



**Israel Studies International MA Program**  
**Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**

**The State of Israel: the Formulation of Civilian-military  
relations 1956-1982**

**Spring Semester 2014**

**Tuesday, 12:30 am – 14:00 pm**

**Sde Boker Campus, The Ben Gurion Research Institute for the  
Study of Israel and Zionism**

**Prof. Zaki Shalom**

**Email: [zshalom@bgu.ac.il](mailto:zshalom@bgu.ac.il)**

**Phone: 08 659 6969 (office)**

**Office hours: Beer Sheva, Main Campus Room 612 , Building 72 –  
Thursday 11:00 – 12:00 .**

**Office location (Beer Sheva): Building #: 72 Room #: 612**

**Office location (Sde Boker): Building: Moran, The BG Research Institute**

**Course Description:**

---

This course will focus on Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors and the international community since the outbreak of the War of 1948. Within this context it will examine the following main subjects: The War of 1948 and its consequences; the conflicting interpretations of the Armistice Agreements; the "Jerusalem Question"; Arab Infiltrations and Israeli Retaliation Policy; peace initiatives 1949-1956 (The Protocol of Lausanne, The Syrian Peace initiative. The Alpha Plan); the Gaza Raid – background and implications; the Kinneret Raid – background and implications; the road to the Sinai War; the formulation of Israel' alliance with France; Soviet politics in the Middle East; the Sinai War and its consequences; the divisions with the Arab world `president Nasser vision of the Arab-Israeli conflict; the road to the Six Day War; the build-up of Israeli nuclear option.

## **Course Objectives:**

The basic assumption underlying the course is that an understanding of the present and future events in the middle east can only be achieved through an intensive knowledge of past events. The aim of this course is to provide the student with a wide knowledge of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the development of Israel's foreign policy since the establishment of Israel as an independent state. The course will provide the students with various, sometimes conflicting interpretations and views of major political and security events in the Middle East during this period of time.

## **Course Structure:**

---

Each course meeting will include a lecture, and a **discussion** based on readings which would be supplied to the students in advance.

**Total # of Credits: 4 (without internship).**

## **Teaching Method:**

The course will be conducted through a combination of formal lectures and class discussion. The lectures will be based on weekly reading assignments, mostly based on the course textbook. In addition students would be required to write a research paper on a subject which would be agreed upon between the students and the lecturer. During the second semester, the students would have to present their research to the class.

## **Course Requirements**

---

Compulsory attendance **YES**

Pre-requisites: **NONE**

## **Structure of Final Course Grad**

---

1. Participation	20%
2. Seminar Research Paper	60%
3. Final Exam	<u>20%</u>
	100%

Note:

- Work handed in late, will not be graded!
- Penalties and course policies should be clearly articulated (i.e. students will have their final grade lowered an entire grade level if they miss more than 2 class meetings unexcused)

**Course Schedule Layout:**

---

\* Note – readings are all based on course text book. Additional – recommended readings will be assigned throughout the course. One of the assignments will be based on two articles from the additional reading list.

**Week 1-2 [September 22<sup>th</sup>, October 6<sup>th</sup>]**

**The War of 1948 – Background and Consequences**

- a. Origins of the Arab Israeli conflict throughout the 20th. Century.
- b. The struggle of the Jewish people for independence.
- c. The road to the partition resolution – Israel, the Arab world and the great powers.
- d. The debates within the Israeli leadership regarding the declaration of independence.
- e. The armistice agreements – the Israeli, Arab and international interpretations.

**Readings: Leslie Stein, *The Making of Modern Israel* , pp. 19-68.**

**Week 3-4 [, 27<sup>th</sup> ]**

**Arab infiltration, Israeli retaliation**

- a. Sources of the Arab infiltration into Israel in the early 50's.
- b. the rationale behind Israeli's retaliation policy
- c. the position of the great powers to the retaliation policy
- d. the debates within the Israeli leadership –Ben Gurion and Sharett regarding the retaliation policy
- e. Kibia, the Gaza operation and the Kinneret operation – positive and negative reactions.
- f. The struggle within the united nations on the legitimacy of the retaliation policy.

**Readings: Zaki Shalom, *Strategy in Debate: Arab Infiltration and Israeli Retaliation Policy in the Early 1950s, Israel Affairs, Vol. 8.3, 2002, pp. 104-117.***

## **Week 5 : November 3<sup>th</sup>**

### **The Jerusalem question**

- a. The definition of Jerusalem as "Corpus Separatism" in the Partition Resolution.
- b. The division of Jerusalem between Israel and Jordan following the war of 1948.
- c. The United Nations resolution on Jerusalem as an international city.
- d. Ben Gurion's decision to transfer the Knesset and the Government offices to Jerusalem.
- e. The debates within the Israeli leadership and the dialogue with the great powers regarding the future status of Jerusalem.

