

NES 484/584
Spring 2009
Department of Near Eastern Studies
email: cdsmith@u.arizona.edu
Office Hours: Tuesday: 1:2 p.m., Thursday 1–5 p.m. and by appointment.

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HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Texts:

Charles D. Smith, PALESTINE AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, 6th edition
Eugene Rogan & Avi Shalim, eds., THE WAR FOR PALESTINE: REWRITING THE
HISTORY OF 1948. 2nd edition.

Shaul Mishal & Avraham Sela, THE PALESTINIAN HAMAS, 2nd ed.

Amos Oz, IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL.

Daniel Kurtzer & Scott Lasensky, NEGOTIATING ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE: AMERICAN
LEADERSHIP IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Recommended/Ordered

Clayton Swisher, THE TRUTH ABOUT CAMP DAVID. 20 copies

Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar, LORDS OF THE LAND: THE WAR OVER ISRAEL'S
SETTLEMENTS . 20 copies

Recommended - in Library, not on Reserve

David Shipler, ARAB AND JEW: WOUNDED SPIRITS IN THE PROMISED LAND, 2nd ed.

Bishara Doumani, REDISCOVERING PALESTINE: MERCHANTS AND PEASANTS IN
JABAL NABLUS, 1700-1900.

Gershon Shafir, LAND, LABOR, AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT,
1882-1914.

Richard P. Mitchell, THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS.

Malcolm Kerr, THE ARAB COLD WAR: GAMAL ABD AL-NASIR AND HIS RIVALS,
1958- 1970.

Augustus Norton, AMAL AND THE SHIA OF LEBANON: STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUL OF
LEBANON.

Ehud Sprinzak, THE ASCENDANCE OF ISRAEL'S RADICAL RIGHT.

_____, BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER: VIOLENCE AND EXTREMISM IN
ISRAELI POLITICS.

Kathleen Christison, PERCEPTIONS OF PALESTINE: THEIR INFLUENCE ON U.S.
MIDDLE EAST POLICY.

Yazid Sayigh, ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE SEARCH FOR STATE: THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT, 1949-1993.

S. Ilan Troen and Noah Lucas, editors, ISRAEL: THE FIRST DECADE OF INDEPENDENCE.

Mary C. Wilson, KING ABDULLAH AND THE MAKING OF JORDAN.

Rashid I. Khalidi, PALESTINIAN IDENTITY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MODERN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

**Charles Enderlin, SHATTERED DREAMS: THE FAILURE OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1995–2002.

.**Ahron Bregman, ELUSIVE PEACE: HOW THE HOLY LAND DEFEATED AMERICA

Uzi Benjamin, SHARON, AN ISRAELI CAESAR.

Baruch Kimmerling, POLITICIDE; ARIEL SHARON'S WAR AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS.

Janet Wallach and John Wallach, ARAFAT: IN THE EYES OF THE BEHOLDER.

Barry Rubin and Judith Culp Rubin, YASIR ARAFAT: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY.

Said Aburish, ARAFAT: FROM DEFENDER TO DICTATOR.

Michael Dumper, THE POLITICS OF JERUSALEM SINCE 1967.

Amir S. Chesin, Bill Hutman and Avi Melamed, SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL: THE INSIDE STORY OF ISRAELI RULE IN EAST JERUSALEM.

Bernard Wasserstein, DIVIDED JERUSALEM: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE HOLY CITY.

Menachem Klein, JERUSALEM, THE CONTESTED CITY.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is a *history* of the Arab-Israeli conflict, beginning with events stemming from Zionist immigration into Palestine at the end of the 19th century. Issues to be examined are Zionism, Palestinian and other Arab nationalisms, regional Arab rivalries and alliances, and Great Power interests, notably related to British imperialism, and the Soviet-American Cold War. The course also considers the often conflicting viewpoints and ideologies of various parties within each camp, Israeli or Palestinian, or other groups backing one or the other. In recent years, religion has played a more vital role, whether Islam, Judaism or more recently evangelical Christianity which backs Israeli expansionism based on the Old Testament and is influential in the present Bush administration and Congress.

This is a lecture course but questions are encouraged and time will be set aside for discussion and for analysis of documents. Certain critical aspects or periods of the conflict will be examined more closely to consider differing interpretations of issues. Also there will be a game simulation in which members of the class participate in a mock United Nations debate intended to achieve a final peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Game Simulation: Students will be assigned at random to delegations representing countries, organizations, or factions. For example, one delegation might represent the Palestinian Authority (Mahmud Abbas) but another would represent Hamas; or Israel might have three delegation, Labor, the new party, Kadima, and Likud representing militant settlers opposed to any withdrawal from any territory.

**This assignment requires keeping up with events during the semester. Each delegation will present a brief paper explaining its conclusions and sources. Web sites and other sources are noted below.

RULES RE GAME SIMULATION. All assignments to delegations are random and students MUST accept the assignment as a condition of taking the course. Any student unwilling to accept this rule should drop the class. - no questions will be asked.

Course requirements. There will be two mid-term exams and a final examination. There are also paper assignments that differ depending on whether you are a grad student or undergrad.

- A. Grad students must write a research paper of twenty pages of text, using at least ten sources, on a topic agreed upon with me.
- B. Undergrad students have two options.
 - a. A research paper along the lines of those done by grad students, but with a fifteen page minimum, not twenty. Eight sources required. My approval required for topic.
 - b. A book report on two books discussed with me in advance, 8–12 pages in length. I will hand out directions on how to do this. “In advance” DOES NOT MEAN two days before the last day of class!
- C. Document Presentation/Analysis. During the semester, we will analyze documents from the text. Graduate students will volunteer for documents from chapters. For remaining meetings, undergrads may volunteer if there are openings. I will present instructions for this exercise and will give the first presentation.

Grading:

UNDERGRADUATES:

The mid-terms and the papers/book reports count 20% each = 60%. The final exam counts 25%. The UN debate and papers count 15% = total of 100%. Those doing a document presentation will receive a grade = 15%.

GRADUATE STUDENTS:

The mid-terms are 20% each, the research paper and final exam are 25% each, the document presentation in class that will count 15% of the grade along with 15% for the UN debate. The percentage for grad students is thus 120%. In all cases percentages may fluctuate according to student improvement or decline over a semester, especially re borderline grades. This is also

important for the UN debates since certain students may do no work but get credit for the paper as part of a delegation; as a result, student involvement in the actual debate and accurate representation of issues is important.

Attendance: Class attendance is required. Attendance will be taken and regular non-attendance will be noted and can be a factor in deciding grades. **Anyone missing 25% of the lectures will have his/her grade lowered one-half a grade. Anyone missing 33% or more will have a full grade lowered.** The assumption is that you are relying on other people's notes and not doing your own work. For example, we have, beginning next Tuesday, 27 classes (excluding mid-terms). Thus 25% of classes, not counting exams, will come to 7 classes, one-third will come to 9. Today's class does not count. Persons with medical or other valid reasons for missing class should contact me.

EXAMS MUST BE TAKEN WHEN SCHEDULED UNLESS A VALID MEDICAL EXCUSE EXISTS; leaving a phone or email message the day of an exam is not a valid medical excuse unless documentation can be provided. **Travel plans are not accepted as an excuse for rescheduling exams, including the final exam. **PLEASE NOTE: our final exam is Tuesday, May 14th, 11-1 p.m, the next-to-last-day of the exam period.**

Behavior in class: Items to note. 1. **CELL PHONES/PAGERS.** All must be turned off upon entering the class room. After a one-week grace period for the truly absent-minded, any person whose cell phone goes off in class must leave the class for the remainder of that class period. 2. Getting up and leaving class during a lecture and then returning. An increasingly prevalent phenomenon. Be prepared to sit for 75 minutes when you enter class. If there are medical or other reasons requiring leaving the classroom, please see me.

Plagiarism. This means that a person presents someone else's words/research as his/her own. Usually a student hands in a paper copied from another source without footnotes or any other attribution of the source, no quotation marks etc. Plagiarism can also mean a person writing a draft of a paper and having someone else rewrite it for them. With the internet, plagiarism has greatly expanded - but so have search engines for discovering the sources of plagiarism! **Sources from the internet must be 'real' sources, documents, scholarship - not someone's opinion.**

Plagiarism is cheating. I treat it by failing the student for the course, not just the assignment, and I report it to the administration. If any student has doubts about what plagiarism is, please consult me.

Research paper instructions. Some apply to Book Reports.

1. All papers must have footnotes and a bibliography. For history papers [this is a history course], use endnotes. Do not cite a source and give a page number in parentheses in the text as is common in social sciences, anthropology etc. Book reports should list both books on the first page. **See Turabian, A MANUAL FOR WRITERS OF TERM PAPERS. . . for guidance.
2. All papers must be paginated, page numbers on each page.
3. All papers must be proofread for spelling errors, typos, grammatical errors. This means proof reading your paper/book report; *computer spellchecks can mislead*.

Papers/reports having numerous errors will be marked down in grade.

4. Textbooks are not sources for research papers for graduate students, and *should not be* for undergrads. Undergrads can cite a text once, unacceptable for grads.
5. Be clear on what types of sources you are using. There are various types such as scholarly articles or monographs (books), journalistic accounts, biographies, autobiographies etc. The word “novel” refers only to a work of fiction - it never applies to sources claiming to be accurate discussions of events.

Other Sources:

Domestic newspapers. Christian Science Monitor (www.csmonitor.com); New York Times (www.nytimes.com); Los Angeles Times (www.latimes.com); Washington Post (www.washingtonpost.com).

Foreign newspapers/webs: Le Monde (www.lemonde.fr); Le Monde Diplomatique (English) (mondediplo.com); The Guardian (London) (www.guardian.co.uk); BBC (www.bbc.co.uk); Haaretz (liberal Israeli) (www.haaretz.com); Jerusalem Post (conservative, often pro-Likud Israeli) (www.jpost.com); al-Ahram weekly (Egyptian-English) (weekly.ahram.org.eg) ***note which webs do not take the *www* prefix; Beirut Daily Star (not to be confused with . . .) (Lebanese) (www.dailystar.com.lb).

Think Tanks: The most prominent in Washington these days are the Washington Institute for Near East Policy [www.washingtoninstitute.org] and the American Enterprise Institute [www.aie.org]. Both strongly support Israel and Likud policies, as does the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee [AIPAC, www.aipac.org] and both have strong representation in the Bush administration. Others include the more moderate Brookings Institution, the libertarian Cato Foundation, and the conservative Heritage Foundation. There is also the Middle East Policy Council, comprised of former diplomats [www.mepc.org]. All have their web sites. A Palestinian research center, based in Jerusalem, that engages in discussion/publications on many topics, is PASSIA, the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs [www.passia.org]. Its web seems to be maintained unlike those of some other Palestinian groups.

Major search engine web sites that can connect you to government web sites. Also listed on p. 573 of text - see there for descriptions.

1. menic.utexas.edu; 2. www.mideasti.org; 3. www.fmep.org; 4. www.gulf2000.columbia.edu.

LECTURES AND READINGS

Part I. 1800-1939. Zionism, Palestine, World War I, and the Palestine Mandate to 1939.

Optional Readings: Khalidi, PALESTINIAN IDENTITY, Ch. 1-6 (grad); 4-6 (undergrad); Doumani, REDISCOVERING PALESTINE; Shafir, LAND, LABOR . . .; Wilson, KING ABDULLAH, Ch. 1-7; Mitchell, SOCIETY OF MUSLIM BROTHERS, read for Parts I and II.

Week 1

1/15 Introduction to course. The Middle East and world history in the 19th century.

1/20. Zionism and Arab nationalism to 1914.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 1-2, Documents 1.1-1.2, 2.1- 2.5.

Week 2

1/22. World War I: The Great Powers and the Arab Middle East.

