

Dartmouth College
Winter Term 2014

Government 47:
The Arab-Israeli Conflict
Prof. Sa'adah

For the better part of a century, the conflict over Palestine has defied resolution. This course examines the several dimensions and levels (domestic, international) of the ongoing crisis in, around, and about Israel/Palestine. In what ways is the conflict central to broader political patterns in the region, and why has it proven so intractable? What possibilities does the future hold? The tensions and instability generated by the Arab-Israeli conflict have profoundly affected—and been affected by—both international politics and the domestic politics of a wide range of countries. We will pay particular attention to the complex causal connections between the conflict and other regional issues, including economic and political underdevelopment, hegemonic projects, authoritarianism, political instability, and fundamentalism. We will try to understand how the various parties to the conflict have defined its stakes, understood their interests, viewed their adversaries, mobilized support, and formulated policy. We will consider grassroots politics as well as elite calculations. We will examine the role played by ideas, institutions, material interests, and leadership, at both the regional and the broader international levels. We will begin and end by assessing the prospects for a settlement.

Goals and Requirements

Conflicts in and about the Middle East test liberal education in two ways. A liberal education promotes both empathetic understanding (the ability to put oneself in someone else's place and understand his or her point of view, to grasp the sensibility and logic of a different culture, to feel the immediacy of another age) and analytical understanding (the ability to place oneself outside a situation or argument, to analyze it according to external criteria and rules, and to communicate the analysis effectively). Both kinds of understanding are often in short supply in discussions of the Middle East—as they also are in the region itself. Both require hard work. The most obvious goal of this course is to introduce students to the main actors and phases of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to help students understand the conflict's dynamics and the reasons why a settlement has not yet been achieved. But the more important and more general goal is to encourage empathetic and analytical habits and skills.

Government 47 will meet in the 12 slot (including, whenever necessary or advantageous, the x-hour: Tuesday, 1:00-1:50). Lectures and discussion will complement the readings. Written requirements will include a take-home midterm examination due at the beginning of class on Jan. 31 (about 30% of the final grade), an 8- to 10-page paper (40% of the final grade) due at the beginning of class on Feb. 28, and a take-home cumulative final examination due by 9:30 a.m. on March 10 (30% of the final grade). The examinations will test command of material covered in lectures as well as in the reading. If you miss a

class, you are still responsible for the material covered, and you should not expect to get a summary from me. *There will be no individual extensions on the due dates for written work.*

The core readings for the class are listed on the syllabus below. Class announcements, “handouts” (including study questions), and additional readings (including primary source documents) will be posted on the course’s Blackboard site. Unless clearly marked otherwise, all material posted on the course’s Blackboard site should be considered required reading.

All students are reminded of their obligation to conduct themselves in accordance with the Standards of Conduct in general and with the Academic Honor Principle in particular. *Any student who fails to complete any of the written assignments on time or who violates the Honor Principle should expect to fail the course.*

If you have any special circumstances relevant to your academic performance, please come see me during the first week of the term.

My office is in Silsby 217. I can always be reached by email. Please check the Blackboard site for up-to-date information about office hours.

Organization of the Course

One way to understand the Arab-Israeli conflict is to view it as a complex struggle among communities in search of their own identities and political structures, in a setting deeply influenced by Great Power interests and rivalries. During the first weeks of the course, we will cover some of the conceptual material and historical background necessary to spell out and assess this (or any other) understanding of the conflict.

The rest of the course follows the chronology of the struggle, which has been punctuated by three watershed moments: the 1948 War, which resulted in the creation of the state of Israel; the 1967 War, during which Israel occupied East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Sinai, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights; and the First Intifada, which highlighted the problematic aspects of the occupation but failed to produce a settlement. As we examine different facets of the conflict, we will superimpose other relevant chronologies—e.g. of the Cold War, of partisan shifts in Israeli politics, of the internal development, external relations, and eventual decline of the PLO, and of the emergence of new forms of political activism among both Israelis and Palestinians.

The reading list is likely to strike you as...long. *Please* do not be discouraged by this observation. The list is long in part because the conflict is both extremely interesting (prompting reflection on many of the most central issues in political science) and devilishly complicated. It is also long in part because I hope to help you improve how you cope with complex arguments and masses of information. You will draw on this skill for the rest of your life. We will have a conversation about how to approach the reading in the x-hour during the second week of classes. And just so you don't have to

ask: no, you do not have to read every word of Tessler's enormous book. You do, however, have to know which words to read!

Different subfields within political science offer provide students with different intellectual toolboxes. This course draws heavily on the toolboxes commonly associated with the subfields of comparative politics (politics within states) and international relations (politics between states: war and trade). Please consciously look for and utilize appropriate intellectual tools as you try to understand the conflict.

Social science, however good, will never give you anything approximating full insight into the logic of another society—much less into its passions, conflicts, and aspirations. If you enjoy literature and film, this is good news. Two films are assigned, others are streamed, and many more are available. Important literary works have been translated, and so are accessible to everyone. I will distribute a list of relevant works during the first weeks of class.

