

(PA 188G) and unique number (62520),

PA 188G - Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Peace Process

(LBJ School of Public Policy, University of Texas, Austin)

Unique number 62520

Professor Galia Golan

Wednesday, August 27, 9:00 -12:00

Friday, August 29, 12:30 to 3:30

Wednesday, September 3, 9:00 – 12:00

Friday, September 5, 12:30 to 3:30

Wednesday, September 10, 9:00 – 12:00

Following a brief view of the origins of the conflict, the course will examine the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict including the major issues and events, with particular emphasis on the key political decisions, the Palestinian movement, Israel and the Arab states, and the efforts to achieve resolution of the conflict since 1967.

The final grade will be based on a short paper, topic to be chosen in consultation with Professor Golan. Final grade: paper 70%; class participation 30%; attendance required.

Office hours (venue to be announced): Wednesday, September 3, 2014 – 2:00-3:30;

Monday, September 8, 2014 – 2:00-4:00.

Accompanying texts (since this is an intensive three-week course, two books will be used as textbooks:

Joel Peters and David Newman, *Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Routledge, 2013 (e-book, available through the Library)

Galia Golan, *Israeli Peacemaking since 1967: Factors Behind the Breakthroughs and Failures*, Routledge, 2014 (on the class website)

Readings for class are available on the website. A list of supplemental, recommended texts and collections of documents are attached below. I suggest using it for each topic treated in class.

Schedule:

- **Wednesday, August 27, 9:00 -12:00** – Pre-war up to and including 1967 war
Read: Peters and Newman, chapters 3 and 4.
- **Friday, August 29, 12:30 to 3:30** – 1967-73 (Jordan, UNSC 242, settlements, Khartoum, 1973 war)
Read: Golan, chapter 2; David Kretzmer, *The Occupation of Justice*, SUNY Press, 2002, 31-46.
- **Wednesday, September 3, 9:00 – 12:00** – Israeli-Egyptian peace (Camp David), Lebanon, PLO, First Intifada
Read: Golan, chapter 3; Peters and Newman, chapter 7; Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, Oxford University Press, 1997, 585-589; Mark Tessler, Mark, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1994, 600-647.
- **Friday, September 5, 12:30 to 3:30** – Rabin (Syria, Oslo), Barak, Clinton Parameters
Read: Peters and Newman, chapter 8; Golan, chapters 4 & 7.
- **Wednesday, September 10, 9:00 – 12:00** – Post-Oslo (Sharon, API, Olmert- Abu Mazen, Netanyahu)
Read: Peters, chapter 17; Galia Golan, *Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals from Oslo to Disengagement*, Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 2007, 69-73; Marwan Muasher, *The Arab Center*, Yale University Press, 2008, 102-133; Golan, chapter 9.

Paper assignment: 10-12 pages, due date October 31, 2014. Topics (must be approved by Prof. Golan, no later than September 8):

I. US Policy – choose one of the sub-topics below or suggest one:

- regarding relations with Israel since 1967
- in Israeli-Arab peace talks since 1967
- regarding the PLO since 1973

OR

II. Expansion and analysis of one of the topics dealt with in class.

Again – all topics must be approved by Prof. Golan no later than 8 September.

Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259.

Students are expected to respect the LBJ School's standards regarding academic dishonesty. You owe it to yourself, your fellow students, and the institution to maintain the highest standards of integrity and ethical behavior. A discussion of academic integrity, including definitions of plagiarism and unauthorized collaboration, as well as helpful information on citations, note taking, and paraphrasing, can be found at the Office of the Dean of Students web page. (http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/acint_student.php) and the Office of Graduate Studies (<http://www.utexas.edu/ogs/research/integrity.html>). The University has also established disciplinary procedures and penalty guidelines for academic dishonesty, especially Sec. 11.304 in Appendix C of the Institutional Rules on Student Services and Activities section in UT's General Information Catalog.

Supplemental, recommended readings:

Middle East History Between the two World Wars

1. Yapp, M. E., The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792-1923. London: Longman, 1987. Pp. 301-351.
2. Gelvin, James L, The Modern Middle East: A History. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
3. Kedourie, Elie, England and the Middle East, second edition. Hassocks, 1978.
4. Provence, Michael, The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism, University of Texas, Austin, 2005.

