

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Department of Political Science
Fall 2004

Professor Ian S. Lustick
Stiteler Hall 206

Syllabus for Political Science 398

Arab-Israeli Relations

Structure of the Course

The class meets once a week for intensive and critical discussion of assigned reading and research in progress. Although contextual and introductory material for each book or set of readings will sometimes be provided in lecture format, responsibility for the direction of class discussions will be shared between professor and students.

Requirements of the Course

There will be no examinations in this course. Each student will be required to hand in a 5 page book report on two books chosen by the student and approved by the instructor. The list of recommended reading provided as a supplement to this syllabus is a good place to begin in the selection of books to be read for this report. The books should offer a substantial contrast in their treatment of a specific topic or theme. Students are encouraged to use this assignment as a vehicle for exploring ideas for a paper topic. Grades in the course will be assigned based equally on contributions to seminar discussions and on written work. In addition to the book report, each student will write a research paper (circa 25 pages) that evaluates a general claim about Arab-Israeli relations or some politically important aspect of the conflict. Close consultation with the instructor and our WATU assistant, Ms. Sarah Salwen, in the choice of topic and the development of the research design, is expected. Paper topic proposals with preliminary bibliographies must be posted on the course blackboard site by November 21, 2004. Papers will be happily received for grading by December 22. Students may elect to submit their papers by January 4 without penalty. Those who do so must notify me before December 22. They will receive incompletes and will have their incompletes changed to regular grades within one month. Papers received after January 4 will be treated as late papers and will be reduced in grade.

All students should purchase the following books, which are required reading for the course. These books, along with the books listed as recommended for purchase, have been ordered and are available at House of Our Own Bookstore on Spruce Street. Direct links to URL's are provided in this syllabus for some readings. Many of the required readings have are available at the course's blackboard site and are marked by a boldfaced **BB**. Readings available through the library's JSTOR data base are marked with a boldfaced **JSTOR**. Other readings are available on reserve, including the ten volumes of Arab-Israeli Relations: A Collection of Contending Perspectives and Recent Researched., Ian S. Lustick (Garland Press, 1994).

Required for Purchase:

- Tessler, Mark. A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994).
- Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin, eds. The Israel-Arab Reader. (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). (Sixth, updated edition).
- Rogan, Eugene L. and Avi Shlaim, eds. The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Rosenfeld, Maya. Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).
- Said, Edward and Christopher Hitchens. Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question. (London: Verso, 2001).

Recommended for Purchase:

- Oz, Amos. In the Land of Israel. (New York: Vintage Books, 1984).
- Hass, Amira. Reporting from Ramallah: An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).
- Lustick, Ian S. Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank/Gaza. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- Kanafani, Ghassan. Men in the Sun. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999).
- Goldberg, Brett. A Psalm in Jenin. (Israel: Modan, 2003). (This book is available for ordering on the internet at:

<http://www.jewishsoftware.com/default.asp?page=categories&type=67&id=123>
http://www.jbooks.com/nonfiction/index/NF_Freedman2.htm#
<http://www.solomonstreasurechest.com/jeninbook.html>

September 13, 2004: Explaining Parallels and Focusing on What Matters

Required Reading:

Mark Tessler, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
Review, 1-122

September 20, 2004: Early Encounters: Building and Being Built By

Required Reading:

Review Tessler, 123-184
Saul Tshernichovsky, "Before the Statue of Apollo" **BB**

Chaim N. Bialik, "City of Slaughter" **BB**

"Beware the Zionist Danger" **BB**

Laqueur and Rubin, 3-25

Rashid Khalidi, "Palestinian Peasant Resistance to Zionism Before World War I," in Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens, Blaming the Victims, 207-33.

Shafir, Gershon. Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989). pp. 135-186. **BB**

Adler (Cohen), Raya. "The Tenants of Wadi Hawarith: Another View on the Question of Palestine." International Journal of Middle East Studies. 20 (1988). **JSTOR**

September 27, 2003: Dynamics of the Mandate: The Logic of Partition

Required Reading:

Review Tessler, 185-268

Laqueur and Rubin, 25-62

Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky, "We and the Arabs: On the Iron Wall"

<http://www.marxists.de/middleeast/ironwall/ironwall.htm>

Norman G. Finkelstein, "Disinformation and the Palestine Question: The Not-So-Strange Case of Joan Peters's *From Time Immemorial*," in Blaming the Victims, 33-69.

