



The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Syllabus

Negotiating Middle East Peace - 58535

Last update 15-09-2024

HU Credits: 2

Degree/Cycle: 1st degree (Bachelor)

Responsible Department: International Relations

Academic year: 0

Semester: 1st Semester

Teaching Languages: English

Campus: Mt. Scopus

Course/Module Coordinator: Prof. Arie Kacowicz

Coordinator Email: arie.kacowicz@mail.huji.ac.il

Coordinator Office Hours: Mondays, 1000-1200

Teaching Staff:

Prof. Arie Kacowicz

Course/Module description:

This course focuses upon the topic of negotiations and conflict resolution in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1977 to the present. The course is divided into three parts. First, we will present the general theoretical framework for explaining and understanding negotiations in international relations. Second, we will refer in general terms to the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the main issues and patterns of negotiations. Third, we will address several case-studies of successes and failures of negotiations between Israel and its several Arab neighbors -- Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians.

Course/Module aims:

The aims of the course is to grant the students an understanding and analytical tools to make sense of the successes and failures in peace negotiations. In this context, we will attempt to understand the relative failure of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians so far.

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

The students should be able to understand better the complexities and intricacies of the Middle East peace process.

Attendance requirements(%):

Expectation that students will attend 90% of the lectures, and that they will participate in the oral discussions.

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Lecture by the Instructor, with occasional participation and discussion with the students (participation is encouraged)

Course/Module Content:

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework; general view of the conflict

- 1) Introduction; international conflict and conflict management.*
- 2) Negotiations; peaceful change.*
- 3) : Historical background of the negotiations.*

4): *Problems and patterns.*

5) : *Core issues: Jerusalem and refugees.*

II. Case-Studies

6) : *Successes: Israel and Egypt; Israel and Jordan.*

7): *Failures: Israel-Lebanon (1983); and Israel-Syria, 1991-2011.*

8) *Israel-Palestinians, 1967-2001.*

9) *Israel-Palestinians, 2001-2023.*

10) : *What went wrong in the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations?*

11) *January 9: The Arab Peace Initiative, the Abraham Accords and their aftermath (Saudi Arabia?)*

12. *The Israel-Hamas War.*

13. *The present and alternative solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.*

Required Reading:

Course Outline and Readings

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. *Introduction; International Conflict and Conflict Management (October 29)*

William Zartman, "Introduction: The Analysis of Negotiations," in I. William Zartman, ed., The 50% Solution (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 1-41.

Fred Charles Iklé, How Nations Negotiate (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp. 1-6.

Morris, Righteous Victims, pp. 676-694 ("Conclusions").

Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century: Principles, Methods, and Approaches (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009, pp. 1-16; 184-190.

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Learning Conflict Resolution,"

Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1994, pp. 75-92.

Elie Podeh, *Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), pp. 5-17.

2. *Defining Negotiations and its Components: Negotiations, Mediation, Bargaining; Processes of Peaceful Territorial Change* (November 5)
Bercovitch and Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-First Century*, pp. 19-46.

Roger Fisher and William Ury, "Getting to YES", in David P. Barash, ed., *Approaches to Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 70-76.
www.williamury.com/books/getting-to-yes.

Saadia Touval, "Mediation in the Arab-Israeli Conflict During and After the Cold War," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 74, October 1999, pp. 1-19

Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 1, October 1985, pp. 1-24.

Robert O. Keohane, "Reciprocity in International Relations," *International Organization*. Vol. 40, Winter 1986, pp. 1-27. .

Arie M. Kacowicz, "The Problem of Peaceful Territorial Change," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 38, 1994, pp. 219-254.

Arie M. Kacowicz, "The Process of Reaching Peaceful Territorial Change: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Autumn 1996, pp. 215-245.

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov [edited by Arie M. Kacowicz], *Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), Chapter 1, pp. 7-27.

Arie M. Kacowicz and Galia Press-Barnathan, "The Middle East and Peaceful Change," in T.V. Paul (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Change in International Relations* (Oxford, 2020).

