The Dynamics of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Semester II

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Course No. MP 1.6
Meeting: By appointment

Course Description

This course is designed to provide a basic understanding of the causes, complexities, and consequences of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. It examines the development of the conflict from its beginnings in the Ottoman period until the present day, reviewing the rise of Zionism, the period of the British Mandate, the emergence of Israel and the Palestinian refugee issue, the birth of Palestinian nationalism and its fragmentation, the impact of Arab-Israeli wars on regional relations, and the diplomatic successes and failures in seeking a political solution to the conflict. Emphasis is on presenting the perspectives of all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and placing it in the context of the history of the Middle East as a whole. Reading, analyzing, and evaluating key texts and documents related to the conflict's history politics, and diplomacy, are central aspects of this course.

Course Schedule

I. Introduction:

- The Construction of Conflicting Nationalisms
  a) Palestinian and Arab nationalism
  b) Zionism and Israeli Nationalism
- Comparing Divergent Narratives of the Conflict: Palestinians, the Arab States and Israeli

II. The Palestine Mandate, 1920-1948:

- Jewish-Arab Relations in Palestine under the Ottoman Empire
- World War I and its Aftermath
  a) Balfour Declaration
  b) British Mandate in Palestine: Conflicting British Commitment towards Political Representation, Land and People

- Palestine between the Two Wars
  a) *Yishuv*: Ideology and politics
  b) Arab Leadership and Revolts against Jewish Settlements
  c) World War II, the Holocaust and the World Jewry
- Arab-Israeli Conflict (1948-49) and Armistice Negotiations
  a) The UN Partition Plan and the End of Mandate
  b) The Palestinian *Naqba*/Jewish War of Independence
  c) The Birth of Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Question

III. The Arab-Israeli Wars 1956-1982:

- The Great Power Rivalry in the Middle East
- The Suez Campaign, 1956
- The Six Day War (1967) and its Consequences
  a) Intensification of conflict with Syria and Egypt
  b) The Emergence of the PLO and Armed Struggle
- The Yom Kippur War and the Politics of Oil
- Israel's Lebanon Wars, 1978, 1982 and Rise of Hizbullah

IV. Israeli Rule in the Occupied Territories:

- 1967 and Greater Israel: Israeli Settlers in the Occupied Territories (OT)
  a) Expropriation of Land in OT: Settler Movement
  b) Judaization of East Jerusalem
  c) Harsh Military Occupation
- Rise of Indigenous Palestinian Leadership in OT
- The *Intifada* (1987) and the birth of radical Islam in the OT: Hamas and Islamic Jihad

V. Diplomacy and Peacemaking in the Arab-Israeli Conflict:

- Early attempts at A-I settlement: Za'im Initiative, Israeli-Jordanian dialogue, Israeli-Egyptian secret negotiations
- Resolution 242 and Land for Peace Formula: Superpower diplomacy in the post-1967 period
- The Sadat initiative and the Camp David 1979 Agreements
- The Madrid Conference
- The Making and Unmaking of Oslo: Camp David II and *Intifada* II
- The Saudi Peace Initiatives
- The Syrian track in Peace Process
- 'Road Map' and the Future of the Peace Process

VI. Debates in the Arab-Israeli Conflict:

- Role of Religion in Arab-Israeli Conflict
- The Status Arabs in Israel
- Israel's Security Concerns
- The Debate on the "end of the two-state solution"

Method of Instruction:

There will be three lecture and three tutorials of one hour each every week according to the UGC (University Grants Commission) guidelines. Questions, discussion and debate during class are strongly encouraged. Students are expected to follow news reports on the Arab-Israeli conflict and look actively for analytical articles on topics in the course. *Ha'aretz*, Israel's leading daily newspaper, and website such as challenge-mag.com, pij.org (Palestine-Israel journal) are good sources for analysis of current events. Students are also encouraged to search for more reading material related to politics and society in Israel on the Internet.

Method of Assessment:

An end-semester exam would consist of essay questions based upon the topics covered in the syllabus. In addition, a term paper addressing an appropriate question and/or issue, and a book review on issues and topics in the syllabus, submitted on the last day of the class, will form a part of the final assessment. Students can choose a subject/issue to write about, formulating appropriate question(s) and presenting the argument in a cogent manner. They can choose any book (old or new; from the reading list or otherwise) relevant to the syllabus, for review. The formats for writing term paper and book review will be discussed in the class. The term paper will be presented in a classroom meeting mutually agreed between the teacher and students.

The total assessment is out of a maximum of 100 marks: End-semester exam carries 75 marks; Term Paper carries 15 marks; Book Review carries 5 marks; and Presentation of term paper carries 5 marks.

Select Readings

Books:

1. Bassiouni, M. Cherif, Shlomo Ben Ami, *A Guide to Documents on the Arab-Palestinian/Israeli Conflict: 1897-2008* (The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 2009).
2. Bickerton, Ian J. and Carla A. Klausner, *A History of the Arab Israeli Conflict* (Pearson Education, 2009) Sixth edition.
3. Dowty, Alan, *Israel/Palestine* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2005).
4. Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns,*

Problems, Possibilities (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010) Second edition.

