

ACADEMIC SESSION 2018-2019

HI4025 – SPECIAL SUBJECT
HISTORY OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

30 CREDITS: 11 WEEKS

PLEASE NOTE CAREFULLY:

The full set of school regulations and procedures is contained in the Undergraduate Student Handbook which is available online at your [MyAberdeen](#) Organisation page. Students are expected to familiarise themselves not only with the contents of this leaflet but also with the contents of the Handbook. Therefore, ignorance of the contents of the Handbook will not excuse the breach of any School regulation or procedure. **You must familiarise yourself with this important information at the earliest opportunity.**

COURSE CO-ORDINATOR

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Discipline Administration

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TIMETABLE

For time and place of classes, please see [MyAberdeen](#)

Students can view their university timetable at

<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/infohub/study/timetables-550.php>

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course aims to provide an historical survey of the development and evolution of what is commonly referred to as the Arab-Israeli conflict. It examines the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict in an attempt to place it in its historical context, while tracing its developments from multiple angles in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamic that constitutes 'the conflict'. The period under examination covers defining moments of the history of the conflicts from the establishment of the Jewish community in Palestine the so-called Old Yishuv, through the subsequent history of the State of Israel from 1948 until the present. The course also explores several contemporary dimensions of the conflict, including the rise of Hamas, the Oslo Accords and the position of Israel in the wider Middle Eastern political context.

The course aims at developing analytical skills to frame the Palestine-Israel conflict based on objective analysis. We will study how to interpret historical developments and evaluate events that not only transformed the geography and politics of the region but also shaped the identities of both Palestinians and Israelis.

INTENDED AIMS AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

The course aims to promote:

- A critical understanding of the historiographical debates on the Arab-Israeli conflict;
- An ability to apply concepts and principals to the main debates on '1948';
- An informed understanding of the contending explanations for the causes of the Arab-Israeli wars after 1948;
- A systematic understanding of how and why an Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian peace process developed in the 1970s and 1980s;
- Comprehensive analytical skills through the study of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

LECTURE/SEMINAR PROGRAMME

1. Introduction: 2018 Gaza borders protest
2. Narratives, memories, histories of Palestinians and Israelis
3. Late Ottoman Palestine: origins of Arab Nationalism and Zionism
4. World War I: Sykes Picot and the Balfour Declaration
5. The British Mandate of Palestine: the Arab Revolt
6. 1948: Palestine's Nakba and Israel's War of Independence
7. Israel between 1948 and 1967: the making of Israeli society, the question of Middle Eastern Jews and the birth of the PLO
8. From war to war: the Sixth Day War and the Yom Kippur War
9. The first Palestinian uprising: the Intifada (1987-1991)
10. The Oslo Accords (1993): the context of the peace process, Rabin's assassination to the second Intifada and the collapse of the peace process
11. Israel: Apartheid State or the only democracy in the Middle East? The debate on the "end of the two state solution"

GENERAL READING LIST:

- Gilbert Achcar, *The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives* (2010)
- A. Bregman, *Israel's Wars* (2000)
- A. Bregman, *A History of Israel* (2002)
- Cleveland, William L., *A History of the Modern Middle East* (2000)
- Dan Cohn-Sherbok and D. el-Alami, *The Palestine-Israel Conflict* (2001)
- Martin van Creveld, , *The Sword and the Olive: A Critical History of the Israeli Defence Force* (1998)
- Trevor N. Dupuy, *Elusive victory: the Arab-Israeli wars, 1947-1974* (1978)
- Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (1988) (tutor also has a copy).
- TG Fraser, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1995)
- J Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict* (2005)
- Martin Gilbert, *A History of Israel* (1998)
- Chaim Herzog, *Arab-Israeli Wars* (1984)
- Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History: The New Historians* (1997)

- Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (2007)
- David Lesch, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History* (Oxford University Press, August 1, 2007)
- G. and A. Mahler, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Introduction and Documentary Reader* (2008)
- Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East* (1992)
- Beverley Milton-Edwards, *Conflicts in the Middle East since 1945* (2001)
- B. Milton-Edwards, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A People's War* (2008)
- Benny Morris, *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (1994)
- Benny Morris, *The Road to Jerusalem* (2002)
- Ritchie Owendale, *The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars* (1992)
- Ilan Pappé, *The Israel/Palestine Question* (1999)
- Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine* (2005)
- Ilan Pappé, *Out of the Frame: The Struggle for Academic Freedom in Israel* (2010)
- Eugene Rogan and Avi Shlaim, *The War for Palestine* (2001)
- Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel* (1998)
- Kirsten Schulze, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1999)
- A. Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan: The Life of king Hussein in war and Peace* (2007)
- Charles Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1996)
- Malcolm Yapp, *The Near East Since the First World War* (1998)

Articles, useful chapters and articles:

- M Bowker and P Williams, 'Detente and the Middle East War of 1973' in Bowker and Williams, *Superpower Detente: A Reappraisal* (1988).
- J Bowyer Bell, *Terror out of Zion: Irgun Zvai Leumi, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-49* (1977) chapter 3 'A War of Attrition, 1946-47' (looks at the period of Jewish terrorism after the war).
- Chris Bunting, 'Seeds of a new holocaust', review of Kimmerling's hostile book (*Politicide – Ariel Sharon's War against the Palestinians*) on Ariel Sharon in *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 4 July 2003. Copy in my office for borrowing or in library.
- Neil Caplan, review article, 'Zionism and the Arabs: Another look at the new historiography', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 36/2 (2001), 345-60. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- David Charters, 'Eyes of the Underground: Jewish Insurgent Intelligence in Palestine, 1945-7', *Intelligence and National Security*, 13/4, 1998, pp.163-77. Available on library e-journals gateway. Available at 2B 10087.
- Erskine Childers, 'The Other Exodus' in *The Spectator*, 12 May 1961 (available at <http://www.users.cloud9.net/~recross/israel-watch/ErskinChilders.html>) – examines and discounts the claim that the Arabs ordered the Palestinians to leave in 1948 by the use of radio broadcasts.

- Erskine Childers, 'The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees', in I. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *The Transformation of Palestine* (1971) examines and discounts the claim that the Arabs ordered the Palestinians to leave in 1948 by the use of radio broadcasts.
- Paul Dixon, 'Vietnam Syndrome? Public Opinion and British Military intervention from Palestine to Yugoslavia', *Review of International Studies*, 26 (2000) 99-121. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Review by Norman Finkelstein entitled 'How the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 gave birth to a memorial industry' in the *London Review of Books*, 6 January 2000 of Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life*. The library takes this journal.
- Review by Mandy Garner of Finkelstein's *Beyond Chutzpah* (2005) in which the reviewer outlines a controversy between Finkelstein and Dershowitz entitled 'The Good Jewish Boys Go Into Battle', *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 16 December 2005. Copy in the tutor's office.
- Charles Glass, Review of *Arafat: From Defender to Dictator* (entitled 'Return to Nowhere') in *London Review of Books*, 18 March 1999. (A good summary of the life and achievements of Yasser Arafat.) The library takes this newspaper.
- Joseph Heller, 'A Failure of a Mission: Bernadotte and Palestine 1948', *Journal of Contemporary History*, XIV, July 1979, pp.515-34. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Matthew Hughes, 'The October 1973 Arab-Israeli War: Crisis Management and Coercive Bargaining', *RUSI Journal*, April 2000, pp.86-92. Copy in the tutor's office.
- Matthew Hughes, 'An Elusive Peace Settlement in Palestine: the Peace Talks Following the 1948-9 Arab-Israeli War' in Hughes and Seligmann (eds), *Does Peace Lead to War?* (2002). Copy in the tutor's office.
- Matthew Hughes, Institute of Historical Research online *Reviews in History* (September 2000 review of Avi Shlaim's *Iron Wall* at <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/hughesMat2.html> and September 2001 review of Shlaim and Rogan's, *War for Palestine* at <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/hughesMatthew.html>).
- Matthew Hughes, 'Lebanon's Armed Forces and the Arab-Israeli War', *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Winter 2005), 24-41. Copy in tutor's office or e-journals gateway.
- George Emile Irani (book review), 'The Lebanese War Revisited', *The Middle East Journal*, 55/2, Spring 2001, 320-322. In 2B collection.
- E Karsh, 'The Collusion that Never Was: King Abdullah, the Jewish Agency and the Partition of Palestine', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34/4, October 1999, pp.569-85. Available on library e-journals gateway.

