

History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict
HIST 383-000/POLS 383-000/JS 383-000/MESAS 370-001

Professor Kenneth W. Stein - Undergraduate Lecture Course - Fall 2016 –
kstein@emory.edu

Eli Sperling – Teaching Assistant -- sperling.eli@emory.edu

Monday/Wednesday 10:00-11:15am, White Hall, Room 101

Office hours Monday and Wednesday 11:15-noon, and by appointment week in advance

Additional information about the conflict may be accessed at www.israeled.org

This course is an introductory survey of the history, politics and diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli conflict. There are no prerequisites. The first half of the course deals with the historical origins and development of the conflict to the end of the 1947-1949 war. Coverage includes introductions to modern Jewish and Arab histories, evolution of Zionism and Arab nationalism, demise of the Ottoman Empire, and the operation and demise of the British Mandate in Palestine. The second half of the course focuses on political, social and economic aspects of the conflict, the Cold War in the region, the evolution of Palestinian national identity, and Arab-Israeli wars and clashes from the early 1950s to the present. Considerable time will be devoted to UN, American, and European successes and failures in mediating the conflict and varying effects of Israeli and Palestinian domestic politics and inter-Arab relations upon the conflict. Topics at the end of the course will include coverage of the “Arab Spring,” efforts to delegitimize Israel, the unfolding Iran nuclear question, and prospects and viability of a two-state solution. Reading and analyzing documents, speeches and archival sources are central features of the course. **The course is based on 20 sessions of 75 minutes each.**

Readings: Documents mentioned in the syllabus and used in class are found in History Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Source Document reader for College Courses and Adult Education, (Atlanta, GA: The Center for Israel Education), Second Edition, February 2017. This e-book is required for the course and should be purchased at <https://israeled.org/product/arab-israeli-conflict/> This documents book may also be purchased in kindle format at Amazon.com. The documents book is searchable, it includes 500 plus entries.

Required books assigned for the course can be purchased online from a favorite book seller or at the Emory bookstore.

- Bickerton, Ian and Carla Klausner. *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Prentice Hall, Sixth Edition), 2013. (ISBN 0-978-0-205-75338-3) or (ISBN 978-020-596-8138)

- Indinopulos, Thomas, *Weathered by Miracles: A History of Palestine from Bonaparte and Muhammed Ali to Ben Gurion and the Mufti*, (R. Dee Publishers), 1998. (ISBN 1-56663-269-2)
- Quandt, William B. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Brookings/University of California), Third Edition, 2006. (ISBN 978-05202463170)
- Stein, Kenneth W. *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge), 1999. (ISBN 0-415-92155-4)
- Stein, Kenneth W. and Samuel W. Lewis. *Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute for Peace), 1991. Free and accessible online <http://www.usip.org/publications/making-peace-amongarabs-and-israelis>
- Stein, Kenneth W. *History, Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Source Document Reader for College Courses and Adult Education* (Atlanta, GA: The Center for Israel Education), Second Edition, June 2015. <http://israeled.org/history-politics-diplomacyarab-israeli-conflict/>

Document numbers listed in this syllabus refer to the documents by the same numbers that appear in the e-book History, Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Source Document Reader for College Courses and Adult Education. Assigned documents are marked with a D and with a number such as **D5** and should be read by the Monday **prior** to its notation on the syllabus. The designation D plus a number refers to the document number to be read as it listed in the table of contents of the book. Merely click on to the assigned document number in the table of contents and you have the document before you.

*The articles below are required readings and may be accessed at this address, designated especially for this course. <http://ismi.emory.edu/home/383.html>

At the end of the syllabus you will find general articles dealing with contemporary Middle East issues that go beyond the conflict. They are suggested readings, not required.

Grading: Midterm – Friday, **October 14, 2016** (40%) and Final - **December 8, 2016** (60%). No term papers are required in this course. Exams will be given in White Hall, Room 101. Please

bring one large Blue Book to the mid-term examination and two large Blue Books to the final examination. There will be **NO** make-up examinations scheduled.

