

The Israeli Palestinian Experiment- Lessons Learnt and the Search for Common Ground

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Teaching Assistants: Thair Abu-Rass and Joshua Pearlman

Class

Number Classroom Times- Office Hours:

This interactive course provides an in-depth understanding cycles of war and peacebuilding from its roots until this very days. Prof. Hassassian has been Dean and Vice-President of Bethlehem University, Chair of the Palestinian Council of Higher Education, and currently serves as Palestinian Ambassador in the United Kingdom. Prof. Kaufman has been the Director of both the Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland UMD and is concurrently teaching at its Dept. of Government and Politics and in Israel, at the Interdisciplinary and Haifa University Center in Herzliya.

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Course Overview

Initially promising negotiations led to the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, but at present most of the dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis seems to be conducted through bombs and mutual recriminations. Experimenting over 20 years at the University of Maryland, this methodology provides students with both perspectives of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict including simulations of the adversarial historical narratives, the present cleavages in both societies and shared solutions negotiated at different levels: plans and recommendations emanating from consensual civil society peace building through both involved governments, main powers and the international community as a whole. Issues included are: the status of Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, water rights, border disputes, and security concerns.

While analyzing the conflict through the lens of one ethnopolitical conflict, this approach can provide the students with the tools for the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment for other contemporary intra-state conflicts. It does not require previous knowledge of the Middle East or Jewish history, although such knowledge could be useful for enriching the dynamics in the classroom. A short “one-minute evaluation” at the end of each class

provides good feedback to gradually build the knowledge on the subject as well as assessing students' participation . A major student input in class is expected to take place in three classes through simulations, past [conflict analysis] present [WWW - What Went Wrong with the peace process] and future [search for common ground on major divisive issues]. Watch also in YouTube: Israel/Palestine Experiment. Israel PalestineTeamTeaching- <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL97B667D11B749C7F>

Course Resources

There are two required textbooks for this course:

- 1) Abdel Monem Said Aly, Shai Feldman and Khalil Shikaki, Arabs and Israelis, Palgrace Macmillan, New York, 2013
- 2) Galia Golan, Israeli Peacemaking since 1967 – Factors Behind the Breakthroughs and Failures, Routledge, New York, 2015

In addition, there will be recommended readings from other sources, which are available on-line in ELMS/CANVAS.

Course Requirements

Your final grade in this course will be determined based on the following breakdown:

Class Participation	Attendance, Evaluations	10%
Simulation		20%
Final Exam		70%
Optional Extra Credit		5%

- Film Review (Film: *The 50 Years War: Israel and the Arabs*, [PBS Documentary, 1999 Brin Lappin Associates and WGBH Education Foundation, Part 1 and Part 2 [BOTH]

Class Participation: Classroom discussions are one of the most important components of the course. The best way to earn an A for discussion is to attend and show up on time to *all* lectures, complete *all* required reading *before* class meetings, bring to class any specific questions and issues for discussion, and participate regularly and constructively in class discussions. Your participation grade will also be based on the completion of One-Minute Evaluations, which you will ask you to briefly summarize what you learned from that day.

These evaluations are to be turned in at the end of each class. Other assignments will be announced in class or on ELMS by the instructors at their discretion.

Simulation: A unique portion of the class involves a simulation. Initially, the students will model the adversarial discourse between two contending narratives – the Israeli Government's and the Palestinian Authority's [PA]. Students will be divided into one of these two groups. The second simulation will present two divided adversaries [Israeli settlers/Likud and "Peace Now"/Labor on the one hand; and PA/Fatah and Hamas on the Palestinian side; the third and last simulation will ask all Israelis to role-play "Peace Now" and PA/Fatah and be tasked to find common ground in regards to the issue of refugees, one of the stumbling blocks in an overall peace agreement.. Active and bibliography based role in this simulation will greatly help your participation grade.

Students with Disabilities: Please inform either of the instructors or the TAs *at the beginning of the course* if you require any disability-related special accommodations.

Laptops: The use of laptops in class is strictly limited to the purposes of the class. Violation of this guideline will result in a request to leave the classroom and an absence in that session.

Examination: The final exam [70%] is requesting students to answer three essay questions out of six, each pair related to past, present and future.

Class 1 General Overview – Introduction of the course's instructors, methodology, requirements, and challenges; A brief analysis of previous Israeli-Palestinian cooperative efforts. **Historical Background** – The formative years: Jewish national movement & the development of the Zionist idea; The Development of social and political institutions in the pre-state period; Origin and development of Arab nationalism and factionalism.: Palestinian and Zionist attitudes toward the "Arab question"
READING : Kaufman & Hassassian, "Understanding our Israeli/Palestinian conflict and searching for its resolution", in Judy Carter, George Irani and Vamik Volkan, (eds.) Regional and Ethnic Conflicts: Perspectives from the Front Lines, (New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 2009), pp. 87- 129. (online, course webpage]

Class 2 Establishment of the State of Israel and the Shaping of Palestinian Institutions in Exile: The War of Liberation/The Catastrophe 1948.The generation of the

Palestinian refugee problem. Israel's cycles of wars. The 1956 Sinai campaign/Tripartite aggression/Suez War.

