

## Israel and the Occupied Territories

Term One, Tuesday 11-1

HEBR7766 (BA)/HEBRG128 (MA)

Ronald Ranta

The Course will cover Israel's complex relationship with the Occupied Territories. The Course aims to provide a detailed analysis of Israel's complex relationship with the Occupied Territories. In doing so the Course seeks to contribute towards a better understanding of Israeli society, politics and history. The Course will, by providing a detailed history of Israel's relationship with the Occupied Territories, broaden students' understanding of the one of the core issues of the Israeli-Arab conflict in addition to detailing some of the challenges facing Israel in the modern era.

### Course structure:

#### **Lecture 1:** Introduction

- The present Situation
- History – The Six Day War and Israel's political situation before and after the war (the 'Waiting Period' and the National Unity Government).
- Geography – The Territories Israel Conquered.
- Basic Concepts and Terminology – Demography; Strategic Imperatives; the Instrumental-Normative dichotomy; Israel's Options; International Law and Theodore Meron's Legal Opinion.
- The Challenges posed by the Occupied Territories.
- Recommended reading and bibliography; Essay questions.

#### **Lecture 2:** The Eshkol Period

- The Military Administration.
- Initial proposals – the AMAN Plan; the Kimchi-Bavly Plan; the 19<sup>th</sup> of June decision.
- The Palestinian and Jordanian options.

- Early Settlements – Merom Golan; Gush Etzion and Hebron.
- The Allon Plan vs. the Functional Solution.

Recommended Bibliography (students are advised to read at least one of the following): Gazit, Gorenberg, Keival, Nissan, Roberts, Segev, Teveth, and Yishai.

### **Lecture 3:** The Meir Period

- The War of Attrition – Israel’s Policies in the Sinai Peninsula.
- The ‘Oral Law’ – the battle between Dayan and Allon.
- The Rogers Plan – US-Israeli relations and the Occupied Territories.
- Israel’s Settlement Philosophy – a Modified Version of the Allon Plan.
- The Yom Kippur War – the Concept of Strategic Depth; the Security Value of the Settlements; Israeli-Egyptian Negotiations.
- Israel’s Jordanian Options – Hussein’s Federal Plan and the Israeli-Jordanian Negotiations.
- The Grand Debate.

Recommended Bibliography: Gazit, Gorenberg, Keival, Lukacs, Nissan, Quandt, Roberts, Teveth, and Yishai.

### **Lecture 4:** The Rabin Period

- Gush Emonim – the Rise of the Religious Right and its impact on Israel’s Territorial Policies; the Breakdown of the Green-Line Consensus; the Sebastia Affair; Ofra and Ma’ale Adumim.
- The Return of the Palestinian Option – the 1976 Elections.
- Israel’s Negotiations with Egypt and Syria – Withdrawal from Parts of Sinai and the Golan.
- The end of the Labour Period.

Recommended Bibliography: Gazit, Gordon, Gorenberg, Harris, Isaac, Kieval, Lukacs, Quandt, Roberts, Shindler, Sprintsak, Yishai, and Zertal.

### **Lecture 5:** The Begin Period

- The New Settlement Drive – The Drobbles Plan and Elon Moreh.
- The Withdrawal from Sinai – The Evacuation of Yamit and the Annexation of the Golan Heights.
- Autonomy Talks - the Self-Rule Proposal and the Dayan Plan.
- Change on the Ground – Sharon; the Civil Administration; the Village Association; the Jewish Terrorist Group, and the Mini Intifada.

Recommended Bibliography: Aronson, Elazar, Gazit, Gordon, Harris, Issac, Kieval, Lukacs, Lustick, Quandt, Shindler, Sprintzak, Yishai, and Zertal.

### **Lecture 6:** The Shamir Period: The First Shamir Government; National Unity Government and Shamir's Second Government.

- The Return and End of the Jordanian Options – The London Agreement.
- Sharon's Settlement Drive.
- The First Intifada – Causes, Impact, Jordan's Role, the First Gulf War and the Madrid conference.
- The Shamir Plan – The Return of the Palestinian Option.

Recommended Bibliography: Aronson, Gazit, Gordon, Lochery, Lukacs, Lustick, Melman and Raviv, Makovsky, Schiff and Ya'ari, Shindler, Sprintzak, and Zertal.

### **Lecture 7:** The Rabin 2 Period.

- The Palestinian Option – The Oslo Agreement; the Jericho & Gaza First Plan and the Palestinian Authority.
- The Change in Settlement Activity – Expansion of existing Blocks and Illegal Settlements.

- Hamas, Terrorism and the West bank Barrier.

Recommended Bibliography: Gazit, Gordon, Karsh, Makovsky, Lochery, and Zertal.

**Lecture 8:** The Netanyahu and Barak Period.

- The Wye and the Hebron Agreements – The Difficulty of Operating without Consensus.
- Camp David – Failures and Expectations; the Second Intifada.
- The Clinton Plan and the Arab Peace Initiative.

Bibliography: Gordon, Karsh, Lochery, and Zertal.

**Lecture 9:** The Sharon and Olmert Period.

- The Second Intifada – Operation Defensive Shield; the Road Map and the Destruction of the PA.
- The Disengagement from the Gaza Strip – the Orange Movement; the Reorientation of Israeli Politics and the birth of Kadima.
- The Talia Sasson's Report on Illegal Settlements.
- Hamastan and Fatahland – The 2008 Gaza War.

