Georgetown University
Department of Government
School of Continuing Studies/Summer School

GOVT 472-20; 472-25: NEGOTIATING MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Dr. Arie M. Kacowicz (Professor of International Relations.),
Summer II 2017, July 10-August 10, 2017
Lecture and Seminar (International Relations/ Middle East Politics and History),
Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, 1045-1245;
Magire 102
Office hours: TBA
Email: amk43@georgetown.edu; or arie.kacowicz@mail.huji.ac.il (permanent email in Israel).

Goals and Contents of the Course

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 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 short papers.

Students Assignments and grades

Students' assignments include the following:

A. Active participation in the course, which is based upon an interactive dynamics and intensive reading of theoretical, historical, and "actuality" texts. The attendance policy includes attendance in 80% of the classes (sixteen sessions). Missing classes beyond the number of permitted absences will negatively affect the grade assigned to participation in class (which is 30% of the final grade).

B. Submission of a paper of about 15 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 week of classes. ***Papers are due on the last day of class, they should be submitted in a hard copy until 5 PM on August 10th at the Department of Government, ICC, 6th Floor.***

C. Graduate students (participants of GOVT 448-25) will perform additional assignments, as part of their class participation. They will submit at least two "actuality reports" (1-2 pages each), regarding issues that will be discussed in the course of the seminar, agreed upon with the Instructor.

The grade will be distributed as follows:

A.	Class participation	30%
B.	Final paper	70%

Accomodation for students with disabilities
Students with disabilities are strongly encouraged to contact the Academic Resource Center (ARC, Leavey Center, Suite 335; 202-687-8354; arc@georgetown.edu) before the start of classes to allow that office time to review their documentation and to make recommendations for appropriate accommodations, including note takers, books on tape, extended time on the final exam, interpreting services, and enlarged texts among others. The procedure for requesting an accommodation can be found online at ldss.georgetown.edu/procedure.cfm, and a list of possible accommodations can be found at ldss.Georgetown.edu/services.cfm.

For further information, please consult the following website:
scs.Georgetown.edu/academic-affairs/students-with-disabilities

The Georgetown University Honor Code and Honor System

All students are required to abide by the Honor System regardless of whether or not they have been required to state or write it, or whether they are visiting students. The Honor System includes detailed provisions for investigating and adjudicating allegations of academic misconduct. The Honor Code and Honor System will be respected throughout the course, and especially with reference to the term paper, that should be an original piece of research immune of any attempt of copy or plagiarism.

For further information, please consult the following websites:

scs.georgetown.edu/academic-affairs/honor-code

http://gervaseprograms.georgetown.edu/honor/system/

Textbooks

The following books should be available for purchase:

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. **[E327.56(08)/L317]**
ISBN 13-978-0140297133 [$17]

Laura Zittrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) (2nd edition) .
[E327.172/E36]
ISBN 10-0253222125
ISBN – 13 978-0253222121 [$28.52]

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001). **[E327.56/M875]**
ISBN 0-679-421120-3 [$22.00]

Charles Enderlin, *Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995-2002* (New York: Other Press, 2003). **[E327.172/E56]**
ISBN 13 – 978-1590510605 [$28]

Alan Dowty, *Israel-Palestine* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2012, 3th edition).
ISBN 13-978-0-7456-5612-0 [$22.95]

Aaron David Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Bantham Books, 2008).
ISBN 9780553804904 [$17]

Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson (2009), *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century: Principles, Methods, and Approaches* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press).
ISBN 978-0472070626 [$34.95]

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).
ISBN 13-978-0801451478 [$29.95]

Yaacov Basr-Siman-Tov, [edited by Arie M. Kacowicz], *Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (London and New York; Routledge, 2014).
ISBN 978-1-138-02485-4 [$40.]

Topics and Schedule of Classes

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Mon   July 10:   Introduction
2. Tue   July 11:   International conflict and conflict management
3. Wed   July 12:   Negotiations and mediation
4. Thu   July 13:   Negotiations as a process of peaceful change

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

5. Mon   July 17:   Historical background for the negotiations
6. Tue   July 18:   Core issues I: Jerusalem
7. Wed   July 19:   Core issues II: Refugees
8. Thu   July 20:   General problems and patterns of negotiations

C. Case-Studies

9. Mon   July 24 :   Israel and Egypt: 1973-1975 and 1977-1979
10. Tue   July 25:   Israel and Lebanon, Israel and Syria
11. Wed   July 26:   Israel and Jordan, 1987 and 1993-1994
12. Thu   July 27:   Israel and the Palestinians I: 1967-1993
13. Mon   July 31:   Israel and the Palestinians II: 1993-2001
14. Tue   Aug 1:   Israel and the Palestinians III: 2000-2017
15. Wed   Aug2:   What went wrong in the I-P negotiations & the future of the Arab-Israeli conflict: Scenarios

D. Empirical Applications and Extrapolations

16. Thu   Aug 3:   "Shattered Dreams" (movie)
17. Mon   Aug 7:   Students' Presentations
18. Tue   Aug 8:   Students' Presentations
19. Wed   Aug 9:   Students' presentations
20. Thu   Aug 10:   Simulation of the Arab-Israeli conflict

Course Outline and Readings

    A.   <u>Introduction and Theoretical Framework</u>

1. Introduction (July 10)

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").

Bercovitch and Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century*, pp. 1-16;184-190.

2. International Conflict and Conflict Management (July 11)

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

Bercovitch and Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-First Century*, pp. 1-16.

3. Defining Negotiations and its Components: Negotiations, Mediation, and Bargaining (July 12)

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

4. Negotiations as a Process of Cooperation, Reciprocity, and Peaceful Change (July 13)

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, *Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Chapter 1, pp. 7-27.

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

5. Historical Background of the Negotiations (July 17)

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

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

6. Core Issues I: Jerusalem (July 18)

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.

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

Alan Dowty (2008), *Israel-Palestine*, pp. 200-203.

7. Core Issues II: Refugees (July 19)

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.

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

Alan Dowty (2008), *Israel-Palestine*, pp. 208-213.

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

8. General Problems and Patterns of Negotiations (July 20)

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

9. Israel and Egypt, 1973-1975 and 1977-1979 (July 24)

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

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.

10. Israel and Lebanon, 1983; Israel and Syria (July 25)

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

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

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.

Enderlin (2003), *Shattered Dreams*, pp. 24-30; 76-80; 125-135; 140-142.

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.

Kurtzer et al. (2013), Chapter 2, pp. 59-104.

11.   Israel and Jordan, 1987 and 1993-1994 (July 26)

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.

12. Israel and the Palestinians, I: 1967-1993   (July 27)

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.

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

13. Israel and the Palestinians, II: 1993-2001 (July 31)

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" (Sepember 13, 1993), pp. 413-422; "Israel and PLO: Cairo Agreement" (March 4, 1994), pp. 442-455; "Israel and Palestinian Authority: Interim Agrement 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.

Charles Enderlin (2003), *Shattered Dreams*, pp. 1-287.

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 137-168.

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

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

14. Israel and the Palestinians, III: 2001-2015 (August 1)

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]

Enderlin (2003), *Shattered Dreams*, pp. 288-361.

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.

Aaaron 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.

15. What Went Wrong in the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations and the Future of the Conflict (August 2)

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

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

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.

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

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.

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

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.

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.

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

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

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]

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

Ben Bindaum 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