**Readings: Zaki Shalom, David Ben-Gurion, Israel and the Arab World, pp.65-75.**

## **Week 6-7 [November 10<sup>h</sup> ; 17<sup>th</sup>]**

### **The peace initiatives between 1949-1956**

- a. Israel's foreign policy between east and west.
- b. The Korean war – and Israel's identification with the west
- c. The Lausanne conference
- d. The Hosni Zaim peace initiative
- e. The United States Britain and the Alfa plan.

**Readings: Zaki Shalom, David Ben-Gurion, Israel and the Arab World, pp.76-114, 176-191.**

## **Week 8-9 [November 24<sup>th</sup>, December 1<sup>th</sup> ]**

### **The road to the Sinai war**

- a. The formulation of the alliance with France
- b. The end of the relation phenomenon.
- c. Israel's territorial aspirations – had Israel really missed territorial opportunities in the 1948 war.
- d. The Israeli, British and French collaboration towards the Sinai war

**Readings: Avi Shlaim, The Iron Wall, pp. 165-178, 178-185.**

## Week 10-11-12 [December 8<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>]

### **The build up of Israel's nuclear option**

- a. the rationale of the nuclear option
- b. The internal opposition to the option.
- c. The reaction of the international community to the exposure of the Dimona reactor
- d. Ben Gurion and President Kennedy dialogue on Israel's nuclear option.
- e. Prime minister Levy Eshkol and President Johnson dialogue on Israel's nuclear option.
- f. Prime Minister Golda Meir and president Nixon strategic understandings.

**Readings: Zaki Shalom, Israel's Nuclear Option, pp. 1-120.**

## Week 13

### **The road to the six day war**

- a. the struggle between Israel and Syria on the water projects
- b. Israel Jordan secret alliance.
- c. The entrance of massive Egyptian troops into Sinai
- d. The Abba Eban mission to France, Britain and the United States.
- e. The outbreak of the war and its consequences.

**Readings, Zaki Shalom, The Role of U.S Diplomacy in the lead-up to the Six Day War, pp. 1-124.**

---

## Course Textbook

---

**Zaki Shalom, David Ben-Gurion, the State of Israel, and the Arab World, 1949-1956**, (Sussex Academic Press, 2002), 216 pages.

**Zaki Shalom, Israel's Nuclear Option: Behind the Scenes Diplomacy Between Dimona and Washington**, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, and Jaffe Institute for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University, 2005, 220 pages.

**Zaki Shalom Ben-Gurion's Political Struggles, 1963-1967 - A Lion in Winter** (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, 2007), 143 pages.

**Zaki Shalom, The Role of US Diplomacy in the Lead-Up to the Six Day War, Balancing moral Commitments and National Interests**, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, 2011,

**Avi Shlaim, The Iron Wall, Israel and the Arab World**, Norton Company, New York, 1999.

### Additional recommended Bibliography

---

Bar-Zohar, M. *Ben-Gurion : a Biography*. New York: Adama Books, 1986. pp. 121-124;

Cohen Michael, J. *Palestine and the Great Powers* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 260-300

Dan, Uriel, *King Hussein and the Challenge of Arab Radicalism, Jordan 1955–1957* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Gloska, Ami, "The Showdown between the General Staff and the Eshkol Government in the 'Waiting Period' – May–June 1967," *Leonard Davis School of International Relations*, Publication No. 88 (June 2001).

Golani Motti. "Shall we go to War? And if we do, When? The Genesis of the Internal Debate in Israel on the Road to the Sinai War". *Israel Affairs*. Vol 6: 3-4 2000. pp. 22-42

Morris, B. " The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine : the Israel Defence Forces Intelligence Branch Analysis of

June 1948", in: Morris, *1948 And After: Israel and the Palestinians*, Oxford 1990

Morris, B. "The Historiography of Deir Yassin", *Journal of Israeli History* 24,1 (2005) 79-107

*New York Review* (July 15, 1999).

O'balance, Edgar, *The Third Arab–Israeli War* (Connecticut: Faber and Faber, 1972).

Oren, Michael, "The Test of Suez: Israel and the Middle East Crisis of 1958," *Studies in Zionism*, 12 (1991), pp. 55–84.

Oren, Michael. "Escalation to Suez: The Egyptian-Israeli Border War, 1949-1956". *Journal of Contemporary History* vol. 24: 2 pp. 347-373

Quandt, William, "Lyndon Johnson, the Middle East and the 1967 War: What Color was the Light?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (1993).

Shlaim, Avi, "His Royal Shyness, King Hussein and Israel," *The Shlaim, Avi, Collusion across the Jordan: : King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (Columbia University Press, 1988).

Shlaim, Avi, *War and Peace in the Middle East: a Concise History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995).

Stein, Kenneth, W. "One Hundred Years of Social Change: the Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem", in: L. J. Silberstein (ed). *New Perspectives on Israeli History*, New York: New York University Press, 1991. pp.57-81

Susser, Asher, *Jordan, Case Study of a Pivotal State* (Washington DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2000).

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 – bring the hardcopies of this document to class on October 16<sup>th</sup>