B. The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Negotiations: A General View

3. *Historical Background of the Negotiations* (November 12)

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, [Read the following documents]:
MacMahon Letter (1915), pp. 11-12; Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), pp. 13-16;
Balfour Declaration (1917), p. 16; Feisal-Weizmann Agreement (1919), pp. 17-18;

United Nations Plan of Partition (1947), pp. 69-77; UN Security Council Resolution 242 (November 22, 1967), p. 116; Palestinian National Charter (July 1968), pp. 117-121; UN Security Council Resolution 338 (October 22, 1973), p. 152.

Morris, Righteous Victims, browse Chapters 1-9, pp.3-443.

Alan Dowty, Israel/Palestine, pp. 1-104 [2012 edition]

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Chapters 3-4, pp. 43-78.

Alan Dowty, The Israel/Palestine Reader, excerpts from Chapters 2, 3, and 4. [pp. 20-87].

Shaul Arieli (2021), The Truman Institute of the Jewish-Arab Conflict. Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace.

Retrieved at: shaularieli.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Eng-Atlas-4.1.21-2pages.pdf

4. General Problems and Patterns of Negotiations (November 19)

Eisenberg and Caplan, Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace, "Introduction: Historical Patterns", pp. 1-27.

Elie Podeh, Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), pp. 5-17; and 359-368.

Kenneth W. Stein and Samuel W. Lewis, Making Peace among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience (Washington, DC: USIP, 1991). www.usip.org/files/file/lewis-stein_monograph.pdf

William Zartman, "Negotiations as a Mechanism for Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," Davis Occasional Papers, No. 72, August 1999, pp. 1-20.

Janice Gross Stein, "The Widening Gyre of Negotiation: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," Davis Occasional Papers, No. 68, March 1999, pp. 1-30.

Aaron David Miller, The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace (New York: Bantham Books, 2008), pp. 361-385.

5. Core Issues: Jerusalem and Refugees (November 26)

The issue of Jerusalem

Yehuda Zvi Blum, "The Juridical Status of Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problems*, No. 2, Jerusalem, Leonard Davis Institute, February 1974, pp. 1-32.

Ruth Lapidot, "Jerusalem and the Peace Process," *Israel Law Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2-3, Spring-Summer 1994, pp. 1-23.

Akiva Eldar, "There Is an Answer for the Old City," *Haaretz*, July 27, 2000.

Alan Dowty (2008), *Israel-Palestine*, pp. 200-203 [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions].

Lior Lehrs (2013), "Peace Talks on Jerusalem: A Review of the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations Concerning Jerusalem, 1993-2013," *JlIS Series*, No 432, The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.

The issue of Palestinian refugees

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 161-258 (especially 252-258).

"Palestinian Refugees," *PASSIA – Special Bulletin*, Jerusalem, May 2001.

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, UN General Assembly: Resolution 194 (December 11, 1948), pp.83-86.

Alan Dowty (2008), *Israel-Palestine*, pp. 208-213. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (2014), *Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* [browse the entire book]

Alan Dowty (2019), *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapter 9 on the refugee issue: Rashid Khalidi and Efraim Karsh, pp. 197-204.

6. Successful Peace Processes: Israel-Egypt and Israel-Jordan (December 3)

Israel-Egypt 1974-1975 and 1979

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Egyptian-Israeli Accord on Sinai" (September 1, 1975), pp. 194-200; Sadat: "Peace with Justice" (November 20, 1977), pp. 207-215; "Camp David Summit Meeting: Frameworks for Peace

(September 17, 1978), pp. 222-227; "Egypt and Israel: Peace Treaty" (March 26, 1979), pp. 227-228.

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 1, pp. 28-42.

William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution), Chapter 5, pp. 130-173; and Chapters 6-7, pp. 177-242.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 10, pp. 444-493.

Elie Podeh, *Chances for Peace*, Chapter 12: "The Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty: An Opportunity Not Missed (1979)," pp. 137-156.

Israel-Jordan: 1987 and 1993-1994

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapters 3 and 5, pp. 60-74 and 90-102.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 629-632.

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

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Israel and Jordan: The London Document" (April 11, 1987), pp. 313-314; "Israel and Jordan: The Washington Agreement" (July 26, 1994), pp. 467-470; "Israel and Jordan: Peace Treaty: (October 26, 1994), pp. 477-486.

