

American Foreign Policy Towards the Arab-Israeli conflict and its regional context
[HIST489RW-00P/POLS490RW-00P WRT Jr/Sr Colloquium]
Spring 2014
Wednesdays 2:00-4:30pm
Cox Computer Classroom 230B

Dr. Kenneth W. Stein

History/Political Science – cross-listed
121 Bowden Hall

Office hours: Tuesdays 1-2 pm or by appointment (kstein@emory.edu or 404-727-4472)

Content:

This class will focus on American foreign policy in the Middle East over the last seventy years, with particular emphasis on the Arab-Israeli Conflict. It will look at the origins of American association with the Middle East and then look deeply into American engagement in Arab-Israeli diplomacy. It will review the conflict's emergence since 1945 and particularly the roles played by external parties. The 1973-1979 period will be highlighted and evaluated regarding how and why diplomacy worked then, but has not been successful since. Through the use of documents, texts, interviews, primary sources, monographs, memoirs, and secondary readings, students will come to define the principles that guided American mediation efforts.

Required Texts:

Quandt, William B. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, Brookings Institution, 3rd Edition, 2010. ISBN 978-0520246317

Quandt, Willam B. *Camp David: Peace Making and Politics*, Brookings Institution, 1986. ISBN 978-0815772897 (for Feb 26, March 5, and March 19)

Stein, Kenneth W. *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace*, Routledge, 1999. ISBN 978-0415921558

Stein, Kenneth W. *History, Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Center for Israel Education, 2015, e-book, <https://israeled.org/product/arab-israeli-conflict/>

Spiegel, Stephen L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan*, University of Chicago, 1986. ISBN 978-0226769622.

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 5**; 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 in-class identity simulation (20%), weekly summary of readings (five to seven sentence paragraph for each reading) (20%), to be turned in after the class on the date the assignments are due, and research paper (40%). Paper topic decisions for both the short and long papers will be concluded by the end of class period on February 5. Final papers are due at 5pm on April 25, 2014. No extensions will be given.

Readings:

Some of the journal articles assigned here are accessible on-line; some are only accessible through the university library. All documents are accessible in the e-book required for purchase above, *History, Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Other documents assigned weekly are accessible by using the Center for Israel Education website, with URLs provided in the syllabus below.

CLASS ASSIGNMENTS

January 15: Class orientation

American Foreign Policy priorities in Post WWII; The Middle East as A Region; Political Cultures; Legacy of the Palestine Mandate; Origins of the Conflict

Docs: Presented in class

January 22: 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, FRUS, Kennan, 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>

Document: The Truman Doctrine, <https://israeled.org/1947-truman-doctrine/>

January 29: The Arab World, Israel, the Arab-Israeli Conflict to November 1967, Roads Not Taken

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

Assignments for each student: A two-page paper--Washington, Monroe, FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush I, Clinton, Bush II, and the class will discuss Obama together.

Document:

PLO Covenant, <https://israeled.org/plo-national-covenant/>

Gideon Rafael Speech to the UN <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/israel-ambassador-un-gideon-rafael-un-security-council-speech/>

Readings:

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

February 5: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East, 1945-1967

Docs: Kennan and the Tripartite Declaration, 1950

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

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>

Lakoff, Sanford. "Leading from Behind: The 'Obama Doctrine' and U.S. Policy in the Middle East, *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 16, No. 1, April 2013. <http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=2663>

Klieman, Aharon "A Pivotal Moment: The US Approach to World Affairs in the Second Obama Presidency," *Israel Journal of Foreign Relations*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (2013), pp. 27-35. <http://israelcfr.com/documents/7-1/7-1-4-AharonKlieman.pdf>

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>

Document:

US Government's Future Position on Palestine, Memorandum, George Kennan, Director of Policy Planning, US Department of State, <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/us-governments-future-position-palestine/>

The Eisenhower Doctrine <https://israeled.org/eisenhower-doctrine/>

February 12: From June 1967 to End of October 1973 War: How 1967 Changed it All

Documents:

UNSC 242 <https://israeled.org/un-security-council-resolution/>

Rogers Plan <https://israeled.org/u-s-rogers-plan/>

UNGA 338 <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/un-security-council-resolution-338-ceasefire-direct-negotiations/>

Readings:

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

February 19: Aftermath of October 1973 War to 1977

Documents

Harold Saunders Testimony- 1975 <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/secretary-state-saunders-u-s-foreign-policy-peace-middle-east/>

Brookings Institute Report - <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/brookings-institute-report-toward-peace-middle-east/>

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 26: 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. "Evolving A Diplomatic Legacy from the October War: the US, Egyptian, and Israeli Triangle." in Asaf Siniver (ed.) *The October 1973 War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Legacy* (London: Hurst and Company, 2013). pp. 209-229. <http://ismi.emory.edu/home/documents/Evolving%20Diplomatic.pdf>

March 5: Sadat, Carter and Begin, 1977-1979--Part II; first papers are due

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.