- E Karsh, 'Rewriting Israel's History', *Middle East Quarterly*, 3 (June 1996) available on line at <http://www.meforum.org/article/302> (good for the 'new-old' perspective).
- Rashid Khalidi, 'Revisionist Views of the Modern History of Palestine 1948', *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 10 (1988), 425-32. Copy in tutor's office and 2B collection.
- Walid Khalidi, 'Why did the Palestinians Leave?', *Middle East Forum*, XXXV, 7, July 1959, 21-4. Copy in my office and 2B collection.
- Walid Khalidi, 'Selected Documents on the 1948 Palestine War', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 27/3, Spring 1998, pp.60-105. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Walid Khalidi, 'Why did the Palestinians leave, revisited', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 134 (Winter 2005), 42-54. Available on library e-journals gateway or copy in tutor's office.
- Walid Khalidi, 'Plan Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18, 1988, pp.4-20. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Y Laor, 'You are Terrorists, We are Virtuous', *London Review of Books* (17 August 2006), pp.11-12. Copy in tutor's office or available through library. Critique of Israel's relationship to its army.
- John Lynn, 'Crossing the Canal: Egyptian Effectiveness and Military Culture in the October War' in John Lynn, *Battle* (2003). Copy of book in library; also copy in tutor's office.
- Nur Masalha, 'A Critique on Benny Morris', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 21/1, Autumn 1991, pp.90-7. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Philip Mattar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem: Al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement* (1988) chapter 'The Mufti of Jerusalem' (looks at this key figure in the Palestine national movement). Copy of the book in the library.
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, 'The Israel Lobby', *London Review of Books*, 23 March 2006. Anyone interested in the debate on the effect of the 'Israel lobby' in the USA should read this. A copy is available from the tutor's office. It is an abridged version of a longer article that can be found at www.ssrn.com or <http://web.hks.harvard.edu/publications/workingpapers/> and put in Mearsheimer under paper author search. The letters in response to this article, including a long one from Alan Dershowitz, can be found in the *London Review of Books* (20 April 2006) (copy also available from tutor's office).
- Special Document File: The Israeli Lobby [see Mearsheimer and Walt above], *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35/3 (Spring 2006), pp.83-114. Deals with the Mearsheimer and Walt debate above from *London Review of Books* and much more. Worth looking at. Copy in tutor's office.

- Elizabeth Monroe, Elizabeth and A.H. Farrar-Hockely, *The Arab Israeli War, October 1973: background and Events* (1974) Good account of the events of the 1973 war. Copy in tutor's office.
- Benny Morris, 'A Second Look at the "Missed Peace" or Smoothing out History: A Review Essay', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 24 (Autumn 1994) pp.78-88. Available on library e-journals gateway; also copy in tutor's office.
- Benny Morris, 'Refabricating 1948', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 27/2, Winter 1998, pp.81-95. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Benny Morris, 'The Harvest of 1948 and the Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem', *Middle East Journal*, Autumn 1986, pp.671-85. In 2B collection.
- Benny Morris, 'The Crystallization of Israeli Policy Against a Return of the Arab Refugees, April-December 1948', *Studies in Zionism*, Spring 1985, pp.85-118. In 2B collection.
- Benny Morris, 'On Ethnic Cleansing', *New Left Review* 26 (March/April 2004), pp. 37-51 (very interesting account from Morris on why he changed his mind on the Palestinians) Copy in library on e-journals gateway.
- Roger Owen, 'North Africa and the Middle East' in Howard and Roger Louis, *The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century* (1998). On order.
- Ilan Pappé, 'The Tantura Case: The Katz Research and Trial', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 30/3, Spring 2001. Available on library e-journals gateway. For more on Katz and the Tantura case, see the appendix to Ilan Pappé's *Out of the Frame* (2010). For a stinging reply to Pappé, see Yossi Ben-Artzi's review of *Out of the Frame* in *Israel Studies* 16/2 (Summer 2011), pp. 165-183 and Benny Morris's 'The Liar as Hero' in *New Republic*, 17 March 2011 (the latter can be found via Google).
- Melanie Phillips versus Avi Shlaim debate on 'Zionism Today is the Real Enemy of the Jews' of January 2005 at <http://www.melaniephillips.com/diary/archives/001020.html> and click on the two hyper links at the bottom of Ms Phillips' page to see the texts of Phillips' and Shlaim's speeches.
- Gordon Rudd, 'The Israeli revisionist historians and the Arab-Israeli conflict' (in two parts) in *Journal of Military History*, October 2003 and January 2004. Good review of Morris and Shlaim and the new historians. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Scott Sagan, 'Lessons of the Yom Kippur Alert', *Foreign Policy*, 36, Fall 1979, pp.160-77. Available on library e-journals gateway. Available at 2B 10100.
- Avraham Sela, 'Transjordan, Israel and the 1948 War: Myth, Historiography and Reality', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 28 (1992) pp.623-688. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Avi Shlaim, 'The Debate about 1948', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 27 (1995) pp.287-304. Available on library e-journals gateway.

