The Arab-Israeli Conflict Instructor: Dr. Guy Ben-Porat

Winter Quarter 2008

Office Hours: Tuesday and Thursday 10-11

Room 1276 (or by appointment: gbenorat@ucdavis.edu)

Course Scope and Purpose:

This course explores the causes, course, and implications of the Arab-Israeli conflict from World War I to the present. It places the conflict in a comparative perspective to other "protracted" conflicts, examines the history of the conflict, and compares the conflicting narratives of the Palestinians, the Arab States, and Israel. It explores the politics of force over the course of the conflict, as well as the diplomacy of the conflict. It examines the relationships among Arabs and Israelis, the dynamics of the Arab-Israeli and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the main issues involved, the attempts for resolution in the past two decades and the explanations for the failure of most. The course offers a window into the interrelations between domestic forces—political, economic and social—and the international relations of Israel, Palestinians and the Arab states.

Required Reading

- 1. Zeev Maoz 2006. Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security and Foreign Policy. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press (hereafter Maoz, 2006).
- 2. Jan J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner 2007 A History of the Arab Israeli Conflict (fifth edition) Pearson
- 3. Course Reader: available at Davis Copy (just off campus on 3rd St. & University Ave.). Materials of the reader are also available at the Reserve Desk of the library.
- 4. Articles in the syllabus to be downloaded from JSTOR

Grading Criteria

Mid-term exam: 25% Term-paper: 25% Final Exam: 50%

Course Plan: Topics and Readings

Part 1: Putting the Conflict in Perspective

Class 1 (January 6): Introduction: The Conflict in a Comparative Perspective

Agnew, John 1989 "Beyond Reason, Spatial and Temporal Sources of Ethnic Conflicts" in Kriesberg, L., Northurp, T. and Thompson, J. (eds.) <u>Intractable Conflicts and their Transformation</u> Syracuse University Press READER

Azar, Eduard E. 1999 "Protracted International Conflict: Ten Propositions" in Starr (ed.) *The Understanding and Management of Global Violence* New York: St. Martins Press READER

Class 2 (January 8): The Conflict: Actors, Goals and Competing Narratives

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, 1-29

Rashid Khalidi 1998. Palestinian Identity. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, pp. 9-34. READER

Shlomo Avineri 1981 The Making of Modern Zionism 3-13, 217-227 READER

Part II: History of the Conflict

Class 3 (January 13): Roots of Conflict: from Early Zionism to State Formation

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, 35-54

Israel Kolatt 1994 "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs" in Reinharz and Shapira (eds.) *Essential Papers on Zionism* New York University Press READER

Jehuda Reinharz 1994 "The Balfour Declaration in Historical Perspective" in Reinharz and Shapira (eds.) *Essential Papers on Zionism* New York University Press READER

Rashid Khalidi 2006 The Iron Cage pp. 1-31 READER

Class 4 (January 15): Land, Territory and International Relations

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, 67-86

Baruch Kimmerling 1982 "Change and Continuity in Zionist Territorial Orientations and Politics" *Comparative Politics* 14, 2 JSTOR

Shapira, Anita. 1992 Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948 Oxford University Press, 353-370 READER

Class 5 (January 20): 1948: War of Independence or Nakba?

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, 97-108

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Morris, Benny. "The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine: The Israel Defence Forces Intelligence Branch Analysis of June 1948." <u>Middle Eastern Studies</u>. 22 (1986). JSTOR

Reflections on Al-Nakba READER

Israel's Declaration of Independence READER

Class 6 (January 22): Suez 1956, The Six Day War and the "Territories"

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, 112-128, 134-150

Hisham Sharabi 1970 "Prelude to War: The Crisis of May-June 1967" in Abu-Lughod (ed.) *The Arab-Israeli Confrontation of June 1967: An Arab Perspective* READER

Maoz, 47-80

Class 7 (January 27): The Territories and Israel's Policy of Settlement

Mark Tessler 1999 *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press pp.499-531

Ian Lustick 1981 "Israel and the West Bank After Elon Moreh: The Mechanics of De Facto Annexation" *Middle East Journal* 35, 4 READER

Class 8 (January 29): The Yom Kippur War and its Impact

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, pp.155-173

Maoz 2006, pp. 140-171.

