

In Conjunction with



NEGOTIATING MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Instructor: Dr. Arie M. Kacowicz

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.

Students Assignments

Students' assignments include the following:

- A. Intensive reading of theoretical, historical, and “actuality” texts.
- B. Submission of two short papers (no more than three pages single spaced) 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. Final Exam

Required Texts:

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).

Calendar - Topics and Schedule of Classes (based on 2 scheduled classes per week)

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Introduction
2. What is international conflict?
3. Conflict management and resolution
4. Defining negotiations and its components
5. Mediation and third-party intervention
6. Cooperation and reciprocity in negotiations
7. Negotiations as a process of peaceful change
8. Bargaining and the outcome of negotiations

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

9. Historical background for the negotiations
10. Core issues I: Jerusalem
11. Core issues II: Refugees
12. General problems and patterns of negotiations
13. **1st Short Paper Due**

C. Case-Studies

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

D. Empirical Applications and Extrapolations

22. Conclusions and extrapolations
23. **2nd Short Paper Due**
24. **Final Exam**

Course Outline and Readings

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Introduction

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.

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?

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

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

3. Conflict Management and Resolution

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

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.

4. Defining Negotiations and its Components

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

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

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.

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.

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

6. Cooperation and Reciprocity in Negotiations

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.

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

7. Negotiations as a Process of Peaceful Change

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

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.

8. Bargaining and the Outcome of Negotiations

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

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

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

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.

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.

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.

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

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).

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.

13. First Short Paper

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

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

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

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

17. Israel and Jordan, 1987 and 1993-1994

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.
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

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

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

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].

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.

21. What Went Wrong in the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations?

Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?," manuscript, June 2001

Alan Dowty and Michelle Gaviera, "The Al-Aqsa Intifada: Revealing the Chasm," University of Notre Dame, Department of Government, manuscript, 2001.

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

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

Louis Kriesberg, "The Relevance of Reconciliation Actions in the Breakdown of Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations, 2000," manuscript, 2001.

22. Conclusions and Extrapolations

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.

23. 2nd Short Paper Due

24. Final Exam