

IAS 3003/002: The Arab-Israeli Conflict

A Presidential Dream Course

MW 1:30-2:45, Hester Hall 181

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Office hours: Mondays, 10-12, Hester Hall 132, 325-2918

The land which for Jews is ancestral Eretz Israel and for the Arabs is Palestine has been the center of one of the modern world's longest and most intricate disputes. This course will survey the history of the conflict around Eretz Israel/Palestine, with the aim of providing a better understanding of its roots and recent developments. The course will look at both sides of the conflict at various moments throughout its history and will present two very different historical narratives: the Israeli/Jewish and the Palestinian/Arab.

Previous knowledge about the Middle East is helpful, but not required. Sufficient background will be given on the first week, and throughout the course, in the weekly readings and during lectures.

This course will have a historical focus. Understanding the conflict requires in-depth familiarity with its history, before any meaningful analysis of contemporary events can take place. We will only reach current events in the last 2 weeks of the semester. If you are looking for a course that provides little historical background and much class discussion on today's burning questions (that is, a course that essentially teaches you nothing), you may want to reconsider taking this class.

This course is taught as a Presidential Dream Course. We will have guest speakers coming to class and delivering public lectures throughout the semester. We will also maintain an online forum for discussions about the conflict. Please read the requirements below carefully to ensure your schedule allows you to fully participate in this course.

Grading and Requirements:

The maximum number of points you may earn for this course is 1,000. Grading will be distributed in this manner:

Attendance and participation in class – 200pts [minimum 150]

Attendance in public lectures – 180pts [minimum 120]*

Weekly questions and online discussion – 220pts [minimum 110]

Final exam – 400pts [minimum 200]

* The point value of the public lectures section may be adjusted if one or more lectures is canceled. This may affect the value of other assignments as well.

There will be opportunities to earn bonus points. See below.

The minimum points listed next to each section represent the lower number of points you need to earn *in that section* to pass the course. Please note that one element cannot compensate for another. You must earn *at least* the minimum in each section to pass. This requirement means that you must not miss more than two public lectures (one if the total number of lectures drops below 6). If this is a problem for you, you should not be taking this course.

Your final grade will be determined by your points balance as of 5/13/11, according to the following key: above 920 points – A; 790-919 points – B; 690-789 points – C; 600-689 points – D; below 600 points – F.

No incomplete, withdrawn, or satisfactory grades will be issued for this course. If you don't earn 600 points for whatever reason by the end of the semester, or don't meet the minimum points requirement for a category where such a minimum has been established, your final grade will be F.

Explanation of specific requirements

1. **Attendance and Participation**– I treat our classes as if they were a personal appointment with each one of you, and expect you to do the same. My policy on attendance is that you pay for a product (university education), and thus should have at least some interest in getting your money's worth. I do not check attendance regularly, but I will from time to time pass a sign-in sheet around. If by the end of the semester you've missed more than 3 classes according to my records, your attendance and participation grade will be affected, and as you can imagine, not positively. It is your responsibility to sign the sheet when there is one. And since you have no way of knowing when I'll be passing one around, your best strategy would be not to miss a class.

If you have more than 7 registered absences, you will receive an F grade for this course.

Under this attendance policy, there are no excused absences. Every time I choose to check attendance and your name is not on the list counts toward your 3 allowed absences, *no matter the reason*. If you believe there are very special circumstances that require you to miss classes, talk to me (having a cold or a car that broke down are not special circumstances).

There's a lot to talk about when the Arab-Israeli Conflict is considered, and that means *you* will have to do much of the talking. To earn points in this section you have to offer some meaningful contribution to class discussion (staying silent or saying "yes, I agree" from time to time won't do), and to do that, you will have to prepare the readings assigned for each week (see schedule below).

2. **Public lectures** – a lot of money and time is invested in bringing guest speakers to campus as part of this Presidential Dream Course. Since space in this course is limited, and there are students who were not allowed to register, it is expected that students taking

the course attend all public lectures. At the beginning of each lecture I will pass around a sign-in sheet. It is your responsibility to ensure your name appears on it.

You will automatically get an F grade for this course if you miss more than two public lectures, no matter the reason. If the number of guest lectures drops below 6, you will only be allowed to miss one. If these are requirements you cannot comply with due to scheduling issues, work, other commitments, etc., you should not take this course.

