



# *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

## *Syllabus*

### *From Rhodes Agreements to the Biden Plan: Peace Efforts in the Israeli-Arab Conflict - 58402*

*Last update 27-11-2024*

*HU Credits: 4*

*Degree/Cycle: 1st degree (Bachelor)*

*Responsible Department: International Relations*

*Academic year: 0*

*Semester: Yearly*

*Teaching Languages: Hebrew*

*Campus: Mt. Scopus*

*Course/Module Coordinator: Lior Lehrs*

*Coordinator Email: [lior.lehrs@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:lior.lehrs@mail.huji.ac.il)*

*Coordinator Office Hours:*

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Teaching Staff:

Dr. Lior Lehrs

Course/Module description:

The course examines the main developments of peace efforts in the Israeli-Arab conflict. It analyzes peace plans, negotiation processes, and agreements pursued through various tracks, from the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 to the present (including Israel-Egypt, Israel-Jordan, Israel-Syria, and Israel-PLO). Within this framework, the course explores the impact of leaders, domestic factors, and regional and international dynamics on the diplomatic processes between Israel and the various actors in the regional arena. The course uses theoretical tools from the fields of Foreign Policy Analysis, Diplomacy, and Negotiations, to examine successes and failures of peace efforts, and the role played by different actors, and to identify trends and lessons regarding barriers and opportunities at different stages. It includes textual analysis of key diplomatic documents in the process, such as UN Security Council resolutions and agreements.

Course/Module aims:

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

1. To be familiar with the various stages of the Israeli-Arab peace process
2. To be familiar with the trends in the complex relationship between Israel and various actors in the Arab world, and how they have been influenced by domestic, regional, and international processes and factors.
3. To critically compare and analyze different negotiation processes and peace initiatives, with reference to various issues and aspects, and different perspectives, while using different theoretical frameworks.
3. Analyze diplomatic texts in peace processes (peace agreements, diplomatic initiatives, UN Security Council resolutions);
4. Discuss challenges, and tools that can overcome these challenges, in transition from conflict to peace, and the role of diverse actors, internal and external, in peacemaking.

Attendance requirements(%):

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction:

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Course/Module Content:

Introduction  
Foreign Policy Analysis  
Negotiations and peace processes  
International Mediation  
Regional conflict and peace  
First Steps: The Armistice Agreements and Secret Channels with Syria and Jordan  
After the Six-Day War: UN Security Council Resolution 242  
Before the War: Jarring Mission and the Sadat Initiative  
Israel-Egypt Peace Process: Interim Agreements, Camp David Summit, and Peace Treaty  
From the Intifada to Madrid and Oslo  
The Second Peace: Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty  
Peace Talks with Syria  
Negotiations on the Permanent Agreement: Camp David and the Clinton Parameters  
  
Negotiations on the Permanent Agreement: Annapolis Process and Olmert-Abu Mazen Talks  
Israel and the Palestinians: From the Kerry Initiative to Present Day  
Israel and the Arab World: From the Arab Peace Initiative to The Abraham Accords  
Unofficial Diplomacy in the Israeli-Arab Conflict  
International Involvement in the Conflict  
Guest Lecturer

Required Reading:

Introduction  
  
Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 1-31.  
Bar-Siman-Tov, Yaacov. "The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Learning Conflict Resolution," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1994, pp. 75-92.  
Gross Stein, Janice. "The Widening Gyre of Negotiation: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 68, March 1999, pp. 1-30.  
Snodderly, Dan. "Peace terms." *Glossary of Terms for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding*, (2011).

*Foreign Policy Analysis*

Morin, Jean-Frédéric, and Jonathan Paquin. *Foreign policy analysis: A toolbox* (Cham: Springer, 2018), Chapters 3,4.

Putnam, D. Robert, "Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level game," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, 3 (Summer 1988), pp. 427-260.

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Levy, Jack S., "Contending Theories of International Conflict: A Levels-of-Analysis Approach." In Chester Crocker and Fen Hampson, eds., *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996), pp. 3-24.

#### *Negotiations and peace processes*

Bercovitch, Jacob and Richard Jackson, "International Negotiation," in Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *Conflict resolution in the twenty-first century* (University of Michigan Press, 2009), pp. 19-31.

