

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

Professor Kenneth W. Stein, Professor of Middle Eastern History, Political Science and Israel Studies

Contact: 404.727.2798 or kstein@emory.edu **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 Students will use historical documents to unfold these emerging political realities of Arab, British, and Jewish communities through the 1940s, until the emergence of the 1947-1949 war, and its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://israeled.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.israeled.org Many of the documents include an introduction that provides the context of the document.

Required Books

- Bickerton, Ian and Carla Klausner. *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Prentice Hall, Eighth Edition), 2018. (ISBN 0-978-0-205-75338-3)
- Indinopulos, Thomas, *Weathered by Miracles: A History of Palestine from Bonaparte and Muhammed Ali to Ben Gurion and the Mufti*, (R. Dee Publishers), 1998, (ISBN ISBN-13: 978-1566631891 or ISBN-10: 1566631890)
- Quandt, William B. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Brookings/University of California), Third Edition, 2006. (ISBN-13: 978-0520246317 or ISBN-10: 0520246314)
- Stein, Kenneth W. *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge), 1999. (ISBN-13: 978-0415921558 or ISBN-10: 0415921554)
- Stein, Kenneth W. and Samuel W. Lewis. *Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute for Peace), 1991.

Free and accessible online <http://www.usip.org/publications/making-peace-amongarabs-and-israelis>

• Stein, Kenneth W. *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. E-book, download at <https://israeled.org/product/arab-israeli-conflict/> or Kindle Amazon, ASIN: B01G91QKP2 (**The purchase of this book is optional**)

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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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

First two weeks ---Class Readings - overviews:

Melhem, Hisham. "The Barbarians Within Our Gates, Arab Civilization Has Collapsed. It Won't Recover in My Lifetime." *Politico*. September 18, 2014.

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

Satloff, Robert "The Myth of "Failed" Peace," Oslo at 25 Looking Ahead, *The American Interest*, September 12, 2018, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-myth-of-failed-peace>

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,

<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/Wahab20191209-SevenPillars-bookchapter.pdf>

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.

Mandel, Neville J. "Ottoman Policy and Restrictions on Jewish Settlement in Palestine: 1881-1908 Part I," *Middle Eastern Studies* (October 1974), pp. 312-332.

Dawn, Ernest. "The Rise of Arabism in Syria," *Middle East Journal* (1961), pp. 145-168.

Hourani, Albert. "Ottoman Reform and Politics of Notables," *Beginning of Modernization in the Middle East* (1968), pp. 41-68.

Kolatt, Israel. "The Organization of the Jewish Population of Palestine and the Development of its Political Consciousness Before World War I," *Studies in Palestine During the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press), 1975, pp. 211-245.

D 14 Working Class Conditions in Greater Syria, 1838 and 1873

D 15 Andrew D. White, "Jewish Situation in Russia," 1893

David Fromkin, A Peace to End all Peace, A Century of Intervention in the Mideast, 26 minutes, March 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EN9KvSVWLko>

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/>

D 21 Sykes-Picot, May 1916 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/sykes-picot-agreement/>

D 22 Balfour Declaration, November 1917 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/balfour-declaration-2/>

Video - WWI Arab Revolt: British Imperialism- Zionism –(17:48),
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mb6xyierrM>

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:

B&K, pp. 44-67; Indinopulos, pp. 123-190.

Horowitz, Dan, and Moshe Lissak. "Ideology and Politics in the Yishuv," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* (Winter 1977), pp. 12-26.

Kolatt, Israel. "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs," *Studies in Zionism* (April 1982), pp. 129-157.

Mattar, Philip. "The Mufti of Jerusalem and the Politics of Palestine," *Middle East Journal* 42:2 (Spring 1988), pp. 227-240.

Nashif, Taysir. "Palestinian Arab and Jewish Leadership in the Mandate Period," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 6 (1977), pp. 113-121.

Porath, Yehoshua. "Social Aspects of the Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement," in Menachem Milson (ed.) *Society and Political Structure in the Arab World* (Jerusalem, Van Leer Foundation), 1973, pp. 93-144.

Stein, Kenneth W. "Palestine's Rural Economy, 1917-1939," *Studies in Zionism* 8:1 (1987), pp. 25-49.