3. **Weekly questions** – in an effort to open our course to the university community, and to encourage discussion among us, you'll need to answer a weekly question online. Questions will be updated every Wednesday or Thursday night on a public website where all our discussions will take place (<http://arabisraeli.yaronayalon.com>). You may post responses to the weekly question using your name or a pseudonym (which I'll need to know but no one else will), and you may (and should) also respond to what others have to say. You will earn up to 10 points per weekly response (depending on the quality of your answer, grades posted weekly on D2L), and up to 10 points per subsequent meaningful posts/responses to others. Once you've reached 220 points under this section, your posts will count as bonus. There is no limit to the number of bonus points you can earn.

Note: online posts divided into 2 or more entries due to length will still count as one post for grading purposes.

4. **Final take home open-books exam** – due by 5/13/11 at 4:30pm as a MS-Word or PDF file uploaded to the “dropbox” in D2L. No other forms of submission will be accepted. The exam will consist of four questions, of which you will be required to answer two. Alternatively, you may choose one of the four given questions and come up with another that you choose and I approve. The questions for the final exam will be distributed sometime after spring break, and so will further instructions.

Please note: For the weekly questions and the final exam, you will be judged by the quality of your writing as much as (or even more than) the substance of your argument. If you have had problems with grammar, style, punctuation, etc., you may want to get help from the writing center (<http://www.ou.edu/writingcenter/>). In addition, all students should consult my online writing guide (<http://www.yaronayalon.com/writing>). I will take off points for writing problems in your posts/exam that you could have avoided by using my online guide.

5. **Attend a Middle East-related event** throughout the semester and write a short (no more than one page, double spaced, Times New Roman font size 12) report about it to earn up to 5 bonus points per report. A list of events will be published on D2L and the course's website, as well as on bulletin boards in Hester Hall, so make sure to check back often.
6. **Write your own op-ed on the course's blog** – have strong feelings about an issue discussed in class, or any other conflict-related topic? Write an opinion piece blog entry (500-800 words) and send it to me. I will edit it lightly (for grammar/style, etc.) and post it on our blog. This is your chance to generate public debate about an issue; and it is an opportunity to earn more bonus points: up to 20 points per entry.

Disability accommodation: Students who have a disability that prevents them from fully demonstrating their academic skills should contact me during office hours to discuss arrangements that can ensure full participation and facilitate their learning experience.

Academic integrity: Students who are not familiar with the Student Code of Conduct should read it closely and uphold the obligations, rights, and procedures regarding violations of academic integrity. Please see <http://www.ou.edu/provost/integrity-rights/>

Readings: There are three required texts, available from bookstores around campus and from online retailers, such as Amazon.com. You may want to check abebooks.com or half.com for used copies.

Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: the Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006) [in the course schedule below: Khalidi]

Gudrun Krämer, *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008) [Krämer]

Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader: a Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008) [readings listed under “documents” throughout the course schedule below refer to this book]

Earlier editions are available for the *Israel-Arab Reader* book. However, the page numbers listed below refer to the 2008 edition. Earlier editions also won’t include the latest documents, so it is your responsibility to obtain copies of them.

Readings from other sources will be available via D2L under “content” in PDF form. Some of the books mentioned in the schedule below are also available at Bizzell library (just look them up in the catalog). If you prefer to read from the books themselves instead of the PDFs, please do so in the library and do not check out the books, so others may have access to them as well.

Reading assignments that appear under each class should be read *in preparation for* that class. This preparation includes looking up information about the author of each text, and any other places, organizations, or people mentioned in the text that you have not heard of before. You may use the internet or any other credible source you like to dig out that information. Please note that a text or an argument is generally meaningless if we don’t know anything about the author. Thus knowledge about the texts we read will be assumed when they are discussed in class.

And finally, announcements about this course will be regularly posted on D2L and the course’s public website. It is your responsibility to check both websites often. I will not send you individual e-mails for each announcement, and will assume you have read everything I’ve posted on the two websites.

Course Schedule

This schedule is subject to change, and not all texts that appear below will be assigned. Please follow announcements in class or on our websites to ensure you read the correct texts for each class. Changes will most likely occur on or before weeks when guest speakers are coming to campus. Please note that guest speakers may ask you to read short texts before their lecture, *in addition* to what is assigned for each week.

