

**THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT:  
A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY**

Dr. Ronen Zeidel

**Course Number:** 702.2126  
**Class Time:** Monday 15:00-18:00  
**Class Location:** Tba  
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The **study of the conflict** through its documentary history provides a clear chronological and textual foundation for examining its origins, evolution, and ramifications, with an eye to various proposals for conflict-resolution.

The **resolution of the conflict** should begin with a probing diagnosis of the longevity and intensity of the subject, prior to proposing the requisite remedy or treatment for the problem. This is to proceed logically and rationally as befits a scientific enterprise.

The **tragedy of the conflict** is a subject for historical introspection or humanitarian empathy. It can be a catalyst for efforts to solve the conflict.

The **focus of the conflict** as reflected in our course of study is the local-territorial dimension within *Eretz-Israel*, called Palestine throughout the centuries. We shall however take account of broader regional aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict – thus the course title.

Due to inavailability of time, not all the sources in the reading list will be covered. The uncovered sources should help the students with their assignments. The course, however, will provide a clear historical line with the documents serving as the backbone of the conflict and the attempts by both sides, as well as the international community to solve it.

**Course requirements** will demand a reading of the materials and generating judgment and thought on the topics addressed. **The Students will be required to read Haaretz (English version) every day.**

Midterm Paper 40%  
Final Paper 40%  
Active Participation 20%

**Syllabus [for documents see course Reader]**

**1. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

The Holy Land is the locus of sanctity and memory, the place of myth and legend. Inasmuch as our course deals with competing claims, it is necessary to begin with the resonances from the past that nurture peoples' bonds with this country.

**James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One hundred Years of War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2007. pp. 1-14.**

Barbara W. Tuchman, *Bible and Sword: How the British Came to Palestine*, London: Macmillan, 1982. **E9 T888**

Joan Peters, *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine*, New York: Harper & Row, 1984. **E327.56 P482**

Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. **E325.21 B478**

Muhammad Y. Muslih, *Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

**ME320.54 M987**

**2. ZIONISM AND THE ARABS OF PALESTINE, 1917-1947**

The possibilities for preempting the conflict or resolving it at an early stage surfaced coterminous with the dynamics of its outbreak and evolution. But the failure to solve it by 1947-48, attending Israel's imminent founding, constitutes the stark and sobering historical reality.

**1917**, The Balfour Declaration, p. 1

**1918**, Declaration to the Seven, p. 2

**1919**, The Feisel-Weizmann Agreement and Feisal-Frankfurter Letters, p. 4

**1919**, King-Crane Commission Report, p. 7

**1922**, Churchill White Paper, p. 16

**1922**, Mandate for Palestine, p. 21

**1937**, From the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission (Peel Comm.) p. 29

**1939**, British White Paper on Palestine, p. 30

**1947**, UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (Partition Plan) p. 38

**James L. Gelvin, pp. 76-92.**

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003, chap. 1, pp. 3-37 **E320.9(A) K49**

Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, ch. 7, "The Formation of Palestinian Identity, 1917-1923," pp. 145-175. **E320.9(A) K45**

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994, ch. 3, "The Conflict takes Shape," pp. 127-184. **E327.56 T341**

Yoav Gelber, *Jewish-Transjordanian Relations 1921-1948*, London; Frank Cass, 1997, ch. 5, "The Arab Revolt," pp. 83-103, and ch. 6, "The Royal Commission and the Partition Plan," pp. 105-124. **E327.569.5 G314**

**Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, Chapters 2,3.**

**3. ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS, 1947-1967**

Israel's establishment, accompanied by military success and international recognition, did not elicit Arab/Palestinian acceptance of the Jewish State. The Palestinian refugee problem was born, and is still a vibrant component of the conflict. Palestinian resistance and warfare characterized the period. Meanwhile, broader political efforts and initiatives for conflict-resolution failed.

**1948**, Declaration of the State of Israel, 58

**1948**, UNGA Resolution 194 (III) (Refugee Return), 61

**Gelvin, pp.116-144.**

Ilan Pappé, *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1947-51*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1992, ch. 1, "The Diplomatic Battle: UN Decisions, February 1947-May 1948," pp. 16-46. **E327.56 P218**

Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, ch. 3, "The Second Wave: The Mass Exodus, April-June 1948," pp. 61-131. **E325.21 M875**

Moshe Shemesh, "The Palestinian Society in the Wake of the 1948 War: From Social Fragmentation to Consolidation," *Israel Studies*, 9, 1, Spring 2004, pp. 86-100. **ERESERVE 001230460**

Y. Harkabi, *The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning*, London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1979. **E327.56 H283**

**4. MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY AND PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS, 1967-1987**

International involvement, especially by the United States, is the hallmark of many years of diplomatic effort to resolve the regional Arab-Israeli conflict. At the same time, the Israeli-Palestinian conundrum remained politically intractable.

