

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
POLITICAL SCIENCE 631: THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT
SPRING 2017

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Course Description

This class will provide an in-depth understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its development over time. Our goal is to develop an appreciation of the complexities and dynamism of this conflict through an examination of its origins, actors, and the key historical and political factors that have shaped it.

Course objectives

At the end of this course students will be able to:

- Summarize the historical developments of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- Describe how the main actors see the world and analyze their behavior.
- Evaluate the political dynamics driving the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- Distinguish between normative and analytical arguments.

Course Structure

This is a seminar. Most of our meetings will revolve around critical intensive discussions of the assigned readings. This means that the more you put into the course, the more you will get out of it. On occasion, there will be lectures oriented to providing contextual and introductory material for certain topics.

Course Requirements

Critical reaction papers

There are no examinations in this course. Students are expected to attend each class, having completed the reading assignments and ready to contribute to the discussion. To that end, students are required to submit a short (1-2 page) critical reaction to the readings each week.

Reaction papers are due by 4 pm on the day before each class. Please upload your response paper using the appropriate link on the course's Canvas website (<https://canvas.wisc.edu/>). There is no response paper due the first week. The critical reactions will be evaluated according to the following rubric:

✓+: A comprehensive, but concise, analysis of the main arguments in the readings, their assumptions, shortcomings and implications that raises interesting and significant new issues for discussion.

✓: A satisfactory analysis of the arguments in the reading, including some attention to their assumptions, shortcomings, and implications.

✓-: A summary of the readings, with little evaluation of their arguments.

Critical reaction papers are not simply summaries of the readings. I want you to demonstrate that you have read and given serious thought to the material for that week. Successful reaction papers focus on the limitations of the readings, relationship with other readings or topics, and/or their wider implications. You might consider the following questions as you write your reaction papers:

- 1) What are the principal arguments or points of view offered in the readings? What are they trying to explain? Are they successful?
- 2) What assumptions do the readings make? Are they plausible? How would you refute them?
- 3) Is the evidence offered by the readings to substantiate their argument relevant, effective, and convincing? What are its weaknesses?
- 4) What are the broader implications of the readings?
- 5) How do these readings compare/contrast to, or expand on, other material presented in this class, other classes, or your outside experience?
- 6) What questions remain unanswered once you've finished reading this week's reading? What should have been addressed? Why?

Regardless of the particular strategy you adopt for these assignments, your reaction papers should also be concise, well-written, and carefully proofread.

Research Paper

The main assignment in the class is a research paper that evaluates a general claim about Arab-Israeli relations or another relevant aspect of the conflict. Close consultation with the professor in the choice of topic and the development of research design is expected. Paper topic proposals with preliminary bibliographies must be turned in by **March 7th**. The final papers are due by the end of the day (5pm) on **May 2nd**. Late papers will be penalized half of one letter grade for every day they are late.

The research paper will provide you with an opportunity to explore an aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict in significant depth. I am relatively open about the scope of topics that can be chosen. If you have trouble coming up with an appropriate topic, I would be happy to work with you to develop an appropriate topic.

The paper itself should be 4000-6000 words long. Citations should be provided in footnotes using the Chicago Manual style. For information see, <http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/DocChicago.html>

A good paper both informs and persuades; to do this it must be logically organized, clearly argued, and well documented. Avoid writing a paper that merely restates the readings or repeats the class discussions. You need to do some original thinking, research, and analysis in this paper. Stay away from normative arguments or political polemics. This is hard work. You are strongly encouraged to meet with me to discuss the progress of your paper throughout the semester.

Style Counts! Spelling mistakes and syntax errors are, at best, evidence of sloppy work. At worst they make your argument impossible to understand. While style does not replace substance, a poorly written or organized paper makes it difficult to get to your argument. I encourage you to

consult the UW Writing Center's "Writer's Handbook" for more information about style, organization and references. <http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/index.html>

There are also a number of excellent guides on the web that I encourage you to consult about how you could go about writing an analytical research paper. Some good sites include:

- How to Research a Political Science Paper, by Peter Liberman:
http://qcpages.qc.edu/Political_Science/researching.html
- Writing Political Science Papers: Some Useful Guidelines, by Peter Liberman, :
http://qcpages.qc.edu/Political_Science/tips.html
- Reading, Writing, and Researching for History: A Guide for College Students, by Patrick Rael: <http://www.bowdoin.edu/writing-guides/>

Here is a rough explanation of the rubric by which I will be evaluating the papers:

A: This is an outstanding paper. It is well organized around a clear and insightful argument that is logically organized and well-supported with evidence from the historical record and the scholarly literature. The paper considers alternative arguments, deals with countervailing evidence, and weighs their relative merits. It also convincingly shows that its main argument is better/more complete than the alternatives. This paper also shows how and why the question it pursues and the answer it offers are significant and important. There are few (or no) spelling or proofreading problems and the paper is well and appropriately documented.

AB: High quality in terms of style and content. The paper has a clear thesis statement, good organization and supporting evidence. It shows a solid grasp of the issues at stake and is well written. This paper shows evidence of original thought and planning. While it makes some reference to the scholarly literature it does not fully engage it.

B: The paper shows a decent understanding of the phenomenon and the overall argument is relatively clear although it may tend more toward summary than analysis. While the wider literature is acknowledged, the paper does not add its own insights. However, there may be significant grammatical and syntax errors, organizational problems, and the references to the literature may be perhaps a bit narrow, superficial or insufficient.

BC: The paper conforms to some of the requirements, but falls short on many, or is seriously marred by crucial shortcomings, including, but not limited to, poor organization, poor grammar or a poor understanding of the question. While there is some attempt to deal with the question, the argument is unclear and/or it is not adequately supported by appropriate evidence. There is little attempt to anchor the argument in the literature on the topic.

C: The paper attempts to pose and answer a question but does not actually do so. In other words, it has no argument. It may also be plagued by, among other problems, poor organization, poor writing, over-generality, lack of evidence or its inappropriate, selective or partial use.

F: The paper does not meet the requirements of the assignment and/or is so poorly written as to be unintelligible or has plagiarized from a published text or another student. Note also that an adequate paper that is not on an appropriate topic also falls within this realm.

I will take into consideration papers whose final draft shows substantial and significant improvement over earlier drafts. Note, to take advantage of this you have to complete drafts of your paper early enough to get feedback. I require at least 3 weekdays to get a draft back to you with comments. In other words, don't wait until the last moment to start your paper.

Grading Criteria

Final course grades will be assigned according to the following weights:

Attendance and discussion participation	20 percent
Critical reaction papers	20 percent
Research paper	60 percent

Academic Conduct

This class is geared to maximize our joint exploration of important topics in the history and politics of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Serious scholarly discussion becomes impossible when diatribe and invective displace scholarly analysis. As a result, when posing questions or responding to others, students are expected to demonstrate an appropriate level of respect despite what might be deep disagreements.

The paper you are required to write will require you to cite other people's work. **Plagiarism will not be tolerated!** If you are caught turning in work that is not your own or using another author's work without properly citing it, you will receive an F on the assignment. If you have any questions about what constituted academic dishonesty, please consult the Dean of Students Web page, at <http://www.wisc.edu/students/saja/misconduct/UWS14.html>

Required Readings

Most of the required readings for this course are available online on the course's Canvas website (<https://canvas.wisc.edu/>). The book can be purchased at the University Book Store or found on reserve at the College Library.

The following books are required for the course:

Gelvin, James L. 2014. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*, 3rd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The following recommended books are recommended and have been placed on reserve at College Library:

Morris, Benny. 1991. *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Tessler, Mark. *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1 (January 17): Historical background and making sense of conflicting accounts

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "The danger of a single story," TED talk, July 2009:

http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html

Zerubavel, Yael. 1995. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3-12.

Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 1-33

Scham, Paul L. 2006. "The historical narratives of Israelis and Palestinians and the peacemaking process," *Israel Studies Forum*, 21(2): 58-84.

Week 2 (January 24): Zionism and Israeli Nationalism

Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 33-75, 145-156.

Avineri, Shlomo. 1979. "Zionism as a National Liberation Movement," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 10: 133-144.

"Bilu Group Manifesto," "Excerpts from Herzl's *The Jewish State*," and "The Basle Program" in Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. 2001. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. New York: Penguin Books, 3-10.

Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion testimony before the Peel Commission.

Zerubavel, Yael. 1995. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 13-36.

Week 3 (January 31): Palestinian Nationalism

Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 92-115, 198-230.

"The Arab Case for Palestine," "Palestinian National Council: The Palestinian National Charter (1968)," "Fatah: The Seven Points," in Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. 2001. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. New York: Penguin Books, 57-62, 117-121, 130-131.

Sayigh, Yezid. 1997. "The Armed Struggle and Palestinian Nationalism," in Avraham Sela and Moshe Maoz, eds. *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964-1994*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 23-35.

Hamas Charter

Mishal, Shaul. "How Hamas Thinks," 1-18.

Baumgarten, Helga. 2005. "The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34(4): 25-48.

Brown, Nathan. December 2011. "The Palestinians' Receding Dream of Statehood" *Current History*. 345-351.

Week 4 (February 7): The dynamic of the mandate and the logic of partition

Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 76-91, 117-127.

Haj Amin al-Husseini's testimony before the Peel Commission

Jabotinsky, Vladimir (Ze'ev). "The Iron Wall," and "The Ethics of the Iron Wall" (13)

"Peel Commission Report," "1939 White Paper," "British government Policy" Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. 2001. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. New York: Penguin Books (Sixth, updated edition), 41-51.

- UNSCOP Recommendation, Jamal al Husayni and Hillel Silver reactions, in Smith, Charles. 2001. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (6th edition), Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 217-223.
- Katz, Shlomo. July, 1946. "Understanding Jewish Resistance in Palestine: The Aims and Methods of the Hagana." *Commentary*, 45-50.
- Hadawi, Sami. 1991. *Bitter Harvest: A Modern History of Palestine*. New York: Olive Press, 56-63, 84-96.
- David Ben-Gurion, "Britain's Contribution to Arming the Hagana," *Jewish Observer and the Middle East Review*, September 20, 1963.
- Leonard Mosely, 1955. *Gideon Goes to War*, 55-64.
- Khalidi, Rashid. 2006. *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. Beacon Press: Boston, 31-64.

Week 5 (February 14): Triumph and Catastrophe: different understandings of the 1948 war

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 127-144.
- Zeev Sharef, "Meeting of the National Administration and the Formation of a Provisional Government of Israel, May 12, 1948: Memoir," in Rabinovitch and Reinhartz, eds. *Israel in the Middle East*, 63-70.
- Ben-Gurion, David "Freedom and Independence" in *Rebirth and Destiny*, 274-280.
- Elon, Amos. 1981 (1971). *The Israelis: Founders and Sons*, 189-204.
- Alami, Musa. October, 1949. "The Lesson of Palestine," *Middle East Journal*. 3(4): 372-405.
- Shlaim, Avi. "Israel and the Arab Coalition in 1948," in Rogan and Shlaim, eds. *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, 79-101
- Khalidi, Rashid. 2001. "The Palestinians and 1948: the Underlying Causes of Failure," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds. *The War for Palestine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 12-36.
- Bar-On, Mordechai. 2006. "Conflicting Narratives or Narratives of a Conflict: Can the Zionist and Palestinian Narratives of the 1948 War Be Bridged?" in *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 142-168.

Week 6 (February 21): The refugee question

- "Palestinian Refugees," *PASSIA – Special Bulletin*, Jerusalem, May 2004. (16)
- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 156-164.
- Syrkin, Marie. January, 1966. "The Arab Refugees: A Zionist View," *Commentary*, 23-30.
- Shavit, Ari. "Lydda, 1948: A city, a massacre, and the Middle East today," *New Yorker*, October 21, 2013.
- Morris, Benny. 1986. "The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine: The Israel Defense Forces Intelligence Branch Analysis of June 1948." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 22: 5-19.
- Galtung, Johan and Ingrid Eide. 1976. "Some Factors Affecting Local Acceptance of a UN Force: A pilot project report from Gaza," in Johan Galtung, ed. *Peace, War, and Defense: Essays in Peace Research, Volume 2*. Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen., 242-245, 258-263.
(rest is optional)

- Shiblak, Abbas. 1996. "Residency Status and Civil Rights of Palestinian Refugees in Arab Countries," *Journal of Palestinian Studies*. 25(3): 36-45.
- Shikaki, Khalil. 2006. "Refugees and the Legitimacy of Palestinian-Israeli Peace Making," in Elie Podeh and Asher Kaufman, eds. *Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution?* Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 363-374.
- Abdel-Nour, Farid. 2015. "Irreconcilable Narratives and Overlapping Consensus: The Jewish State and the Palestinian Right of Return," *Political Research Quarterly*, 68(1): 117-127.

Week 7 (February 28): Arab-Israeli wars 1956-1982

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 166-196.
- Jervis, Robert. January, 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, 30(2): 167-214.
- Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in A. Yaniv (ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Boulder, 1993), pp. 11-53.
- Dayan, Moshe. 1955. "Israel's Border and Security Problems." *Foreign Affairs*, 33: 250-267.
- Baath party, 1965. The Palestine problem in the political report and resolutions of the 8th All-Arab Baath Congress.
- Yost, Charles W. 1968. "The Arab-Israeli War: How It Began." *Foreign Affairs*, 46: 304-320
- "Nasser On Zionism and Israel," "Sadat's speech October 1973," "Begin, The Wars of No Alternative and Operation Peace for the Galilee," in Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). (Sixth, updated edition). 89-91, 148-152, 254-257.
- Sadat, Anwar. 1977. *In Search of Peace: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper and Row, 232-237, 241-270. (pp.238-240 are optional)

Week 8 (March 7): The Intifadas

- Shamir, Jacob and Khalil Shikaki. 2010. *Palestinian and Israeli Public Opinion*. Indiana University Press, chapter 6: "The Eruption of the Intifada: the role of violence in two level games"
- Tamari, Salim. 1989. "What the Uprising Means," in Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin, eds. *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation*. Boston: South End Press, 127-138.
- Peri, Yoram. 2006. "The Geostrategic Transformation of the 1990s," in *Generals in the Cabinet Room: How the Military Shapes Israeli Policy*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Dowty, Alan, and Michelle Gavierec, 2001. "The Al-Aqsa Intifada: Revealing the Chasm," *MERIA Journal*, 5(3): 38-48.
- Shikaki, Khalil. Jan/Feb 2002. "Palestine Divided," *Foreign Affairs* 81(1): 89-105.
- "The Rise Of Palestinian Non-Violent Resistance: A Conversation With Mustafa Barghouti" *The Daily Beast*: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/03/07/the-rise-of-palestinian-non-violent-resistance-a-conversation-with-mustafa-barghouti.html?via=desktop&source=email>

Week 9 (March 14): Impact of the conflict on Palestinian and Israeli societies

- Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel Migdal. 1993. *Palestinians: The Making of a People*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, "steering a path under occupation," 240-261.

- Rosenfeld, Maya, 2004. *Confronting the Occupation: Work Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 33-42, 80-103, 211-265.
- Bucaille, Laetitia. 2004. *Growing Up Palestinian: Israeli Occupation and the Intifada Generation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 3-4, 56-110.
- Ezrahi, Yaron. 1998. *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 175-205.
- Lavi, I., D. Canetti, K. Sharvit, D. Bar-Tal and S.E. Hobfoll. 2014. "Protected by Ethos in a Protracted Conflict: A Comparative Study among Israelis and Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(1):68-92.

March 21: Spring Break: No class

Week 10 (March 28): The Great Debates I: What to Do with the Occupied Territories in Israel?

- Allon, Yigal. Oct. 1976. "Israel: The Case for Defensible Borders," *Foreign Affairs*, 55: 38-53.
- Netanyahu, Benjamin. 1993. *A Place Among the Nations*, New York: Bantam Books: 256-293.
- Oz, Amos. 1984. *In the Land of Israel*. New York: Vintage Books, 103-123.
- Lustick, Ian S. 1981. "Israel and the West Bank after Elon Moreh: The Mechanics of De Facto Annexation." *Middle East Journal*, 35(4):557-577.
- Bennett, Naftali. November 5, 2014. "For Israel, Two-State Is No Solution," *New York Times*.
- Yehoshua, A.B. 1971. "The New Left and Zionism," in *Who is Left? Zionism Answers Back*, Jerusalem: Alpha Press.
- Berkowitz, Unilateral withdrawal

Week 11 (April 4): The Great Debates II: Acceptance of Israel among the Arabs?