D 23 "The Relationship of the Jews to the Arabs," *Der Jude*, Arthur Rupp

D 25 (Zionists) Concerning the Arab Question, 1919-1920

D 26 Weizmann-Feisal Agreement, January 1919 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/emir-feisal-chaim-weizmann-correspondences/>

D 28 (British) Mandate for Palestine, July 1922 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/mandate-palestine/>

D 30 British White Paper, 1922 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/1922-white-paper-palestine/>

D 34 Arab Peasant Indebtedness, February 1930

D 36 Zirin Village Land Sales, August 1930, **D 37** Zirin Village Land Sales, September 1930; **D**

38 Zirin Village Land Sales, October 1930 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/zirin-village-land-sales/>

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

D 44 Peel Commission Report, Findings and Recommendations of the Royal Commission -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/peel-commission-report/>

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

February 4 Guest Lecture – David Makovsky- “Leadership Matters and Why American-Sponsored Arab-Israeli Negotiations Faltered in 2015.”

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.

Bickerton, Ian J. “President Truman’s Recognition of Israel,” *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 58 (1968), pp. 173-189; 192-259.

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

Khalaf, Issa. "The Reasons for the Disintegration of Palestinian Society with an Emphasis on the Persistence of Factionalism," *Politics in Palestine* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 231-248.

Makovsky, David. “Middle East Peace through Partition,” *Foreign Affairs* 80:2 (March/April 2001), pp. 28-46.

Makovksy, David, et.al. "Imagining the Border: Options for Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Territorial Issue, January 2011 <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/imagining-the-border-options-forresolving-the-israeli-palestinian-territor>

Sheffer, Gabriel. "Involvement of Arab States in Palestine Conflict and British Arab Relationship Before World War II," *Asian and African Studies* (1974), pp. 59-78.

D 46 Political Significance of Land Purchase," Keren Kayemeth Liyisrael [JNF], 1937 - <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/>

D 54 HMG White Paper: Statement of Policy, 1939 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/hmg-white-paper-statement-policy/>

D 56 The Biltmore Program, 1942

D 58 Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husyani 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

D 66 The Arab Case for Palestine, 1946 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/the-arab-case-for-palestine-the-arab-office/>

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:

Khalaf, Issa. "The Effect of Socio-Economic Change on Arab societal Collapse in Mandate Palestine," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), pp. 93-112.

Stein, Kenneth W. "One Hundred Years of Social- Change: The Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein (ed.), *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Periods of the State*, New York University Press, 1991, pp. 57-8.

<http://ismi.emory.edu/home/documents/stein-publications/hundred-years-social-change.pdf>

D 47 The Land Controversy –Arab Offers to Sell Lands to Jews (1931-1948) - <https://israeled.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/themes-land-issue-2-22-13.pdf>

D 52 Palestine Arab Economy – 1939 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/gershon-agronsky-palestine-arab-economy-undermined-by-disturbances/>

D 53 Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husayni Decision to Reject the 1939 White Paper, 1939 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/decision-to-reject-a-majority-palestinian-arab-state/>

D 74 Remarks by Abdulrahman Azzam Pasha Rejects any Compromise with Zionists, 1947 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/abdulrahman-azzam-pasha-rejects-compromise-zionists/>

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

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:

1945-1949 Reasoned Views for Palestinian Arabs Dysfunctional Condition, <https://israeled.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/1945-1949-Reasoned-Views-for-Palestinian-Arabs-dysfunctional-condition.pdf>

Yigal Allon, “Lessons from the War of Independence,” *Excerpt from Sefer Hapalmach, Israel: United Kibbutz, Israel, 1952-3, Vol. 2, pp. 430-436.*

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/lessons-war-independence/>

Khalidi, Rashid. “The Palestinians and 1948: the Underlying Causes of Failure,” in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (eds.), *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 12-36.

Morris, Benny. "Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein (ed.), *New Perspectives on Jewish Studies* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 42-56.

Shapira, Anita. “Conclusion: The Birth of the State,” *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 353-370; 414-415.

Stein, Kenneth. “What If the Palestinian Arab Elite Had Chosen Compromise Instead of Boycott in Confronting Zionism?” in Gavriel D. Rosenfeld (ed.) *What Ifs of Jewish History*, Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp. 215-237;

<http://ismi.emory.edu/home/documents/What%20if%20Arabs%20not%20Boycotted%20in%20Mandate.KWS.pdf>

Teveth, Shabtai. "The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and its Origin," *Middle Eastern Studies* 26:2 (April 1990), pp. 214-249.

Map 10

D 70 The Truman Doctrine, 1947 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/1947-truman-doctrine/>

D 71 USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko on Partition, 1947

D 78 UN General Assembly Resolution 181 Partition Plan, 1947 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/unga-resolution-181/>

D 69 US Government Future Position on Palestine, 1948 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/us-governments-future-position-palestine/>

D 84 Israel Declaration of Independence, 1948 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/israel-declaration-independence/#>

D 89 UN General Assembly Resolution 194 Concerning Palestinian Refugees, 1948 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/>

D 90 Israeli-Egyptian General Armistice Agreement, 1949 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/israeli-egyptian-general-armistice-agreement-excerpts/>

D 95 [UNRWA] for Palestine Refugees, Government of Canada Memorandum, 1951

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:

B&K, pp. 117-164; Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 1-73; and Quandt, pp. 1-52.

Safran, Nadav. "America's Israel Connection," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* (Summer 1977), pp. 3-30.

Rabinovich, Itamar. "The Suez-Sinai Campaign: The Regional Dimension," in S. I. Troen and M. Shemesh (eds.), *The Suez-Sinai Crisis, 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (Columbia University Press), pp. 162-171.

D 98 Remarks by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 1955

D 99 Eisenhower Doctrine, Excerpts, 1957 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/eisenhower-doctrine/>

D 101 Eisenhower White House News Statement on the Suez Crisis, Excerpts, 1957

D 102 Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, News Conference on Suez Crisis, 1957

D 103 Prime Minister Ben-Gurion Israel Relations with UN and US, 1957

D 105 Menachem Begin on Arab Refugees, 1963

D 106 PLO National Covenant, 1964 (1968) - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/plo-national-covenant/>

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

Video – “Six Days in June The War That Redefined the Middle East, (1:53),

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GeWbFkSYDKU>

Readings:

B&K, pp. 160-171; Quandt, *Peace Process*, pp. 55-129.

Ajami, Fouad. "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1978-1979), pp. 355-373.

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

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/president-nasser-speech-egyptian-national-assembly/>

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

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/israeli-government-designed-peace-plan-devised-june-1967-war/>

D114 Five Principles of Peace, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson, 1967 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/lyndon-johnsons-five-principles-peace/>

D116 Israel's Alon Plan for the Future of the Territories, 1967

D118 Arab League Summit Resolutions, Khartoum, 1967 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/arab-league-summit-resolutions/>

D122 UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 242, 1967 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/un-security-council-resolution/>

D123 PLO Rejecting UN Resolution 242, 1967 -

D131 Palestine National Council (PLO), Political Program, 1973

D132 The "Galili Plan" Statement by the Israeli Labor Party on Settlements, 1973 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/galili-plan/>

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

Video - War and Peace – (5:40) CD talks, E-I Treaty,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvym5eWzuIU>

Readings:

Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 74-96; 97-186; B&K, pp. 164-219; *Quandt, Peace Process*, pp. 130-173.

Maps 11-13

D134 UNSCR 338 on a Ceasefire and Direct Negotiations, 1973 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/un-security-council-resolution-338-on-a-ceasefire-and-direct-negotiations-following-october-1973-war/>

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

Zionism is Racism UNGA Resolution, 1975 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/zionism-racism-unga-resolution-3379/>

D163 Brookings Institute Report: Toward Peace in the Middle East, 1975 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/brookings-institute-report-toward-peace-middle-east/>

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

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:

B & K, pp. 220-294; Quandt, *Peace Process*, pp. 177-242; Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 187-228.

D 146 President Jimmy Carter on Negotiated Middle East Peace, 1977

D 147 Palestine National Council Political Declaration, 1977

Conversation Between US President Jimmy Carter and Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan, <https://israeled.org/memorandum-of-conversation-between-us-president-jimmy-carter-and-israeli-foreign-minister-moshe-dayan/>

D 176 Joint US-Soviet Statement on the Middle East, -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/joint-u-s-soviet-statement-middle-east/>

D 193 Camp David Accords, 1978 - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/camp-david-accords/>

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/>

Video -13 Days at Camp David, 1978, (6:00), <https://israeled.org/13-days-at-camp-david/>

**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.

Garfinkle, Adam. "Israel and Palestine: A Precarious Partnership," *The Washington Quarterly*, (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 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/hamas-charter-islamic-resistance-movement-palestine/>

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

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 Talks to Start Anew

Readings:

B&K, pp. 411-475; Stein and Lewis. *Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis* –all, Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 229-268.

Horowitz, Dan. “The Israeli Concept of National Security,” in A. Yaniv (ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Boulder, 1993), pp. 11-53.