Podeh, *Chances for Peace*, Chapter 18: "The Israeli-Jordanian Peace Treaty (1994)," pp. 235-244.

7. Peace Processes that Failed: Israel and Lebanon, 1983; Israel and Syria (December 10)

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 2, pp. 43- 59; and Chapter 6, pp. 135-162.

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Lebanon and Israel: Truce Agreement" (May 17, 1983), pp. 287-289.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 11, pp. 494-560.

Akiva Eldar, "A Framework for Peace between Israel and Syria," *Haaretz*, January 13, 2000.

Uri Sagie, "The Israeli-Syrian Dialogue: A One-Way Ticket to Peace?", James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 1999, ppp. 1-40.

ADL Backgrounder, "Israel-Syria Negotiations: The Issues," January 23, 2000.

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Renewal of Syrian-Israeli Negotiations," December 15, 1999, pp. 545-548.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 632-634.

Jerome Slater, "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.

Daniel C. Kurtzer, Scott B. Lasensky, William B. Quandt, Steven L. Spiegel, and Shibley Z. Telhami, *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011* (Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), Chapter 2, pp. 59-104.

Elie Podeh, *Chances for Peace*, Chapter 14: "The Israeli-Lebanese Peace Agreement (May 1983)," pp. 173-183; and Chapter 19: "Israel-Syrian Negotiations (1991-2000)," pp. 245-275.

8. Israel and the Palestinians, I: From 1967 to 2001 (December 17)

1967-1993

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 4, pp. 75-89.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 12, 561-610.

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 314-400 [material on the intifadah and the Madrid Conference, 1991]

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 105-136. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

Kurtzer et al. (2013), Chapter 1, pp. 15-58.

Dowty, *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapter 5, pp. 88-110.

1993-2001

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 6, pp. 103-126.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 13, pp. 611-651.

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Declaration of Principles, Israel and PLO" (September 13, 1993), pp. 413-422; "Israel and PLO: Cairo Agreement" (March 4, 1994), pp. 442-455; "Israel and Palestinian Authority: Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip" (September 28, 1995), pp. 502-521; "Israel and Palestinian Authority: Hebron Accords" (January 15, 1997), pp. 522-523; "Israel and Palestinian Authority: The Wye River Memorandum" (October 23, 1998), pp. 529-534.

"Sharm el-Sheik Memorandum on Implementation Timeline of Outstanding Commitments of Agreements Signed and the Resumption of Permanent Status Negotiations," September 4, 1999.
<http://www.mfa.gov.il>

Karin Aggestam, "Two-Track Diplomacy: Negotiations between Israel and the PLO Through Open and Secret Channels," *Davis Papers on Israel's Foreign Policy*, No. 53, November 1996, pp. 1-38.

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 137-168. [Check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

Kurtzer et al. (2013), "Chapters 1 and 3, pp. 15-58; 105-153.

Bar-Siman-Tov (2014), Chapter 5, pp. 79-113.

Dowty, *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapter 6, pp. 111-131.

Joel Singer (2021), "The Israel-PLO Mutual Recognition Agreement," *International Negotiations* 26 (3): 366-390.

Elie Podeh, *Chances for Peace*, Chapter 17: "The Madrid Conference (1991) and the Oslo Agreements (1993-2000)," pp. 208-234; Chapter 20: "The Camp David Summit, the Clinton Parameters, and the Taba Talks (July 2000-January 2021)," pp. 276-303.

9. Israel and the Palestinians, II: 2001-2023 (December 31)

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 14, pp. 652-675.

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 549-580 [includes the Camp David Summit of 2000 and the Clinton Plan of December 23, 2000]

"Mitchell Report on the Middle East, May 17, 2001 [reprinted in The Miami Herald, May 22, 2001].

[also in <http://jewishvirtuallibrary.org>]

Alan Dowty, "Israel under Sharon: The Tunnel at the End of the Light," Policy Briefs, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, No. 6, June 2001, pp. 1-4.