Documents

Camp David Accords <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/camp-david-accords/>

Egyptian-Israeli Treaty <https://israeled.org/resources/documents/israel-egypt-peace-treaty/>

March 12: Spring Break, no class

March 19: Sadat, Carter and Begin, 1977-1979--Part III

Class simulation: What happened before and between 1977 and 1979? What was said? What statements were issued? What pre-negotiations took place? What happened in Jerusalem? What happened at Leeds? What occurred at Camp David? What about the Carter March 1979 visit to Cairo and Jerusalem?

Historical Figure/ Event/Place	
Begin	
Begin	
AIPAC	
Brzezinski	
Vance	
Carter	
Carter	

Atherton	
Saunders	
Dayan	
Fahmi	
Ghali	
Kamel	
Camp David	
Camp David	
Sadat	
Sadat	
Leeds	
PLO	
Weizmann	
The USSR	
Rumania/Morocco (secret meetings)	
PLO	
Syria	
Saudi Arabia	

March 26: Reagan, Bush, Rabin, Arafat and Clinton; no international conference; intifadah; no result in 2000 but the Clinton Parameters

Docs: Reagan statement, 1988 PLO ‘caduc,’ Madrid statements and Oslo

Readings:

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

Mandel, David. “U.S. Diplomacy: Even-Handed, Empty-Handed,” *The Middle East Quarterly*, 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>

April 1: George Bush II; the Road Map; Arab Initiative; Annapolis and Kerry Initiative

Discussion: Can democracies work in the Middle East? Why? Why not? One state/two states; Point-Counter point

Student/Topic	Two States	One - State	Democracies - Yes	Democracies - No

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 2: Guest lecturer--Dr. Jonathan Schanzer, BA Emory College, PhD Kings College, London on "Combating Terrorism Finance: An Insiders' View from the U.S. Treasury, and where we are on Iran and the Palestinian-Israeli talks;" the making and implementation of foreign policy in a post-Cold War era; coping with the region; changing political landscapes and responses

Readings:

Jonathan Schanzer and Mark Dubowitz. "Iran's Turkish Gold Rush," *Foreign Policy*, December 26, 2013 <http://schanzer.pundicity.com/14197/iran-turkish-gold-rush>

April 9: Paper reports:

5 minutes each; prepare a summary sheet of findings for distribution to colleagues, double-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 16: 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 23: What Works in Arab-Israeli Negotiations; the final status issues: settlements, borders, Jerusalem, prerogatives of the Palestinian state

Readings:

Quandt, pp. 415-428.

Conflict Resolution Program of Rice University's Baker Institute. "Re-Engaging the Israelis and the Palestinians: Why an American Role in Initiating Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations is Necessary and How it can be accomplished," May 2013. <http://bakerinstitute.org/media/files/Research/4c17ebcc/re-engaging-the-israelis-and-the-palestinians-why-an-american-role-in-initiating-israeli-palestinian-negotiations-is-necessary-and-how-it-an-be-accomplished.pdf>

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>

Herzog, Michael. "Minding the Gap: Territorial Issues in Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking," *Policy Focus*, Vol. 116, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 2011. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus116.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>

Stein, Kenneth W. and Samuel W. Lewis. *Making Peace Among Arab and Israelis: Lessons From Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience*, United States Institute of Peace, 1991. http://www.usip.org/files/file/lewis_stein_monograph.pdf

Possible 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 of Baker, Indyk, and Ross
7. Who represents the Palestinians? And what do they want? Hamas, Fatah, or Arab states
8. Presidents as Mediators: Carter, Clinton, Bush I/II, and Obama -- up or down?
9. Settlements: their history, politics, and sensitivities
10. The Palestinian uprisings of 1936-1939, 1987-1992, and 2000-2005: What lessons are learned?
11. Outside players in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: USSR, U.S., Iran, Europe—(pick one) Arab states (Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia—a history)
12. What is in the fine print in UNGA 194, UNSC 242, the 1978 Camp David Accords, the Clinton Parameters, and the Arab-Initiative: compatibility or futility?
13. What has been and should be the U.S. role in Palestinian-Israeli negotiations?
14. Do the Europeans have a central role in resolving the conflict? Where, when and how?
15. The Arab/Islamic Spring: impact on extending or resolving the conflict?
16. What role does Jordan play and has played in prolonging or resolving the Palestinian quest for a state?
17. Who makes American foreign policy? What is bi-partisan and what is not as far as the Middle East is concerned?
18. Coping with al-Qaeda, its affiliates and radical Muslim insurgencies: what is the plan with failed states unfolding?

April 25: Final term papers are due by 5pm

Please put them in my mailbox outside of Room 121, Bowden Hall. Please be sure that AFTER you hand in your paper, you email me a copy of it as well. Please send it as an MSW file to be opened on a PC! Do not send it in pdf format! Thank you.