**1967**, UN Security Council Resolution 242 (Peace in the Middle East),64

**1968**, PLO Palestinian National Charter (revised),65

**1973**, UNSC Resolution 338 (cease-fire),69

**1974**, Separation-of-Forces between Israel and Syria,70

**1974**, PLO: PNC Cairo Meeting (Phases Plan), and UN Observer Status,73

**1978/9**, Camp David Framework for Peace, and Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty,79

**1981**, U.S.-Israel Memo of Understanding, and Israeli Golan Law,83

**1982/3**, Lebanon: Agreement on PLO Withdrawal from Lebanon, 1982,84

The Reagan Plan, 1982,90

UNSC Resolution 520, 1982,94

Lebanon-Israel Truce Agreement, 1983,95

**Gelvin, pp.173-196.**

Stephen M. Schwebel, "What Weight to Conquest?" in John Norton Moore, ed., *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Volume II: Readings, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974, pp. 315-318. **E327.56(08) M822**

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2000, ch. 9, "Peace with Egypt 1977-1981," pp. 352-383. **E327.56 S558**

Raphael Israeli, *Man of Defiance: A Political Biography of Anwar Sadat*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985, ch. 10, "The Peace Gamble," pp. 216-247. **923.62 S124I**

Laura Zittrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998, ch. 2, "Mission Impossible: The 1983 Israel-Lebanon Agreement," pp. 43-59. **E327.172 E36**

**5. PALESTINIAN UPRISING (Intifada) AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1988-1992**

The *intifada* represented the Palestinian struggle against Israel in a period of low diplomatic activity. Islam, the core cultural identity among the Palestinians, evoked the earthy power of religion in politics and warfare. Meanwhile, the Middle East reverberated with events in the Persian Gulf and the war that erupted in 1991.

**1988**, West Bank-Gaza Palestinian Leaders: Fourteen Points and Intifada UNC,97

**1988**, Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS)[excerpts],100

**1988**, PLO Declaration of Palestinian Independence,102

**1988**, UNGA Resolution on the Question of Palestine,104

**1991**, Madrid Peace Conference invitation,105

**Gelvin, pp.212-228.**

Edward W. Said, "Reflections on Twenty Years of Palestinian History," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, XX, 4, Summer 1991, pp. 5-22. **E-JOURNAL**

Shaul Mishal and Reuben Aharoni, *Speaking Stones: Communiqués from the Intifada Underground*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994, ch. 2, "Paper War: The Intifada Leaflets," pp. 25-49. **E322.42 M678**

Helena Cobban, "The PLO and the Intifada," in Robert O. Freedman, ed., *The Intifada: Its Impact on Israel, the Arab World, and the Superpowers*, Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991, ch. 3, pp. 70-106. **E322.42 F853**  
Laura Zittrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Bloomington & Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998, ch. 4, "Setting the Peace Table: The Madrid Conference and the Washington Talks, 1991-1993," pp. 75-89. **E327.172 E36**

#### 6. THE OSLO ACCORDS: A POLITICAL ACCOUNTING, 1993-2000

The 1993 Oslo Accord was a radical breakthrough in the attempt to solve the violent and bitter conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. A political process was launched, but it ran aground in an atmosphere of terrorism and incrimination. The United States under President Clinton played a major role in trying to manage the conflict and salvage the Oslo process.

\*Note: There are many internet sites that since 1993 have provided documents and articles on the Oslo Accords, offering a variety of opinions regarding conception, implementation, and responsibility. A few among them: Middle East Institute policy briefs, MERIP reports, PalestineHistory, Free Palestine Campaign, MEMRI, CATO Institute, Freeman, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Ariel Center for Policy Research [Nativ], Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Al-Awda [Refugee Return], and many more.

**1993**, Arafat to Rabin Letter; DOP/Oslo Accord between Israel and PLO,107

**1994**, Treaty of Peace Between Israel and Jordan,116

**1995**, OSLO II Interim Agreement on West Bank and Gaza Strip,125

**1998**, Wye Memorandum between Netanyahu and Arafat,140

**1999**, Sharm E-Sheikh Memorandum,145

#### **Gelvin,pp.229-257.**

Hilde Henriksen Waage, "Explaining the Oslo Backchannel: Norway's Political Past in the Middle East," *Middle East Journal*, 56, 4, Autumn 2002, pp. 597-615. **ERESERVE 001229410**

David Makovsky, *Making Peace With the PLO: The Rabin Government's Road to the Oslo Accord*, Boulder: Westview and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1996, ch. 2, "Drafting the Declaration of Principles," pp. 31-43, and ch. 3, "Upgrading the Oslo Talks," pp. 45-58. **E327.172 M235**

Shlomo Sharan, "Israel and the Jews in the Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority,"

in Arieh Stav, ed., *Israel and a Palestinian State: Zero Sum Game?* Tel-Aviv: Zmora-Bitan, 2001, pp. 170-181

**E323.1(A) S798**

Itamar Rabinovich, *The Brink of Peace: The Israeli-Syrian Negotiations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, ch. 5, "Between Amman and Damascus," pp. 120-162. **E327.569.1 R116**

#### 7. THE SECOND INTIFADA AND ISRAEL'S DISENGAGEMENT, 2000-2005

Renewed violence and political closure prevented any progress toward a bilateral agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. However, steps were taken to try and shape a new political and territorial reality in the Land.