Akiva Eldar, "Unofficial EU Document Shows Israel Agreed to the Pre-1967 Borders," Haaretz, February 14, 2002.

[in www.mideastweb.org/moratinos.htm]

U.S. Department of State, "A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," April 30, 2003.

Charles Enderlin, The Lost Years: Radical Islam, Intifada, and Wars in the Middle East, 2001-2006 (New York: Other Press, 2006).

Dowty, Israel/Palestine, pp. 150-203. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

Aaron Miller (2008), The Much Too Promised Land, pp. 321-360.

Kurtzner et al. (2013), Chapters 4-6, pp. 154-267.

Bar-Siman-Tov (2014), Chapter 6, pp. 114-132.

Dowty, The Israel/Palestine Reader (2019), excerpts from Chapters 7-8, pp. 132-179.

10. What Went Wrong in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations? (January 7)

Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?", Survival, Vol. 43, No. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 31-45.

Aluf Benn, "Grasping for Peace," Foreign Policy, January/February 2002, pp. 82-84.

Morris, Righteous Victims, pp. 676-694.

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Rashomon in Jerusalem: Mapping the Israeli Negotiator's Positions in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, 1993-2001," International Studies Perspectives, Vol. 6, 2005: 252-273.

Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?", International Security, Vol. 28, No. 2, Fall 2003, pp. 5-43.

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Rashomon in the Middle East: Clashing Narratives of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," Cooperation and Conflict, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2005: 343-360.

David Makovsky, "How To Build a Fence," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 2, March/April 2004, pp. 50-64.

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 204-230. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

Aaron David Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008), Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 331-385.

Ben Bindbaum and Amir Tibon, "The Explosive, Inside Story of How John Kerry Built and Israel-Palestine Peace Plan – and Watched It Crumble," *New Republic*, July 21, 2014.

<https://newrepublic.com/article/118751/how-israel-palestine-peace-deal-died>

John Kerry's Speech on Middle East Peace, December 28, 2016. Download at: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-john-kerrys-speech-on-middle-east-peace-december-28-2016/>

Trump Plan (2020), "Peace to Prosperity: A Vision to Improve the Lives of the Palestinian and Israeli People," [whitehouse.gov/peacetoprosperity](https://www.whitehouse.gov/peacetoprosperity) [available online]

11. The Arab Peace Initiative, The Abraham Accords and Their Aftermath (2020-) (January 14)

The Arab Peace Initiative, 2002 (Official translation).

Elie Podeh, *Chances for Peace*, Chapter 21, pp.304-323.

Elie Podeh, "Israel and the Arab Peace Initiative, 2002-2014: A Plausible Missed Opportunity," *Middle East Journal* 68 (4): 584-603.

U.S. Department of State (2020), "The Abraham Accords Declaration," retrieved from state.gov/the-abraham-accords/ [September 15, 2020; download Israel-Bahrain Agreement, Israel-Morocco Agreement, Israel-UAE Agreement, Sudan]

Elie Podeh (2021), "Abraham Accords Does Not Solve Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *The Jerusalem Post*, January 11. Retrieved at: [jpost.com/opinion/Abraham-accords-does-not-solve-palestinian-conflict-opinion-655075](https://www.jpost.com/opinion/Abraham-accords-does-not-solve-palestinian-conflict-opinion-655075)

Tova Norlen and Tamir Sinai (2020), "The Abraham Accords – Paradigm Shift or Realpolitik,?", *George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies*, No. 064. Retrieved at: marshallcenter.org/en/publications/security/insights/abraham-accords-paradigm-shift-or-realpolitik.

Michael Singh (2022), "Arab-Israeli Normalization Could Remake the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 101, Number 2, pp. 51-57.

12. The Israeli-Hamas War, 2023-2024 (January 21)

Joe Biden (2023), "The U.S. Won't Back down from the Challenge of Putin and Hamas," *The Washington Post*, November 18, 2023.

Hamas (2024), "Our Narrative ... Operation Al-Aqsa Flood,"

Arie M. Kacowicz (2023), "An International Peace Conference in the Aftermath of the Israel-Hamas War", December, *Mitvim*.

