



The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Historical Perspectives and prospects for Resolution

Dr. Daniel Zisenwine

Course Description:

This course will introduce the students to the history, current realities and challenges of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The course aims to analyze and present the conflicting narratives and perceptions of the Palestinians and Israelis over key moments and issues in their histories, as well as the challenges that each side is encountering over the future of the conflict and possible solutions to it. Among other issues, the course will focus on key moments in the history of Palestine during the British mandate; the conflicting narratives over the 1948 war; Israel and the Palestinians between 1948-1967; the 1967 war and its implications on Israel and the Palestinians; the development of the Palestinian national movement; the first *Intifada* and the Oslo peace process; the second *Intifada* and the October 2000 events in Israel, and the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel and their special position within the State of Israel. As a conclusion, we will focus on the current challenges for the continuation of the peace process.

The course will address these issues through a variety of readings, primary sources and films.

Course Requirements:

Attendance is required. Students are expected to participate in the discussions which will take place in class. Each student will be responsible for leading a class discussion on one item or topic in the syllabus, while using either one of the readings or additional material that you find useful (movie, newspaper clip, internet etc.). Items marked with * signal suggested or recommended readings.

Grading:

Participation in class discussions: 10%

Presentation in class: 10%

Final exam: 80% (July 15, 2010)

Recommended text books which will be used during the course:

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-1999* (London: J. Murray, 1999)

Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997)

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: a History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003)

Syllabus

1. Introduction: Early encounters between the Zionist Movement and the Arabs (16.6.10)

Neville Mandel, *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 32-57; 223-231.

Israel Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs", in J. Reinharz and A. Shapira, *Essential Papers on Zionism* (New York: NYU Press, 1995), 617-647.

Kenneth W. Stein, "A Historiographic Review of Literature on the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in: *American Historical Review*, Vol. 96 no. 5 (Dec. 1991), pp. 1450-1467.

2. Palestine during World War I: Internal developments, external promises, and the creation of the British mandate (21.6.10)

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-1999* (London: J. Murray, 1999), pp. 67-121 (ch. 3).

Primary sources:

"McMahon Letter," "Sykes-Picot Agreement" and the "Balfour Declaration," in: Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (Eds), *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East* 6th edition (New York: Penguin Books, 2001) (or any earlier edition).

3. Jews and Arabs in Mandatory Palestine (23.6.10)

Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 145-175.

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 121-160 (ch. 4).

* Ted Swedenburg, "The Role of the Palestinian Peasantry in the Great Revolt (1936-1939)," in: Ilan Pappé (Ed.), *The Israel/Palestine Question* (London: Routledge, 1999) pp.129-167. (Rothberg library, E327.56P218)

4. The War of 1948 : history and historical debate (28.6.10)

Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 4-28, conclusion.

Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948: the underlying causes of failure," in: Eugene Rogan and Avi Shlaim (eds.), *The War on Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, pp. 12-36.

Shabtai Teveth, "Charging Israel with Original Sin", *Commentary*, 88 (1989), pp. 24-33.

Ahmad H. Sa'adi, "Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian Identity," *Israel Studies*, 7:2 (Summer 2002), 175-98.

http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v007/7.2saadi.pdf

* Paul Scham, Walid Salem and Benjamin Pogrud, *Shared Histories: A Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue* (Jerusalem: Panorama Center and Yakar Center, 2005), ch. 5,6 (U.N. partition plan, Israeli historiography)

* *History and Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past*, Vol. 7 No. 1 (Spring/summer 1995): *Israeli Historiography Revisited* (A special volume).

5. Israel and the Palestinians between 1948-1967 (29.6.10)

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: a History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 214-239 (ch. 7).

Tom Segev, *1949: The First Israelis* (NY: The Free Press, 1986), pp. 68-91

Ian Lustick, "Israeli State-Building in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: Theory and Practice", *International Organization*, 41:1 (1987), 151-171. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706673.pdf>

6. The establishment and evolution of the PLO (30.6.10)

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People*, pp. 240-273 (ch. 8).

Matti Steinberg, "Arafat's PLO: The Concept of Self-Determination in Transition", *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 9, No. 3 (September 1987), pp. 85-98.