History, Politics, and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict
HIST 383-000/POLS 383-000/JS 383-000/MESAS 370-000
Emory University
Fall 2016

COURSE SYLLABUS

No classes will be held on the following days because they are national holidays, Emory vacation days, or religious holidays:

Monday, September 5, Labor Day

Monday, October 3, Rosh Hashanah

Monday, October 10, Fall Break

Wednesday, October 12, Yom Kippur

August 24, August 29 and August 31 - Origins of the Conflict and Political Cultures

August 24 - Course Introduction and Background to the modern Middle East

August 29 - The Setting in Palestine - Politics, Economics, and Society

August 31 - Zionism and Arab Nationalism in Pre- and Post-World War I

Readings: Bickerton and Klausner (B&K), pp. 1-44; Indinopulos, pp. 1-122.

*Mandel, Neville J. "Ottoman Policy and Restrictions on Jewish Settlement in Palestine: 1881-1908 Part I," *Middle Eastern Studies* (October 1974), pp. 312-332.

*Dawn, Ernest. "The Rise of Arabism in Syria," *Middle East Journal* (1961), pp. 145-168.

*Hourani, Albert. "Ottoman Reform and Politics of Notables," Beginning of Modernization in the Middle East (1968), pp. 41-68.

*Kolatt, Israel. "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), 1975, pp. 211-245.

Map 1 Modern Middle East, Today

Map 2 Ottoman Empire, 1914

D 14 Working Class Conditions in Greater Syria, 1838 and 1873

D 15 Jewish Situation in Russia, 1893

September 5 - Labor Day no classes

September 7 -Great Powers, Zionists and Arabs, 1898-1922

Map 2 Ottoman Empire, 1914

D 16 The Jewish Question/the Jewish State 1896

D 20 Husayn-MacMahon, October 1915

D 21 Sykes-Picot, May 1916

D 22 Balfour Declaration, November 1917

D 25 (Zionists) Concerning the Arab Question, 1919-1920

Week of September 12 - The Palestine Mandate, 1920-1939 (Part 1)

September 12 - Arab, British, Jewish Triangle

September 14 - The Land Question in Palestine

Readings: B&K, pp. 44-67; Indinopulos, pp. 123-190.

*Horowitz, Dan, and Moshe Lissak. "Ideology and Politics in the Yishuv," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* (Winter 1977), pp. 12-26.

*Kolatt, Israel. "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs," *Studies in Zionism* (April 1982), pp. 129-157.

*Mattar, Philip. "The Mufti of Jerusalem and the Politics of Palestine," *Middle East Journal* 42:2 (Spring 1988), pp. 227-240.

*Nashif, Taysir. "Palestinian Arab and Jewish Leadership in the Mandate Period," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 6 (1977), pp. 113-121.

*Porath, Yehoshua. "Social Aspects of the Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement," in Menachem Milson (ed.) Society and Political Structure in the Arab World (Jerusalem, Van Leer Foundation), 1973, pp. 93-144.

*Stein, Kenneth W. "Palestine's Rural Economy, 1917-1939," *Studies in Zionism* 8:1 (1987), pp. 25-49.

Map 3 Transjordan Separated from Palestine, 1921

D 23 “The Relationship of the Jews to the Arabs,” Der Jude, Arthur Ruppin

D 26 Weizmann-Feisal Agreement, January 1919

D 31 (British) Mandate for Palestine, July 1922

D 34 Arab Peasant Indebtedness, February 1930

D 36 Zirin Village Land Sales, August 1930

D 37 Zirin Village Land Sales, September 1930

D 38 Zirin Village Land Sales, October 1930

D41 Land Matters, Mr. Heinrich Margalith, Anglo-Palestine Bank to the Jewish Agency

D42 Arab Memorandum Handed to the High Commissioner for Palestine, 1935

D44 Peel Commission Report, Findings and Recommendations of the Royal Commission,

D46 Political Significance of Land Purchase,” Keren Kayemeth Liyisrael [JNF], 1937

D47 Arab Offers to Sell Lands to Jews (1931-1948)

Week of September 19 - The Palestine Mandate, 1939 - 1948 (Part 2)

September 19 - Was there a Jewish State in 1939? What did the Palestinians know?