- Lukacs, Yehuda, ed. 2000. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record, 1967-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 454-455, 463-466
- Muslih, Muhammad. 1990. "Towards Coexistence: An Analysis of the Resolutions of the Palestine National Council," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19(4) 3-29.
- Shikaki, Khalil. January 2006. "Willing to Compromise: Palestinian Public Opinion and the Peace Process," USIP Special Report, 1-16.
- Podeh, Elie. 2014. "Israel and the Arab Peace Initiative, 2002–2014: A Plausible Missed Opportunity," *Middle East Journal* 68(4):584-603.
- Sela, Avraham. 2005. "Politics, Identity And Peacemaking: The Arab Discourse On Peace With Israel In The 1990s," *Israel Studies*, 10(2):15-71.
- Groiss, Arnon. 2012. "De-legitimization of Israel in Palestinian Authority schoolbooks," *Israel Affairs*, 18(3):455-484.
- Tessler, Mark and Alex Levy. 2013. "Muslim Arab Attitudes toward Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Variable and Contingent." In Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora (eds.), *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations*.

April 11: No class

Week 12 (April 18): The role of the United States

- Cavari, Amnon. 2012. "Six Decades of Public Affection: Trends in American Public Attitudes toward Israel," in Robert O. Freedman, ed. *Israel and the United States: Six Decades of US-Israeli Relations*. Boulder: Westview Press: 100-123.
- Lesch, David. "From Eisenhower to Johnson: Shifts in US Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in Elie Podeh and Asher Kaufman, eds. *Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution?* Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 74-92.
- Pressman, Jeremy. 2014 "American engagement and the pathways to Arab-Israeli peace," *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49(4):536-553.
- Miller, Aaron David. May/June 2010. "The False Religion of Mideast Peace" *Foreign Policy*, 179: 50-57.
- Nathanson, Roby and Ron Mandelbaum. 2012. "Economic Relations between the United States and Israel, 1948-2010," in Robert O. Freedman, ed. *Israel and the United States: Six Decades of US-Israeli Relations*. Boulder: Westview Press: 124-142.
- Sharp, Jeremy. June 2010. "U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2011 Request," *Congressional Research Service*.
- Zanotti, Jim. October 2011. "US Foreign Aid to the Palestinians" *Congressional Research Service*.
- Kydd, Andrew. 2003. "Which Side Are You On? Bias, Credibility, and Mediation." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (4): 597-611.

Week 13 (April 25): Peace Processes, the two state solution, and its alternatives

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 231-267.
- "Camp David Accords," "Egypt and Israel Peace Treaty," "Oslo Accords," "Declaration of Principles 1993," "The Clinton Plan, 2000," "Clinton on the peace process," "Sharon on disengagement from Gaza," in Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). (Sixth, updated edition), 222-228, 411-428, 562-564, 573-580, 594-597.
- Dowty, Alan. 2006. "Despair is not enough: violence, attitudinal change, and 'Ripeness' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Cooperation and Conflict*, 41(1): 5-29.
- Pearlman, Wendy. Winter 2008/09. "Spoiling Inside and out: Internal political contestation and the Middle East Peace Process," *International Security* 33(3):79-109.
- Atran, Scott, "Words to end wars" in *Talking to the Enemy*, 373-401.
- Said, Edward. *The End of the Peace Process* (New York, 2000), 312-321, 327-330.
- "The One State Declaration" Electronicintifadah.com
- Brown, Nathan. 2013. "No Horizon in a Perpetually Unsustainable Palestine" - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Shelef, Nadav and Yael Zeira, "Recognition Matters!: UN State Status and Attitudes Towards Territorial Compromise," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*

Papers due May 2nd at 5pm