History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict  
Emory College Undergraduate Lecture Course, Spring 2020  
HIST 383/POLS 383/JS 383/MESAS 370 - no prerequisites required  
Tuesday/Thursday 10:00-11:15am, White Hall 206

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 11:15-1pm, and by email appointment.

Course Summary
This course is an introductory survey to the history, politics and diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The first half of the course until the mid-term examination concentrates on the historical origins and development of the conflict to the end of the 1947-1949 war. Coverage includes introductions to modern Jewish and Arab political histories, evolution of Zionism and Arab nationalism during the Ottoman Empire’s demise, and growing influence which Britain, France, Russia, and ultimately the United States had upon the conflict’s evolution through 1949. Keen attention is paid to the distinguishing features generally characteristic within the Arab and Jewish communities as they spatially grew apart, especially the demographic, socio-economic and political differences that greatly impacted communal development and interactions. What impact did consistent Arab boycott of engagement with the Zionists have upon the Palestinian Arab political future? To what degree did the adoption of violence by both Arab and Jewish communities have upon the evolving history? Students will use historical documents to unfold these emerging political realities of Arab, British, and Jewish communities through the 1940s, until the emergence of the 1947-1949 war, and its results. Could the conflict have been avoided? If so, how, and when during the period to 1950? How was the history of the conflict told by the respective sides—forming the contemporary basis for telling the conflict story as narratives as compared to histories?

Like the first half of the class, historical source documents will shape the parameters of the course’s content. Topics to be discussed will be the departure of the great powers from the region, growth of Arab nationalism led by Egypt, formation of the PLO, intrusion of the Cold War into the region, the way Israel and Arab states managed the influx of massive refugees, and the slide toward the 1956 and 1967 wars. Since the 1967 War changed the dynamic of the conflict, attention will be aimed at identifying how parties to the conflict adjusted their policies. For the period 1967 to the present, attention will directed to the unfolding negotiation efforts - what issues in the Arab-Israeli negotiating process emerged from the war, American mediation of that process, where that process resulted in agreements and why no final agreement between the Palestinians and Israelis? What happened at the 1978 Camp David talks that made them lead to the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli Treaty? To answer these questions, again, students will interrogate
the original sources and documents that form the basis for successes and failures. Specific events that impacted the conflict will be addressed in detail: engagement of all administrations, more or less since. What role have interested diaspora communities had in the conflict’s continuation and resolution? Topics to be discussed at the end of the course will include Arafat’s domination of Palestinian domestic politics, inter-Arab relations, Israeli settlements, the “Arab Spring,” and the roles that Iran, Turkey, and Russia are playing in the region and toward the conflict today? What are the present variables and concepts in the region and on its edges that will shape the conflict’s continuation or conclusion over the next decade? What is meant by a two-state solution and is it doable? The course is based on 33 sessions of 75 minutes each.

Readings
Documents mentioned in the syllabus and used in class are found in History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Source Document reader for College Courses and Adult Education, (Atlanta, GA: The Center for Israel Education), Third Edition, February 2017. Purchase of this e-book is optional at https://israelled.org/product/arab-israeli-conflict/ This documents book may also be purchased in kindle format at Amazon.com. Each of the documents mentioned on the syllabus but not required may be found and searched on the documents book noted. **Documents required for reading appear on the syllabus with their URL addresses. A document listed without a URL is suggested, not required.** Documents required to be read for the class may all be found at [www.israelled.org](http://www.israelled.org) Many of the documents include an introduction that provides the context of the document.

**Required Books**


Document numbers listed in this syllabus refer to the documents by the same numbers that appear in the e-book *History, Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Source Document Reader for College Courses and Adult Education*. Assigned readings and documents with a URL should be completed by the Monday **prior** to their notations on the syllabus.

**Course Etiquette and Grading**

Students are expected to learn about the conflict and its complexities. Therefore, existing prejudices, ideologies, and outlooks which students have prior to the class about the conflict are expected to be “left outside the classroom” prior to each class session. While class sessions will not evolve into polemical or polarizing discussions, students are encouraged to ask questions at the end of each class session or as may be asked during class. Use of harsh or unbecoming language during a class session will not be permitted. Decorum will be maintained during class sessions. Our objective is not to use the course for preaching, only teaching. Students can of course “pick up” their particular outlooks, ideologies and prejudices each day after class.

**Use of Electronic Equipment**

At the beginning of each class session, all students are required to put their iPhones or hand-held devices on mute or airplane mode. Any student whose electronic devices ring or beep during class, or text during a class, must leave the class immediately. If a student repeats this infraction, he/she will incur a letter grade deduction from their final grade or, be asked to take an F. There is no student recourse to this rule. Lectures may not be recorded.