Syllabus

1. **Introduction**

2. **Conflicting Visions of a Settlement**
 International Crisis Group, "The Emperor Has No Clothes: Palestinians and the End of the Peace Process" (May 2012), posted on Blackboard, also at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/israel-palestine/122-the-emperor-has-no-clothes-palestinians-and-the-end-of-the-peace-process.aspx>
 Ian Lustick, "Two-State Illusion," *The New York Times*, Sept. 14, 2013, posted on Blackboard

3. **Nationalism, Identity, and the State**
 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (NY: Verso, 1991), pp. 1-46

4. **Besieged: Fundamentalism, Identity Formation, and the Conflict**
 Gabriel Almond, R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan, *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 1-115

- xhr **So Much History, So Little Time: How to Cope with Tessler (and Other Long Books) (discussion)**

5. **Antisemitism, Socialism, and the Shaping of Modern Zionism**
 Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2009), 2nd ed., pp. 1-122
 Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (NY: Norton, 2001), pp. 1-27

6. **Actors and Strategies during the Mandate Period, 1917-1948**
 Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 123-184

7. **Actors and Strategies during the Mandate Period, 1917-1948 (cont'd)**
 Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 185-268
 Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (NY: Columbia UP, 1997), ch. 2, 7, and 8 (pp. 8-34, 145-209)

8. **1948**
 Ari Shavit, "Lydda, 1948: A City, a Massacre, and the Middle East Today," *The New Yorker*, Oct. 21, 2013, pp. 40-46, posted on Blackboard
 Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2006), ch. 2 and 4 (pp. 19-46, 72-114)

9. **Israeli Politics and Society from 1948 to 1967**
 Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 269-335
 Please watch:
 Israel Broadcasting Authority/Israel Television, "Tkuma: The First Fifty Years," Part II, "The Ingathering" (1998) (on reserve at Jones Media Center and streamed)
 "Sallah" (1964) (on reserve at Jones Media Center and streamed)

10. **Decolonization, Nasserist Pan-Arabism, Inter-Arab Relations, and the Dynamics of the Conflict in the 1950s and 1960s**
 Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 336-398
 R. Stephen Humphreys, *Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age* (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1999), pp. 60-82

11. **From 1967 to 1973**
 Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977* (NY: Times Books, 2006), pp. 1-71

12. **The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the International Relations of the Middle East**
 TAKE-HOME MIDTERM DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS (JAN. 31)

13. **Palestinian Nationalism: The Emergence of the PLO**
 Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 399-464

14. **The Collapse of Labor Zionism and the 1977 Elections**
 Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 465-532

15. **The Reshaping of the Israeli Right**
 Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*, pp. 72-186

16. **A Separate Peace: From the 1973 War to Camp David**
Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*, pp. 187-375

17. **From Stalemate to Oslo: The Lebanon War, Israeli Politics, and the First Intifada**
Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 533-676

18. **Hashemite Jordan: Between a Rock and a Hard Place**
Avi Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* (NY: Knopf, 2008), pp. 281-314

19. **Touching Peace? From Oslo to the Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin**
Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., pp. 677-847

20. **Palestinian and Israeli Politics in the Shadow of the "Peace Process"**
Loren D. Lybarger, *Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism and Secularism in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007), entire

21. **Palestinian and Israeli Politics in the Shadow of the "Peace Process" (cont'd)**
Loren D. Lybarger, *Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism and Secularism in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007), entire (finish)

22. **Palestinian and Israeli Politics in the Shadow of the "Peace Process" (cont'd)**
Daniel C. Kurtzer et al., *The Peace Puzzle*, entire

23. **American Policy since 2000**
Daniel C. Kurtzer et al., *The Peace Puzzle*, entire (finish)

24. **Perspectives on the Oslo Process**
Robert L. Rothstein, "A Fragile Peace: Could a 'Race to the Bottom' Have Been Avoided?" in Robert L. Rothstein et al., *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Oslo and the Lessons of Failure* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2002), pp. 1-30, on Blackboard
Daniel Bar-Tal, "From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (June 2000), pp. 351-365, on Blackboard
Daniel Bar-Tal, "Why Does Fear Override Hope in Societies Engulfed by Intractable Conflict...?", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Sept. 2001), pp. 601-627, on Blackboard

(PAPERS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS ON FEB. 28)

- 25. The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Arab Uprisings**
Readings TBA
- 26. Prospects for a Settlement**
No new reading
- 27. Conclusion/Discussion**
No new reading

TAKE HOME FINAL DUE ON MARCH 10

Gov 47—The Arab-Israeli Conflict—Winter 2014

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
6 Jan	7	8	9	10
CLASSES BEGIN 1		2		3
13	14	15	16	17
4	xhr	5		6
20	21	22	23	24
MLK Day xhr	7	8		9
27	28	29	30	31
10		11		12 Midterm due
3 Feb	4	5	6	7
13	14	15		Carnival-xhr
10	11	12	13	14
16		17		18
17	18	19	20	21
19		20		21
24	25	26	27	28
22	Final day to withdraw	23		24 Paper due
3 March	4	5	6	7
25		26		27 Last Day of Classes
10	11	12	13	14
Finals begin; take home exam due			Finals end	