

**UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
POLITICAL SCIENCE 631
THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT
SPRING 2012**

Professor: Nadav Shelef
Email: shelef@wisc.edu
Phone: 263-2280
Office: 414 North Hall
Office hours: Mondays 2-4, and by appointment.

Course Description

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

Structure of the course

The class will contain both lectures and critical intensive discussions of the assigned readings. The lectures will be primarily oriented to providing contextual and introductory material for each of our topics.

Course Requirements

There will be no examinations in this course. Students are expected to attend each class ready to contribute to the discussion and to have done the readings assigned for each topic prior to class. To that end, students are required to submit a 1-2 page critical reaction to the readings each week. **Reaction papers due in the dropbox folder in course's Learn@UW site by 1 pm on Wednesdays.** Please include your full name in the title of the file.

In addition to the weekly response papers, each student will write 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 1st**. The final papers are due on **May 15th**. Late papers will be penalized half of one letter grade for every day they are late.

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 |

Critical reaction papers

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. To do so, in addition to summarizing the arguments in the reading, include your own reactions to them, describe their

implications in the context of the other readings we've done that week or previously and point out their limitations. An effective reaction paper demonstrates knowledge of all assigned readings, but may focus on one significant element (theme, argument, issue). 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 does this reading 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?

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 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. However, if you have trouble coming up with one, I would be happy to work with you to develop an appropriate topic.

The paper itself should be 8000-10,000 words long. Citations must 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 lectures or discussion sections. 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 as well as errors of syntax and grammar are unacceptable. At best they are 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/>
- Writing a Research Paper, by Sarah Hamid: <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/workshops/hypertext/ResearchW/index.html>
- An accurate summary of some things *not* to do, which (unfortunately) students commonly do, can be found at [Advice on How to Write a Bad Paper](#).

Here is a rough explanation of how to understand the grading of 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.

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

Many of the required readings for this course are in the course reader, which is available on line at the course's Learn@UW site. The books 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. 2007. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bucaille, Laetitia. 2004. *Growing Up Palestinian: Israeli Occupation and the Intifada Generation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. 2008. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. New York: Penguin Books. (7th, updated edition).

The following recommended books 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

January 26: Historical background and making sense of conflicting accounts

- Eric Hobsbawm. "The nation as invented tradition: introduction" in *The Invention of Tradition*. Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., 1-14.
- Isacoff, Jonathan B. March, 2005. "Writing the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Historical Bias and the Use of History in Political Science," *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1): 71-88.
- Nusseibeh, Sari. March, 2005. "A formula for narrative selection: comments on "writing the Arab-Israeli conflict" *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1).
- Scham, Paul L. 2006. "The historical narratives of Israelis and Palestinians and the peacemaking process," *Israel Studies Forum*, 21(2): 58-84.
- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, ix-x, 1-45.

February 2: Zionism and Israeli Nationalism

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 46-75, 144-155.
- Avineri, Shlomo. 1979. "Zionism as a National Liberation Movement," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 10: 133-144.
- 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
Almog, Oz. *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*, trans. by Haim Watzman (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2000), 35-45.
- Zerubavel, Yael. 1995. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3-36.

February 9: Palestinian and Arab Nationalism

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 92-115, 196-212
- Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. 2001. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. New York: Penguin Books, 21-23, 51-55, 93-96, 117-139.
- Khalidi, Rashid. 1997. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 9-34.
- Issa, Khalaf. 1991. *Politics in Palestine: Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 231-248.
- Shemesh, Moshe. Spring, 2004. "The Palestinian Society in the Wake of the 1948 War: From Social Fragmentation to Consolidation," *Israel Studies*, 9(1): 86-100.
- Baumgarten, Helga. 2005. "The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34(4): 25-48.
- 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.
- Al-Azm, Sadik J. "Palestinian Zionism," *Die Welt des Islams* 28 (1988): 90-98.

February 16: The dynamic of the mandate and the logic of partition

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 76-91, 116-126.

- Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. 2001. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. New York: Penguin Books (Sixth, updated edition), 41-51.
- 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)
- 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.
- 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.
- Gilbert, Martin. 2002. *The Routledge Atlas of Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Complete History of the Struggle and the Efforts to Resolve It*. New York: Routledge, 5, 8, 22, 36,

February 23: Triumph and Catastrophe: different understandings of the 1948 war

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 126-143
- Ben-Gurion, David "Freedom and Independence" in *Rebirth and Destiny*, 274-280.
- Zeev Sharef, "Meeting of the National Administration and the Formation of a Provisional Government of Israel, May 12, 1948: Memoir," in Rabinovitch and Reinharz, eds. *Israel in the Middle East*, 63-70.
- Nathan Alterman, "The Silver Platter"
- 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.
- Rogan and Shlaim, eds. *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, 79-101
- 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.

