Index

Abbas, Mahmud (Abu Mazin), 227, 230	Arab-Israeli affairs, perceptions of, 186
abd al-Shafi, Haidar, 232	Arab-Israeli conflict, 15, 19-21,
Abdullah, King, 61, 152, 216	27, 60, 66, 69, 153; Jerusalem in,
Abdullah II, 89	137, 139; partition in, 30, 54;
Abu Dis, 228	partitionism applied to, 41-42
Acre, 73, 155	Arab-Israeli peace, prescription for,
Africa, 34, 41	21
Agriculture, 72, 74, 121	Arab-Israeli peacemaking: links
Air flights, 201–2, 204, 207–8	between defense and economics in,
Airport rights, 109–11	116; water resources in, 133-34
Airspace, 200, 241; Israeli control of,	Arab League, 108
109–11	Arabs, 7, 17, 45, 52, 53–54, 223, 239,
Ajami, Fouad, 52	243; and border crossings, 95;
Ajami mosque, 155	cultural autonomy of, 63, 76; and
Albright, Madeleine, 48, 175, 212,	economic relations, 128-29; and
222	Jerusalem, 141, 143; in Jerusalem,
Algiers resolution (1988), 93	144, 145, 146, 152, 154; in Jordan,
All wars must end postulate, 3, 4, 21	241; Palestinian, 73, 74, 75, 172;
Allegiances, multiple, 82–84	and partition, 50, 182, 183; see
Allenby Bridge, 200, 206	also Israeli Arabs
Allon plan, 1, 168, 169f	Arafat, Yasir, 48, 51, 93, 100, 105,
"Allon plus" plan, 163, 168, 212	109–11, 113, 127, 129, 145, 151,
Alpher, Joseph, 101–2, 103, 175,	168, 178–79, 180, 182, 227, 232,
227	259n2; criticism of leadership of,
Alpher blueprint, 170–73, 171f	183, 222; helicopters, 207-8; "Note
Amana, 167	for the Record," 197; and partition,
Ambiguity, 7, 179; see also	186, 190; "trump card," 231
Constructive ambiguity	Arava, 75
Amman, 89, 127, 152, 205	Arens, Moshe, 219
Anderson, Benedict, 241	Ariel, 76, 79, 228
Antipartitionism, 85, 180, 182	Aronson, Geoffrey, 177
Anti-Zionist hostility, 105	Asfour, Hassan, 229

Ashdod, 109 Attitudinal level, change at, 15, 33–34, 37–38 Autonomy, 27, 28–29, 53, 65; for Israeli Arabs, 82; Palestinian, 93, 104–5, 162; religious, 148 al-Azariyya, 228 Bad faith, 46, 141, 145, 209, 222 Balance of power, 30, 32, 90, 98 Balfour Declaration, 46–47, 221 Bangladesh, 28,217 Barak, Ehud, 114 Bargaining, 14, 37, 60, 176, 222, 231; see also Negotiation Basic Law: Jerusalem Capital of Israel, 143 Beersheba, 209 Begin, Menachem, 52, 53, 91 Beilin, Yossi, 7, 174, 175, 227, 229–30, 232 Beilin-Abu Mazin draft accord, 1, 227 - 30Beit Shean valley, 75 Belgium, 30, 217 Ben-Gurion, David, 61, 152, 216, 225 Ben-Gurion International Airport, 102, 109, 206 Beyond Rhetoric: Perspectives on a Negotiated Settlement in Palestine, 179 - 80Binationalism, 27, 28–29, 52, 53, 65, 183, 263*n*34 Bishara, M.K. Azmi, 82, 180 "Black September" reckoning, 241 - 42Border checkpoints, 112, 202; incidents at, 205–8 Border crossings and controls, 93–95, 191, 200; closure of, 204; inspection procedures, 202, 203;

