

“History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-Present”

[HIST 489R-00P/POLS 490R-00P] WRT Jr/Sr Colloquium

Dr. Kenneth W. Stein, Spring 2013

Content: Using monographs, memoirs, documents, texts, interviews, other primary sources and secondary readings, students will come to define the origins, development, management, and attempts at resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We shall look at the conflict’s emergence to 1949, its evolution since and particularly the roles of external parties: Middle Eastern states, the Cold War, inter-Arab politics and the so-called ‘Arab Spring.’ America’s role in attempts and failures at mediating the conflict’s resolution will be investigated closely, highlighted by a simulation of the 1977-1979 negotiations.

Required Readings:

- Quandt, William B. Peace Process Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967, Brookings Institution, 2005. ISBN: 0520246317 (paperback)
- Spiegel, Steve. The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America’s Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan, University of Chicago, 1986. ISBN: 0226769622 (paperback)
- Stein, Kenneth W. Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, New York: Routledge, 1991, ISBN: 0415921554 (paperback)

Particulars: Two papers, engagement in an in-class simulation, and in-class participation throughout the semester will determine the final grade. The first paper (10 pages) is **due March 6**, the second paper is due the **last day of class** (25 pages, maximum including all footnotes and bibliography). The first paper will focus on a personality who was associated with the negotiating process from 1977-1979. A list of those personalities appears at the end of the syllabus; the topic of this paper will also be the focus of the student’s in-class identity simulation assignment. The second paper is a research/term paper of the student’s choosing, with possible topics also provided at the end of the syllabus.

Grading: ten-page paper (20%), class participation including simulation (30%), and research paper (50%). Paper topic decisions for both the short and long papers will be concluded by the end of class period on January 30.

CLASS ASSIGNMENTS:

January 16: Class orientation—The Middle East as Region, Political Cultures, Legacy of the Palestine Mandate: Origins of the Conflict

Docs: In class presented- US State Department, Memorandum of George Kennan, Policy Planning Staff Director to Secretary of State Marshall, January 1948, **Foreign Relations of the United States, Near East**, 1948, pp. 545-555.

January 23: 1947-1949, Israel’s Independence War and the Palestinian ‘Nakbah’

What is in a narrative, what is history, and what is revisionism, is the Middle East inherently unstable, a debate?

Docs: Epstein, Mufti, Azzam, Partition, DOI, UNGA 194

Readings: *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4, December 2000. (articles by Efraim Karsh, Graham Fuller, Martin Kramer, and David Wurmser) <http://www.meforum.org/meq/issues/200012>

January 30: The Arab World, Israel, the Arab-Israeli Conflict to November 1967, Roads Not Taken

Docs: PLO Covenant, Gideon Rafael and Abba Eban speeches at UN, Johnson and UNSC 242

Readings: Quandt, pp. 1-55; Stein, pp. 1-45.

February 6: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East, 1945-1967 (Truman to Obama II)

What are the respective presidential doctrines as they relate to the Middle East?

Docs: Kennan and Tripartite Declaration, 1950

Readings: Spiegel, pp. 1-117 and pp. 381-394.

- Verbeeten, David. "How Important is the Israel Lobby?" *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Fall 2006, pp. 37-44. <http://www.meforum.org/1004/how-important-is-the-israel-lobby>
- Eisenstadt, Michael and David Pollock. "Asset Test: How the United States Benefits from the Its Alliance with Israel," *Strategic Report 7*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, September 2012. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/StrategicReport07.pdf>

February 13: From June 1967 to End of October 1973 War: How 1967 Changed it All

Docs: UN 242, Rogers Plan, UNGA 338

Readings: Quandt, pp. 55-129; Spiegel, pp. 118-218; Stein, pp. 46-73.

February 20: Aftermath of October 1973 War to 1977

Docs: UNSC 338, Kilometer 101 talks, Geneva Conference, Saunders Testimony, Brookings paper

Readings: Spiegel, pp. 219-314; Quandt, pp. 130-173; Stein, pp. 74-186.

