

University of Colorado at Boulder  
Department of Political Science  
**PSCI 2028-705: The Arab-Israeli Conflict**

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**Course Description:**

This course deals with the central issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict in both historical and contemporary terms. The first part of the course deals with the growing clash between the Zionist *Yishuv* and Arabs of Palestine, examining the transformation of this discord into a long-term confrontation between Israel and the Arab states. Thus, we will begin by examining the roots of Arab and Jewish nationalism, rival claims to Palestine, and growing conflict during the period of the British Mandate.

The second and main part of this course covers the years 1947-1987, analyzing the causes and effects of six wars between Israel and the Arab states; those of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1969-70, 1973, and 1982. This stage of the course emphasizes the impact of regional and global factors, such as inter-Arab rivalry and the Cold War, but also includes an examination of the circumstances that made possible the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty of 1979.

The third part of the course begins with the Palestinian *intifada* of 1987-1993 and then deals with the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles of September 1993 and Israeli-Jordanian peace agreement of 1994. The course concludes with an examination of the evolution of the conflict since the mid-1990s; topics to be included in the last few class meetings are the 2000 Camp David Summit, Israeli separation fence, future of Jerusalem, involvement of Hizballah and war of 2006, the continuing ("al-Aksa") phase of the confrontation, and the rise of Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

**Course Requirements:**

Mid-term exam (20% of final grade), ten-page term paper (20% grade), final exam (60% of grade); class attendance.

**Mid-term exam date: 20 October. Due date for papers: 1 December.**

**Recommended Textbook:**

Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2007).

Sequence of Lectures and Reading Assignments:

**1. Introduction: Roots of the Conflict**

Required Reading:

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2nd edition, 2008), 1-68.

Recommended:

Albert Hourani, "Palestine and Israel," and J.L. Talmon, "Israel and the Arabs," in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (eds.) *The Israel-Arab Reader* (New York: Penguin, 4th edition, 1984), 273-287.

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), Preface (xi-xvi) and Jews and Arabs Before the Conflict, 1-5.

Documents:

The Zionism Program [Adopted by the first Zionist Congress in Basel, August 1897], in Ruth Lapidoth and Moshe Hirsch (eds.), *The Arab-Israel Conflict and its Resolution: Selected Documents* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1992), 1.

Recommendations of the King-Crane Commission (1919); Memorandum by the General Syrian Congress (1919), in Laqueur and Rubin (eds.), *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (New York: Penguin, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1984), 21-30.

**2. The Zionist Movement and Palestinian Arab Nationalism**

Required:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 36-60.

Michael Cohen, *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 67-78.

William Quandt, Fuad Jabber, and Ann Mosely Lesch, *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 14-33.

Recommended:

George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Beirut: Khayats, 1945).

Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 2-13.

Israel Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs," *Studies in Zionism* 8, 1 (1987), 25-49.

David Waines, "The Failure of the Nationalist Resistance," in Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.), *The Transformation of Palestine* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 217-228.

Documents:

The MacMahon - Hussein Correspondence; The Balfour Declaration; The Faisal-Weizmann Agreement, in Lipidoth and Hirsch, *The Arab-Israel Conflict*, 2-22.

**3. Toward 1939: The British Mandate and Growing Confrontation**Required:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 185-246.

Recommended:

Cohen, *Origins and Evolution*, 78-105.

Kenneth Stein, *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

Documents:

The Churchill White Paper (1922); The MacDonald Letter (1931); The Peel Commission (1937); The White Paper (1939); in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 39-49.

#### **4. The Second World War and Palestine**

##### Required:

Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 528-562.

##### Recommended:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 246-256.

##### Documents:

The Biltmore Program (1942); Hitler, Zionism and the Arab Cause (1941), in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 54-72.

#### **5. Civil War and the End of the Mandate**

##### Required:

Cohen, *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict*, 106-127.

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 86-96.

##### Recommended:

David Tal, "The Forgotten War: Jewish-Palestinian Strife in Mandatory Palestine," *Israel Affairs* 6,3 (March 2000), 3-21.

##### Documents:

The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (1946); The Arab Case for Palestine (1946); The Case for a Bi-national State (1947); The U.N. Partition Resolution (1947), Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 72-96.

#### **6. 1948-1949: The Creation of Israel, The First Arab-Israeli War and the Palestinian Arab Refugees**

##### Required:

Cohen, *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict*, 127-132.

Nadav Safran, *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967* (Indianapolis: Pegasus, 1969), 28-42.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 273-330.

Recommended:

Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 286-296.

Documents:

Ahmed Shukairy, *The Palestinian Refugees*; Erskine Childers, *The Other Exodus*; Abba Eban, *The Refugee Problem*, in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 119-140.

## **7. 1949-1956: From Secret Negotiations to a Second Arab-Israeli War**

Required:

Itamar Rabinovich, *The Road Not Taken* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 209-222 (for this topic entire book recommended).

Steven Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 50-82.

Recommended:

Peter L. Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 133-209.

Zach Levey, *Israel and the Western Powers, 1952-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 7-79.