Jordan River, 94f; security at, 209

Border lines: bargaining positions on, 113 Borders, 61, 64, 86, 183, 224, 239, 244; control over, 114; defensible, 87-88; final status, 76-79; natural versus defensible, 60; open/closed, 218; in peace accord, 228; in peace map, 223; in peace negotiations, 227; political and security, 63, 66; revising, 80–81; and security, 87–114; soft, 64 Bosnia, 4, 24, 25, 33, 34, 39, 70, 214, 217 Boutros Ghali, Boutros, 14 Breakthroughs, 11, 13; ambiguity and, 47; five steps to, 14–19 British Mandate, 70; Palestine and Transjordan under, 43f B'tselem report, 204 Bush, George, 60 Cairo, 127, 217 Cairo Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, Article IX, 192, 193–94 Cairo protocol, 216, 230 Cairo "Safe Passages" Map (1994), 198*f* Camp David Accords, 143, 221 Car thefts, 118–19, 126, 191 Castlereagh, Lord, 113 Cease-fire lines (1967), 59f Center for Palestine Research and Studies (an-Najah University), 181 Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 179 Chazit Eretz Yisrael (Land of Israel Front), 79 Christians: and Jerusalem, 148, 149, 150 cis-Jordania, 62, 86 Clean cut, 1, 22, 29, 133, 190, 239 Clinton, William, 168, 175

Clinton administration, 39 Czech Republic, 28, 69 Czechoslovakia, 22, 23, 30, 38, 41, Coastal Aquifer, 132 Cognitive dissonance, 96 61, 69, 81 Committee for Road Safety (CRS), Czechs, 33, 35, 36, 61, 119 212 Complexities, 5, 61, 129; in Dahaniya airfield, 111, 201–2, 208, 216 Jerusalem issue, 148, 149; in security problem, 97 Darwish, Mahmoud, 179 Compromise, 2, 3, 4, 15, 25, 27, 40, Dayan, Moshe, 53 166; as concession, 223; costs in, Dayton accords, 33, 39, 217 224; necessary to peace, 186; Declaration of Principles (DOP), 123, negotiating, 23; value of, 37, 225; 198 Declaration of Principles (DOP) on see also Political compromise; Interim Self-Government Territorial compromise Concessions, 4, 15, 91; in Beilin-Abu Arrangements, 192 Mazin draft accord, 228–29; see Declaration of Partition Principles also Territorial concessions (DPP), 61, 63 Condominium, 30, 242; religious, 150 Decolonization, 31 Confederation construct, 242 Defense, 91; and economics, 115–16 Defense treaties, 114, 115 Confidence-building measures, 15–16 Conflict resolution, 3, 12, 25, 31, 32, Delegitimization, mutual, 151 34, 37, 42, 49, 177, 182, 223; Demilitarization, 63, 99, 101, 102–3, 104, 229, 232, 234 incrementalist approach to, 19–20; international, 11; language in, 47; Demographic questions, 61, 64, ripeness in, 11–14; theoretical 69–70, 171 literature on, 19, 21, 115; Demography, 60, 70, 73–76, 86; mixed municipalities, 85; politics topographic realities and, 72–73 Constructive ambiguity, 3, 21, 61, 89, of, 74; and water shortage, 132, 133 224; deferred confrontation masked as, 90; end to, 46–49; regarding Denuclearization, 103 Jerusalem, 141; in safe passage, Dependency, 41, 126; economic, 121; 189, 192, 200 mutual, 123, 165, 243; in safe Cooperation, 23; economic, 123–24, passage issue, 200, 212 125–28; in security, 114; "three-Diplomacy, 12–13, 47, 49; processtiered program of," 52; willingness oriented, 19-20 for, 242 Diplomatic breakthroughs, 197; steps Copts, 148 to, 14–19, 20 Core goals, redefining, 15 Disengagement, 1, 84, 114, 244 Disintegration theories, 32, 37 Corridors of power, 192–97 Cost-benefit analysis, 124–25 Divide and Fall? (Kumar), 38–39 "Crusader" precedent, 241 Divided societies, 249n31; applying Cultural autonomy, 63, 64 partition to, 34–36 Cypress, 22, 25, 30, 31, 36, 206 Dowty, Alan, 22

