

# **The Making of the U.S. - Israeli Relationship**

Hist.385, 12:50-1:40 MWF Fall 2008

Instructor: Dr. David Tal

Email: dtal@emory.edu

Office Hours: By appointment

Phone Number: 404-7275789

The course will deal with the buildup and development of the Israeli-American relationship from the 1940s to the present. It will be based on lectures and discussion of articles: two meetings in a week will be lectures, and in the third we will discuss an article(s) relevant to the week's topic. I expect you all to be ready with the articles, and to be ready with the week's reading. All the material under "discussion in class" will be on the course blackboard's site. The reading material will be reserved in the library.

There will be three assignments throughout the semester: book report, a no-more than five-page paper and a no-more than fifteen-page paper. The book report will be on any book that is relevant to the course. The topic of the papers will be decided by the student, in consultation with me- the papers should deal with separate topics, although the second can relate to the first- it can deal with the next time frame or issue. In any case, you must conclude the topic with me.

Deadlines:

Book report: October 15.

First paper: November 10.

Second (and final) paper: December 10.

General reading: Bernard Reich, *The United States and Israel*, New York: Praeger, 1984.

## **Week 1- Orientation**

### **The Framework**

#### **The United States and Israel**

##### Reading:

Elizabeth Stephens, *US Policy Towards Israel: The Role Of Political Culture In Defining the 'Special Relationship'*, Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2006.

##### Discussion in Class

Elizabeth C. Hoffman, "Diplomatic History and the Meaning of Life: Toward a Global American History," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Fall, 1997), pp. 499- 518.

Eric Crouse, "Under the Radar: Bible Prophecy, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1967," Paper Presented at the SHAFR Conference, Columbus Ohio, June 2008.

Shalom L. Goldman, "Christians and Zionism," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 93, No. 2 (June 2007), pp. 245-260.

### **Israel and the United States**

#### Reading:

*Israel Studies*, Vol. 5 No. 2.

#### Discussion in Class

Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman, "The "Americanization" of Israel: A Demographic, Cultural and Political Evaluation," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 5 No. 2, pp. 65-91.

### **Week 2- Israel's National Security and Foreign Policy**

#### Reading:

Uri Bialer, *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation 1948-1956*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

#### Discussion in Class

Avi Shlaim, "Israel between East and West, 1948-56," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 36 (2004), pp. 657-673.

### **Week 3- The United States in the Middle East**

#### Reading:

Peter Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1945-1961*, Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Douglas Little: *The United States and the Middle East since 1945*, University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

#### Discussion in Class

Samuel Lewis, "The United States and Israel: Constancy and Change," in William Quandt (ed.) *The Middle East: Ten Years after Camp David* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1988), pp. 217-57

### **Week 4- Truman and Israel (1)- from the Yom Kippur Address to Recognition in Israel**

#### Reading:

Michael Cohen, *Truman and Israel* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

### **Truman and Israel (2)- In Pursuit of Security**

#### Reading:

Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East*, pp. 67-143.

Discussion in Class

Michael Ottolenghi, "Harry Truman's Recognition of Israel," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (2004), pp. 963–988.

David Tal, "The Making, Operation and Failure of the May 1950 Tripartite Declaration on Middle East Security," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*.

**Week 5- "Friendly Impartiality" (1953-1958)**

Reading:

Isaac Alteras, *Eisenhower and Israel*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993.

Discussion in Class

**Week 6- The Changing Strategic Climate (1958-1961)**

Reading:

David Tal, "Seizing Opportunities: Israel and the 1958 Crisis in the Middle East." *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan. 2001), pp. 142-158.

Discussion in Class

**Week 7- "Special Relations" (?), 1961-1963**

Reading:

Warren Bass, *Support any friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the origins of the United States-Israel Alliance*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Discussion in Class

David Tal, "Symbol or Substance? Israel's Campaign to Acquire Hawk Missiles, 1960-1962." *International History Review* (Canada), Vol. XXII no. 2, (June 2000), pp. 304-317

**Week 8- The Friendship Tightening, 1964-1968.**

Reading:

Abraham Ben-Zvi, *Lyndon B. Johnson and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel: in the Shadow of the Hawk*, Portland, OR : Frank Cass, 2004.

Discussion in Class

Little, Douglas, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1993): 563-585.

**Week 9- In the Height (and heat) of the Cold War, 1969-1976**

Reading:

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Discussion in Class

Noam Kochavi, "Joining the conservative brotherhood: Israel, President Nixon, and the political consolidation of the 'special relationship', 1969–73", *Cold War History*, Vol. 8, No. 4, November 2008, pp. 449- 480.

**Week 10- The Carter administration**

Reading:

Reich, *The United States and Israel* pp. 41-85.

Kenneth W. Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, And The Quest For Arab-Israeli Peace*, New York: Routledge, 1999.

Discussion in Class

Quandt, *Peace Process*, pp. 177- 204.

**Week 12- From the First War in Lebanon to the Madrid Conference**

Reading:

Reich, *The United States and Israel* pp. 87-175.

Discussion in Class

Avner Yaniv and Robert J. Lieber, "Reagan and the Middle East," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4, (1983), pp. 125-137

**Week 13- In the Shadow of the Oslo Accords**

Reading:

Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story Of The Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), pp. 88-136, 549-758.

Discussion in Class

Robert O. Freedman, "US. Policy Toward The Middle East in Clinton's Second Term," MERIA, Volume 3, No. 1 - March 1999, @ <http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/journal/1999/issue1/jv3n1a5.html>

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors," *The New York Review of Books*, Volume 48, Number 13 (August 9, 2001)

**Week 14- What Can We Say About US-Israel Relations?**

Discussion in Class

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," March 2006.

All of us who had one approach in the first administration were gone. In reality, the kind of deal we had in mind was not negotiated. We were constantly focused on how we could build our leverage with the idea to have a rollback of our sanctions, but only in return for a far-reaching rollback of the Iranian nuclear infrastructure. What emerged was a very different kind of deal than I would have had in mind. One of the most important points to be made in the book is that presidents, such as Eisenhower, Nixon, Carter, Bush 41, and Obama, were not successful when they chose to redefine the relationship with Israel in order to gain with the Arabs. Yet, those presidents who cooperated with Israel did not have the expected negative fallout with the Arab countries. The relationship between United States and Israel is often described as "special." Yet the two countries are not bound by a formal alliance. Leaders of the two countries emphasize shared values and interests, yet the history of the relationship is punctuated by divergences. The objective of this course is to impart a deeper understanding of the history, inner workings, and context of the US-Israel relationship. While many people hold strong opinions about U.S.-Israel ties, there is a widespread ignorance of their precise history, the course of their development, and the way in which they have functioned in times of peace and war. We will work together in this course to acquire an insider's knowledge of the relationship, through reading, discussion, and writing. Foreign Relations of the United States. Previous Administration Archives. Directories. The United States is committed to supporting the parties in efforts to reach a lasting, comprehensive peace agreement that offers a brighter future to both Israel and the Palestinians. U.S. Assistance to Israel. The U.S.-Israel bilateral relationship is strong, anchored by over \$3 billion in Foreign Military Financing annually. In addition to financial support, the U.S. participates in a high level of exchanges with Israel, to include joint military exercises, military research, and weapons development. Through the Joint Counterterrorism Group and a semi-annual Strategic Dialogue, the U.S. and