**Use of Laptop Computers**

Students will not be permitted to use laptops to take notes in the class. An exception is that if a student, by virtue of a request from the dean must take notes via a laptop, that will of course be granted. Anyone found using a laptop and surfing during class will be asked to leave the course and possibly take an F. There is no recourse for students to violation of this rule. It should be noted that educational studies undertaken about the ability of students to retain information is greater when notes are hand written as compared when taken on a computer.
Grading
Midterm and Final – The midterm examination will be during the full class period on Tuesday, March 5, 2019, in room 206 White Hall. It is 40% of the grade. The final examination will be held on May 6, 2019, at 8am in room 206 White Hall. The final examination will count 60% of the grade. No term papers are required in this course. Please bring two large Blue Books to the mid-term examination and two large Blue Books to the final examination. Please do not write on the cover of the Blue Books prior to the examinations. Unless there are truly extenuating circumstances of family or health reasons, there will be NO make-up examinations.

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Tuesday/Thursday 10:00-11:15am, White Hall 206
January 14-April 23, 2020

COURSE SYLLABUS

No classes will be held on the following days:
Tuesday, March 10 and Thursday, March 12- Spring Break
Thursday, April 9- Passover

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First two weeks ---Class Readings - overviews:

http://vista.sahafi.jo/art.php?id=7725611e4e6128bb6bd138aab56f6b3d437f7745


Wahab, Bilal. "What Will It Take to Repair Middle Eastern Economies?" in Michael Rubin and Brian Katulis (ed.) Seven Pillars- What Really Causes Instability in the Middle East, American Enterprise Institute, Chapter 6, November 2019,

January 14 and January 16 - Origins of the Conflict and Political Cultures - What is it all about?
January 14 - Course Introduction and Background to the Modern Middle East – Political Cultures

January 16 - The Setting in Palestine – Religion, Geography, Demography, Sociology, Economics, and Society

Readings:
Bickerton and Klausner (B&K), pp. 1-79; Indinopulos, pp. 1-122.


D 14 Working Class Conditions in Greater Syria, 1838 and 1873
D 15 Andrew D. White, “Jewish Situation in Russia,” 1893


Video --WWI Palestine- War and Diplomacy--- 8 minutes
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UjihOfwPrPI

January 21 and January 23 - The Ottoman Empire, the Arabs, and Zionists 1898-1922

January 21 – Arabs in Palestine to 1922 Political and Socio-Economic Relationships and the Emergence of Palestinian Arab Nationalism

January 23 – Zionism and Palestine to 1922

Readings:
The Jewish Question/The Jewish State 1896 - https://israeled.org/resources/documents/herzl-the-jewish-question/
D 20 Husayn-MacMahon, October 1915 - https://israeled.org/resources/documents/husayn-mcmahon-correspondence/


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January 28 and January 30 - The Palestine Mandate, 1920-1939 (Part 1)
January 28 – The 1920s Precedents Established in the Arab/British/Jewish Triangle
January 30 - Socio-Economic Documents Tell Us What? (in-class exercise)

Readings:


D 23 “The Relationship of the Jews to the Arabs,” Der Jude, Arthur Ruppin
D 25 (Zionists) Concerning the Arab Question, 1919-1920

D 28 (British) Mandate for Palestine, July 1922 - https://israeled.org/resources/documents/mandate-palestine/


D 34 Arab Peasant Indebtedness, February 1930


D 35 Land Matters, Mr. Heinrich Margalith, Anglo-Palestine Bank to the Jewish Agency

D 42 Arab Memorandum Handed to the High Commissioner for Palestine, 1935


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February 4 and February 6 - The Land Question and Palestine Mandate, 1939 - 1948 (Part 2)


February 6 – The Immigration and Land Questions in Palestine (map exercise- handout provided in class)

Readings:
B&K, pp. 80-116; Indinopulos, pp. 191-246.


Cohen, Michael J. “Truman, the Holocaust, and the Establishment of the State of Israel,” The Jerusalem Quarterly 23 (Spring 1982), pp, 79-94.


