 8

Attempted and Failed Diplomacy, 1967-1973

Readings:

B&K, pp. 160-171.

Quandt, pp. 55-129.

Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 1-73.

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

Quandt, pp. 55-129.

Discussion Theme: UNSC Resolution 242

March 15

The October 1973 War and its aftermath

Mid-term examination last 90 minutes of class

Readings:

Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 74-96.

March 22

Disengagement Agreements to the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty

Readings:

B&K, pp. 171-209.

Quandt, pp. 130-242.

Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 97-228.

DP, pp. 179-262.

Theme: How negotiations work.

March 29 Spring break

April 5

The 1980s: The Decade of Not Getting Together: Reagan-Shultz, Shamir, Assad, Hussein, and Arafat; Lebanon and the Intifadah

Readings:

B&K, pp. 210-243.

Quandt, pp. 245-318.

DP, pp. 263-297.

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

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

Discussion Theme: A look at the 2006 Israeli elections

Paper topic summaries: five minutes each; succinct, grouped discussions; sources, thesis, and findings (8)

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April 12

The 1990s - The Gulf War, The Madrid Peace Conference: was Oslo a doable enterprise?

Readings:

B&K, pp. 244-279.

Quandt, pp. 321-378.

Stein, Heroic Diplomacy, pp. 229-268.

DP, pp. 298-396.

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

Paper topic summaries: five minutes each; succinct, grouped discussions; sources, thesis, and findings (10)

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| 1. | 6. |
| 2. | 7. |
| 3. | 8. |
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| 5 | 10. |

April 19

Intifadah II, Bush administration and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Readings:

B&K, pp. 280-312.

Quandt, pp. 379-396.

Stein and Lewis, pp. 8-39.

DP, pp. 397-453.

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

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

*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.

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

Paper topic summaries: five minutes each; succinct, grouped discussions; sources, thesis, and findings (10)

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| 1. | 6. |
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| 5 | 10. |

April 26

Arafat's Legacy-Sharon's inheritance
Research papers are due today

Readings:

DP, pp. 454-end.

Theme: American Foreign Policy toward the conflict and region: compatible?

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

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

*Rabe, Hans-Joachim. "Palestinian Territories: From State Building to Crisis Management," in Volker Perthes. ed. Arab Elites: Negotiating the Politics of Change, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004, pp. 267-297.

*Rynhold, Jonathan. "Israel's Fence: Can Separation Make Better Neighbors?" Survival, Vol. 46 No. 1 (Spring 2004) pp. 55-66.

*Samuels, David. "In a ruined country; how Yasir Arafat destroyed Palestine," Atlantic Monthly 296:2, September 2005, pp. 60-83.

If you want your research paper returned, please provide a self-addressed stamped envelope when you turn in your paper.

Research Paper topics to be considered:

Origins and Varieties of Zionism

Emergence of Palestinian Arab nationalism: prospects and pitfalls

The Economy or Economies of Palestine, 1921-1949

Palestinian Arab attitudes toward the Zionists and Zionism, 1940-1949

Zionist Attitudes toward the Arabs in Palestine

The Arab Revolt, 1936-1939: Cause and Effects

Intervention of Arab states in the Palestine Question, 1936-1949

Was a bi-national state viable?

Jewish Paramilitary Organizations in Palestine-Irgun, Stern Gang

Origins and Development of Palestinian Nationalism- to 1949 or to the present

Political Influence of American Jews on the Palestine Question before 1948

Novels and the emergence of modern Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Illegal Jewish Immigration to Palestine: impact

Partition Controversies 1937 and 1947: a comparison

The 1929-1931 Period: critical turning point in development of the Jewish National Home

Zionist Influence on American politics to 1949 or to the present

Islamic influence on Palestinian national identity

American Foreign Policy toward the Palestine Question

The Politics of the Palestinian Arab Refugees: Who, Why, When, Is there a solution?

Organization and development of the Jewish community in Palestine

Organization and development of the Palestinian community in Palestine

The conflict reflected in Hebrew literature

Palestinian Arab literature and the conflict

The conflict reflected in Arab literature

Economic and social causes for the Palestinian collapse and Zionist success to 1949

Bunche, Kissinger, Carter, and Baker: a comparative look at mediators and negotiations

Why the US and Europe can (not) agree about the Arab-Israeli conflict's resolution

European politics and a Palestinian-Israeli settlement

Jordan's stake in Palestine and the Palestinian future

Comparing the Arab revolt (1936-39) and the first and second Palestinian intifadah

The Battle for Washington: Lobbying and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Ben-Gurion, Begin, Rabin, and Sharon: a comparative study of leadership

The UN and the conflict: panacea or pain?

A comparisons of international Middle East peace conferences: 1939, 1949, 1973, and 1991

The Palestinian issue in the minds of the Arab world, 1979-2005

The Palestinian question in inter-Arab politics, 1945-1993

Prospects and problems in Palestinian self-determination

Are there viable alternatives to a two state solution?

Social and economic variables constraining a Palestinian-Israeli settlement

Ideological diversity in Palestinian nationalism

Demography and the conflict's future

Making the case for Israeli settlements since June 1967

Can Tract II diplomacy work in the Arab-Israeli Conflict?

Impact of the conflict on Oil and OPEC and vice versa

Turkey, Iran, and Iraq and the future of the conflict

Do NGO's work in the Palestinian-Israeli theater?