Class 9 (February 3): Peace at Last? The Israeli-Egyptian Peace Accords

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, 178-193

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

Maoz, 420-447

Class 10 (February 5): At War Again? Lebanon and the First Intifada

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, pp. 206-229

Maoz 171-230

Salim Tamari 1988 "What the Uprising Means" Middle East Report, 152, pp.24-30 JSTOR

Mordechai Bar-On 1988 "Israel Reactions to the Palestinian Uprising" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 17, 4 pp.46-55 JSTOR

MIDTERM (February 10)

Class 11 (February 12): Hopes for Peace: The Oslo Process (The Territorial Debate)

Bickerton and Klausner 2007, pp. 237-256, 273-293

R. Khalidi, "A Palestinian View of the Accord with Israel" *Current History* 93/580 (1994) pp.62-66 READER

Arie M. Kacowicz (1996), "The Process of Reaching Peaceful Territorial Change: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary*

History, Vol. 37, No. 2, Autumn, pp. 215-245. JSTOR

Class 12 (February 17): Shattered Peace: The Second Intifada

Shimon Shamir and Bruce Maddy-Weitzman 2005 *The Camp David Summit – What Went Wrong?* pp. 7-13, 42-51, 60-71, 74-82, 108-117 READER

Two Years of Intifada, Closures and Palestinian Economic Crisis: An Assessment", World Bank, March 5, 2003. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/NEWS/Resources/pr030503-report.pdf

Part III: Issues, Debates and Resolution

Class 13 (February 19): Domestic Politics: Israel

Barnett, Michael 1991"High Politics Is Low Politics: The Domestic and Systematic Sources of Israeli Security Policy, 1967-77" *World Politics* 42(4) pp.529-547 JSTOR

Tamar Hermann and Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar 2002 "Divided yet United: Israeli-Jewish Attitudes Toward the Oslo Process" *Journal of Peace Research* 39, 5 JSTOR

Class 14 (February 24): Domestic Politics: Palestinian and Arab States

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

Maoz chapter 9

Class 15 (February 26): Nuclear Weapons

Maoz, chapter 8

Class 16 (March 3): Political Extremism and Terrorism

Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela 2006. The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 1-12, 146-171

Ehud Sprinzak 1998 "Extremism and Violence in Israel: The Crisis of Messianic Politics" *Annals AAPS* 555 JSTOR

Class 17 (March 5): Economy, Development and Peace

Sara Roy 1999 "De-Development Revisited: Palestinian Economy and Society Since Oslo" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, 3: 64-82 JSTOR

Shimon Peres The New Middle East, New York: Holt, chapter 6 READER

Ben-Porat, Guy 2005 "Same Old Middle East? The New Middle East and the *Double* Movement" *International Relations*, V.19, No.1, pp.39-62. READER

Class 18: The Fence: Good Fences Make Good Neighbors?

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

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

Class 19 (March 10): The Internal Struggle – Arab Citizens of a Jewish State

Sami Smooha and Don Peretz 1982 "The Arabs in Israel" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 26, 3. pp.451-486 JSTOR

Rekhes, Eli 2007 "Opinion Survey of the Arab Population in Israel" Dayan Center at Tel-Aviv University http://www.dayan.org/kapjac/arab_survey_2007.pdf

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

Class 20 (March 12): Summary: Scenarios for the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Maoz, chapter 14

The Geneva Accord 2003. The Geneva Accord: A Model Israeli-Palestinian Peace Agreement. http://www.geneva-accord.org/mainmenu/english

Benjamin Netanyahu 2000. A Durable Peace: Israel and Its Place Among the Nations. New York: Warner Books, pp. 279-352 READER

The Saudi Peace Initiative 2002 http://www.peacelobby.org/saudi_initiative.htm