Zartman, William I., "Ripeness: The Hurting Stalemate and Beyond," in *International Conflict Resolution after the Cold War*, edited by Paul C. Stern and Daniel Druckman (Washington D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000), pp. 225-250.

S.J. Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Autumn, 1997), pp. 5-53.

Podeh, Elie. *Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Austin TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), pp. 1-17.

#### *International Mediation*

Bercovitch, Jacob. "Mediation and Conflict Resolution" in *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk, and I. William Zartman (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2009), pp. 340-357.

Kleiboer, Marieke. "Understanding success and failure of international mediation." *Journal of Conflict resolution* 40.2 (1996): 360-389.

Zartman, I. William, and Saadia Touval. "International mediation: Conflict resolution and power politics." *Journal of social issues* 41.2 (1985): 27-45.

#### *Israel in the Middle East: Regional conflicts and regional peace*

Hinnebusch, Raymond, "The Middle East Regional System," in: Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 29-53

Tavares, Rodrigo. "Understanding regional peace and security: A framework for analysis." *Contemporary Politics* 14.2 (2008): 107-127.

Elie Podeh, "Israel in the Middle East or Israel and the Middle East," in Elie Podeh and Asher Kaufman (eds.), *Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution?* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), 93-113.

Sela, A., *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), Ch. 1-2.

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## *First Steps: The Armistice Agreements and Secret Channels with Syria and Jordan*

איתמר רבינוביץ, השלום שחמק: יחסי ישראל-ערב 1952-1949 (ת"א: כתר, 1991), 59-97 (סוריה), 99-146 (ירדן).

Podeh, Elie. *Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Austin TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), Ch. 4 and 5.

Ben-Dror, Elad. "The armistice talks between Israel and Jordan, 1949: the view from Rhodes." *Middle Eastern Studies* 48.6 (2012): 879-902.

Caplan, Neil. "A Tale of Two Cities: The Rhodes and Lausanne Conferences, 1949." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21.3 (1992): 5-34.

Ben-Dror, Elad, and Asaf Ziedler. "Israel, Jordan, and their Efforts to Frustrate the United Nations Resolutions to Internationalise Jerusalem." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 26.4 (2015): 636-658.

## *After the Six-Day War: UN Security Council Resolution 242*

אבי שליים, קיר הברזל: ישראל והעולם הערבי (תל אביב: משכל; תשס"ה), 248-260.

Quandt, William B. *Peace process: American diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1967* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), chapters 2 and 3.

Lapidoth, Ruth. "Security Council Resolution 242 at Twenty Five." *Israel Law Review* 26.3 (1992): 295-318.

McDOWALL, D. A. V. I. D. "Clarity or ambiguity? The withdrawal clause of UN Security Council Resolution 242." *International Affairs* 90.6 (2014): 1367-1381.

Ashton, Nigel. "Searching for a just and lasting peace? Anglo-American relations and the road to United Nations Security Council Resolution 242." *The International History Review* 38.1 (2016): 24-44.

U. Blanga, Yehuda. "Full effort to avoid peace: the failure of the first Rogers plan." *Middle Eastern Studies* 54.6 (2018): 981-999.

Podeh, Elie. *Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Austin TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), chapter 8 (ישראל של השלום הצעת)

Meital, Yoram. "The Khartoum conference and Egyptian policy after the 1967 war: A reexamination." *The Middle East Journal* (2000): 64-82.

Sela, Avraham. *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* (SUNY Press, 2012), Chapter 6.

## *Before the War: Jarring Mission and the Sadat Initiative*

Podeh, Elie. *Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Austin TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), ch. 10.

אבי שליים, קיר הברזל: ישראל והעולם הערבי (תל אביב: משכל; תשס"ה), 279-316.  
בועז וונטיק וזכי שלום, "חלקו של הבית הלבן בטרפוד ההסדר החלקי בין ישראל למצרים בשנת 1971", ישראל, 17 (תשע"א), עמ' 98-99.

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Bar-Joseph, Uri. "Last chance to avoid war: Sadat's peace initiative of February 1973 and its failure." *Journal of Contemporary History* 41.3 (2006): 545-556.

Gazit, Mordechai. "Egypt and Israel—Was there a peace opportunity missed in 1971?." *Journal of contemporary history* 32.1 (1997): 97-115.