September 21 - Palestinian and Arab politics in the 1940s

Readings: B&K, pp. 68-115; Indinopulos, pp. 191-246.

*Bickerton, Ian J. “President Truman’s Recognition of Israel,” *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 58 (1968), pp. 173-189; 192-259.

*Cohen, Michael J. “Truman, the Holocaust, and the Establishment of the State of Israel,” *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 23 (Spring 1982), pp. 79-94.

*Khalaf, Issa. "The Reasons for the Disintegration of Palestinian Society with an Emphasis on the Persistence of Factionalism," Politics in Palestine (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 231-248.

*Shapira, Anita. “Conclusion: The Birth of the State,” Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948 (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 353-370; 414-415.

*Shapira, Anita. “History, Memory, and Identity,” in Stuart A. Cohen and Milton Shain (eds.), Israel Culture, Religion, and Society, 1948-1998 (Bar-Ilan University, 2000), pp. 6-22.

*Sheffer, Gabriel. "Involvement of Arab States in Palestine Conflict and British Arab Relationship Before World War II," *Asian and African Studies* (1974), pp. 59-78.

- D 50 Arab Leaders Meeting in Damascus, 1938**
- D 52 Palestine Arab Economy – Jewish Agency Analysis, 1939**
- D 53 Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husayni Decision to Reject the 1939 White Paper, 1939**
- D 54 HMG (McDonald) White Paper, 1939**
- D 56 The Biltmore Program, 1942**
- D 58 Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husayni in Berlin, 1943**
- D 59 Partition is the Only Answer, 1944**
- D 60 Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s Remarks Regarding Zionism, Immigration, 1944**
- D 63 Moshe Sharett, “Let My People Go,” 1945**
- D 64 Earl G. Harrison Report on Displaced Persons, 1945**
- D 66 Arab Case for Palestine, 1946**

Week of September 26 - The End of the Mandate, Armistice Negotiations, Israeli Nation-Building, and Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement

September 26 – The 1948 War, the Refugees and Absorption of Jews from Arab Lands

September 28 - Whose History, Whose Narrative, How the Story is Told and Received

Readings:

* Khalaf, Issa. “The Effect of Socio-Economic Change on Arab societal Collapse in Mandate Palestine,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), pp. 93-112.

*Khalidi, Rashid. “The Palestinians and 1948: the Underlying Causes of Failure,” in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (eds.), *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 12-36.

*Morris, Benny. "Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein (ed.), *New Perspectives on Jewish Studies* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 42-56.

*Teveh, Shabtai. "The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and its Origin," *Middle Eastern Studies* 26:2 (April 1990), pp. 214-249.

Map 10

D70 The Truman Doctrine, 1947

D71 USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko on Partition, 1947

D74 Remarks by Abdulrahman Azzam Pasha on Partition, 1947

D76 Arab Reaction to the UN Special Committee on Palestine, 1947

D77 Zionist Reaction to the UN Special Committee on Palestine [UNSCOP], 1947
D78 UN General Assembly Resolution 181 Partition Plan, 1947
D79 Memorandum on Palestine, Policy Planning Staff to the Secretary of State, 1948
D84 Israel Declaration of Independence, 1948
D89 UN General Assembly Resolution 194 Concerning Palestinian Refugees, 1948
D90 Israeli-Egyptian General Armistice Agreement, 1949

Week of October 3 - Great Power Interests in the Middle East; the Cold War, the Suez War and the June 1967 War

October 3 – Arab Politics and the Palestine Question, 1945-1967 (No Class – Rosh ha'Shanah)

October 7 – The Cold War and Prelude to the June War

Readings: B&K, pp. 116-159; Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 1-73; and Quandt, pp. 1-52.