Martin Indyk (2024), "The Strange Resurrection of the Two-State Solution: How an Unimaginable War Could Bring About the Only Imaginable Peace," *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 8-22.

Marc Lynch and Shibley Telhami (2024), "The Two-State Mirage: How to Break the Cycle of Violence in a One-State Reality," *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 23-31.

Dalia Dassa Kaye and Sanam Vakil (2024), "Only the Middle East Can Fix the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 32-43.

Aluf Benn (2024), "Israel's Self-Destruction," *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 44-55.

Keith Dayton, James Jeffrey, Eran Lerman, Robert Silverman, and Thomas Warrick (2024), "Plan for Postwar Gaza," *Wilson Center, Middle East Program*, Washington, DC, May 7, 2024.

International Criminal Court (2024), "Statement of ICC Prosecutor Karim A.A. Khan KC: Applications for Arrest Warrants in the Situation in the State of Palestine," May 20, 2024.

13. The Present and Alternative Solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (January 16)

Bar-Siman-Tov (2014), Chapter 7, pp. 133-150.

Nadia Hijab, "To Achieve One State, Palestinians Must Also Work for Two," February 2018, *Alshabaka-Palestinian Policy Network*, www.al-shabaka.org

Henry Fishman and Ephraim Lavie (2010), *The Peace Process: Seventeen Plans in Ten Years: An Assessment of the Initiatives to Resolve the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict over the Past Decade* [Tel-Aviv: The Peres Center for Peace]. [available online]

Bernard Avishai (2018), "Confederation: The Only Possible Israel-Palestine Solution," *New York Review of Books*, February.

Jake Wallis (2019), "The Two-State Solution Remains the Only Pathway to a Mutually Agreed Resolution of the Conflict," *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-2): 8-13.

Husam Dajni (2019), "The Future of the Two-State Solution and the Alternatives: A View from Gaza," *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-2): 14-20.

Shaul Arieli (2019), "There is No Other Solution," *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-20: 21-25).

Tony Klung (2019), "Is There a Plausible Alternative to the Two-State Solution?", *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-20: 26-33).

Manuel Hassassian (2019), "A Paradigmatic Shift from Two-State to One-State Solution," *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-2): 120-128.

Peter Beinart (2020), "Yavne: A Jewish Case for Equality in Israel-Palestine," *Jewish Currents*, July 7. Available online at: jewishcurrents.org/yavne-a-jewish-case-for-equality-in-israel-palestine.

Hiba Hussein and Yossi Beilin (2022) *The Holy Land Confederation as a Facilitator for the Two-State Solution*.

Retrieved at: https://content.ecf.org/files/Holy%20Land%20Confederation%20-%20English_compressed.pdf

Daniel Egel, C. Ross Anthony, Shira Efron, Rita T. Karam, Mary E. Vaiana, Charles P. Ries, *Alternatives in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2021), Chapter 1 and 2.

Arie M. Kacowicz (2023), "The Best of All Possible Worlds? An Israeli-Palestinian (-Jordanian) Confederation as an Alternative to the One-State or Two-State Solutions," (draft, Georgetown University, July 2023).

Kurtzner et al. (2013), "Epilogue", pp. 268-276.

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, Chapter 9, "The Perfect Conflict."

Dowty, *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from chapter 10 (Karmi, Bennett. Unger, and Bar-Siman-Tov).

Aaron David Miller, "The False Religion of Middle Eastern Peace," *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2010.

Michael Barnett, Nathan J. Brown, and Shibley Telhami, "What is Israel/Palestine?," in Michael Barnett, Nathan J. Brown, Marc Lynch, and Shibley Telhami (eds), *The One State Reality: What is Israel/Palestine?* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2023), pp. 1-30.

Michael Barnett, Nathan J. Brown, Marc Lynch, and Shibley Telhami, "Israel's One-State Reality: It's Time to Give Up on the Two-State Solution," *Foreign Affairs* 102 (3): pp. 120-135.

"Can The Two-State Solution Be Saved? Debating Israel's One-State Reality," By Michael Oren, Martin Indyk, Dahlia Scheindlin, Asad Ghaneim, Robert Satloff, Michael Barnett, Nathan J. Brown, Marc Lynch, and Shibley Telhami, *Foreign Affairs* 102 (4): pp. 196-209.

