

University of Colorado at Boulder
International Affairs Program
IAFS and JWST 3650-001: History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict
Fall 2023 - Tuesdays/Thursdays 12:30-1:45 VAC 1B88

Professor Zach Levey

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Office Hours: by appointment (see e-mail address above)

Office Location: International Affairs Program- University Club Building- Suite A4.

Course Description and Structure:

This course deals with the Arab-Israeli conflict in both historical and contemporary terms. The first part of the course deals with the growing clash between the Zionist *Yishuv* and the Arabs of Palestine, examining its transformation into a long-term confrontation between Israel and the Arab states. We will begin by examining the roots of Arab and Jewish nationalism, rival claims to Palestine and the rise of conflict during the British Mandate period.

The second part of this course covers the years 1948-1982, analyzing the causes and effects of six wars between Israel and the Arab states; 1948, 1956, 1967, 1969-70, 1973, and 1982. Emphasis is on regional and global factors, such as inter-Arab rivalry and the Cold War, but includes an examination of the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement in 1979.

The third part begins with the 1982 Lebanon war and Palestinian *intifada* of 1987-1993, covering topics relevant to the present-day status of the conflict: the Oslo Accords of 1993, the 2000 Camp David summit, the second *intifada*, Israel's confrontations with Hamas and Hizballah and rising tension (now) in the West Bank.

A fourth component in this course is that of current issues. The instructor will post items from online media for discussion in class. Students are strongly encouraged to participate in these exchanges. Class sessions are based on lectures but include excerpts from films, clips set to music and poems that reflect the experiences of both Arabs and Israelis.

Course Goals:

By the end of this course students will be able to explain both the roots and contemporary setting of the conflict in Palestine and Israel. They will be able to analyze the developments that brought about cooperation and even peace agreements between Israel and several Arab states. Moreover, students have the tools with which to propose potential solutions to the current impasse in the dispute, especially regarding Israel and the Palestinians.

Course Requirements:

Regular attendance, three eight-page (2500-word) essays (each 10% of course grade, dates to be announced) an in-class mid-term exam (20% of grade) and a final exam (50% of grade).

Principal Texts:

Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010 or any recent edition). [Basic general textbook; includes documents].

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, second edition, 2009).

Also recommended: Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1998* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2011).

Course Topics and Readings**First Meeting: Introduction to the Course****#1: Roots of the Conflict, Zionism, and Palestinian Arab Nationalism**

Required Reading (should be completed by class time):

Bickerton and Klausner, 1-32 (provides an overview).

Tessler, 7-122 (more detailed).

Recommended:

George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1939).

Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 2-13.

Alan Dowty, *Arabs and Jews in Ottoman Palestine: Two Worlds Collide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).

Menachem Klein, *Lives in Common: Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Hebron* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

David Waines, "The Failure of the Nationalist Resistance," in Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.), *The Transformation of Palestine* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1987), 217-235.

#2: The First World War and the Rise of Arab-Jewish Conflict in Palestine

Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 34-64 (covers period ending with 1939).

Tessler, 123-184.

#3: Toward 1939: The British Mandate and Growing Confrontation

Required:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 185-246.

Michael Cohen, *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 58-105.

Documentary Films: View segments from two series: Israel Television's *Pillar of Fire* and Al-Jazeera's *Nakba*. See links to these films on the course site. Instructions will follow.

Recommended:

Kenneth Stein, *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

#4: The Second World War and Palestine

Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 65-73.

Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 528-562.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 246-256.

Recommended:

Cohen, *Origins and Evolution*, 93-105.

#5: Civil War and the End of the Mandate

Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 73-95.

Steven Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 16-39.

David Tal, "The Forgotten War: Jewish-Palestinian Strife in Mandatory Palestine," *Israel Affairs* 6,3 (March 2000), 3-21.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 256-268.

Cohen, *Origins and Evolution*, 106-132.

#6: 1948-1949: The Creation of Israel, First Arab-Israeli War and the Refugees

Required:

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *Palestinians: The Making of a People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 127-156.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 273-330.

Kimmerling and Migdal, *Palestinians*, 159-184.

Recommended:

Hadara Lazar, *Out of Palestine: The Making of Modern Israel* (Fayetteville, NC: Atlas Publishing, 2011).

Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

#7: 1949-1956: From Secret Negotiations to a Second Arab-Israeli War

Required:

Itamar Rabinovich, *The Road Not Taken* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 209-222 (entire book recommended).

Steven Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 50-82.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 269-349.

Recommended:

Bickerton and Klausner, 114-131.

Peter L. Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 133-209.

Zach Levey, *Israel and the Western Powers, 1952-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 7-79.

Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars, 1949-1956* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

#8: The Road to the Six Day War and the 1967 Turning PointRequired:

Bickerton and Klausner, 135-153.

Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1997, 71-142.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 349-405.

Recommended:

Malcom H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal `Abd al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Anita Shapira, *Israel: A History* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2012), 307-325.

Moshe Shemesh, "Prelude to the Six Day War: The Arab-Israeli Struggle Over Water Resources," *Israel Studies* 9, 3 (2004), 1-45.

#9: 1968-73: The War of Attrition, Jordanian Crisis, and Yom Kippur WarRequired:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 407-464.

William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 55-129.

Recommended:

Bickerton and Klausner, 154-176.

Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, 262-281.

Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 166-267.

#10: 1974-1979: The Road to Camp David and Israeli-Egyptian PeaceRequired:

Bickerton and Klausner, 177-205.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 465-531.

Recommended:

Kenneth W. Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 187-268.