- Avi Shlaim, *Collusion Across the Jordan* (1988) 'Conclusion' (examines Israel's collusion with Jordan to divide Palestine in 1948).
- Avi Shlaim, 'Failures in National Security Estimates: The Case of the Yom Kippur War', *World Politics*, 23/3, April 1976. Available on library e-journals gateway.
- Avi Shlaim, 'Capital Folly' review of Bernard Wasserstein's *Divided Jerusalem: The Struggle for the Holy City* in *London Review of Books* 21 March 2002 (good brief outline not just of battle of Jerusalem but also the recent peace talks and why they failed). Available in the library or copy in tutor's office.
- Avi Shlaim, 'A Road Map to Where?' in *London Review of Books* 19 June March 2003 (good outline of the problems with Bush's road map scheme of 2003). Available in the library or copy in tutor's office.
- Avi Shlaim, 'A Totalitarian Concept of History', *Middle East Quarterly*, 1996 available on line at <http://www.meforum.org/article/92> (critique of the 'new-old' historian Karsh by Shlaim).
- Avi Shlaim, 'The War of the Israeli Historians', copy of a lecture by Shlaim on the historiographical debate. Copy available from tutor's office or see <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ssf0005/The%20War%20of%20the%20Israeli%20Historians.html>
- Shabtai Teveth, 'The Palestine Refugee Problem and its Origins', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 26 (1990) pp.214-49. E-journals gateway.
- Michael Thornhill, Review of John Kent's *Egypt and the Defence of the Middle East* (1998) 3 Vols, in *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 September 1999.
- W. Andrew Terril, 'The Political Mythology of the Battle of Karamah', *The Middle East Journal*, 55/1, Winter 2001, 91-111. In 2B collection.
- Torre Tingvold Petersen, review article entitled 'How not to stand up to Arabs and Israelis' in *International History Review*, September 2003. In 2B collection.

Websites and newspapers:

- David Clark, 'The brilliant Offer that Israel never made', 10 April 2002, in The Guardian at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/apr/10/comment> (article on the failed Palestinian-Israeli peace process in the 1990s and up to the second Intifadah).
- Matthew Hughes, September 2000 review of Avi Shlaim's *Iron Wall* in IHR *Reviews in History* series go to <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/reviewer.html#h>
- Matthew Hughes, September 2001 review of Shlaim and Rogan's, *War for Palestine* in IHR *Reviews in History* series go to <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/reviewer.html#h>

- Benny Morris, 'Peace? No chance', from the Guardian, 21 February 2002 at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/q2/story/0,3604,653417,00.html>
- Avi Shlaim, 'A Betrayal of History', from the Guardian, 22 February 2002 at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,3604,653992,00.html>
- Avi Shlaim, 'Ariel Sharon promised peace with security and has decidedly failed to deliver either....', *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 26 April 2002, pp.18-19 (good summary of the peace talks of the 1990s).
- For 'New-Old' Historiography also try www.thenewrepublic.com
- For Karsh (a 'new-old' historian) see Efraim Karsh 'Historical Fictions', *Middle East Quarterly* (1996) at <http://www.meforum.org/article/93> or <http://www.meforum.org/meq/issues/199606> and Efraim Karsh 'Debating Israel's Early Years', *Middle East Quarterly* (1996) at <http://www.meforum.org/meq/june96/karsh.shtml>

Videos

- *Israel and the Arabs: Fifty Years War* (1998). This is a set of six programmes recorded on three videos that preceded the publication of Ahron Bregman and Jihan El-Tahri's *The Fifty Years War* (1998) book that accompanied the series. This is in the library. This is worth watching.
- *Israel and the Arabs* (BBC2 2005)

ASSESSMENT

Assessment is based on one three-hour degree examination counting 100% towards the final grade. The degree examination will be held in December. The purpose of the examination is to test your ability to analyse and synthesise material covered in the course. During the examination you will write on two essay questions and two gobbets.