5. Wilson, Mary C., King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Pre-1948

6. Shindler, Colin, "The Origins of Zionism," in Peters, Joel and David Newman (eds), The Routledge Handbook of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Routledge, chapter 1.
7. Khalidi, Rashid, The Iron Cage: the Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood, Boston: Beacon Press, 2006, 2007, chapters 1& 2.
8. Rotberg, Robert. "Building Legitimacy through Narrative" in Robert I. Rotberg (ed.) Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006, pp. 1-18.
9. Shlaim, Avi. The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World. London: Penguin, 2000, 2001

Creation of the State of Israel, the Nakba and Early Issues

1. Smith, Charles, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1996, pp. 68-111.
2. Halpern, Ben, The Idea of a Jewish State, Harvard University Press, Boston, 1961, pp.20-54.
3. Morris, Benny, Righteous Victims, Knopf, 1999, pp. 161-189, 191-204, 215-223, 235-258.
4. Peters, Joel and David Newman (eds), The Routledge Handbook of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Routledge, 2013, Chapters 1, 2, 3.
5. Shlaim, Avi. "The Iron Wall Revisited," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 162, winter 2012, pp. 80-98.
6. Kraemer, Gudrun, A History of Palestine, Princeton University Press, 2008. pp. 264-295.
7. Manna, Adel and Motti Golani, Two Sides of the Coin: Independence and Nakba 1948, Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, Dordrecht, 2011 (available in English, Arabic and Hebrew).
8. Peters and Newman, Chapters 3, 4.

The Super Powers' Policies

1. Golan, Galia, Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War Two to Gorbachev, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 1-57.
9. Spiegel, Steve, The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985, pp.1-94.
10. Laron, Guy, "Playing with Fire: The Soviet –Syrian Triangle 1965-1967," *Cold War History*, Vol. 10, No. 2, May 2010, 163–184.
11. Neff, Donald, Settlements in US Policy, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, [Journal of Palestine Studies](#), Vol. 23, No.3, 1994.
12. Neff, Donald, Jerusalem in US Policy, Vol.23, No. 1, 1993.

The 1967 War

1. Rabin Yitzhak, The Rabin Memoirs, UCLA University Press, Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 84-122.
2. Safran, Nadav, From War to War, Pegasus, New York, pp. 317-382.
4. el-Gamasy, Mohamed Abdel Ghani, The October War: Memoirs of Field Marshal el-Gamasy of Egypt, American University of Cairo Press, Cairo, 1993, pp 10-50.
5. Parker, Richard, "The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored," Middle East Journal, 46:2 (1992), pp 177-197.
6. Quandt, William, Peace Process, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993, pp. 25-62.
7. Golan, Soviet Policies, op.cit., pp. 58-67.
8. Shlaim, Avi, Lion of Jordan: the Life of King Hussein in War and Peace, Allen Lane, London, 2009, chapters 12 and 13.

Repercussions of the War

1. Kretzmer, David, The Occupation of Justice, SUNY Press, New York, 2002, pp.31-46.
2. Lorch, Nathan, "The Application of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Territories Administered by Israel," Israel Yearbook of Human Rights, 1971, pp. 366.
3. Sprinzak, Ehud, Brother Against Brother, The Free Press, New York, 1999, chapter 5.
4. Lustik, Ian, For the Land and the Lord, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1998, chapter III.
5. Galchinsky, Michael, "The Jewish Settlements in the West Bank: International Law and Israeli Jurisprudence," Israel Studies, Vol.9, No.3, 2004, pp.115-136.

Interwar Diplomacy

1. Quandt, op.cit., pp. 64-147.
2. Golan, op.cit., pp. 68-82.
3. Sela, Avraham, The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, State University of New York Press, 1988, pp. 97-109.
4. Shlaim, Avi, Lion of Jordan: the Life of King Hussein in War and Peace, Alan Lane, London, 2009, chapters 12 and 13.

The Palestinian National Movement

1. Harkabi, Yehoshufat, Palestinians and Israel, Keter Publishers, 1974, pp. 49-69.
2. Gresh, Alain, The PLO: The Struggle Within, Zed Books, London, 1988, pp. 11-57, 99-149.
3. Golan, Galia, The Soviet Union and the Palestine Liberation Organization: An Uneasy Alliance, Praeger Press, 1980, New York, pp. 5-13, 50-94, 210-227.
4. Khalidi, Rashid, The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood, Beacon, Press, Boston, 2006, all [recommended]
5. Lukacs, Yehuda, Israel, Jordan and the Peace Process, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1999, all, [recommended]
6. Morris, op.cit., pp.363-376.

The 1973 War

1. Quandt, *op.cit.*, pp. 148-182.
2. Golan, Galia, Yom Kippur and After: The Soviet Union and the Middle East Crisis, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 74-122.
3. el-Gamasy, *op.cit.*, pp 185-202.
4. el-Sadat, In Search of Identity, Harper and Row, New York, 1978, pp.232-270.
5. Heikal, Mohamed, The Road to Ramadan, Fontana Books, New York, 1976, pp. 206-241.
6. Morris, *op.cit.*, pp.387-443.

Israeli-Egyptian Peace

1. Rabin, *op.cit.*, pp. 253-275.
2. Quandt, William, Camp David, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1986, pp. 206-258.
3. Sela, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-212.
4. Fahmi, Ismail, Negotiating for Peace in the Middle East, Croom-Helm, London, 1983, pp. 252-284.

The 1982 Lebanon War

1. Schiff, Ze'ev and E. Ya'ari, Israel's Lebanon War, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1984, chapters 3,6,11,13.
2. Madfai, Madiha Rashid, Jordan, the United States and the Middle East Peace Process, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 135-157; appendix E, p. 235.
3. Sayigh, Yezid, Armed Struggle and the Search for State, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 585-589.*
4. Tessler, Mark, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1994, pp. 600-647.

The First Intifada

1. Shalev, Aryeh, The Intifada: Causes and Effects, Westview, Boulder, 1991, pp. 65-98; appendices 15,17.
2. Tessler, *op.cit.*, pp, 670-683, 706-727.
3. Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel Migdal, Palestinians: The Making of a People, Harvard University Press, Boston, 1994, pp 240-275.
4. Shlaim, Avi, Lion of Jordan: the Life of King Hussein, *op.cit.*, pp.440-449.
5. Mishal, Saul and A. Sela, Hamas: A Behavioral Profile, The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University, 1997, 9-17.

Peace Process: Syria, Oslo, Camp David II...

1. Rabinovich, Itamar, The Brink of Peace, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1998, pp. 163-255.
2. Savir, Uri, The Process, Vintage Books, New York, 1998, chapters 2,3,5,6.
3. Shamir, Jacob and M. Shamir, The Dynamics of Israeli Public Opinion on Peace and the Territories, The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University, 1993, pp.1-41.

5. Abbas, Mahmoud (Abu Mazen), Through Secret Channels, Garnet Publishing, New York, 1995, pp.111-183.
6. Khalidi, Rashid, The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood, op.cit., pp.141-181.
7. Morris, op.cit., pp. 632—651.
8. Watson, Geoffrey, The Oslo Accords, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, parts III and IV.
9. Klein, Menachem, Jerusalem, the Contested City, Hurst & Co., New York, 2001, pp.183-204; 294-335.
10. Swisher, Clayton, The Truth About Camp David, Nation Books, New York, 2004, chapters 9,10,11,12,13.
11. Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley, “Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors,” New York Review of Books, August 9, 2001.
12. Ross, Dennis, The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 2004.
13. Rothstein, Robert et.al., The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, 2002, pp.88-114; 37-46.
14. Indyk, Martin, Innocent Abroad, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2008

Post-Oslo

1. Golan, Galia, Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals From Oslo to Disengagement, Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 2006, pp.37-142.
2. Michael, Kobi and Amnon Ramon, A Fence Around Jerusalem, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, Jerusalem, 2004.
3. Quandt, William, Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967, third edition,chapter 13.
4. Golan, Galia, “Peace Process,” in Mitchell Bard and David Nachmais, Israel Studies: an Anthology, Jewish Virtual Library, 2009
(<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/text/anthologytoc.html>)*
5. Quigley, John, The Statehood of Palestine: International Law in the Middle East Conflict, Cambridge U. Press, 2010.

DOCUMENTS

Bickerton, Ian and Carla Klausner, A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1991.

Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan (eds.), Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace, Indiana University Press, 1998.

Golan, Galia, Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals From Oslo to Disengagement, Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 2006.

Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin (eds.), The Israel-Arab Reader, Penguin Books, 1984.

Lukacs, Yehuda (ed.), The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Mahler, Gregory and Alden Mahler, The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Introduction and Documentary Reader, Routledge, 2010.

Moore, John Morton (ed.), The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Readings and Documents, Princeton University Press, 1977.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Israel), Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 1995

Reich, Bernard (ed.), Arab-Israeli Conflict and Conciliation: A Documentary History, Praeger, 1995.

Watson, Geoffrey, The Oslo Accords: International Law and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Agreements, Oxford University Press, 2000, appendices A-I.