Saadia Touval, *The Peace Brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1979* (Princeton University Press, 1982), 284-320.

Laurie Zittrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 28-42.

#11: The 1982 Lebanon War and Israel's "Grand Strategy"Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 204-218.

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 535-633.

Recommended:

Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon: 1970-1985* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 108-173.

Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, 522-543.

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for a Regional Order* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 247-272.

#12: 1987-1993: From the *Intifada* to Madrid and Oslo

Required:

Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 679-782.

Recommended:

Bickerton and Klausner, 218-265.

Hillel Frisch, *Countdown to Statehood: Palestinian State Formation in the West Bank and Gaza* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 93-154.

Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 41-81.

Zittrain Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, 75-126.

#13: From Oslo to the Second *Intifada* and Camp David 2000

Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 266-332.

Tessler, 782-818.

Recommended:

Yezid Sayigh, "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt," *Survival* 43, 3 (Autumn 2001), 47-60.

2000-2023: Hamas in Gaza, Hizballah in Lebanon and Conclusion

Required:

Bickerton and Klausner, 333-400.

Jonathan Spyer: "Lebanon 2006: Unfinished War," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (MERIA) Journal 12, 1, (March 2008 – see online).

Menachem Klein, "Hamas in Power", *Middle East Journal*, 61, 3 (Summer 2007), 442-59.

Recommended:

Joshua L. Gleis and Benedetta Berti, *Hezbollah and Hamas: A Comparative Study* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 147-172.

Tessler, 819-847.

Final Examination - university administration to announce date.

The final exam covers the period from 1948 to the end of the course. The structure is essay form; students will answer two of four questions. These essays allow students to demonstrate broadly what they have learned during the semester.

(see university statements on next three pages).

Statements

Classroom Behavior

Students and faculty are responsible for maintaining an appropriate learning environment in all instructional settings, whether in person, remote, or online. Failure to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, political affiliation, or political philosophy.

For more information, see the [classroom behavior policy](#), the [Student Code of Conduct](#), and the [Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance](#).

Requirements for Infectious Diseases

Members of the CU Boulder community and visitors to campus must follow university, department, and building health and safety requirements and all public health orders to reduce the risk of spreading infectious diseases.

The CU Boulder campus is currently mask optional. However, if masks are again required in classrooms, students who fail to adhere to masking requirements will be asked to leave class. Students who do not leave class when asked or who refuse to comply with these requirements will be referred to Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution. Students who require accommodation because a disability prevents them from fulfilling safety measures related to infectious disease will be asked to follow the steps in the “Accommodation for Disabilities” statement on this syllabus.

For those who feel ill and think you might have COVID-19 or if you have tested positive for COVID-19, please stay home and follow the [further guidance of the Public Health Office](#). For those who have been in close contact with someone who has COVID-19 but do not have any symptoms and have not tested positive for COVID-19, you do not need to stay home.

Accommodation: Disabilities, Temporary Medical Conditions, Medical Isolation

[Disability Services](#) determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so your needs can be addressed. Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or dsinfo@colorado.edu for further assistance.

In case of a temporary medical condition or medical isolation for which accommodation is required – inform the instructor.

Preferred Student Names and Pronouns

CU Boulder recognizes that students' legal information doesn't always align with how they identify. Students may update preferred names and pronouns via the student portal; those preferred names and pronouns are listed on instructors' class rosters. In the absence of such updates, the name that appears on the class roster is the student's legal name.

Honor Code

All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to the [Honor Code](#). Violations of the Honor Code may include but are not limited to: plagiarism (including use of paper writing services or technology [such as essay bots]), cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access to academic materials, clicker fraud, submitting the same or similar work in more than one course without permission of all course instructors involved and aiding academic dishonesty.

All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution: honor@colorado.edu, 303-492-5550. Students found responsible for violating the [Honor Code](#) will be assigned resolution outcomes from the Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution as well as be subject to academic sanctions from the faculty member. Visit [Honor Code](#) for more information on the academic integrity policy.

Sexual Misconduct, Discrimination, Harassment and/or Related Retaliation

CU Boulder is committed to fostering an inclusive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. University policy prohibits [protected-class](#) discrimination and harassment, sexual misconduct (harassment, exploitation, and assault), intimate partner violence (dating or domestic violence), stalking, and related retaliation by or against members of our community on- and off-campus. These behaviors harm individuals and our community. The Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) addresses these concerns, and individuals who believe they have been subjected to misconduct can contact OIEC at 303-492-2127 or email cureport@colorado.edu. Information about university policies, [reporting options](#), and support resources can be found on the [OIEC website](#).

Please know that faculty and graduate instructors have a responsibility to inform OIEC when they are made aware of incidents related to these policies regardless of when or where something occurred. This is to ensure that individuals impacted receive an outreach from OIEC about their options for addressing a concern and the support resources available. To learn more about reporting and support resources for a variety of issues, visit [Don't Ignore It](#).

Religious Holidays

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Inform this instructor if you wish to miss class in observation of a religious holiday. See [campus policy regarding religious observances](#) for full details.

Mental Health and Wellness

The University of Colorado Boulder is committed to the well-being of all students. If you are struggling with personal stress, mental health or substance use concerns that impact upon your academic or daily life, please contact [Counseling and Psychiatric Services \(CAPS\)](#) Located in C4C or call (303) 492-2277 [24/7].

Free and unlimited telehealth is also available through [Academic Live Care](#). The Academic Live Care site also provides information about additional wellness services on campus available to students.