5. Finkelstein, Norman G., *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (London: Verso, 1995).
6. Ganim, As'ad, *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A Political Study* (Albany, New York, SUNY Press, 2001).
7. Gelvin, James L., *The Israel-Palestine conflict: one hundred years of war* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).
8. Gilbert, Martin, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012).
9. Hemda, Ben-Yehuda, Shmuel Sandler, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict Transformed: Fifty Years of Interstate and Ethnic Crises* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2002).
10. Isacoff, Jonathan B., *Writing the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Pragmatism and Historical Inquiry* (Lanham, HD: Lexington Books, 2006).
11. Karsh, Efraim, *Fabricating Israeli History: The "New Historians"* (London: Frank Cass, 1997).
12. Khalidi, R., *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).
13. Kimmerling, Baruch & Migdal, Joel S., *The Palestinian People: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003)
14. Lockman, Zachary and Joel Beinin (eds.), *Intifada: the Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1990).
15. Louis, Wm Roger and Avi Shlaim, *The 1967 Arab-Israeli War Origins and Consequences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
16. Milton-Edwards, Beverley, *Islamic Politics in Palestine* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999).
17. Mishal, Shaul and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
18. Morris, Benny, *Righteous victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–2001* (1st Vintage Books ed.) (New York: Vintage Books, 2001).
19. Pappe, Ilan, *A History of Modern Palestine: one land, two peoples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) Second edition.
20. Reinhart, Tanya, *The Road Map to Nowhere: Israel/Palestine since 2003* (London: Verso, 2006).
21. Reinharz, Jehuda and Anita Shapira (eds), *Essential Papers on Zionism* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
22. Roy, Sara, *Failing peace: Gaza and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* (London: Pluto, 2007).
23. Said, Edward W., *The Question of Palestine.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992) Second edition.
24. Sayigh, Yezid, *Armed Struggle and the Search for state: the Palestinian national movement 1949-1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

25. Schneer, Jonathan, *The Balfour Declaration: the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).
26. Shlaim, Avi, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (London: Penguin Books, 2000).
27. Tessler, Mark, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).
28. Tibawi, Abdul Latif, *Anglo-Arab relations and the question of Palestine, 1914-1921* (London: Luzac, 1977).
29. Usher, Graham, *Dispatches from Palestine: the rise and fall of the Oslo Peace process* (London: Pluto Press, 1999).
30. Vaughan P. Shannon, *Balancing Act: US Foreign Policy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003).

Book Chapters and Journal Articles:

1. Ajami, Fouad, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 57, No.2 (Winter 1978-1979), pp. 355-373.
2. Kacowicz, Arie M., "The Process of Reaching Peaceful Territorial Change: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Autumn 1996), pp. 215-245.
3. Dawn, C. Ernest, "The Rise of Arabism in Syria," *Middle East Journal*, Vol.16, No.2 (Spring 1962), pp. 145-168.
4. Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak, "Ideology and Politics in the Yishuv," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, Vol. 2 (Winter 1977), pp. 12-26.
5. Horowitz, Dan, "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in Avner Yaniv (ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Boulder, CO.: Lynne Reiner, 1993), pp. 11-53.
6. Karmi, Ghada, "The One-State Solution: An Alternative Vision for Israeli-Palestinian Peace," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.40, No.2 (Winter 2011), pp. 62-76.
7. 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: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 12-36.
8. Kolatt, Israel, "The Zionist movement and the Arabs," in Reinharz, Jehuda and Anita Shapira (eds.), *Essential papers on Zionism* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp.617-647.
9. Lustick, Ian, *For the Land and the Lord* (New York: CFR, 1988), Introduction and chapters 1-2, pp. 1-71 (on Gush Emunim and settler movement).
10. Makovsky, David, "Middle East Peace Through Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.80, No.2 (March/April 2001), pp. 28-46.
11. Mandel, Neville J., "Ottoman Policy and Restrictions on Jewish Settlement in Palestine: 1881-1908-- Part I," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.10, No.3 (October, 1974), pp.312-332.
12. Bar-On, Mordechai, "Israel Reactions to the Palestinian Uprising," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.17, No.4 (Summer 1988), pp.46-55.

13. 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.

14. 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: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 37- 59.

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

16. 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, 1990), pp.162-171.

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

18. Rouhana, Nadim, "Israel and its Arab citizens: predicaments in the relationship between ethnic states and ethnonational minorities," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.19, No.2 (June 1998), pp. 277-296.

19. 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.

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

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

22. Slater, Jerome, "What Went Wrong? The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 116, No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 171-199.

23. 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: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 57-81.

24. Stein, Kenneth, "Continuity and Change in Egyptian-Israeli Relations, 1973-1997," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 3-4 (Spring/Summer 1997), pp. 296-320.

25. Quandt William, B., "Camp David and Peacemaking in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (1986), pp. 357-377.