

GOVERNMENT 367 - NEGOTIATING MIDDLE EAST PEACE

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Goals and Contents of the Course

This Reading Seminar 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 four 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. In this context, we will attempt to understand the failure of the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians. Finally, in the last part of the course we will play a simulation and students will present their papers.

Students Assignments and grades

Students' assignments include the following:

- A. Active participation in the seminar, which is based upon an interactive dynamics and intensive reading of theoretical, historical, and “actuality” texts.
- B. Submission of two short papers (about five pages each) throughout the term. The first paper will be a bibliographical essay related to the readings. The second paper will be a discussion of a “current event” topic related to the seminar.
- C. Submission of a term paper (seminar paper) of about 25 pages, from a list of topics that will be distributed the first week of class. Students will present the outline of their paper in the last two weeks of classes.

The grade will be distributed as follows:

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|----|----------------------|-----|
| A. | Mid-term: | 20% |
| B. | Two short papers: | 10% |
| C. | Term paper: | 50% |
| D. | Class participation: | 20% |

Textbooks and Reader

The following books should be available for purchase:

Geoffrey Kemp and Jeremy Pressman, *Point of No Return: The Deadly Struggle for Middle East Peace* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 1997).

Martin Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (London: Routledge, 1993), 6th edition.

Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: St. Martin, 2001), 4th edition.

Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 6th edition.

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), revised edition.

Laura Zittrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001).

Louis Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998).

In addition, a reader/packet with the theoretical bibliography and other items will be compiled and available for purchase.

Topics and Schedule of Classes

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Thu August 29: Introduction
2. Tue September 3: What is international conflict?
3. Thu September 5: Conflict management and resolution
4. Tue September 10: Defining negotiations and its components
5. Thu September 12: Mediation and third-party intervention
6. Tue September 17: Cooperation and reciprocity in negotiations
7. Thu September 19: Negotiations as a process of peaceful change
8. Tue September 24: Bargaining and the outcome of negotiations

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

9. Thu September 26: Historical background for the negotiations
10. Tue October 1: Core issues I: Jerusalem
11. Thu October 3: Core issues II: Refugees
12. Tue October 8: General problems and patterns of negotiations

13. Thu October 10: Mid-term exam

C. Case-Studies

14. Tue October 15: Israel and Egypt: 1973-1975 and 1977-1979
15. Thu October 17: Israel and Lebanon, 1983
16. Tue October 22: Israel and Syria, 1992-2000
17. Thu October 24: Israel and Jordan, 1987 and 1993-1994
18. Tue October 29: Israel and the Palestinians I: 1978-1993
19. Thu October 31: Israel and the Palestinians II: 1993-2000
20. Tue November 5: Israel and the Palestinians III: 2000- 2002
21. Thu November 7: What went wrong in the I-P negotiations?

D. Empirical Applications and Extrapolations

22. Tue November 12: Simulation of Arab-Israeli negotiations
23. Thu November 14: Students' presentations
24. Tue November 19: Students' presentations
25. Thu November 21: Students' presentations
26. Tue November 26: Students' presentations
27. Tue December 3: Students' presentations
28. Thu December 5: Conclusions and extrapolations

Course Outline and Readings

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Introduction (August 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. [Reader # 1].

Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp. 1-6. [Reader # 2].

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 9-34 (Chapter 1: "Can the Arab-Israeli Peace Process Succeed?").

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

2. What is International Conflict? (September 3)

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

Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts*, Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-99.

3. Conflict Management and Resolution (September 5)

C.R. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 165-217; (Chapters 8-9, . [Reader # 4].

Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*, pp. 100-222 (Chapters 4-7); 254-265 (in Chapter 9).

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Learning Conflict Resolution," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1994, pp. 75-92. [Reader # 5]

4. Defining Negotiations and its Components (September 10)

Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate*, pp. 26-58 (Chapters 3-4). [Reader # 6]

P. Terrence Hopmann, *The Negotiation Process and the Resolution of International Conflicts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 37-96. [Reader # 7]

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. [Reader # 8]
Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts*, pp. 265-284 (Chapter 9).

5. Mediation and Third-Party Intervention (September 12)

Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts*, pp. 223-253 (Chapter 8).

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. [Reader # 9]

Saadia Touval, "Mediation in the Arab-Israeli Conflict During and After the Cold War," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 74, October 1999, pp. 1-19. [Reader # 10]

6. Cooperation and Reciprocity in Negotiations (September 17)

Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," in K. A. Oye, ed., *Cooperation under Anarchy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 1-24. [Reader # 11]

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

7. Negotiations as a Process of Peaceful Change (September 19)

Arie M. Kacowicz, *Peaceful Territorial Change* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 3-61 (Chapters 1-3). [Reader # 13].