Waage, Hilde Henriksen, and Hulda Kjeang Mørk. "Mission Impossible: UN Special Representative Gunnar Jarring and His Quest for Peace in the Middle East." *The International History Review* 38.4 (2016): 830-853.

איתן נצור, השלום ושברו (ראשון לציון: משכל, 2020), עמ' 29-56.  
גד יעקבי, כחוט השערה: איך הוחמץ הסדר בין ישראל ומצרים ולא נמנעה מלחמת יום הכיפורים (ת"א: עידנים, 1989), ע"מ 75-100.

*Israel-Egypt Peace Process: Interim Agreements, Camp David Summit, and Peace Treaty*

Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010), Ch. 1.

Quandt, William B. *Peace process: American diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1967* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), Ch 5, 6, 7.

Bassiouni, M. Cherif. "An Analysis of Egyptian Peace Policy Toward Israel: From Resolution 242 (1967) to the 1979 Peace Treaty." *Case W. Res. J. Int'l L.* 12 (1980): 3-26.

Karawan, Ibrahim A. "Sadat and the Egyptian-Israeli peace revisited." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26.2 (1994): 249-266.

קנת שטיין, מדינאות אמיצה: סאדאת, קיסינג'ר, קרטנר ובגין והחתימה לשלום (ת"א: משרד הביטחון, 2003), 151-225.

*From the Intifada to Madrid and Oslo*

אבי שליים, קיר הברזל: ישראל והעולם הערבי, 404-510.

Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010), Ch. 3,4,7-8.

Quandt, William B. *Peace process: American diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1967* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), Chapter 10-11.

Sela, Avraham. "The PLO at Fifty: A Historical Perspective, Contemporary Review of the Middle East, 1: 3 (September 2014), pp. 269-333.

Kurtzer, Daniel C., et al. *The peace puzzle* (Cornell University Press, 2012), Ch. 1.

Podeh, Elie. *Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Austin TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), Chapter 17.

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 6.

Golan, Galia. *Israel and Palestine* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2007), pp. 9-36.

*The Second Peace: Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty*

Susser, Asher. "The Jordanian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: The Geopolitical Rationale of a Bilateral Relationship," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 73, August 1999, pp. 1-39.

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Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain, and Neil Caplan. "The Israel-Jordan peace treaty: patterns of negotiation, problems of implementation." *Israel Affairs* 9.3 (2003): 87-110.  
Fischhendler, Itay. "Ambiguity in transboundary environmental dispute resolution: The Israeli—Jordanian water agreement." *Journal of Peace Research* 45.1 (2008): 91-109.

#### *Peace Talks with Syria*

Slater, Jerome. "Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Israel and Syria, 1948-2001," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Summer 2002, pp. 79-106.  
Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010), Chapter 6.  
Pressman, Jeremy. "Mediation, Domestic Politics, and the Israeli-Syrian Negotiations, 1991-2000," *Security Studies*, Vol. 16 (2007), pp. 350-381.  
Daoudy, Marwa. "A missed chance for peace: Israel and Syria's negotiations over the Golan Heights." *Journal of International Affairs* (2008): 215-234.  
Kurtzer, Daniel C., et al. *The peace puzzle* (Cornell University Press, 2012), Ch. 2.  
מרטין אינדיק, שלום אמריקני (עם עובד, 2009), 245-286.  
משה מעוז, ישראל-סוריה – סוף הסכסוך? (ת"א: מעריב, 1996).

#### *Negotiations on the Permanent Agreement: Camp David, Clinton Parameters, and Olmert-Abu Mazen Talks*

Pressman, Jeremy. "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?", *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Fall 2003, pp. 5-43.  
Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010), Chapter 9.  
Kacowicz, A. M. "Rashomon in the Middle East: Clashing narratives, images, and frames in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Cooperation and Conflict*, 40:3 (2005), 343-360.  
Pundak, Ron. "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?." *Survival* 43.3 (2001): 31-45.  
Hassner, Ron E. "'To halve and to hold': Conflicts over sacred space and the problem of indivisibility." *Security Studies* 12.4 (2003): 1-33.  
Aronoff, M. J. (2009). *Camp David Rashomon: contested interpretations of the Israel/Palestine peace process*. *Political science quarterly*, 124(1), 143-167.  
Bar-Siman-Tov, Yaacov (2014) *Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Routledge).  
Kurtzer, Daniel C., et al. *The peace puzzle* (Cornell University Press, 2012), Ch. 3, 5.  
Lehrs, Lior. "Jerusalem on the negotiating table: Analyzing the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks on Jerusalem (1993–2015)." *Israel Studies*, 21.3 (2016): 179-205.  
Ben Bindaum and Amir Tibon (2014), "The Explosive, Inside Story of How John Kerry Built an Israel-Palestine Peace Plan -- and Watched it Crumble," *New Republic*, July 21, 2014. <https://newrepublic.com/article/118751/how-israel-palestine-peace-deal-died>.  
Bernard Avishai, "A Plan for Peace That Still Could Be," *New York Times*, 7 February 2011.  
Podeh, Elie. *Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict*