**D 46** Political Significance of Land Purchase,” Keren Kayemeth Liyisrael [JNF], 1937 - [https://israeled.org/resources/documents/jewish-national-fund/](https://israeled.org/resources/documents/jewish-national-fund/)

**D 50** Arab Leaders Meeting in Damascus, 1938 - [https://israeled.org/resources/documents/arab-leaders-meeting-damascus/](https://israeled.org/resources/documents/arab-leaders-meeting-damascus/)


**D 56** The Biltmore Program, 1942

**D 58** Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husyanli in Berlin, 1943

**D 59** Partition is the Only Answer, 1944

**D 60** Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s Remarks Regarding Zionism, Immigration, 1944

**D 64** Earl G. Harrison Report on Displaced Persons, 1945


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**February 11 and 13 – From the 1939 White Paper to UN Partition and May 1948**

**February 11 - Palestinian and Arab Politics in the 1940s – the Mufti and Arab League**

**February 13 - Zionists at the UN**

**Readings:**


D 76 Arab Reaction to the UN Special Committee on Palestine, 1947

D 77 Zionist Reaction to the UN Special Committee on Palestine [UNSCOP], 1947

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**February 18 and 20 - The End of the Mandate- The War, Refugees, and the Armistice Negotiations**

**February 18 - Britain and the US at the End of the Mandate: Trying to Prevent Partition**

**February 20 - Narratives, History, and Terminology—Whose Story?**

**Readings:**


Map 10
D 71 USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko on Partition, 1947
D 89 UN General Assembly Resolution 194 Concerning Palestinian Refugees, 1948 - [https://israeled.org/resources/documents/](https://israeled.org/resources/documents/)
D 95 [UNRWA] for Palestine Refugees, Government of Canada Memorandum, 1951

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**February 25 and 27 - Great Power Interests in the Middle East; the Cold War, the Suez War and Prelude to the June 1967 War**

**February 25 - The Cold War, Suez War, Formation of the PLO, and Prelude to the June War**

**February 27 – Israel Law of Return, Absorption of Immigrants, Budding US-Israeli Relationship**

**Readings:**


March 3 and March 5
March 3 – Class Review Before Midterm
March 5 - Midterm Examination, White Hall, Room 206, please bring two unmarked blue books to class

March 10 and March 12 - No Class Fall Break

March 17 and March 19 - The June 1967 War
March 17 – Background to the War – May-June 1967
March 19 - The War’s Territorial, Political and Diplomatic Consequences

Readings:


President Nasser Speech to the Egyptian National Assembly, May 1967 -

The Israeli Government Designed Peace Plan Devised After the June 1967 War –

D116 Israel’s Alon Plan for the Future of the Territories, 1967
D123 PLO Rejecting UN Resolution 242, 1967 -
D131 Palestine National Council (PLO), Political Program, 1973

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**Week of March 24 and March 26 - The October 1973 War, Beginning Successful Diplomacy**

**March 24 - Sadat: The Engine of a Diplomatic Option**

**March 26 - Disengagement Agreements, Promises, and the Brookings Paper**


**Readings:**


**Maps 11-13**

D144 Opening Statements at the Geneva Conference on the Middle East, 1973
D145 Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S. and Israel, 1974
D153 Rabat Arab League Summit Conference Resolutions, 1974
D155 UNGA Resolution 3236 on Palestinian Self-Determination, 1974
D162 U.S. Foreign Policy and Peace in the Middle East, Presentation by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Harold H. Saunders, 1975

D164 Memorandum of a Conversation between Henry Kissinger and Saddun Hammadi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, 1975
D165 US Statement on Occupied Territories by Ambassador William W. Scranton, 1976

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Week of March 31 and April 2 - The Carter Administration's Comprehensive Goals Lead to a Separate Egyptian Peace: How and Why?
March 31 – The Carter White House, Begin and Sadat
April 2 - Camp David, the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty, and Autonomy Falters- The Iranian Revolution and Carter Doctrine

Readings:


D 146 President Jimmy Carter on Negotiated Middle East Peace, 1977
D 147 Palestine National Council Political Declaration, 1977
D 198 Baghdad Arab Summit Resolutions, 1978
D 200 Memorandum of Agreement, USA and Israel, 1979
D 201 Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt, - https://israeled.org/israel-egypt-peace-treaty/
D 208 President Jimmy Carter’s State of the Union Address, 1980

Video - Carter’s Search for Middle East Peace, September 1978, (6:00) https://israeled.org/carters-search-for-middle-east-peace/

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Week of April 7 and April 9 - The 1981-1993 The Decade of Not Getting Together
April 7 – Autonomy Stalls, Settlements, Invasion of Lebanon, Arafat’s Refusals, Hamas,
Gulf War and Madrid Peace Conference, Amplifying the US-Israel Relationship Amidst
Disagreements; Intifadah and Oslo, 1993

April 9– No class- Passover

Readings:

B&K, pp. 294-410; and Quandt, Peace Process, pp. 245-318.