Recommended Bibliography: Kimmerling.

**Lecture 10:** Open Discussion.

- Summary; Conclusions; a look to the future and the Obama Plan?
- Jerusalem and the Settlement Blocks.

The course assessment includes an essay for Undergraduate, First Term JYA and Postgraduates. Word count for both Undergraduates and JYA is 3-4,000. Word count for Postgraduates is 5000. The essay must follow the Style Sheet of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

Essay deadline: Tuesday 15 December 2009.

Essay Questions for Undergraduates and for Postgraduates: Please choose one topic.

1. To what extent did Israel's short-term and long-term actions, with regards to the Occupied Territories, contribute to the outbreak of the first Intifada?
2. Discuss and explain the main factors that inhibited early Labour governments from pursuing a clear territorial policy.
3. In what ways did the coming to power of the Likud party change Israel's approach towards the Occupied Territories?
4. Discuss and explain the affect Religious Zionism (New Zionism) had on Israel's policies towards the Occupied Territories?
5. Evaluate in what ways did the Occupied Territories transformed the role of the IDF and change Israel's military/strategic thinking.
6. Asses the impact that Israeli-US relations had on Israel's territorial policies? (Choose any one period).
7. To what extent did the 'Demographic Problem' affect Israel's approach towards the Occupied Territories?

## Course Bibliography

- Aronson, Geoffrey. Israel, Palestinians and the Intifada: Creating facts on the West Bank. London, Kegan Paul International, 1990. (Lectures 5-6)
- Beilin, Yossi. Touching Peace: from the Oslo Accord to a Final Agreement. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999. (Lectures 7-8).
- Brecher, Michael. Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy. London, Oxford University Press, 1974. (Lectures 1-3)
- Dan, Uri. Ariel Sharon: An Intimate Portrait. London, Palgrave Macmillan. (Lecture 9).
- Gazit, Shlomo. Trapped Fools: Thirty Years of Israeli Policy in the Territories. London, Routledge, 2003. (Lectures 1-7)
- Gordon, Neve. Israel's Occupation. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2008. (Lectures 1-10)
- Gorenberg, Gershom. The Accidental Empire, Israel And The Birth Of The Settlements, 1967-1977. New York, Times Books, 2006. (Lectures 1-4)
- Harris, W.W. Taking Root: Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, the Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip 1967-1980. New York, Research Studies Press, 1980. (Lectures 1-5)
- Inbar, Efraim. Rabin and Israel's National Security. Washington, The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1999. (Lectures 4 & 7)
- Issac, Rael Jean. Israel Divided, Ideological Politics in the Jewish State. Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1976. (Lectures 1-4)
- Karsh, Efraim (ed). From Rabin to Netanyahu: Israel's Troubled Agenda. London, Routledge, 1997. (Lectures 7-8)
- Kieval, Gershon. Party Politics in Israel and the Occupied Territories. Connecticut, Green Wood, 1983. (Lectures 1-5)
- Kimmerling, Baruch (ed). The Israeli State & Society, Boundaries & Frontiers. New York, State University of New York Press, 1989. (Lectures 1-6)
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- Kimmerling, Baruch. Zionism and Territory The Socio-Territorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics. Institute of International Studies, University of California Berkeley, 1983. (Lectures 1-6)
- Lochery, Neill. The Difficult Road to Peace: Netanyahu, Israel and the Middle East Peace Process. London, Ithaca Press, 1999. (Lecture 8)
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- Lukacs, Yehuda. Israel, Jordan and the Peace Process. Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1997. (Lectures 1-7)
- Lustick, Ian. For the Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel. New York, Council On Foreign Relations Press, 1988. (Lectures 4-6)
- Lustick, Ian. Unsettled States: Disputed Lands. New York, Cornell University Press, 1993. (Lectures 1-6)
- Makovsky, David. Making Peace with the PLO. Boulder, Westview Press, 1996. (Lectures 5-7)
- Melman, Yossi and Dan, Raviv. Behind the Uprising, Israelis, Jordanians and Palestinians. Westport, Greenwood Press, 1989. (Lectures 1-6)

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Quandt, William B. Peace Process, American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967. Harrisonburg, The Brooking Institution Press and the University of California Press, 2001. (Lectures 1-8)

Roberts, Samuel J. Party & Policy in Israel, The battle Between Hawks & Doves. London, Westview Special Studies on the Middle East. Westview Press, 1990. (Lectures 1-6)

Rubin, Barry. Joseph, Ginat and Moshe, Maoz (eds). From War to Peace: Arab-Israeli Relations 1973-1993. New York, New York University Press, 1994. (Lectures 4-7)

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Seliktar, Ofira. New Zionism and the Foreign Policy System of Israel. London, Croom Helm, 1986. (Lectures 1-5)

Shapiro, Yonathan. The Road to Power: Herut Party in Israel. Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991. (Lectures 4-6)

Sharkansky, Ira. Governing Israel, Chosen People, Promised Land & Prophetic Tradition. New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2005. (Lectures 1-7)

Sharkansky, Ira. Policy Making in Israel: Routines for Simple Problems and Coping with the Complex. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press 1997. (Lectures 1-6)

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