Week 1 (Wednesday, 1/19)– Introduction

Week 2 (1/24-26) – The place of the Holy Land in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; Palestine in the 18th and 19th centuries

Krämer, pp. 18-100

Passages from the Old Testament: Genesis, 12: 1-9; 13; Joshua, 1; I Kings, 8; Ezra, 1; 3

From the Qur’ān: 17: 1-9

Week 3 (1/31-2/2) - The 1840 Damascus Affair and the emergence of the Zionist movement

Krämer, pp. 101-38

Joseph Jacobs, “The Damascus Affair of 1840 and the Jews of America,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 10 (1902), pp. 119-28

Ran Aharonson, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization in Palestine* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), pp. 49-86

Week 4 (2/7-2/9) – The first Zionists and the response to their message

Herzl, *The Jewish State: an attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish question* (New York: Federation of American Zionists, 1917), pp. 7-44

Neville Mandel, “Ottoman Policy and Restrictions on Jewish Settlement in Palestine: 1881-1908, Part I,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 10 (1974), 3: pp. 312-32

Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 96-111, 119-43

Documents (numbers in parentheses, here and below refer to page numbers in Laqueur and Rubin's *The Israel-Arab Reader* 2008 edition):

The Basle Declaration of the first Zionist Congress (9), The Balfour Declaration (16), Weizmann-Faisal agreement (17)

Wednesday, 2/9: **Michael Oren**, Ambassador of Israel to the United States.

Note: This lecture will be delivered at a President's Associates Dinner, which is by invitations only. Students registered for the course will get invitations to the dinner. Attendance is not mandatory, but is highly recommended. If later in the semester you need to miss a public lecture, this one may serve as a substitute.

Week 5 (2/14-2/16) – World War I and the British mandate

Krämer, pp. 139-63

Khalidi, pp. 31-64

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 185-210

Ben Halpern and Jehuda Reinharz, *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 172-195

Week 6 (2/21-2/23) – Jewish and Arab society in Palestine during the mandate years

Krämer, pp. 264-92

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 185-210

Ben Halpern and Jehuda Reinharz, *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 172-195

Philip Mattar, "The Mufti of Jerusalem and the Politics of Palestine," *Middle East Journal* 42 (1988), 2: pp. 227-40

Ami Ayalon, *Reading Palestine* (Austin: Texas University Press, 2004), pp. 16-42, 69-78

Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *The First Well: a Bethlehem Boyhood* (Fayetteville, AK: U. of Arkansas Press, 1995), pp. 3-27, 73-89, 153-63

Documents: The British Mandate (30), The Peel Commission report (41), Hitler and the Mufti (51)

Week 7 (2/28) – The UN partition resolution and the war of 1948

There are 2 guest lectures this week (Monday and Thursday). Therefore, we will only meet in class on Monday, 2/28. Reading assignments will most likely vary from those listed below. Pay attention to announcements in class/online.

Krämer, pp. 296-324

Khalidi, pp. 105-39

Benny Morris, “Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948,” Eugene Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 37-59

Avi Shlaim, “Israel and the Arab coalition in 1948,” *The War for Palestine*, pp. 79-103

Documents: UN Resolution on the Future Government of Palestine (69), proclamation of the State of Israel (81), UN resolutions 194 and 303 (83-86)

Monday, 2/28: **Kenneth Stein**, William E. Schatten Professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History, Political Science and Israeli Studies and Director of the Institute for the Study of Modern Israel at Emory University.

Thursday, 3/3: **Ophir Pines-Paz**, former Israeli minister of interior and minister of science, culture, and sport. Member of the Knesset (Labor), 1996-2010.

Week 8 (3/7-3/9) – The 1950s: early Arab-Israeli negotiations, the Suez crisis

Itamar Rabinovich, *The Road not Taken: Early Arab-Israeli Negotiations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 65-110

Itamar Rabinovich. “The Suez-Sinai Campaign: The Regional Dimension,” S. I. Troen and M. Shemesh, eds., *The Suez-Sinai Crisis, 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp.162-71

Selwyn Ilan Troen, "The Sinai campaign as a 'war of no alternative': Ben Gurion's view of the Israel-Egyptian conflict," *The Suez-Sinai Crisis*, pp. 180-95

Rashid Khalidi, "Consequences of the Suez crisis in the Arab world," Albert Hourani et al., eds. *The Modern Middle East: a Reader* (Berkeley: University Press of California, 1993), pp. 535-50

Wednesday, 3/9: **Ussama Makdisi**, Professor of History at Rice University, holds the Arab-American Educational Foundation Chair in Arab Studies.