- Israelyan, Victor. "The October 1973 War: Kissinger in Moscow," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 2, Spring 1995, pp. 248-268.
- Sheehan, Edward R.F. "How Kissinger Did It: Step by Step in the Middle East," *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 22, 1976, pp. 3-70.

February 27: Sadat, Carter and Begin, 1977-1979—Part I

Docs: Palestinian Homeland remark, U.S.-Soviet Declaration, U.S.-Israeli working paper, Begin and Sadat speeches at the Knesset, Camp David Accords, and the Egyptian- Israeli Treaty

Readings: Spiegel, pp. 315-380; Quandt, pp. 177-242; Stein, pp. 187-257.

- Stein, Kenneth W. "The Talks at Kilometer 101," in Richard Parker (ed.) *The October War: A Retrospective*, University of Florida Press, 2001, pp. 361-373. <http://www.israeled.org/articles/linkbtwnwardiplomacy.html>

March 6: Sadat, Carter and Begin, 1977-1979—Part II

Class Simulation: bring your 10-page papers to class; bring a one-page synopsis of your personality—what did he want in the negotiations? Did he want the Americans involved and if so how? Include their attitude toward the USSR.

March 13: Spring Break, no class

March 20: Reagan, Bush, Rabin, Arafat and Clinton - no international conference; intifadah; no result in 2000 but the Clinton Parameters

Readings: Spiegel, pp. 395-429; Stein, pp. 258-268; Quandt, pp. 245-381.

Docs: Reagan statement, 1988 PLO 'caduc,' Madrid statements 1991, and Oslo Accords 1993

- Mandel, David. "U.S. Diplomacy: Even-Handed, Empty-Handed," Vol. 9, No. 3, Summer 2002, pp.3-16. (Camp David 2000) <http://www.meforum.org/496/us-diplomacy-even-handed-empty-handed>
- Singer, Saul. "Camp David, Real and Invented," *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Spring 2002, pp. 3-12. (Camp David 2000) <http://www.meforum.org/169/camp-david-real-and-invented>

March 27: George Bush II; the Road Map; Arab Initiative; Annapolis; Obama in Cairo - Is there an Obama Doctrine?

Discussion: one state/two states: is a Palestinian state in U.S. national interest?

Docs: Bush Future is Dying, Road Map, Arab Initiative, Obama speech in Cairo, Netanyahu's Bar-Ilan Speech

Readings: Quandt pp. 385-214.

- Groth, Alexander J. "Reflections on Obama's Cairo Speech," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 3, No 3, 2009. pp. 43-50. <http://israelcfr.com/documents/issue9-Groth.pdf>
- Kimche, David. "Annapolis: Will it Bear Fruit?" *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 2, No 1, 2008, pp. 7-12. http://israelcfr.com/documents/issue4_ anapolis2.pdf
- Kleiman, Aharon. "Annapolis: Does it Bear Scrutiny?" *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 2, No 1, 2008, pp. 13-21. http://israelcfr.com/documents/issue4_ anapolis.pdf

- Makovsky, David. "Middle East Peace through Partition, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 2, March/April 2001, pp. 28-44. <http://www.idia.net/foreignaffairs/SC4.pdf>
- Maddy-Weizmann, Bruce. "Arabs vs. Abdullah Plan," *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Summer 2010. <http://www.meforum.org/2729/arabs-vs-abdullah-plan>
- Pundak, Ron. "From the Arab Peace Initiative to the Arab Spring and Back" *Palestine Israel Journal*, Vol. 18, No.1, 2012. <http://www.pij.org/details.php?id=1422>

April 3: Paper reports—15 minutes each—prepare a summary sheet of findings for distribution to colleagues—two sided, single spaced (maximum)—can be in outline form or prose; **bring 20 copies and submit as an attachment one day prior to kstein@emory.edu.**

April 10: Paper reports—15 minutes each—prepare a summary sheet of findings for distribution to colleagues—two sided, single spaced (maximum)—can be in outline form or prose; **bring 20 copies and submit as an attachment one day prior to kstein@emory.edu.**

April 17: The Palestinian Issue and the Arab/'Islamic Spring'— too far in the rear view mirror?