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. [Reader # 14].

8. Bargaining and the Outcome of Negotiations (September 24)

Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate*, pp. 191-224 (Chapter 11) [Reader # 15].

Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts*, pp. 254-338 (Chapters 9 and 10).

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

9. Historical Background for the Negotiations (September 26)

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 35-53 (Chapter 2).

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* [browse]

Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, browse Chapters 1-5 and read pp. 223-350 (Chapters 6-8).

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.

10. Core Issues I: Jerusalem (October 1)

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 43-44; 51; 137.

Yehuda Zvi Blum, "The Juridical Status of Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problems*, No. 2, Jerusalem, Leonard Davis Institute, February 1974, pp. 1-32. [Reader # 16].

Ruth Lapidot, "Jerusalem and the Peace Process," *Israel Law Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2-3, Spring-Summer 1994, pp. 1-23. [Reader # 17]

Akiva Eldar, "There Is an Answer for the Old City," *Haaretz*, July 27, 2000. [Reader # 18].

11. Core Issues II: Refugees (October 3)

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 47-49, 54, 105, 131.

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

"Palestinian Refugees," *PASSIA – Special Bulletin*, Jerusalem, May 2001. [Reader # 19].

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

12. General Problems and Patterns of Negotiations (October 8)

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

Kenneth W. Stein and Samuel W. Lewis, *Making Peace among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience* (Washington, DC: USIP, 1991). [Reader # 20].

William Zartman, “Negotiations as a Mechanism for Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 72, August 1999, pp. 1-20. [Reader # 21].

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. [Reader # 22].

14. Israel and Egypt, 1973-1975 and 1977-1979 (October 15)

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 95, 98, 106, 110, 115.

Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 357-363.

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.

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

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

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 85-94.

15. Israel and Lebanon, 1983 (October 17)

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

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 124-127.

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 122-127.

Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 372-385.

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

Quandt, *Peace Process*, Chapter 8, pp. 245-268.

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

16. Israel and Syria, 1992-2000 (October 22)

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 103-122.

Akiva Eldar, "A Framework for Peace between Israel and Syria," *Haaretz*, January 13, 2000. [Reader # 23]

Uri Sagie, "The Israeli-Syrian Dialogue: A One-Way Ticket to Peace?," Manuscript, Rice University, 1999, pp. 1-40. [Reader # 24].

ADL Backgrounder, "Israel-Syria Negotiations: The Issues," January 23, 2000. [Reader # 25].

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.

17. Israel and Jordan, 1987 and 1993-1994 (October 24)

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

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 94-101.

Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 408-412.

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. [Reader # 26]

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.

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, p. 150.

18. Israel and the Palestinians, I: 1978-1993 (October 29)

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

Quandt, *Peace Process*, Chapter 10, pp. 290-318.

Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Chapter 10, pp. 406-441.

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

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 129-132; 139-145.

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

19. Israel and the Palestinians, II: 1993-2000 (October 31)

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

Quandt, *Peace Process*, Chapter 11, pp. 321-340.

Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Chapter 11, pp. 457-511.

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

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 147-149.

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 55-83.

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. [Reader # 27]

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. [Reader # 28]

20. Israel and the Palestinians, III: 2000-2002 (November 5)

Quandt, *Peace Process*, Chapter 12, pp. 341-376.

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]

“Mitchel Report on the Middle East, May 17, 2001 [reprinted in *The Miami Herald*, May 22, 2001]. [Reader # 29]

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. [Reader # 30]

Akiva Eldar, “Unofficial EU Document Shows Israel Agreed to the Pre-1967 Borders,” *Haaretz*, February 14, 2002. [Reader # 31]

21. What Went Wrong in the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations? (November 7)

Ron Pundak, “From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?”, manuscript, June 2001 [Reader # 32].

Alan Dowty and Michelle Gavierc, “The Al-Aqsa Intifada: Revealing the Chasm,” University of Notre Dame, Department of Government, manuscript, 2001. [Reader # 33].

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 175-196.

Aluf Benn, “Grasping for Peace,” *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2002, pp. 82-84. [Reader # 34]

Louis Kriesberg, “The Relevance of Reconciliation Actions in the Breakdown of Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations, 2000,” manuscript, 2001. [Reader # 35]

28. Conclusions and Extrapolations (December 5)

Kemp and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 213-220.

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, pp. 127-143.

Quandt, *Peace Process*, Chapter 13, pp. 379-396.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 676-694.