Indyk, Martin. "Peace Without the PLO," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1991), pp. 30-38.

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<http://ismi.emory.edu/home/documents/stein-publications/website%20docs%202011-2004/website%20docs%202011-2004%20part%20II/campdavidandthepursuitofpeace.pdf>

D306 Quotes from Hamas and Leaders of Islamic Jihad (1992-2009)

D309 Israeli-PLO Recognition Letters, 1993

D310 Oslo Accords Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, 1993 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/oslo-accords/>

D315 Yasser Arafat Speech on “Jihad” for Jerusalem, 1994

D324 Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, Hizballah leader, Rules out Peace with Israel, 1995

D327 Yitzhak Rabin’s Reasons for Signing the Oslo Accords, 1995 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/yitzhak-rabin-oslo-accords/>

D341 President Clinton’s Remarks on the Sharm el-Sheikh Agreement, 2000

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.

Ajami, Fouad. "The Century's Solitude," *Foreign Affairs* 80:6 (November/December 2001), pp. 2-17.

Sayigh, Yezid. "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt," *Survival* 43:3 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, Autumn 2001), pp. 47-60.

Stein, Kenneth W., "Israel's Disengagement from the Gaza Strip: Precedents, Motivations, and Outcomes," *La Communita Internazionale*, Vol 4/2005, pp. 633-641 (Rome)

http://israeled.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/08/Kenneth.Stein_.pdf

D345 Mitchell Report Fact Finding Committee, Excerpts, 2001

D351 UNSCR 1397, Reaffirming Two-State Solution, 2002 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/un-security-resolution-1397-reaffirming-two-state-solution/>

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 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/prime-minister-benjamin-netanyahu-bar-ilan-university/>

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

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

Martin Kramer, “Israel and the Post Middle East: Is the Status Quo Sustainable,” *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-08/israel-and-post-american-middle-east>

Marina Ottaway, “The New Normal in the Middle East,” *The Wilson Center*, July 21, 2016. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/the-new-normal-the-middle-east>

Susser, Asher, “The Two-State Solution: Getting from Here to There,” *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, October 2012, <http://www.fpri.org/articles/2012/10/two-state-solution-getting-here-there>

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 -

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/text-of-egyptian-drafted-uns-c-resolution-2334-on-israeli-settlements/>

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

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/secretary-state-john-kerrys-remarks-middle-east-arab-israeli-negotiations/>

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

<https://israeled.org/resources/documents/presidential-proclamation-recognizing-the-golan-heights-as-part-of-the-state-of-israel/>

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.”

Ajami, Fouad. "[The End of Pan-Arabism](#)," Foreign Affairs (Winter 1978-1979), pp. 355-373.

Ajami, Fouad. "[The Sentry's Solitude](#)," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 80, No. 6 (November/December 2001), pp. 2-17.

Avineri, Shlomo. "[Zionism as a National Liberation Movement](#)," Jerusalem Quarterly (Winter 1979), pp. 133-144.

Bartal, Israel. "[Old Yishuv and New Yishuv: Image and Reality](#)," The Jerusalem Cathedra : studies in the history, archaeology, geography, and ethnography of the land of Israel. Edited by Lee I. Levine, Detroit Wayne State University Press, 1981

Bialer, Uri. "[Fuel Bridge Across the Middle East Israel, Iran and the Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline](#)," Israel Studies, Vol. 12 no. 3, (2007) pp.29-67.

Bickerton, Ian J. "[President Truman's Recognition of Israel](#)," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, Vol. 58 (1968), pp. 173-189; 192-259.

Cohen, Hillel. "[Why Do Collaborators Collaborate: The Case of Palestinians and Zionist Institutions, 1917-1939](#)," in Elie Podeh and Asher Kaufman Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution in honor of Professor Moshe Ma'oz, (Portland, Suzzex Academic Press) (in print)

Cohen, Michael J. "[Truman, the Holocaust, and the Establishment of the State of Israel](#)," The Jerusalem Quarterly, Vol. 23, Spring 1982, pp, 79-94.

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Eran, Oded. "[A Reversal in Israel-EU Realties?](#)" Strategic Assessment, Volume 12, No. 1, June 2009, pp. 59-68.

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

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Khalaf, Issa. "[The Reasons for the Disintegration of Palestinian Society with an Emphasis on the Persistence of Factionalism](#)," Politics in Palestine (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 231-248.

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