Garfinkle, Adam. "Getting it Right? U.S. Middle East Policy in Bush Administration," The
Jerusalem Quarterly (Fall 1989), pp. 55-78.

(Summer 1997), pp. 3-22.

D211 European Community, “Venice Declaration” on the Middle East, 1980 -
https://israeled.org/resources/documents/venice-declaration-concerning-inclusion-plo-
negotiations/
D215 MOU United States and of Israel on Strategic Cooperation, 1981
D218 Reagan Statement on the West Bank and the Palestinians, 1982 -
https://israeled.org/resources/documents/reagan-statement-west-bank-palestinians/
D228 Statement by US President Reagan on the Establishment of New Israeli Settlements, 1983
D261 Speech by Jordanian King Hussein on Jordan’s Separation from West Bank, 1988
D262 Hamas Charter, Islamic Resistance Movement of Palestine, 1988 -
D277 PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, Recognition of UN Resolutions 242 and 338, 1988
D284 Speech by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker before AIPAC, 1989

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Week of April 14 and April 16 – Clinton and Settlements, Camp David II: “Giving Gas in
Neutral”
April 14 – Comparing Camp David Talks: 1978 and 2000
April 16 - Lessons Learned in A-I Negotiations and What is Necessary for Palestinian-Israel Talk to Start Anew

Readings:


D306 Quotes from Hamas and Leaders of Islamic Jihad (1992-2009)
D309 Israeli-PLO Recognition Letters, 1993
D315 Yasser Arafat Speech on “Jihad” for Jerusalem, 1994
D324 Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, Hizballah leader, Rules out Peace with Israel, 1995
D341 President Clinton’s Remarks on the Sharm el-Sheikh Agreement, 2000

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Week of April 21 and April 23 – Historical Leaders Depart; Second Intifadah; “Giving Gas in Neutral” Part II; Arab “Spring” Fails to Bloom
April 21 – Assad, King Hussein, Arafat Depart—Reworked Negotiating Ideas; the US in Iraq; the UN and European Roles in Conflict Resolution
April 23 - Causes and Impact of Arab Spring; Palestinian Arab self-criticism; Wars in the Middle East; Stalling A-I negotiations?
Readings:

B&K, pp. 476-560.


D351 UNSCR 1397, Reaffirming Two-State Solution, 2002 -  
D354 “The Future Itself is Dying,” – George Bush, 2002 -  
https://israeled.org/resources/documents/president-george-bush-ii-middle-east-future-dying/  
D362 Roadmap for Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 2003  
D398 UNSCR 1860, Two State-Solution, 2009  
D401 President Obama’s Cairo Speech, 2009  
D402 Israeli PM Netanyahu Bar-Ilan Speech, 2009 -  
D441 President Obama’s Speech at Jerusalem Convention Center to the People of Israel, 2013  
D463 Riyad al-Malki, Palestinian Foreign Minister ‘Never Recognize Jewish Character of Israel,’ 2014

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Week of April 28 and April 30 – Diasporas and the Conflict; A Two-State Solution- Whose Interest and Arab-Self Criticism
April 28 – Making the Case for or Against a Two-State Solution–Palestinians, Israelis, US, Europe, Countries in the Middle East
April 30 – 100 Years After the Sykes-Picot Agreement and 50 Years After the June 1967 War: Arab and Zionist Views: Failures and Successes

Readings: Optional- Documents are required


D479 Israeli Ambassador to UN Addresses UNGA, 2014 -
https://israeled.org/resources/documents/israeli-ambassador-un-prosors-statement-un/

D485 Prime Minister Netanyahu’s Speech to Congress, 2015

D494 President Obama on the Iran Nuclear Deal, 2015

D518 UNSC 2234 Concerning Jerusalem, Settlements and Territories, 2016 -

D519 Secretary Kerry’s Remarks about the ME and A-I Negotiations, 2016 -

President Trump Recognizing Jerusalem as Capital of Israel, 2017 -
https://israeled.org/resources/documents/president-trumps-speech-recognizing-jerusalem-capital-israel/

Presidential Proclamation Recognizing the Golan Heights as Part of the State of Israel – 2019

**Final Examination – May 6, 2020, 206 White Hall, 8am**

Please bring two large unmarked Blue books. Do not write in, or on, the books prior to class. If you wish to receive your final exam by regular mail, please provide a self-addressed and properly stamped 8 ½ x 11 manila envelope and place it in the office mailbox outside of 121 Bowden Hall by the end of the exam period. Otherwise, final exams will be available for pick up outside of 121 Bowden Hall until June 1, 2020. Exams will not be mailed until after Emory graduation.
Full Article List assigned for “History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.”