READING Said Aly, Feldman & Shikaki, pp 7-85. Emphasis on Israeli and Palestinian Narratives

Class 3: The Impact of the Six Days/June 1967 War://Il Naksah Repositioning of the Israeli political setting; Yom Kippur War/Ramadan/October War 1973. Different trends in the Palestine Liberation Organization and the "Jordanization" of the West Bank. The Peace in the Galilee Operation/ First Lebanon War; Preparations for Simulation 1: contending positions on the Palestinian refugee issue.

REQUIRED Readings: Said Aly, Feldman & Shikaki, pp 118-195 Emphasis on Israeli and Palestinian Narratives.

Class 4: **Simulation 1: PAST** Experimenting with the Adversarial/Reflexive/Integrative (A.R.I.A) approach: Students role-play the adversarial discourse with two contending histories - Israeli Government vs. Palestinian Authority.

Debriefing and Evaluation– The relevance of the historical arguments for conflict resolution and the need of paradigm shift solutions.

REQUIRED Readings: Kaufman & Hassassian, "Searching for Common Ground on the Refugee Issue"[online course webpage]

Said Aly, Feldman & Shikaki, pp , pp 216-226 195- 268

Class 5: **Status Quo and the Idea of "Greater Israel" & First Palestinian Intifada** – Settlements as vehicle of annexation; End of the "Jordanian option"; First Lebanon War and its backlash in Israeli and Palestinian society; Empowerment of Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza and the causes of the first Intifada (Palestinian uprising); Adoption of the "Two State Solution" by the Palestinian National Council. **International Dimension of the Israeli/Arab Conflict** – Role of the superpowers in the Middle East during the Cold War; U.S. foreign policy in the region before and after Gulf War; White House as an "honest broker" and the limits of foreign intervention.

REQUIRED Reading Galia Golan, pp 10- 28.

OPTIONAL Readings: Hassassian, Manuel, "The Democratization Process in the PLO" [online, course webpage]

OPTIONAL Kaufman, Edy, "War, Occupation, and Effect on Israeli Society" [online, course webpage]

OPTIONAL Hassassian, Manuel, "The Intifada: An Assessment" online course webpage]

OPTIONAL * Kaufman, Edy, "Israeli Perception of the Limited Violence of the Intifada" course webpage]

REQUIRED Reading: Kurtzer, Lasensky, Quandt, Spiegel & Telhami, "The Peace Puzzle" (p. 1-14; 35-58; 268- 276)

Class 6: **Peacemaking** – Background to the 1991 Madrid Middle East Peace conference; Bilateral (Israel with Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Palestinian representatives) and Multilateral tracks (security, environment, refugees, water and economic development); Oslo channel and its impact of its implementation in Israel and the Palestinian Territories

REQUIRED Reading Galia Golan, pp 118- 165

Class 7: **What Went Wrong (WWW)** - Reasons for the collapse of the peace process; Revisiting the points of disagreement in the Oslo Process, Camp David II, and the Al-Aqsa Intifada; Unilateralism or negotiation: Israeli pullout from Gaza; The Saudi/Arab League Peace Initiative; The Israel/Hamas Gaza Wars :2008/9; 2012; 2014

Class 8: **Simulation 2- PRESENT.** The second simulation will present two divided adversaries [Israeli settlers/Likud and "Peace Now"/Labor on the one hand; and PA/Fatah and Hamas on the Palestinian side; Internal discussions in preparation for Israeli and Palestinian debate at the United Nations

REQUIRED Reading: Galia Golan, pp 201 – 217.

REQUIRED Reading Said Aly, Feldman & Shikaki, pp 331-360,

Class 9: Search for Common Ground:- Final Status Issues: Borders, Security, Jewish Settlements, Palestinian Refugees and Jewish Settlements, Jerusalem. Track II, confidential Track I, Clinton Parameters

Class: 10 ; Prospects of an agreement through disaggregation of overall issue. Current U.S.-led mediation efforts; Domestic constraints to an agreed solution

Tools for reaching common ground- Creativity, Cooperation, Consensus Building and De-escalation – Preparations for simulation on solutions for Refugee Problem

Readings: Kaufman, E. TRAINING FOR CREATIVITY: THE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION [online course webpage]

Class 12:: Simulation 3 – FUTURE. The third and last simulation will ask all Israelis to role-play “Peace Now” and PA/Fatah and be tasked to find common ground in regards to the issue of refugees, one of the stumbling blocks in an overall peace agreement. Searching for common ground on the final status issue of refugees –

REQUIRED Readings: Required: Kaufman & Hassassian, “Searching for Common Ground on the Refugee Issue [online: course webpage]

OPTIONAL Reading:* Khalidi, Rashid, “The Palestinian Refugee Problem: A Possible Solution” [online course webpage]

OPTIONAL Reading: Gazit, Shlomo – “Solving the Refugee Problem: A Prerequisite for Peace” course webpage]

OPTIONAL Reading: Optional: Lapidot, Ruth, “Do Palestinian Refugees Have a Right to Return to Israel?” online course webpage]

OPTIONAL Reading: Zureik, Elia – “Palestinian Refugees and the Right of Return” online, course webpage]

Week 12: Final exam [1 ½ hours]

Summing up and evaluation: Long term overall solutions to Israeli/Palestinian Conflict; Revisiting the issue of sovereignty with alternative models