



## The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Professor Zach Levey

Course number: 702.2395

Class Time: Monday 12:00-15:00

Class Location: TBA

Instructor's Office: Room 4020, Terrace Building

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Office Hours: by appointment

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### Course Description and Structure:

This course deals with the 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 its transformation into long-term confrontation between Israel and the Arab states. We will begin by examining the roots of Arab and Jewish nationalism, rival claims to Palestine, and the rise of conflict during the British Mandate period.

The second of this course covers the years 1947-1982, analyzing the causes and effects of six wars between Israel and the Arab states; 1948, 1956, 1967, 1969-70, 1973, and 1982. Emphasis is on regional and global factors, such as inter-Arab rivalry and the Cold War, but includes an examination of the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement in 1979.

The third part begins with the aftermath of the 1982 Lebanon war and Palestinian *intifada* of 1987-1993, covering the Oslo Agreements, 2000 Camp David summit, the second Intifada and Israel's conflict with both Hamas and Hizballah.

### Course Requirements:

Three short essay assignments (each 5% of final grade), in-class mid-term exam (15%), term paper (15 pages, 70% of final course grade). Regular attendance is *mandatory*. This is a fast-paced course and students should complete readings for each class session.

Recommended sites for current events: *Haaretz*, *The New York Times*, *Times of Israel*, *The Jerusalem Post*.

**Electronics:** Laptops permitted for note-taking. Phones are out of visual and audial range.

Principal Texts:

Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010 or any recent edition). [Basic general textbook; includes documents].

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, second edition, 2009).

Recommended: Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1998* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2011).

Note on Readings

See both “course readings” and “additional readings” on Moodle site. Copyright law limits the number of pages from a given book that may be placed on an electronic site. Principal texts are available in the reserve section of the university library, but students may wish to purchase them.

Course Topics**#1: Roots of the Conflict, Zionism, and Palestinian Arab Nationalism**Required Reading:

Bickerton and Klausner, 1-32.

Tessler, 7-122.

Recommended:

George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1939).

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

Alan Dowty, *Arabs and Jews in Ottoman Palestine: Two Worlds Collide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).

Menachem Klein, *Lives in Common: Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Hebron* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

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, 1987), 217-235.

**#2: The First World War and the Rise of Arab-Jewish Conflict in Palestine**Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 34-64 (covers period ending with 1939).

Tessler, 123-184.

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

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

Recommended:

Michael Cohen, *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 58-105.

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

**#4: The Second World War and Palestine**Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 65-73.

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

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

Recommended:

Cohen, *Origins and Evolution*, 93-105.

**#5: Civil War and the End of the Mandate**Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 73-95.

Steven Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 16-39.

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

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 256-268.

Recommended:

Cohen, *Origins and Evolution*, 106-132.

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

Required:

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *Palestinians: The Making of a People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 127-156.

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

Recommended:

Kimmerling and Migdal, *Palestinians*, 159-184.

Hadara Lazar, *Out of Palestine: The Making of Modern Israel* (Fayetteville, NC: Atlas Publishing, 2011).

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

**#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 (entire book recommended).

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

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 269-349.

Recommended:

Bickerton and Klausner, 114-131.

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.

Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars, 1949-1956* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

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

### Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 135-153.

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

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

### Recommended:

Malcom H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal `Abd al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

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

Anita Shapira, *Israel: A History* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2012), 307-325.

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

## **#9: 1968-73: The War of Attrition, Jordanian Crisis, and Yom Kippur War**

### Required:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 407-464.

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

### Recommended:

Bickerton and Klausner, 154-176.

Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, 262-281.

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

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

##### Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 177-205.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 465-531.

##### Recommended:

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

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

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

#### **#11: The 1982 Lebanon War and the “Grand Strategy”**

##### Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 204-218.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 535-633.

##### Recommended:

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

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.

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

### Required:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 679-782.

### Recommended:

Bickerton and Klausner, 218-265.

Hillel Frisch, *Countdown to Statehood: Palestinian State Formation in the West Bank and Gaza* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 93-154.

Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

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.

## **#13: From Oslo to the Second *Intifada* and Camp David 2000**

### Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 266-332.

Tessler, 782-818.

### Recommended:

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

## **#14: 2000-2015: Hamas in Gaza, and Hizballah in Lebanon**

### Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 333-400.

Jonathan Spyer: "Lebanon 2006: Unfinished War," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (MERIA) Journal 12, 1, (March 2008 – see online).

Recommended:

Joshua L. Gleis and Benedetta Berti, *Hezbollah and Hamas: A Comparative Study* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

Menachem Klein, "Hamas in Power", *Middle East Journal*, 61, 3 (Summer 2007), 442-459.

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

Tessler, 819-847.