Documents:

U.N. Security Council Resolution 95 [on passage through the Suez Canal], (1951), in Lapidoth and Hirsch, *The Arab-Israel Conflict*, 115-116.

## **8. The Road to the Six Day War and the 1967 Turning Point**

Required:

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 105-116 (includes text of U.N. Resolution 242 of November 1967).

Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (New York: Warner, 1991), 411-415.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 349-405.

Avner Yaniv, *Deterrence Without the Bomb: The Politics of Israeli Strategy* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1987), (from chapter titled "The Perils of Victory"), 127-145.

Recommended:

Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1997, 71-142.

Moshe Shemesh, "Prelude to the Six Day War: The Arab-Israeli Struggle Over Water Resources," *Israel Studies* 9, 3 (2004), 1-45.

Documents:

Hassanain Haykal, "An Armed Clash with Israel is Inevitable -- Why?" in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 152-160.

U.A.R. Statement of Withdrawal of U.N.E.F. and Closing of Strait of Tiran to Israeli Ships, 22 May 1967, in Lapidoth and Hirsch, *The Arab-Israel Conflict*, 120-122.

**9. 1968-1973: The Israeli-Egyptian War of Attrition, The Jordanian Crisis, and the 1973 Yom Kippur War**

Required:

William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 55-129.

Avner Yaniv, *Deterrence Without the Bomb: The Politics of Israeli Strategy* (Lexington Books, 1987), 170-177.

Recommended:

Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 166-267.

Documents:

Resolution of the Arab Summit Conference held in Khartoum, 1 September 1967, in Lapidoth and Hirsch, *The Arab-Israel Conflict*, 133.

The Palestinian National Charter, 17 July 1968, in Lapidoth and Hirsch, *The Arab-Israel Conflict*, 136-141.

The Rogers Plan, 9 December 1969, in Yehuda Lukacs (ed.), *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 55-60.

## **10. 1974-1979: The Road to Camp David and Israeli-Egyptian Peace**

### Required:

Laurie Zitrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 28-42.

Kenneth W. Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 187-268.

### Recommended:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 499-534.

Saadia Touval, *The Peace Brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1979* (Princeton University Press, 1982), 284-320.

### Documents:

"Toward Peace in the Middle East," Brookings Institution Report, December 1975, in Lukacs (ed.), *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 65-67.

Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, 26 March 1979, in Zitrain Eisenberg and Caplan, 180-183.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin: Autonomy Plan for the Occupied Territories (December 28, 1977), Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 400-402.

West Bank Palestinians: Reactions to Camp David, in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 417-419.

## 11. The 1982 Lebanon War

### Required:

Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon: 1970-1985* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 108-173.

### Recommended:

Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, 522-543.

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for a Regional Order* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 247-272.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 568-632.

### Documents:

Defense Minister Ariel Sharon: Israel's Security (December 15, 1981), in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 421-425.

President Ronald Reagan: The Reagan Plan (September 1, 1982), in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 439-445.

The Kahan Commission Report (February 7, 1983), in Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (5th edition, 1995), 451-455.

## 12. 1987-1996: From *Intifada* to Madrid and Oslo

### Required:

Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 41-81.

Zittrain Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, 75-126.

### Recommended:

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 130-145.

Ephraim Inbar, "Israel's Small War: The Military Response to the *Intifada*," *Armed Forces and Society* 18, 1 (Fall 1991), 29-50.



Robert L. Rothstein, "Oslo and the Ambiguities of Peace," in Joseph Ginat, Edward J. Perkins, and Edwin G. Corr (eds.), *The Middle East Peace Process: Vision Versus Reality* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 21-38.

Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, 607-662.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 706-27, 748-61.

#### Documents:

Letters (Rabin - Arafat) and (Oslo) Declaration of Principles, September 1993, in Zittrain Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, 210-216.

### **13. The Second *Intifada* and Camp David, 2000**

#### Required:

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors," *The New York Review of Books*, 9 August 1991.

Allan Dowty and Michelle Gawerc, "The Intifada: Revealing the Chasm," in *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (MERIA) Journal, 5, 3 (September 2001) (e-journal).

#### Recommended:

Yezid Sayigh, "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt," *Survival* 43, 3 (Autumn 2001), 47-60.

### **14. Israel, Jordan and Syria: 1994-2006**

#### Required:

Joseph Nevo, "The Jordanian-Israeli Peace: The View From Amman," in Ginat, Perkins, and Corr (eds.), *The Middle East Peace Process*, 167-177.

Eyal Zisser, "Whither Syria?" MERIA Journal 11, 1 (March 2007).

#### Documents:

Treaty of Peace: Israel-Jordan, October 1994, in Zittrain Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, 217-228.

## **15. Jerusalem, the Separation Fence, Hamas, and Hizballah in Lebanon**

### Required:

Menachem Klein, "Jerusalem as an Israeli Problem," *Israel Studies* 13, 2 (Summer 2008), 54-72.

Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 147-172.

Jonathan Rynhold, "Israel's Fence: Can Separation Make Better Neighbours?" *Survival* 46, 1, (2004), 55-76.

Jonathan Spyer: "Lebanon 2006: Unfinished War," *MERIA Journal* 12, 1, (March 2008).