3/14-3/16: no class, spring break

Week 9 (3/21-3/23) – Nasser's pan-Arab ideology and the war of 1967

Khalidi, pp. 140-81

Michael Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Presidio Press, 2003), pp. 1-60

Documents:

'Abd al-Nasser on Zionism and Israel (89), Muhammad Hassanain Haykal on the upcoming war (100), Nasser's resignation speech (103), UN resolution 242 (116), the Palestinian national charter (117), Fatah: the 7 points (130), Interview with Arafat (135), Platform of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (139)

Week 10 (3/28-3/30) – The Yom Kippur War and Egyptian-Israeli Peace

Kenneth Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 74-96

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), pp. 352-83

Documents:

Speeches on the Yom Kippur War (142-151), UN resolution 338 (152), the Agranat Commission report (163), Arafat addresses the UN General Assembly (171), Sadat addresses the Knesset (207), Begin on autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza Strip (218), Egypt and Israel Peace treaty (222-227), Arafat on the peace with Egypt (230), Mubarak on Egypt-Israel relations (237).

Week 11 (4/4-4/6) – 1982: the First war in Lebanon, Hizballah

Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), pp. 11-30, 97-108, 250-85

Nicole Noe (ed.), *Voice of Hezbollah: The Statements of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah* (New York: Verso, 2007), pp. 116-143, 187-193, 232-243, 256-262

Documents:

Begin on wars of no alternative (254), the Kahan commission report (269), Arafat to the Palestine National Council (274), Lebanon and Israel truce (287)

Monday, 4/4: **Elias Muhanna**, author of the blog <http://qifanabki.com> and a PhD candidate at Harvard University.

Week 12 (4/11-4/13)– the first Intifada and the peace process of the early 1990s

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: a History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), pp. 561-610

Shimon Peres, *The New Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1993), pp. 1-32

Walid Khalidi, "The Prospects of Peace in the Middle East," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 32 (2003), 2: pp. 50-62

Week 13 (4/18-4/20) – The peace process in the late 1990s and its collapse

Benjamin Netanyahu, *A Durable Peace: Israel and Its Place among the Nations* (New York: Warner Books, 2000), pp. 321-52

Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace, Not Apartheid* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007), pp. 177-204

Documents:

The London document between Israel and Jordan (313), PLO executive committee on the Intifada (314, 323), the fourteen points of the Intifada (317), charter of Hamas (341), Palestinian declaration of independence (354), Husni Mubarak and Yitzhak Shamir on peace (358-362), Speeches at the Madrid peace conference (388), Yitzhak Rabin's inaugural speech (403), The Oslo agreement and declaration of principles (413-425), Asad and Clinton statement (440), Israel and PLO Cairo agreement (442-445), Peace between Israel and Jordan (467-477), Arafat, Rabin and Peres accepting the Nobel Peace Prize (487), Rabin's last speech (521), Reflections on the Oslo agreement's 5th anniversary (527), The Wye River memorandum (529), Clinton, Barak and a-Shara' - renewal of Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations (545), Clinton and Barak after the Camp David talks (551-554), The Beirut declaration of the Arab League (583), Sharon: disengagement plan (591), Sharon at the Gaza Pullout (594)

Wednesday, 4/20: **Maen Areikat**, chief PLO representative to the US.

Week 14 (4/25-4/27) – After the Gaza pullout

Jonathan Schanzer, *Hamas vs. Fatah: the Struggle for Palestine* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 79-129

A collection of articles from *Foreign Policy*

Documents:

Nasrallah – speech and interview (603-604), UN security council ceasefire resolution for Lebanon (609), Hamas-Fatah Mecca agreement (614), Hamas-Fatah coalition platform (615), Annapolis conference (625)

Week 15 (5/2-5/4) – conclusion: boycotts, anti-semitism, and the conflict in the media

Daniel Pipes, *The Long Shadow: Culture and Politics in the Middle East* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), pp. 33-46

Mark Cohen, "The New Muslim anti-Semitism," *The Jerusalem Post* 2 June 2008

Monday, 5/2: **Martin Kramer**, senior fellow at the Shalem Center in Jerusalem, and President-designate of Shalem College (in formation). He is also the Wexler Fromer Fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and National Security Studies Program Visiting Scholar at Harvard University.