Hillel Frisch, "Debating Palestinian Strategy in the al-Aqsa Intifada," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15, 2, Summer 2003, pp. 61-80. **ERESERVE 001361722**

**2001**, Tenet cease-fire plan, 149-150

**2003**, The Bush Road Map, 151-154

**2004**, The Sharon Disengagement Plan, 155-159

#### 8. ISSUES IN DISPUTE AND CONTROVERSY

The rights of individuals and peoples continues to be a source of debate and differences in the conflict. In this regard, events from decades ago continue to have an impact on the legal, territorial, and political dimensions of the conflict and its resolution.

**\*Jewish Settlements**

Marc Zell, "A Settler's History of Settlements," *Israelinsider*, May 26, 2002, 1-4. **ERESERVE 001361769**  
Yoram Ettinger, "The Misrepresentation of the Jewish Communities/Settlements in Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan Heights," The Ariel Center for Policy Research, September 19, 2004 (printed by *Flame*, Oct. 5, 2004), 1-3. **ERESERVE 001361776**

**\*Arabs in Israel**

Efrat Ben-Ze'ev and Issam Aburaiya, "'Middle-Ground' Politics and the Re-Palestinization of Places in Israel," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36, 2004, pp. 639-655. **ERESERVE 001361725**  
Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh, *Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, chapter 1, "Babies and Boundaries," pp. 23-80. **E301.412(A) K161**

**\*Palestinian Refugees**

Abdullah Hourani, "A Letter from a Palestinian Refugee to Abu Mazen," *al-Majdal*, 25, Spring 2005, pp. 48-51; **ERESERVE 001361766** Husam Khader, "The Right of Return is the Most Important National Right," *al-Majdal*, 26, Summer 2005, pp. 44-46. **ERESERVE 001361763**

**\*Jewish Refugees**

Maurice M. Roumani, "The Silent Refugees: Jews from Arab Countries," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 14, 3, Summer 2003, pp. 41-77. **ERESERVE 001362011**

## 9. PRINCIPLES AND CONCEPTIONS FOR CONFLICT-RESOLUTION

Among the approaches to solving the conflict in the Land, we wonder which one, or combination of which, may perhaps pave the political pathway to peace.

Natan Sharansky, *The Case for Democracy*, New York: Public Affairs, 2004, chapter 5, "From Helsinki to Oslo," pp. 144-192. **321.8 S531**

Uzi Arad, "Interim Arrangements and Conflict Management," in Mark A. Heller and Rosemary Hollis, editors, *Israel and the Palestinians: Israeli Policy Options*, London: Chatham House, 2005, pp. 53-71. **E327.56 H477**

Mustafa Abu Sway, "Islamic Perspectives on the Oslo Process," in Robert L. Rothstein, Moshe Maoz, and Khalil Shikaki, editors, *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Oslo and the Lessons of Failure*, Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2002, pp. 78-87. **E327.172 R847**

Raphael Israeli, "One Palestinian People and One Palestine," in *Dangers of a Palestinian State*, ed. Raphael Israeli, Jerusalem: Gefen, 2002, pp. 101-124.

**E327.56 I85**

**Benny Morris**, *One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel-Palestine Conflict*, Yale: Yale University Press. Chapter 3.

**Rashid Khalidi**, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, Boston: Beacon, 2007. Chapter 6.

## 10. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: NATIONALISM AND RELIGION IN THE POLITICAL EQUATION

Gershon Shafir, "Zionism and Colonialism," ch. 5, in Ilan Pappé, ed., *The Israel/Palestine Question*, London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 81-96. **E327.56 P218**

Bat Ye'or, *Islam and Dhimmitude*, Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 2002, ch. 7, "Jihad and Dhimmia: Modern Formulations," pp. 195-222.

**933.5(56) B336**

Papers are due two weeks after the last day of class (**January 21st 2014**). Papers should be submitted electronically as an e-mail attachment to: [vesnaronen@hotmail.com](mailto:vesnaronen@hotmail.com) with copy (cc) to: [uhisfinalpapers@gmail.com](mailto:uhisfinalpapers@gmail.com)