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(Austin TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), Chapter 20.

*Israel and the Arab World: From the Arab Peace Initiative to The Abraham Accords*

Podeh, Elie. "Israel and the Arab Peace initiative, 2002-2014: A plausible missed opportunity." *The Middle East Journal* 68.4 (2014): 584-603.

Quamar, Md Muddassir. "Changing regional geopolitics and the foundations of a rapprochement between Arab Gulf and Israel." *Global Affairs* 6.4-5 (2020): 593-608.

Rabi, Uzi, and Chelsi Mueller. "The Gulf Arab states and Israel since 1967: from 'no negotiation' to tacit cooperation." *British Journal of Middle eastern studies* 44.4 .576-592 : (2017)

Avraham Sela, "Politics, Identity and Peacemaking: The Arab Discourse on Peace with Israel in the 1990s," *Israel Studies*, 10: 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 15-71.

ברק רביד, השלום של טראמפ (ידיעות ספרים, 2022).

Podeh, Elie. "Saudi Arabia and Israel: From secret to public engagement, 1948-2018." *The Middle East Journal* 72.4 (2018): 563-586.

יעקב בר-סימן-טוב, "יוזמת השלום הערבית כהזדמנות היסטורית", בתוך קובי מיכאל (עורך), יוזמת הליגה הערבית - הזדמנות היסטורית? (ירושלים: מכון ירושלים לחקר ישראל, 2007).

Michael Laskier, *Israel and the Maghreb* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), pp. 247-279.

### *Unofficial Diplomacy in the Israeli-Arab Conflict*

Lehrs, Lior. "Private peace entrepreneurs in conflict resolution processes." *International Negotiation* 21.3 (2016): 381-408.

De Vries, Maya, and Ifat Maoz. "Tracking for peace: Assessing the effectiveness of track two diplomacy in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 6.1-3 (2013): 62-74.

Kelman, Herbert C. "Contributions of an unofficial conflict resolution effort to the Israeli-Palestinian breakthrough." *Negotiation Journal* 11 (1995): 19-27.

מאיר חזן, יוזמת נחום גולדמן להיפגש עם נאצר בשנת 1970, עיונים בתקומת ישראל, גיליון 14 (2004), 255-284.

Agha, Hussein, et al., *Track-II Diplomacy: Lessons from the Middle East* (MIT Press, 2004), 9-27.

גרשון בסקין, לשחרר את גלעד: הערוץ החשאי (כנרת זמורה ביתן, 2013).

### *International Involvement in the Conflict*

Pressman, Jeremy. "American engagement and the pathways to Arab-Israeli peace." *Cooperation and Conflict* 49.4 (2014): 536-553.



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Quandt, William B. *Peace process: American diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1967*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

Altunışık, Meliha Benli. "EU Foreign Policy and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: How much of an Actor?." *European Security* 17.1 (2008): 105-121.

Persson, Anders. *The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict 1971-2013: In pursuit of a just peace*. Lexington Books, 2014.

Touval, Saadia. *The peace brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1948-1979*. Princeton University Press, 1982.

Kostiner, Joseph, and Chelsi Mueller. "Egyptian and Saudi Intervention in the Israeli Palestinian Conflict (2006-09): Local Powers' Mediation Compared." *International Intervention in Local Conflicts: Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution since the Cold War*, edited by Uzi Rabi (2010): 202-21.

Additional Reading Material:

Grading Scheme:

Essay / Project / Final Assignment / Home Exam / Referat 60 %  
Submission assignments during the semester: Exercises / Essays / Audits / Reports / Forum / Simulation / others 40 %

Additional information: