



## Coexistence in the Middle East – Winter Session

### REALITIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST: CONFLICT AND NEGOTIATIONS

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December 27, 2017 – January 10, 2018

45 Academic Hours, 3 Academic Credits

*Our intensive two-week winter session offers 3-credits and includes many of the field trips and lectures as the [full summer session](#). This program is aimed at students, faculty members, diplomats, policy makers, and other professionals who are unable to attend the [Coexistence in the Middle East](#) (CME) summer program.*

#### Course 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, with reference to the larger Middle East context. Third, we will address several case-studies of successes and failures of negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors – Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians. In this context, we will attempt to understand the relative failure of the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians.

The class lectures will be complemented by a variety of study trips and encounters that enable participants to explore the facts on the ground and examine local realities from the perspectives of various religious, political, cultural and national groups that converge at this crossroads of humanity. The field trips are organized in cooperation with the International Institute of Leadership and delve into:

- Encounters between the “West” and the Middle East
- Relations among Christians, Jews, and Muslims
- Interests and concerns of the International Community
- Competing claims between Israelis and Palestinians

## ***Topics and Schedule of Classes***

1. Introduction and theoretical framework: international conflict/conflict management, negotiations and mediation; peaceful territorial change. Historical background of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.
2. The Middle Eastern context: The Arab-Israeli conflict in the larger context.
3. Case-studies of negotiations: Israel-Egypt/Israel-Jordan; Israel-Lebanon; Israel-Syria.
4. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the peace process, from 1967 to the present.
5. The present and future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; analysis and summary. Presentation of ideas for papers.

[Note: All the relevant documents pertinent to the peace process can be found on the web]

## **Guest Speakers and Meetings**

Through multiple field trips and encounters, this program offers the unique opportunity to gain first-hand access to key places and regional players. Subject to the availability of guest speakers, participants will have the opportunity to meet with:

- Government officials
- Israeli and Palestinian leaders and activists
- Diplomats and members of international NGOs
- Military staff and residents of disputed areas
- Middle East scholars and experts

## **Field Trips**

Please note that due to the dynamic character of the Middle East and our intention to focus on the current issues in the region the field trips and encounters will be finalized at a later date. As a reference only, participants may refer to our [CME two-week tentative itinerary](#) which includes:

- Holy Sites in Jerusalem's Old City
- Arab and Jewish Settlements
- The Golan Heights
- Borders with Syria and Lebanon
- "Security Fence"/"Occupation Wall"
- Sderot and the Border with Gaza
- NGOs and Government Institutions
- The Sea of Galilee and Nazareth
- The Dead Sea and Masada

## **Grading & Course Requirements**

The course will be held in English or Spanish according to group requirements. No previous experience or knowledge is necessary and the course is open to every individual with interest in the contemporary Middle East. Participants who do not require academic credits will be exempt from these requirements and will be able to obtain an active participation certificate.

### Students' grades

- **20% Reading and class participation**
- **80% Term Paper.** The essay will not exceed 3000 words and **must be submitted no later than three weeks after the last class in word format electronically.** Papers should be submitted through the website of the course, or directly to [arie.kacowicz@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:arie.kacowicz@mail.huji.ac.il).

It is mandatory for students to attend all classes, guest lectures, and field trips. Failure to attend classes will result in a student being denied the right to partake in the final assignment and receive a final grade in the course. Students who have a justified reason to miss class (illness, mourning, etc.) must communicate with their instructors and the Department of Summer Courses and Special Programs, and complete the material that they have missed. Students who have missed class due to illness must obtain a signed and stamped sick note from a treating physician and submit it to the Dept. of Summer Courses and Special Programs immediately following their return to class. Failure to do so will result in an unexcused absence. The Department reserves the right to refer the issue to an Academic Committee. In some cases, the Academic Committee may decide, in light of the requirements of the course, that it is not possible to make up the missing course work.

### Earning Graduate Credits for this course

- Graduate students are expected to inform the Rothberg International School – [rissummer@savion.huji.ac.il](mailto:rissummer@savion.huji.ac.il) – of their interest in earning graduate credit for this course.
- Graduate students must complete a 15-page, double-spaced term paper with bibliography for the course. The topic and bibliography for these papers must be chosen in conjunction and agreement with the course's instructor.
- The seminar paper must make use of at least five scholarly sources (books or academic articles), in addition to internet resources.
- The graduate seminar papers must be submitted within 2 months following course completion in order for the graduate student to fulfill requirements for this course.

### **Course Outline and Recommended Readings**

Due to the dynamic character of the Middle East and the intention to focus on the current issues in the region the contents and readings might be updated.

(\* Readings especially recommended for the class)

## **1. Introduction; international conflict and conflict management; negotiations, mediation, and peaceful change ; Historical background of the Conflict**

Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp. 1-6; 26-58. **Main Library JX 4473 I4; G-Drive**

\*Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-First Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), pp. 1-16. **Overseas Library 327.172 B486; G-Drive**

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

\*Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Learning Conflict Resolution," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1994, pp. 75-92. **[E-journal](#); G-Drive**

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. **Main Library JZ 5538 A67; G-Drive**

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. **Main Library JX 4475 R47; G-Drive**

Saadia Touval, *Mediation in the Arab-Israeli Conflict During and After the Cold War* (Davis Occasional Papers, No. 74, October 1999), pp. 1-19. **Main Library DS 119.7 T665**

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. **Overseas Library ME327.172 P355; [E-book](#); G-Drive**

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. **Main Library D 445 C736; G-Drive**

\*Arie M. Kacowicz, *Peaceful Territorial Change* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 3-61 (Chapters 1-3). **Overseas Library 341.42 K11; G-Drive**

\*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. **[E-journal](#); G-Drive**

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. **Overseas Library E327.56(08) L317; G-Drive**

William Zartman, *Negotiations as a Mechanism for Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Davis Occasional Papers, No. 72, August 1999), pp. 1-20. **Main Library DS 119.7 Z37**

\*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. **Main Library DS 119.7 S76**

Aaron David Miller (2008), *The Much Too Promised Land* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008), pp. 361-385. **Overseas Library E327.56 M647, G-Drive**

## **2. The Middle Eastern context: The Arab-Israeli conflict in the larger context**

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), pp. 1-54. **Overseas Library ME320.9 S464; G-Drive**

Mary Ann Tetreault, "International Relations," in Deborah Gerner, ed., *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008), pp. 137-220. **Main Library DS 44 U52; G-Drive**

Fred Halliday, "International relations theory and the Middle East" *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics, and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), ch. 1, pp. 21-40. **Overseas Library ME327 H188; G-Drive**

\*George Friedman, "A Net Assessment of the Middle East," *Stratfor Report, Global Intelligence*, June 9, 2015. **Free access** at: <https://www.stratfor.com/weekly/net-assessment-middle-east> .

\*"The War Within: A Special Report on the Arab World", *The Economist* (May 14-20, 2016), pp. 3-16. **Free access**: <https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21698652-europe-and-america-made-mistakes-misery-arab-world-caused-mainly-its-own>

## **3. Case-Studies: Israel-Egypt; Israel- Jordan; Israel-Lebanon; Israel-Syria**

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. **Overseas Library E327.56(08) L317; G-Drive**

Asher Susser, *The Jordanian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: The Geopolitical Rationale of a Bilateral Relationship* (Davis Occasional Papers, No. 73, August 1999), pp. 1-39. **Main Library DS 154.16 I75 S97**

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. **Overseas Library E327.56(08) L317; G-Drive**

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Lebanon and Israel: Truce Agreement" (May 17, 1983), pp. 287-289. **Overseas Library E327.56(08) L317; G-Drive**

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Renewal of Syrian-Israeli Negotiations," December 15, 1999, pp. 545-548. **Overseas Library E327.56(08) L317; G-Drive**

\*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. **E-journal**

## **4 and 5. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Peace Process, 1967-2017**

Daniel C. Kurtzer, et al, *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 15-58. **Overseas Library ME327.172 P355; E-book; G-Drive**

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. **Overseas Library E327.56(08) L317; G-Drive**

*Sharm el-Sheik Memorandum on Implementation Timeline of Outstanding Commitments of Agreements Signed and the Resumption of Permanent Status Negotiations* (September 4, 1999). **Free access:**  
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/1999/Pages/Sharm%20el-Sheikh%20Memorandum%20on%20Implementation%20Timel.aspx>

\*Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), chs. 6, 7, and 9, pp. 137-186, 219-229. **Overseas Library E327.56 D752; G-Drive** (ch. 6, 9)

\*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, no. 2, 2005, pp. 252-273. **E-journal**

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

*Mitchell Report on the Middle East* (May 17, 2001) [reprinted in *The Miami Herald*, May 22, 2001]. **Free access:** <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-mitchell-report-may-2001>

\*Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), pp. 150-203. **Overseas Library E327.56 D752; G-Drive** (partly)

Aaron Miller (2008), *The Much Too Promised Land* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008), pp. 321-360. **Overseas Library E327.56 M647, G-Drive**

\*U.S. Department of State, *A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (April 30, 2003). **Free access:**  
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/a%20performance-based%20roadmap%20to%20a%20permanent%20two-sta.aspx>

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

Henry Fishman and Ephraim Lavie, *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, 2010). **Free access:**  
[http://www.upsite.co.il/uploaded/files/1339\\_e72d9b241ada1a51328fe21fe6b9795f.pdf](http://www.upsite.co.il/uploaded/files/1339_e72d9b241ada1a51328fe21fe6b9795f.pdf)

Daniel C. Kurtzer, et al, *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 268-276. **Overseas Library ME327.172 P355; E-book; G-Drive**

\*Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, edited by Arie M. Kacowicz, *Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2014). **Overseas Library E327.172 B223**

*United Nations Security Council Resolution 2344* (Friday, December 23, 2016). **Free access:**  
<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc12756.doc.htm>

\*John Kerry, *Remarks on Middle East Peace* (December 28, 2016). **Free access:** <https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2016/12/266119.htm>