Kolatt, Israel. "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs." Studies in Zionism 5 (1982). **BB**

Abboushi, W.F. "The Road to Rebellion: Arab Palestine in the 1930's." Journal of Palestine Studies. 6 (1977). **BB JSTOR**

Leonard Mosely, "Orde Wingate and Moshe Dayan" from Gideon Goes to War (London: Arthur Barker, 1955) pp. 55-64. **BB**

Arlosoroff, Chaim. "Reflections on Zionist Policy." Jewish Frontier. (1948). **BB**

Katz, Shlomo. "Understanding Jewish Resistance in Palestine: The Aims and Methods of the Hagana." Commentary. 2 (1946). **BB**

October 4, 2004: 1948: Triumph and Catastrophe

Required Reading:

Review Tessler, 269-335

Rogan and Shlaim, eds. The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948 (Chapters to be assigned)

Gringauz, Samuel. "Jewish Destiny as the DP's See It: The Ideology of the Surviving Remnant." Commentary. 4 (1947). **BB**

Arieh Tartakower, "The Making of Jewish Statehood in Palestine," Jewish Social Studies 10 (1948): 207-222. **BB**

David Ben-Gurion, "Freedom and Independence" **BB**

Nazzari, Nafez Abdullah. "The Zionist Occupation of Western Galilee, 1948." Journal of Palestine Studies. 3 (1974). **JSTOR**

Alami, Musa. "The Lesson of Palestine." Middle East Journal. 3 (1949). **BB**

October 11, 2004: The Refugee Question

Required Reading

Morris, Benny. "The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine: The Israel Defence Forces Intelligence Branch Analysis of June 1948." Middle Eastern Studies. 22 (1986).
Ghassan Kanafani, Men in the Sun

Peretz Kidron, "Truth Whereby Nations Live," Blaming the Victims, 85-96.

or

Kleiman, Ephraim. "Khirbet Khiz'ah and Other Unpleasant Memories." Jerusalem Quarterly. 40 (1986). **BB**

Marie Syrkin, "The Arab Refugees: A Zionist View," Commentary January 1966 pp. 23-30. **BB**
Mitchell G. Bard, "Myths and Facts: The Refugees"

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/myths/mf14.html#c> (selections)

Christopher Hitchens, "Broadcasts," in Blaming the Victims, 73-83.

Jacques De Reynier, "Deir Yassin, April 10, 1948," from his report to the International Red Cross **BB**

Jon Kimche, "Deir Yassin and Jaffa" from Seven Fallen Pillars (London: Secker and Warburg, 1950) pp. 217-18, 222-24. **BB**

Benny Morris, Israel's Border Wars: 1949-1956 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993) pp. 116-153. **BB**

Yehouda Shenhav, "Arab-Jews, Population Exchange, and the Palestinian Right of Return," in Exile and Return: Predicaments and Struggles of Palestinians and Jews, Ann M. Lesch and Ian S. Lustick, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming) **BB**

October 18, 2004: From War to War: 1956-1982

Required Reading:

Review Tessler, 336-397

Laqueur and Rubin, pp. 89-93, 96-110, 113-121, 131-134, 143-166, 218-228, 230-237, 239-248, 254-263, 265-276

Dayan, Moshe. "Israel's Border and Security Problems." Foreign Affairs. 33 (1955). **BB**

Golani, Motti. Israel in Search of a War: The Sinai Campaign 1955-1956 (Portland, OR: Sussex University Press, 1998). pp. 1-24. **BB**

Yost, Charles W. "The Arab-Israeli War: How It Began." Foreign Affairs. 46 (1968). **BB**

Ashkar, Riad. "The Syrian and Egyptian Campaigns." Journal of Palestine Studies. 3 (1974). **JSTOR**

Lustick, Ian S. "Changing Rationales for Political Violence in the Arab-Israeli Conflict." Journal of Palestine Studies. 20 (1990). **JSTOR**

Bartov, Hanoch. "Israel after the War: 2: Back to Abnormal." Commentary 57 (1974) **BB**
Khalidi, Ahmed and Hussein Agha. "The Syrian Doctrine of Strategic Parity." The Middle East in Global Perspective. Judith Kipper and Harold H. Saunders, eds. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991). pp. 186-218. **BB**
Hersh, Seymour. The Samson Option: Israel's Nuclear Arsenal and American Foreign Policy. (New York: Random House, 1991). pp. 159-207. **BB**
Louis Rene Beres, "The Question of Palestine and Israel's Nuclear Strategy," Political Quarterly 62, 1991, pp. 451-460. **BB**

October 25, 2004: No Class—Fall Break

November 1, 2004: Discussion of Book Reports

NB Students will bring to class five page reports comparing two books chosen for purposes of analytic contrast from the list of recommended books provided. Choice of books to be approved by instructor no later than October 8.