Primary Source:

"Palestinian National Charter, Resolutions of the Palestine National Council July 1-17, 1968," in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds. *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East* 6th edition (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), or any other earlier edition.

7. The 1967 War and its Consequences (1.7.10)

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 302-346 (ch. 7).

Primary Sources:

- "UN Security Council Resolutions 242 (November 22, 1967)", in: Yehuda



Lukacs, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-2.

- "Statement issued by the Palestine Liberation Organization Rejecting UN Resolution 242 (Cairo, Nov. 23 1967), in: *Ibid*, pp. 290-291.

8. The Palestinian Uprising: the First *Intifada* (5.7.10)

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 561-610 (ch. 12)

Primary Source:

Leaflet no. 16 of the United National Command and Leaflet no. 49 of the Islamic Resistance Movement in: Shaul Mishal and Reuben Aharoni, *Speaking Stones* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), pp. 93-97 and 265-268.

9. The Oslo Accords and the Creation of the Palestinian Authority (6.7.10)

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People*, pp. 315-397 (ch. 10-11).

Israeli and Palestinian debate the agreements: "Documents and Source Material", *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 23, No. 2 (Winter, 1994). See pp. 130-135.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2538248.pdf>

Ian S. Lustick, The Oslo Agreement as an Obstacle to Peace
Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Autumn, 1997), pp. 61-66

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2537810.pdf>

* Menachem Klein, "Quo Vadis? Palestinian Authority Building Dilemmas since 1993," in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 2 (April 1997), pp. 385-405.

10. Challenges to the Palestinian Authority (7.7.10)

Meir Litvak, "The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Case of Hamas," in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 1 (Jan. 1998), pp. 148-163.

Amal Jamal, "State-Building, Institutionalization and Democracy: The Palestinian Experience", *Mediterranean Politics*, 6:3 (2001), pp. 1-30.

<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/d48072tryrcjgrhecw0/contributions/q/j/r/f/qjrf04v77k5vuuu0.pdf>

Menachem Klein, "Hamas in Power", *Middle East Journal*, 61, no. 3 (Summer 2007), pp. 442-459.

Primary Source:

"The Charter of the Islamic Resistance," in: Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 175-199.

11. Challenges within Israel (8.7.10)



Ehud Sprinzak, [The Emergence of the Israeli Radical Right](#) *Comparative Politics* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Jan., 1989), pp. 171-192
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/422043.pdf>

Motti Inbari, "Religious Zionism and the Temple Mount Dilemma—Key Trends", *Israel Studies*, Volume 12, Number 2, Summer 2007, pp. 29-47.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v012/12.2inbari.html

12. The second *Intifada*, October 2000 events, and the Palestinian citizens of Israel (11.7.10)

Shimon Shamir, *The Arabs in Israel—Two Years after the Or Commission Report*, a lecture in Tel Aviv University, September 2005 (scanned)

As'ad Ghanem and Sarah Ozacky-Lazar, "The *al-Aqsa Intifada* among the Palestinian Citizens in Israel: Causes and Results" (scanned)

13. The Palestinian citizens of Israel and their challenges with the state (12.7.10)

Elie Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel After Oslo", *Israel Studies* 7.3 (2002) 1-44.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v007/7.3rekhess.html

The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel 2006 (scanned)

Elie Rekhess, "The Evolvement of an Arab-Palestinian National Minority on Israel," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 12 no. 3

14. Conclusion: The debate over the future (13.7.10)

Jonathan Rynholds, "[Israel's Fence: Can Separation Make Better Neighbours?](#)", *Survival* 46:1 (2004), 55-76.

Khalil Shikaki, *With Hamas in Power: Impact of Palestinian Domestic Developments on Options for the Peace Process*, (Brandeis University: Crown Center for Middle East Studies Working Paper 1, February 2007).

<http://www.brandeis.edu/centers/crown/publications/WP/WP1.pdf>

On the debate regarding Shikaki and the above-mentioned article see:

<http://www.campus-watch.org/article/id/3083>

and http://www.librariansforfairness.org/news_post.asp?NPI=156

Tony Judt, "Israel: The Alternative," [New York Review of Books](#),

*Responses: Wieseltier, "Israel, Palestine, and the Return of the Bi-National Fantasy: What is Not to be Done." and Foxman, et. al. "An Alternative Future: An Exchange"