Readings:

- Aly, Dr. Abdel Monem Said and Prof. Shai Feldman. "Testing the Resilience of Egyptian-Israeli Peace, *Middle East Brief*, Brandeis University: Crown Center for Middle East Studies, November 2011. <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/meb56.html>

April 24: What Works in Arab-Israeli Negotiations; the final status issues—settlements, borders, Jerusalem, prerogatives of the Palestinian state

Readings: Quandt, pp. 415-428.

- Herzog, Michael. "Minding the Gap: Territorial Issues in Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking," *Policy Focus*, Vol. 116, Washington D.C.: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 2011. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus116.pdf>
- Stein, Kenneth W. and Samuel W. Lewis. *Making Peace Among Arab and Israelis: Lessons From Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1991. http://www.usip.org/files/file/lewis_stein_monograph.pdf
- Makovsky, David. *Imagining the Border Options for Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Territorial Issue*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2011. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/StrategicReport06.pdf>
- Pipes, Daniel. "Peace Process or War Process: Israel and its Enemies," *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No.4, Fall 2009, pp. 37-42. <http://www.meforum.org/2469/peace-process-or-war-process>
- Crouch II, J. D., Montgomery C. Meigs, and Walter B. Slocombe. "Security First: U. S. Priorities in Israel-Palestinian Peacemaking," *Strategic Reports* 1, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 2008. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/security-first-u.s.-priorities-in-israeli-palestinian-peacemaking>

Term Paper Topics: These paper topic titles are only suggestive; students are urged to choose either one of these topics or their own in consultation with the professor.

1. Camp David I (1978) and Camp David II (2000): Comparing substance, process, and personalities
2. Can a Palestinian state be economically "viable?" If so what are the conditions, and if not why not?
3. Civil Society and NGO's: hindrance or help in Palestinian-Israeli relations
4. Islam's role in shaping the conflict- Qassam, hamas, Islamic Jihad, and others
5. Jerusalem: obstacle or key to a negotiated agreement
6. Memoirs of Mediators- Comparing their content, styles and recollections—Baker, Indyk, and Ross
7. One-State/Two states—varieties of separation or not: trusteeship?
8. Who represents the Palestinians? And what do they want? Hamas, Fatah, or Arab states
9. Presidents as Mediators- Carter, Clinton, Bush I/II, and Obama—up or down?

10. Settlements – their history, politics, and sensitivities
11. The Palestinian uprisings of 1936-1939, 1987-1992, and 2000-2005: What lessons are learned?
12. Outside players in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: USSR, U.S., Iran, Europe—(pick one) Arab states (Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia—a history)
13. What is in the fine print in UNGA 194, UNSC 242, the Camp David Accords, 1978, the Clinton Parameters, and the Arab-Initiative—compatibility or futility?
14. What has been and should be the U.S. role in Palestinian-Israeli negotiations?
15. Do the Europeans have a central role in resolving the conflict? Where, when and how?
16. The Arab/Islamic Spring- impact on extending or resolving the conflict?
17. What role does Jordan play and has played in prolonging or resolving the Palestinian quest for a state?

March 6: Class simulation: What happened before and at Camp David (1978) and can the success be repeated?

Historical Figure	Name
Begin (2)	
Brzezinski	
Carter (2)	
Dayan	
Fahmi	
Ghali	
Kamel	
Quandt	
Sadat (2)	
Vance	
Weizman	
The USSR (Dobryn/Brezhnev/ Gromyko)	
OTHERS: Third Parties— Iran, Morocco and Rumania; the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation States; Jordan, the PLO, and Syria	