November 8, 2004: Palestinians under Israeli Rule: Arab citizens and Arabs in the Occupied Territories

Review Tessler, 399-531
Laqueur and Rubin, 298-299, 313-348, 354-358

Jeremy Forman and Alexandre Kedar, "From Arab Land to 'Israel Lands': The Legal Dispossession of the Palestinians Displaced by Israel in the Wake of 1948" **BB**

or

David Kretzmer, The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990) pp. 89-134. **BB**

Ron, James. "Savage Restraint: Israel, Palestine, and the Dialectics of Legal Repression." Social Problems. (2000). **BB**

or

Lustick, Ian S. "Israel and the West Bank after Elon Moreh: The Mechanics of De Facto Annexation." Middle East Journal. 35 (1981). **BB**

Gazit, Shlomo. "Early Attempts at Establishing West Bank Autonomy: the 1968 Case Study." Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy. 3 (1980). **BB**

Roy, Sara. "The Political Economy of Despair: Changing Political and Economic Realities in the Gaza Strip," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 20, No. 3. (Spring, 1991), pp. 58-69. **JSTOR**

or

Doumani, Beshara. "Family and Politics in Salfit." Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin, eds. Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation. (Boston: MA: South End Press, 1989) **BB**

Rosenfeld, Introduction and Part I, II, or III

For information on the life and perspectives of Jewish settlers visit and browse through one or more of the following:

<http://www.shomron.homestead.com/index.html>

<http://www.shilo.org.il/>

<http://english.katif.net/index.php?sub=4>

November 15, 2004: The Great Debates: Over What to Do with the Occupied Territories in Israel, Over Acceptance of Israel among the Arabs

Review Tessler, 533-676

Laqueur and Rubin, 135-142, 166-182

Moshe Dayan, "Soldier Reflects on Peace Hopes" Text of an address to a graduating class at the Israel Army Staff and Command College, Jerusalem Post, September 27, 1968. **BB**

Yehosuha Arieli, "Annexation and Democracy," New Outlook (July 1969). **BB**

Lustick, Ian S. "Israel and the West Bank and Gaza Strip: Disengagement or Incorporation," pp. 7-25; and "Israel and the West Bank and Gaza Strip: Tracing the Status of a Changing Relationship," pp. 7-25 and 352-384, in Unsettled States, Disputed Lands. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Oz, Amos. In the Land of Israel. (New York: Vintage Books, 1984). Selections.

Mordechai Nisan, "Democracy and Deviation in Israel" **BB**

Muslih, Mohammed. "Moderates and Rejectionists within the Palestine Liberation Organization." The Middle East Journal. (Spring 1976). **BB**

George Habash Interview, August 1974 **BB**

Muslih, Mohammed. "Towards Coexistence: An Analysis of the Resolutions of the Palestine National Council." Journal of Palestine Studies. 19 (1990). **JSTOR**

Pipes, Daniel and Adam Garfinkle. "Is Jordan Palestine?" Commentary. 86 (1988).

Ephraim Inbar, "Israel's Small War: The Military Response to the *Intifada*" Armed Forces & Society, Vol. 18, no. 1 (Fall 1991) pp. 29-50. **BB**

Ari Shavit, "On Gaza Beach," New York Review of Books, July 18, 1991. **BB**

Geneva Accords, 2003 <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=351461>

November 22, 2004: Discussion of Paper Topics and Workshop on Research Techniques

November 29, 2004: Peace Processes and the al-Aqsa Intifada

Required Reading:

Tessler, Review 677-761

Laqueur and Rubin: 388-400, 403-407, 411-413, 487-502, 521-22, 554-564, 573-580

Two Readings Chosen from the Asch Center Human Rights File Re the West Bank and Gaza

Human Rights Watch, Erased in a Moment: Suicide Bombing Attacks against Israeli Civilians (2002) pp. 1-6, 11-42. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/isrl-pa/ISRAELPA1002.pdf>

Khalil Shikaki, "Palestinians Divided," Foreign Affairs, January/February 2002
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20020101faessay6559-p0/khalil-shikaki/palestinians-divided.html>

Collection of Oslo Aftermath Readings **BB**

or

Selections from Hass, Reporting from Ramallah

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

or

Khaled Hroub, Hamas: Political Thought and Practice (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000) 253-61.

Ian S. Lustick, "Through Blood and Fire Shall Peace Arise," Tikkun Magazine (May/June 2002)
<http://tikkun.org/magazine/index.cfm/action/tikkun/issue/tik0205/article/020512b.html>

Gary Sussman, "The Challenge to the Two-State Solution," MERIP #231 (Summer 2004)
http://www.merip.org/mer/mer231/sussman.html#_ftnref38

December 6, 2004: "Is There Something Essential about Zionism or Palestinian Nationalism that Makes the Conflict Irresolvable?"

Discussion to be based on individual research in progress.