

# A History of the Arab–Israeli Conflict

Ninth Edition

Ian J. Bickerton  
and

Carla L. Klausner

List of Figures	ix
List of Tables and Charts	xii
List of Maps	xiii
List of Documents	xiv
Preface to the Ninth Edition	xvii
Acknowledgments	xxi
Introduction	1
Defining the Question	4
Who Are the Arabs and Jews?	5
The Religious Dimension: Judaism and Islam	7
The Task of the Historian	13
The Landscape of Palestine	14
1. Palestine in the Nineteenth Century	19
Palestine under the Ottoman Empire	20
The Arabs of Palestine	22
Jews in Nineteenth-Century Palestine	24
The Birth of Modern Zionism	26
The Jewish and Arab Communities of Palestine on the Eve of World War I	35
2. Palestine During the Mandate	44
The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence	46
The Sykes-Picot Agreement	49
The Balfour Declaration	51
Postwar Settlement	53
The Mandates	55
Land, Immigration, and White Papers	64
3. World War II, Jewish Displaced Persons, and the Partition of Palestine	86
The Holocaust	89
Jewish Resistance to the Holocaust	92
The United States, American Jews, and Palestine to 1945	93
Palestine after World War II	96
The Displaced Persons and Palestine	97
Postwar British and American Policy	100
The Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry	100
Palestine before the United Nations	105

UNSCOP Majority Report	106
The United States and the Partition Proposal	107
UNGA Approves the Partition of Palestine	109
Arab and Jewish Response to the UN Partition Resolution	110
Partition in Doubt	113
 4. The Proclamation of Israel and First Arab-Israeli War	 126
Israel Declared and the War of 1948	126
The Palestinian Refugees	132
Israel: A Jewish State	134
The Arabs of Palestine: 1948	138
Conclusion	141
 5. The Conflict Widens: Suez, 1956	 153
The Uncertain Years, 1949-1956	154
Israel and the Palestinians	155
Israel and the Arab States	157
Background to the 1956 War	158
The Baghdad Pact, 1955	163
The Suez Crisis	165
 6. The Turning Point: June 1967	 181
Israel after 1956	182
The Arab States after 1956	185
US-Soviet Involvement: The Cold War and the Arms Race	186
Syria, the Palestinians, and the War of 1967	191
Recapitulation	202
 7. Holy Days and Holy War: October 1973	 209
The Palestinians and the PLO after 1967	212
Diplomacy, the War of Attrition, and the Rogers Plan	219
Détente and the Role of the Superpowers	222
Egypt Prepares for War	222
The 1973 War and Its Aftermath	226
The Arab Embargo and the Oil Weapon	229
 8. The Search for Peace: 1973-1979	 239
The Peace Process, 1973-1979	240
Water and the Arab-Israeli Conflict	250
The Camp David Accords	252
 9. Lebanon and the Intifada	 274
Lebanon	276
The Intifada	294
The Superpowers and the Peace Process	304
 10. The Peace of the Brave	 320
The End of the Cold War and the Dissolution of the Soviet Union	321
The Gulf War, 1990-1991	322
The Madrid Peace Conference, October 1991	326
The Road to Peace	332
The September 1993 Israeli-PLO Accord	340

The Gaza–Jericho Agreement between Israel and the PLO	361
Peace between Jordan and Israel, July 1994	363
The Road to Oslo II	364
The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, November 1995	368
The Israeli Elections of May 1996	379
<b>12. Collapse of the Peace Process</b>	<b>402</b>
Peace Negotiations Stall, 1997	404
Internal Problems in Israel and in the PLO	405
The Death of King Hussein, February 1999	412
The Election of Ehud Barak	413
The Sharm al-Sheikh Memorandum, September 1999	415
The Syrians—and Great Expectations	418
The Talks Continue	423
Lebanon, 2000	424
Camp David II, July 2000	428
The al-Aqsa Intifada and Collapse of the Peace Process	432
The Election Victory of Ariel Sharon, 2001	436
<b>13. The Arab–Israeli Conflict in the Post-9/11 World</b>	<b>445</b>
Sharon’s New Government Hardens Policy	446
September 11, 2001 and Its Aftermath	449
The Quartet “Road Map” to Peace, 2002	454
Sharon’s 2003 Unilateral Gaza Withdrawal Plan	463
Controversy over the Security Barrier and Targeted Killings	466
Death of Yasser Arafat, 2004; Mahmoud Abbas Elected President of PA	469
The Gaza Withdrawal, 2005	473
<b>14. Perilous Times: 2006–2009</b>	<b>488</b>
Introduction	489
Sharon Suffers Stroke	490
Palestinian Elections and Hamas Victory, January 2006	490
Kadima Wins Israeli Elections, March 2006	492
Israeli–Hizbullah Conflict, July 2006	493
Gaza and the Israeli–Palestinian Situation	496
Hamas Gains Control of the Gaza Strip, June 2007	499
The Annapolis Conference, November 2007	500
Olmert–Abbas Discussions, 2008	502
The Gaza War of 2008–2009	503
New Directions in US Policy	506
The Richard Goldstone Report, 2009	509
2009 Israeli Temporary Settlement Freeze	510
<b>15. Dramatic Events: 2010–2013</b>	<b>517</b>
Introduction	520
Diplomatic Initiatives	520
The 2011 Arab Spring and Its Repercussions	527
Israeli–Palestinian Developments 2011	529
Political Developments among the Palestinian Factions and in Israel and Egypt, 2011–2012	535
The November 2012 Israel–Gaza Clash	540

Introduction	558
Israel and the Palestinian Authority—End of the Two-State Solution?	559
Elections in the United States and the Presidency of Donald Trump, 2016	570
The 2020 Trump Peace Plan	575
Israel and the United Arab Emirates Reach Historic Agreement in 2020; The Abraham Accords	578
Last Days of the Trump Administration	581
Joe Biden Assumes the Presidency, 2021	583
Regional Developments, 2003–2021	586
 Glossary	 623
Index	629