1/27. World War I. Zionism, the Balfour Declaration, and the Peace Settlements.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 3, Documents 3.1–3.6.

Week 3

1/29. The Palestine Mandate: the first decade.

2/3. The Palestine Mandate: Jewish immigration, the Arab Revolt, and the 1939 White Paper.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 4, Documents 4.1–4.3;

Week 4

2/5 Movie - “Palestine.” “Promises.”

2/10. Movie - “Palestine.” -“Promises” “Rebellion” (Portions) Discussion/review

Week 5

2/12. ***FIRST MID-TERM***

Part II: 1939–1967. World War II, the Creation of Israel, and Arab-Israeli Tensions to the 1967 War.

Optional readings: Wilson, KING ABDULLAH, Ch. 8-12; finish Mitchell; Troen and Lucas, ISRAEL, FIRST DECADE - browse articles; Kerr, ARAB COLD WAR - read for 1950s-1960s; can begin reading Christison and/or Sayigh; continue Khalidi and biographies of both Sharon and Arafat will have important material for this period.

Week 6

- 2/17. Movie - "Palestine" - "Rebellion"
2/19. Movie - "Palestine." "Abdication"

Week 7

2/24. The Middle East and Zionism during World War II.

Discussion of Movies

2/26. European Jewry, the Creation of Israel, and Palestinian Exile. - the debate about 1948.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 5, Documents 5.1–5.5;

2/28 **Rogan & Shlaim, THE WAR FOR PALESTINE ***Class Discussion.***

Week 8

3/3. Israel and the Arab World., 1948–1955.

3/5. The Suez Crisis and Its Significance.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 6, Documents 6.1–6.3;

Week 9

3/10. The U.S., the Arab World and Israel, 1957–1967.

3/12 The 1967 War and its Significance. Discussion.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 7, Documents 7.1–7.3;

Week 10 *****SPRING BREAK*****

Week 11

3/24. Class Discussion - possible film

3/26. ***SECOND MID-TERM***

Part III. 1967–1995. From 1967 to the Oslo II Accord and the Rabin Assassination.

Optional readings: All the biographies are relevant as are Sayigh, the rest of Khalidi, Norton, and both of Sprinzak's books.

Week 12

3/31. Diplomatic Stalemate and Regional Strife, 1967–1976: the 1973 War.

4/2. The Camp David Accord and Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 8, Documents 8.1–8.5; Ch. 9 to p. 365, Documents 9.1–9.4. Begin Mishal/Sela book, PALESTINIAN HAMAS, and Oz, IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL.

Week 13

4/7. Israel, Lebanon, the West Bank, and the First Intifada

4/9. First Gulf War and its Legacy: Madrid Talks.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 9, PP. 365 to end; Ch. 10, Documents 10.1–10.3. Mishal/Sela book on Hamas, and Oz, IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL

Week 14

4/14. Oslo I and Oslo II Accords: What, Why and the Legacy..

4/16. Oslo I and Oslo II. Continued

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 11, Documents 11.1–11.2; continue Mishal/Sela on Hamas. Read Kurtzer/Lasensky for discussion on April 21.

Part IV: Camp David 2000 and its Legacy.

Optional Readings: Enderlin's SHATTERED DREAMS, Swisher, TRUTH ABOUT CAMP DAVID, or Bregman's ELUSIVE PEACE,

Week 15.

4/21. Camp David 2000. Myth vs Reality

Discussion of Kurtzer/Lasensky

4/23. Al-Aqsa Intifada, Bush Administration, and the Peace Process.

READINGS: Smith, Ch. 12, Documents 12.1-12.7, Mishal/Sela Conclusion.

Week 16 ***UNITED NATIONS DEBATES***

4/28. Presentation of official positions by delegations.

4/30 Open Debate - handing in of delegation papers.

Week 17

5/5. LAST CLASS. ***PAPERS DUE*** Review for the final, summing up and a look ahead.

FINAL EXAM - Tuesday May 14TH - 11a.m.-1 p.m.