Additional Reading Material:

Optional Readings (strongly recommended, but not required)

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Introduction; international conflict and conflict management

William Zartman, "Introduction: The Analysis of Negotiations," in I. William Zartman, ed., *The 50% Solution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 1-41.

Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp. 1-6.
Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 676-694 ("Conclusions"). E327.56 M875

C.R. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 15-68 (Chapters 1-3). 327 M681

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

2. Defining Negotiations and its Components: Negotiations, Mediation, and Bargaining

Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate*, pp. 26-58 (Chapters 3-4).

Jacob Bercovitch and Allison Houston, "The Study of International Mediation: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence," in Jacob Bercovitch, ed., *Resolving International Conflicts* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 11-35.

Daniel C. Kurtzer and Scott B. Lasensky, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East* (Washington, DC: USIP Press, 2008). E327.56 K96

Daniel C. Kurtzer, Scott B. Lasensky, William B. Quandt, Steven L. Spiegel, and Shibley Z. Telhami, *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, pp. 268-276.

Fred Charles Ikle, *How Nations Negotiate*, pp. 191-224 (Chapter 11)

3. Negotiations as a Process of Cooperation, Reciprocity, and Peaceful Change

Robert O. Keohane, "Reciprocity in International Relations," *International Organization*. Vol. 40, Winter 1986, pp. 1-27. [Reader # 12].

Arie M. Kacowicz, *Peaceful Territorial Change* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 3-61 (Chapters 1-3).

B. The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Negotiations: A General View

4. Historical Background of the Negotiations

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, [Read the following documents]: MacMahon Letter (1915), pp. 11-12; Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), pp. 13-16; Balfour Declaration (1917), p. 16; Feisal-Weizmann Agreement (1919), pp. 17-18; United Nations Plan of Partition (1947), pp. 69-77; UN Security Council Resolution 242 (November 22, 1967), p. 116; Palestinian National Charter (July 1968), pp. 117-121; UN Security Council Resolution 338 (October 22, 1973), p. 152.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, browse Chapters 1-9, pp.3-443.

Podeh (2015), pp. 18-92.

5. Problems and Patterns in Negotiating Middle East Peace

Kenneth W. Stein and Samuel W. Lewis, *Making Peace among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience* (Washington, DC: USIP, 1991).

Aaron David Miller (2008), *The Much Too Promised Land*, pp. 361-385.

Podeh (2015), pp. 1-17.

6. Core Issues: Jerusalem and the Palestinian Refugees

Yehuda Zvi Blum, "The Juridical Status of Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Papers on Peace*

Problems, No. 2, Jerusalem, Leonard Davis Institute, February 1974, pp. 1-32.

Charles Enderlin (2003), Shattered Dreams, pp. 177-260; 332-361

"Palestinian Refugees," PASSIA – Special Bulletin, Jerusalem, May 2001.

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., The Israel-Arab Reader, UN General Assembly: Resolution 194 (December 11, 1948), pp.83-86.

Bar-Siman-Tov (2014) [browse the entire book].

C. Case-Studies

7. Israel and Egypt, 1973-1975 and 1977-1979

Laqueur and Rubin, The Israel-Arab Reader, "Egyptian-Israeli Accord on Sinai" (September 1, 1975), pp. 194-200; Sadat: "Peace with Justice" (November 20, 1977), pp. 207-215; "Camp David Summit Meeting: Frameworks for Peace (September 17, 1978), pp. 222-227; "Egypt and Israel: Peace Treaty" (March 26, 1979), pp. 227-228.

Quandt, Peace Process, Chapter 5, pp. 130-173; and Chapters 6-7, pp. 177-242.

Morris, Righteous Victims, Chapter 10, pp. 444-493.

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Grading Scheme:

Written / Oral / Practical Exam 80 %

Submission assignments during the semester: Exercises / Essays / Audits / Reports / Forum / Simulation / others 10 %

Attendance / Participation in Field Excursion 10 %

Additional information: