

The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Reading list for BA course (Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya)

Possible textbook for the Israeli-Palestinian aspect: Peters, Joel and David Newman (eds), The Routledge Handbook of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Routledge, 2013; for history up to the first Intifada: Morris, Benny, Righteous Victims, Knopf, 1999.

Topics and readings:

I. The Middle East 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. Provenza, 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.

II. Zionism, the Palestinian Movement and the Yishuv

1. Shindler, Colin, "The Origins of Zionism," in Peters, Joel and David Newman (eds), The Routledge Handbook of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Routledge, chapter 1.
2. Khalidi, Rashid, The Iron Cage: the Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood, Boston: Beacon Press, 2006, 2007, chapters 1& 2.
3. 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.
4. Shlaim, Avi. The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World. London: Penguin, 2000, 2001.
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. Morris, Benny, Righteous Victims, Knopf, 1999, pp.37-160.

III The War of Independence and the Nakba

8. Smith, Charles, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1996, pp. 68-111. Halpern, Ben, The Idea of a Jewish State, Harvard University Press, Boston, 1961, pp.20-54.

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9. 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).
10. Morris, Benny, Righteous Victims, Knopf, 1999, pp. 161-189, 191-204, 215-223, 235-258.
11. Shlaim, Avi, "Conflicting Approaches to Israel's Relations with the Arabs: Ben Gurion and Sharett, 1953-1956," in B. Neuberger and A.
12. Goronik, [Open University Reader] Mediniut Hahutz.....Mamarimb' Anglit, pp.85-106.
13. Peters and Newman, Chapters 3, 4.

IV 1948-1966 The Jewish State and the Palestinian Population

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. Manna, Adel, Nakbah and Survival: The Story of Palestinians in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948-1956, (forthcoming).
4. Morris, Benny, Righteous Victims, Knopf, 1999, 259-302.
5. Shlaim, Avi, "Conflicting Approaches to Israel's Relations with the Arabs: Ben Gurion and Sharett, 1953-1956," in B. Neuberger and A. Gronik, [Open University Reader] Mediniut Hahutz.....Mamarimb' Anglit, (327.E in the Library), pp.85-106.
6. Peters, Joel and David Newman (eds), The Routledge Handbook of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Routledge, 2013, Chapters 1, 2, 3.
7. Podeh, Elie, Chances for Peace, Univ. of Texas Press, 2015.

V. The Super Powers' Policies

1. Spiegel, Steve, The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985, pp.1-94.
2. Gazit, Mordecai, "America and Israel – A Special Relationship not Always Special, in Neuberger, op.cit., pp.402-415.
3. Golan, Galia, Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War Two to Gorbachev, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 1-57.
4. Laron, Guy, "Playing with Fire: The Soviet –Syrian Triangle 1965-1967," *Cold War History*, Vol. 10, No. 2, May 2010, pp.163–184.
5. Ben-Tzvi, Abraham, "Dynamics of the US-Israel Special Relationship, in Neuberger, op.cit., pp.416-433.

VI. The Six Day War and its Repercussions

14. Rabin Yitzhak, The Rabin Memoirs, UCLA University Press, Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 84-122
15. Safran, Nadav, From War to War, Pegasus, New York, pp. 317-382.
16. 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.
17. Parker, Richard, "The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored," *Middle East Journal*, 46:2 (1992), pp 177-197.
18. Shlaim, Avi, Lion of Jordan: the Life of King Hussein in War and Peace, Allen Lane, London, 2009, chapters 12 and 13.

19. Golan, Galia, Israeli Peacemaking since 1967, Factors Behind the Breakthroughs and the Failures, Routledge, 2014, chapter 2.
20. Kretzmer, David, The Occupation of Justice, SUNY Press, New York, 2002, pp.31-46.*
21. Lorch, Nathan, "The Application of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Territories Administered by Israel," Israel Yearbook of Human Rights, 1971, pp. 366 *
22. Sprinzak, Ehud, Brother Against Brother, The Free Press, New York, 1999, chapter 5.
23. Galchinsky, Michael, "The Jewish Settlements in the West Bank: International Law and Israeli Jurisprudence," *Israel Studies*, Vol.9, No.3, 2004, pp.115-136.

VII. The Palestine National Movement (PLO)

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.

VIII. The Yom Kippur War and Peace with Egypt

1. Golan, Galia, Yom Kippur and After: The Soviet Union and the Middle East Crisis, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 74-122.*
2. el-Gamasy, op.cit., pp 185-202.
3. el-Sadat, In Search of Identity, Harper and Row, New York, 1978, pp.232-270.
4. Heikal, Mohamed, The Road to Ramadan, Fontana Books, New York, 1976, pp. 206-241.
5. Morris, op.cit., pp.387-443.*
6. Sela, Avraham, The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, State University of New York Press, 1988, pp.188-212.
7. Rabin, op.cit., pp. 253-275.
8. Quandt, William, Camp David, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1986, pp. 206-258.
9. Fahmi, Ismail, Negotiating for Peace in the Middle East, Croom-Helm, London, 1983, pp. 252-284.*
10. Golan, Galia, Israeli Peacemaking since 1967, chapter 3.

IX. The First Lebanon War; The Evolution of PLO Policy

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.
5. Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel Migdal, Palestinians: The Making of a People, Harvard University Press, Boston, 1994, pp 240-275.

X. The First Intifada; The Peace Process

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. Mishal, Saul and A. Sela, Hamass: A Behavioral Profile, The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University, 1997, pp.9-17.
4. Savir, Uri, The Process, Vintage Books, New York, 1998, chapters 2,3,5,6.
5. 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.
7. Abbas, Mahmoud (Abu Mazen), Through Secret Channels, Garnet Publishing, New York, 1995, pp.111-183.
8. Rothstein, Robert et.al., The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, 2002, pp.88-114; 37-46.
9. Golan, Galia, op.cit., chapter 6.

XI. Negotiations with Syria

1. Rabinovich, Itamar, The Brink of Peace, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1998, pp. 163-255.
2. Golan, Israeli Peacemaking, op.cit., .chapter four.
3. Diab, M. Zuhair, "Have Syria and Israel Opted for Peace?," *Middle East Policy* 3(2), 1994, pp.77-90.
4. Maoz, Moshe, Syrian and Israel: From War to Peacemaking, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp.140-262/
5. Ross, op.cit., pp.89-163.
6. Al-Muallem, Walid, "Fresh Light on the Syrian-Israeli Peace Negotiations," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 26(2), 1997, 81-94.

XII Post Oslo – Camp David II; Second Intifada

1. Khalidi, Rashid, The Iron Cage, op.cit., pp.141-181.
2. Klein, Menachem, Jerusalem, the Contested City, Hurst & Co., New York, 2001, pp.183-204; 294-335.
3. Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors," New York Review of Books, August 9, 2001.
4. Ross, Dennis, The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 2004.
5. Golan, Galia, Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals From Oslo to Disengagement, Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 2006, pp.37-142.
6. Michael, Kobi and Amnon Ramon, A Fence Around Jerusalem, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, Jerusalem, 2004.
7. Quandt, William, Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967, third edition,chapter 13.
8. Sher, Gilead, Within Reach: the Israeli- Palestinian Peace Negotiations 1999-2001, Routledge, Londonm, 2006.

9. Quigley, John, The Statehood of Palestine: International Law in the Middle East Conflict, Cambridge U. Press, 2010.
10. Golan, Israeli Peacemaking, op.cit., chapter 7.

XIII – The Annapolis Process

1. Golan, Israeli Peacemaking, chapter 8.
2. Avishai, Bernard, New York Times, 7 February 2011.
3. Swisher, Clayton, and GhadaKarmi, The Palestine Papers, Hesperus Press, London, 2011.
4. Abrams, Eliot, Tested by Zion: the Bush Administration and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2013.
5. Rice, Condoleezza, No Higher Honor: A Memoire of My Years in Washington, Crown, New York, 2011.

COLLECTIONS OF 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, IndianaUniversity Press, 1998.

Golan, Galia, Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals FromOslo 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, CambridgeUniversity 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, PrincetonUniversity 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.