FORMATIVE COURSEWORK

You are required to submit a **short essay** (about 1500 words) and a written **gobbet exercise** (about 1000 words), which is a primary source analysis. The essay and gobbet exercise help in the development of analytical and writing skills necessary for the successful completion of the exam.

Gobbet Exercise (about 1000 words)

The deadline for submission is **Wednesday, 3 October (week 4), by 3pm**. Students will be provided with a choice of primary sources and guidelines on working with primary sources (on MyAberdeen) at the beginning of the course. Gobbet exercises will be returned individually with a mark taken from the CGS scale and written comments. The scholarly apparatus used (bibliography and referencing style) should conform to the History Department Referencing Guide available on MyAberdeen.

Short Essay (about 1500 words)

The deadline for submission is **Wednesday, 7 November (week 9), by 3pm**. Students will frame questions of their choice after consultation with the course coordinator. Essays will be returned individually with a mark taken from the CGS scale and written comments. Before starting your essay, consult the section on essay-writing in the Department's *Student Guidelines*. The scholarly apparatus used (bibliography and referencing style) should conform to the History Department Referencing Guide available on MyAberdeen.

To view the CGS Descriptors please go to **MyAberdeen- Organisations- Divinity, History, & Philosophy Student Information for Undergraduates**. The link to the CGS Descriptors is on the left hand menu.

PLEASE NOTE: In order to pass a course on the first attempt, a student must attain a Common Grading Scale (CGS) mark of at least E3 on each element of course assessment. Failure to do so will result in a grade of no greater than CGS E1 for the course as a whole.

If you submit your work on time, you can expect that feedback will **normally be provided within three working weeks** (excluding vacation periods) of the submission deadline.

ASSESSMENT DEADLINES

Gobbet exercise: Wednesday, 3 October (week 4), by 3pm.

Essay: Wednesday, 7 November (week 9), by 3pm.

SUBMISSION ARRANGEMENTS

Submit **one paper copy** with a completed essay cover sheet to the **drop boxes in CB008 in 50-52 College Bounds** and **one official electronic copy** to **TurnitinUK via MyAberdeen**. Both copies to be submitted by 3.00pm on the due date.

Paper Copy: One paper copy, typed and double spaced, together with an **Assessment cover sheet** – this should have your ID number **clearly** written on the cover sheet, with **NO** name or signature but **EVERYTHING ELSE** completed, including tutor's name – and should be delivered to the drop boxes in CB008, 50-52 College Bounds.

Electronic Copy: One copy submitted through Turnitin via [MyAberdeen](#).
(for instructions please see
<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/eLearning/turnitinuk/students/>)
Students are asked to retain the Turnitin receipt so they
are able to provide proof of submission at a later date if
required.

In advance of uploading, please save the assignment with your student ID number listed in the filename, i.e. 59999999 HI4025 Essay 1.

When asked to enter a title for the assignment, please enter a title identical to the name of your saved assignment, i.e. HI4025 Essay 1.

Both copies to be submitted by 3.00pm on the due date.

Please note: Failure to submit both an electronic copy to TurnitinUK, and an identical paper copy, will result in a deduction of marks.

Failure to submit to TurnitinUK will result in a zero mark.

EXAMINATION

Information on how the examination paper will be structured, if necessary, such as how many questions, etc. **General exam guidance will be given in the Student Handbook.**)

Past exam papers can be viewed at <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/library/learning-and-teaching/for-students/exam-papers/>.

PLEASE NOTE: Candidates whose first language is not English may refer to English/native tongue dictionaries, when permitted by their Schools to do so. Electronic dictionaries are not permitted in the examination venue. Invigilators are entitled to request inspection of dictionaries prior to the examination, thumbing through them to check that there is no extra written material present.