March 1: The refugee question

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 155-164
- "Palestinian Refugees," *PASSIA – Special Bulletin*, Jerusalem, May 2004. (16)
- Syrkin, Marie. January, 1966. "The Arab Refugees: A Zionist View," *Commentary*, 23-30.
- Jabra I. Jabra, "In the Deserts of Exile"
- Kleiman, Ephraim. 1986. "Khirbet Khiz'ah and Other Unpleasant Memories." *Jerusalem Quarterly*. 40: 102-118.
- 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.
- Teveth, Shabatai. September 3, 1989. "Charging Israel with original sin," *Commentary* 88: 24-33. (Section II optional)

- Karsh, Efraim. May 2001. "The Palestinians & the Right of Return", *Commentary*, 25-31.
- 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.
- 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.

March 8: Arab-Israeli wars 1956-1982

- Jervis, Robert. January, 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, 30(2): 167-214.
- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 165-195.
- Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). (Sixth, updated edition). 89-93, 96-116, 143-166, 254-257, 269-276
- Dayan, Moshe. 1955. "Israel's Border and Security Problems." *Foreign Affairs*, 33: 250-267.
- Yost, Charles W. 1968. "The Arab-Israeli War: How It Began." *Foreign Affairs*, 46: 304-320
- Safran, Nadav. 1981. *Israel: the Embattled Ally*. Cambridge: Belknap Press., 224-228, 235-239, 257-277, 278-286, 312-316.
- Sadat, Anwar. 1977. *In Search of Peace: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper and Row, 232-237, 241-270. (pp.238-240 are optional)
- Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in A. Yaniv (ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Boulder, 1993), pp. 11-53.

March 15: The Intifadas

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 212-228.
- Bucaille, Laetitia. 2004. *Growing Up Palestinian: Israeli Occupation and the Intifada Generation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1-29, 111-150
- Abu-Amr, Ziad. 1990. "The Politics of the Intifada," in Michael C. Hudson, ed. *The Palestinians: New Directions*, Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 3-23.
- 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.
- Dowty, Alan, and Michelle Gavierec, 2001. "The Al-Aqsa Intifada: Revealing the Chasm," *MERIA Journal*, 5(3): 38-48.
- 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"

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.

March 22: Impact of the conflict on Palestinian and Israeli society

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 4, 79-110.

Roy, Sara. Spring, 1991. "The Political Economy of Despair: Changing Political and Economic Realities in the Gaza Strip," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 20(3):58-69.

Ezrahi, Yaron. 1998. *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 175-205.

Kimmerling, Baruch. 1983. "Making Conflict a Routine: The Cumulative Effects of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Upon Israeli Society," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 6(3): 13-45.

Bleich, Gelkopf, and Solomon, 2003. "Exposure to terrorism, stress-related mental health symptoms, and coping behaviours among a nationally representative sample in Israel," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 290(5):612-620.

March 29: No class meeting – research meeting at Library – Professor Shelef at ASEN Conference

April 12: 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.

Netanyahu, Benjamin. 2009. Bar Ilan Speech.

Oz, Amos. 1984. *In the Land of Israel*. New York: Vintage Books, 103-123.

Yehoshua, A.B. 1971. "The New Left and Zionism," in *Who is Left? Zionism Answers Back*, Jerusalem: Alpha Press.

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.

Lochery, Neil. 2007. "The politics and economics of Israeli disengagement, 1994-2006," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43(1):1-19.

April 19: The Great Debates II: Acceptance of Israel among the Arabs?

Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). (Sixth, updated edition), 354-359.

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.

Arab (Saudi) Peace Initiative

- Daoudi, Mohammed S. Dajani. "The Arab Peace Initiative: Lost in the Translation," *Cross Currents* (2009): 533-539.
- Sela, Avraham. 2005. "Politics, Identity And Peacemaking: The Arab Discourse On Peace With Israel In The 1990s," *Israel Studies*, 10(2):15-71.
- Malik, Charles. 1952. "The Near East: The Search for Truth," *Foreign Affairs*, 30(2):231-264, 242-245
- Khashan, Hilal, Summer, 2000. "Arab Attitudes Toward Israel on the Even of the New Millennium," *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 25(2):131-229. 131-132, 135-136, 138-140, 144-148, 157-161, 164-187, 191-199, 204-209, 217-221. (intervening sections are optional)
- Mi' Ari, Mahmoud. May, 1999. "Attitudes of Palestinians toward Normalization with Israel," *Journal of Peace Research* 36(3): 339-348.
- Shikaki, Khalil. January 2006. "Willing to Compromise: Palestinian Public Opinion and the Peace Process," USIP Special Report, 1-16.
- Tessler, Mark. 2006. "Narratives and Myths about Arab Intransigence Toward Israel," in *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 174-191.

April 26: Religion and the Arab-Israeli conflict

- Hassner, Ron. Summer, 2003. "'To Halve and to Hold': Conflicts over sacred space and the problem of indivisibility," *Security Studies* 12(4): 1-33.
- Oz, Amos. *In the Land of Israel*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 51-73
- Shamir, Michal and Asher Arian, June, 1999. "Collective Identity and Electoral Competition in Israel," *American Political Science Review*, 93(2):265-277.
- Hamas Charter
- Mishal, Shaul. "How Hamas Thinks," 1-18.
- Knudsen, Are. "Crescent and the Sword: The Hamas Enigma," *Third World Quarterly* 26 (2005): 1373-1388.
- Hindi, Mohamed (Islamic Jihad). 1999. "Islamic Role and Dimension in Palestine," in Freund, Wolfgang, ed. *Palestinian Perspectives*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang., 145-150.
- Budeiri, Musa. "The Palestinians: Tensions between Nationalist and Religious Identities," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Yitzhak Reiter, "Islam and the Question of Peace with Israel," in *Muslim Attitudes to Jews and Israel: The Ambivalences of Rejection, Antagonism, Tolerance and Cooperation*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 90-112, skim 94-104.
- Frisch, Hillel. 2005. "Nationalizing a universal text- the Quran in Arafat's rhetoric," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 41(3):321-336.
- Tessler, Mark and Jodi Nachtwey. 1999. "Palestinian Political Attitudes: an Analysis of survey Data from the West Bank and Gaza," *Israel Studies* 4:22-43.

May 3: The role of the United States

Visit by Ambassador Tom Loftus (tentative)

- 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.
- Kutzer, Daniel. C and Scott B. Lasensky. 2008. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East*. USIP Press: 15-23.
- Miller, Aaron David. May/June 2010. "The False Religion of Mideast Peace" *Foreign Policy*, 179: 50-57.
- Sharp, Jeremy. June 2010. "U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2011 Request," *Congressional Research Service*.
- Sharp, Jeremy. September 2010. "US Foreign Aid to Israel" *Congressional Research Service*.
- Zanotti, Jim. October 2011. "US Foreign Aid to the Palestinians" *Congressional Research Service*.
- Gallup, 2011. "Americans Maintain Broad Support for Israel."
- Gallup, 2009. Americans Remain Skeptical About Middle East Peace.pdf
- Kydd, Andrew. 2003. "Which Side Are You On? Bias, Credibility, and Mediation." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (4): 597-611.
- Favretto, Katja. 2009. "Should Peacemakers Take Sides? Major Power Mediation, Coercion, and Bias." *American Political Science Review*, 103(2): 248-63.

May 10: Peace Processes past and future

- Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 229-255.
- Stein, Janice Gross. March 1999. "The Widening Gyre of Negotiation: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 68, pp. 1-30.
- Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). (Sixth, updated edition), 222-228, 411-428, 562-565, 573-580.
- Bucaille, Laetitia. 2004. *Growing Up Palestinian: Israeli Occupation and the Intifada Generation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 2-3.
- Said, Edward. *The End of the Peace Process* (New York, 2000), 108-112, 312-321, 327-330.
- Alpher, Joseph. 1996. "Israel: The Challenges of Peace," *Foreign Policy*, 101:130-145.
- Dowty, Alan. 2006. "Despair is not enough: violence, attitudinal change, and 'Ripeness' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Cooperation and Conflict*, 41(1): 5-29.
- Ben-Porat, Guy. Spring 2006. "Markets and Fences: Illusions of Peace," *The Middle East Journal*, 60(2):311-328.
- Gavrilis, George. 2004. "Sharon's end game for the west bank barrier," *The Washington Quarterly* 27(4): 7-20
- Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara F. Walter. (2002) Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence. *International Organization* 56(2): 263-296.
- Karen Rasler, "Shocks, Expectancy Revision, and the De-Escalation of Protracted Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case" (*Journal of Peace Research* 37: 2000),

Papers due May 15th

Recommended Readings for PS 631

Making sense of conflicting accounts

- Kimmerling, Baruch. 1995. "Academic history caught in the crossfire," *History & Memory*, 7(1): 41-48.
- Ram, Uri. 1995. *The Changing Agenda of Israeli Sociology: Theory, Ideology and Identity*.
- Horowitz, Dan, and Moshe Lissak, Winter 1977. "Ideology and Politics in the Yishuv," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 12-26.
- Isacoff, Jonathan. *Writing the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Shapira, Anita, "Politics and Collective Memory: The Debate over the "New Historians" in Israel," *History & Memory*, 7(1).
- Silberstein, *The Post-Zionist Debates*.

Historical Background

- 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.

Origins of Israeli and Palestinian national movements: Zionism and Israeli Nationalism

- Avineri, Shlomo. 1981. *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Eliezer Don-Yehiya, "Zionism in Retrospective," *Modern Judaism* 18 (1998): 267-276.
- Elon, Amos. 1983 (1971). *The Israelis: Founders and Sons*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Kolatt, Israel, 1975. "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, pp. 211-245.
- Penlar, Derek J. 2005. "Herzl And The Palestinian Arabs: Myth and Counter-Myth," *Journal of Israeli History* 24(1): 65-77.
- Sachar, Howard. 2007. *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* (Third Edition, Revised and Updated). New York: Random House.
- Shafir, Gershon. 1989. *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shapira, Anita 1992. *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force 1881-1948*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shapira, Anita. October 2000. "From the Palmach Generation to the Candle Children: Changing Patterns in Israeli Identity," *Partisan Review*.
- Zerubavel, Yael. Summer, 2002. "The Mythological Sabra and Jewish Past: Trauma, Memory, and Contested Identities," *Israel Studies*, 7(2).

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