*Safran, Nadav. "America's Israel Connection," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* (Summer 1977), pp. 3-30.

*Rabinovich, Itamar. "The Suez-Sinai Campaign: The Regional Dimension," in S. I. Troen and M. Shemesh (eds.), *The Suez-Sinai Crisis, 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (Columbia University Press), pp. 162-171.

D95 [UNRWA] for Palestine Refugees, Government of Canada Memorandum, 1951
D96 Menachem Begin on Whether to Accept Reparations from Germany, 1952
D98 Remarks by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 1955
D99 Eisenhower Doctrine, Excerpts, 1957
D101 Eisenhower White House News Statement on the Suez Crisis, Excerpts, 1957
D102 Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, News Conference on Suez Crisis, 1957
D103 Prime Minister Ben-Gurion Israel Relations with UN and US, 1957
D105 Menachem Begin on Arab Refugees, 1963
D106 PLO National Covenant, 1967

October 10 - No class Fall Break

October 12 - No class Yom Kippur

October 14 – MIDTERM - White Hall, Room 101

Please bring two blue books, do not write in or on the book prior to class.

Week of October 17- Attempted and Failed Diplomacy, 1967-1973

October 17 – United Nations Resolution 242

October 19 – Political Conceptions and Prelude to the 1973 War

Readings: B&K, pp. 160-171; Quandt, pp. 55-129.

*Ajami, Fouad. "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1978-1979), pp. 355-373.

D114 Five Principles of Peace, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson, 1967

D116 Israel's Alon Plan for the Future of the Territories, 1967

D1118 Arab League Summit Resolutions, Khartoum, 1967

D122 UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 242, 1967

D123 PLO Rejecting UN Resolution 242, 1967

D130 Israeli Knesset Rejects of Jordan's United Arab Kingdom Plan, 1972

D131 Palestine National Council (PLO), Political Program, 1973

D132 The "Galili Plan" Statement by the Israeli Labor Party on Settlements, 1973

Week of October 24 - The October 1973 War, Beginning Successful Diplomacy

October 24 - Sadat: the Engine of a Diplomatic Option

October 26 - Disengagement Agreements, Promises, and the Brookings Paper

Readings: Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 74-96; 97-186; B&K, pp. 171-192; Quandt, pp. 130-173.

Maps 11-13

D134 UNSCR 338 on a Ceasefire and Direct Negotiations, 1973

D138 Opening Statements at the Geneva Conference on the Middle East, 1973

D140 Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S. and Israel, 1974

D153 Rabat Arab League Summit Conference Resolutions, 1974

D155 UNGA Resolution 3236 on Palestinian Self-Determination, 1974

D162 U.S. Foreign Policy and Peace in the Middle East, Presentation by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Harold H. Saunders, 1975

D163 Brookings Institute Report: Toward Peace in the Middle East, 1975

D164 Conversation between Henry Kissinger and Saddun Hammadi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, 1975

D165 US Statement on Occupied Territories by Ambassador William W. Scranton, 1976

Week of October 31 - The Carter Administration's Comprehensive Goals Lead to a Separate Egyptian Peace: How and Why?

October 31 – The Carter White House vs. Begin and Sadat

November 2 - Camp David, the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty, and Autonomy Falters

Readings: B & K, pp. 192-209; Quandt, pp. 177-242; Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 187-228.

D146 President Jimmy Carter on Negotiated Middle East Peace, 1977

D147 Palestine National Council Political Declaration, 1977

D153 Egyptian Vice-President Tuhami and Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan Secret Talks, 1977

D158 Minutes of Secret Meeting, Moshe Dayan and Hussan Tuhami, 1977

D165 Camp David Accords, 1978

D167 Baghdad Arab Summit Resolutions, 1978

D168 Memorandum of Agreement, USA and Israel, 1979 1979

D169 Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, 1979

Week of November 7 - The 1980s: The Decade of Not Getting Together

November 7 – Decade of Not Getting Together (Hamas and the PLO)

November 9 – Negotiations, US Role, and US–Israeli Relationship

Readings: B&K, pp. 210-243; and Quandt, pp. 245-318.

*Garfinkle, Adam. "Getting it Right? U.S. Middle East Policy in Bush Administration," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* (Fall 1989), pp. 55-78.

D208 President Jimmy Carter's State of the Union Address, 1980

D211 European Community, "Venice Declaration" on the Middle East, 1980

D215 MOU United States and of Israel on Strategic Cooperation, 1981

D218 Reagan Statement on the West Bank and the Palestinians, 1982

D228 Reagan on the Establishment of New Israeli Settlements, 1983

D261 Speech by Jordanian King Hussein on Jordan's Separation from West Bank, 1988

D262 Hamas Charter, Islamic Resistance Movement of Palestine, 1988

D263 PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, Recognition of UN Resolutions 242 and 338, 1988

D284 Speech by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker before AIPAC, 1989

Weeks of November 14 and 21 - The 1990s: Shaping a Productive Negotiating Environment: The Gulf War, The Madrid Peace Conference, Oslo I, Clinton, 9/11
November 14 – How Washington Works
November 16 – The Gulf War, Madrid Peace Conference, Oslo Accords and the Clinton Administration, 1993-2001
November 21 and 23 – 9/11 and the Second Intifadah: Impact on Negotiations

Readings: B&K, pp. 244-279; 280-312; Stein and Lewis, pp. 8-39, and Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, pp. 229-268.

*Garfinkle, Adam. "Israel and Palestine: A Precarious Partnership," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 1997), pp. 3-22.

*Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in A. Yaniv (ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Boulder, 1993), pp. 11-53.

*Indyk, Martin. "Peace Without the PLO," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1991), pp. 30-38.

*Salame, Ghassan. "Inter-Arab Politics: Return of Geography," in William B. Quandt (ed.), *The Middle East, Ten Years After Camp David* (1988), pp. 319-353.

*Stein, Kenneth. "Continuity and Change in Egyptian-Israeli Relations, 1973-1997," *Israel Affairs* (Spring/Summer 1997), pp. 296-320.

D306 Quotes from Hamas and Leaders of Islamic Jihad (1992-2009)

D309 Israeli-PLO Recognition Letters, (1993)

D310 Oslo Accords Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, 1993

D315 Yasser Arafat Speech on "Jihad" for Jerusalem, 1994

D324 Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, Hizballah leader, Rules out Peace with Israel, 1995

D327 Yitzhak Rabin's Reasons for Signing the Oslo Accords, 1995

D341 President Clinton's Remarks on the Sharm el-Sheikh Agreement, 2000

Week of November 28 - The Bush II and Obama Administrations: Changes From and In the Region— Intifadah II, Settlements, 9/11 and Changing Palestinian and Israeli Politics, in the Shadow of Arab Spring, and Iran

November 30 – Wars in the Middle East, Stalling A-I negotiations?

December 2 – Arab Spring and Iran: Impact on the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Readings: B&K, pp. 313-360.

*Ajami, Fouad. "The Century's Solitude," *Foreign Affairs* 80:6 (November/December 2001), pp. 2-17.

Melhem, Hisham, "The Barbarians Within Our Gates, Arab Civilization Has Collapsed. It Won't Recover in My Lifetime." *Politico*. September 18, 2014.

http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/09/the-barbarians-within-our-gates-111116.html#.VDQowC5dV_1

Rubin, Barry, "The Decline and Fall of the Palestinian National Movement," *MERIA* 10:2 (June 2006), Article 9. <http://www.gloria-center.org/2006/06/rubin-2006-06-09/>

*Sayigh, Yezid. "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt," *Survival* 43:3 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, Autumn 2001), pp. 47-60.

Sayegh, Yezid, "Inducing a Failed State in Palestine," *Survival*, (September 2007), vol.49:3, 7-40.

<http://www.iiss.org/en/publications/survival/sections/2007-f180/survival-global-politics-andstrategy- autumn-2007-edfe/49-3-03-sayigh-6f35>

Stein, Kenneth W., "Israel's Disengagement from the Gaza Strip: Precedents, Motivations, and Outcomes," *La Communita Internazionale*, Vol 4/2005, pp. 633-641 (Rome)

http://israeled.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/08/Kenneth.Stein_.pdf

D345 Mitchell Report Fact Finding Committee, Excerpts, 2001

D351 UNSCR 1397, Reaffirming Two-State Solution, 2002

D354 "The Future Itself is Dying," – Middle East, George Bush, 2002

D362 Roadmap for Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 2003

D398 UNSCR 1860, Two State-Solution, 2009

D441 President Obama's Speech to the People of Israel, 2013

D463 Palestinian Foreign Minister 'Never Recognize Jewish Character of Israel,' 2014

Week of December 5 – (Last Day of Class) Dissecting Arab-Israeli Negotiations- What works? Solution and No Solution: Factors Favoring Either

Readings: Stein and Lewis, *Making Peace*, (all).

*Makovsky, David. "Middle East Peace through Partition," *Foreign Affairs* 80:2 (March/April 2001), pp. 28-46.

*Makovksy, David, et.al. "Imagining the Border: Options for Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Territorial Issue, January 2011 <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/imagining-the-border-options-forresolving-the-israeli-palestinian-territor>

Susser, Asher, "The Two-State Solution: Getting from Here to There," Foreign Policy Research Institute, October 2012, <http://www.fpri.org/articles/2012/10/two-state-solution-getting-here-there>

D479 Israeli Ambassador to UN Addresses UNGA, 2014

D485 Prime Minister Netanyahu's Speech to Congress, 2015

D493 PM Netanyahu's Address to the Jewish Federations of North America, 2015

D494 President Obama on the Iran Nuclear Deal, 2015

Final Examination- December 8, 2016, 3:00-5:30pm, White Hall, Room 101

Please bring two large unmarked Blue books. Do not write in, or on, the book prior to class. If you wish to receive your final exam, please provide a self-addressed and properly stamped manila envelope and place it in the office mailbox outside of 121 Bowden Hall by the end of the exam period. Otherwise, final exams will be available for pick up outside of 121 Bowden Hall until January 31, 2017.

Articles on contemporary Middle Eastern issues—2016—not required==

Ahmed Eleiba, "Israel's regional tactics," *al-Ahram Weekly*, July 14, 2016, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/16844/17/Israel%E2%80%99s-regional-tactics.aspx>

Efraim Inbar, "Implications of US Disengagement from the Middle East," *BESA-Sadat Center*, July 26, 2016. <http://besacenter.org/mideast-security-and-policy-studies/implications-us-disengagement-middle-east/>

Martin Kramer, "Israel and the Post Middle East: Is the Status Quo Sustainable," *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-08/israel-and-post-american-middle-east>

Marina Ottaway, “The New Normal in the Middle East,” *The Wilson Center*, July 21, 2016. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/the-new-normal-the-middle-east>

Asher Susser, “Tradition and Modernity in the ‘Arab Spring,’” *Strategic Assessment*, Vol.15, No. 1, (April 2012), pp. 29-41.
[http://www.inss.org.il/uploadimages/Import/\(FILE\)1337250332.pdf](http://www.inss.org.il/uploadimages/Import/(FILE)1337250332.pdf)