Druckman, Daniel, 13 Dualism: in Jerusalem, 137–39, 155 Durability (criterion), 26, 42 Early warning stations, 91, 101, 108, East Bank, 62, 70, 89, 90, 163, 241 East Bank-West Bank, federated, 52 East Jerusalem, 75, 170, 182 Eastern Aquifer, 132 Eban, Abba, 60, 61 Economic paradigm, collaborative, 123 - 25Economic concerns, 6, 66, 116, 120, 135, 165, 239 Economic relations, 61, 120–21, 122-23; deferred gratification in, 128-29; obstacles in, 125-28 Economic union: with political partition, 117 Economic viability, 62, 64, 88, 189 Economics, postintifada, 121–23 Economics of partition, 115–35 Economy, intermingled, 120–21 Efrat, Elisha, 170 Egypt, 62, 93, 107, 182, 201, 205, 206, 217 Eitan, Michael, 174, 230 Enclaves, 183, 189–92 Entities, 189–92 Erez checkpoint, 207 Eretz Yisrael, 185 Eretz Yisrael/Filastin, 42, 52, 60 Eretz Yisrael hashlema, 84 Ethnic cleansing, 70, 239 Ethnic communities, 41, 69, 225 Ethnic conflict, 31, 35, 37, 69 Ethnic disentanglement, 21, 22 Ethnic groups/minorities, 29–30, 165 Ethnic segregation, 28, 36 Ethnicity, politics of, 31

Europe, aid from, 129

European community, 35, 183 European Union, 111 Exclusionism/exclusivity, 52, 62, 127 Exit strategy, 4, 18, 25; lack of, 7, 14; partition as, 42; territorial compromise, 21-24 Expected utility models, 32–33 External reinforcement (Palestinian), 99 - 100

Fabian, Larry, 54 Fair share partitionism principle, 72 - 73Fearon, James D., 13 Federalism, 27, 28–29, 51–52, 53, 65 Filastin, 42, 52, 60, 179 Final status, 3, 25; prescriptions for, 226 - 27Final status accords, 76 Final status negotiations/talks, 49, 87, 117; contentious principles in, 189; Israel's strength in, 172; Jerusalem in, 138; security problem in, 96-97, 101; water problem in, 130 Final status settlement, 14, 27, 141; land in, 167; transit rights in, 112 Foundation for Middle East Peace,

177

Free and safe passage, 174; see also Safe passages

Freedom of movement, 111, 192, 200, 215, 216-17, 218; international legal principles of, 217; restrictions on, 204

Friedman, Thomas, 166, 168, 222, 235

Fuller, Graham, 34

Galilee, 72, 73, 75, 84; holy places in, 155 Game theory, 225 Gazit, Shlomo, 184

Gaza (city), 91, 162, 192, 200, 210; seaport at, 111, 216 Gazan-Egyptian frontier, 107, 109 Gaza-Jericho Agreement, 95 "Gaza-Jericho first" strategy, 139, 190 Gaza Maritime Zone, Proposed, 110f Gaza Strip, 70, 72, 73, 74, 91, 93-95; authority over, 231; economic development, 128; key economic indicators, 120t; occupation and administration of, 120–21; Palestinians in, 75; in partition plans, 170, 178, 181; in peace negotiations, 229, 234, 235; political stability in, 124; reconstruction of, 127; refugees in, 129, 130; in safe passage issue, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205-8, 211, 214; in security, 104, 106–7; settlements, 76, 78f, 84; water shortage, 132; and West Bank as territorial unit, 192 Geography, 60, 86; demography and, 70; and security, 95–96 Geopolitics, 31, 69; and security, 106-7; Geopolitical form of compromise, 222 Germany/Germans, 30, 31, 41, 216–17 Givat Ze'ev, 79 Golan Heights, 63, 107, 161 Gorny, Yosef, 187 Gradualist-functionalist approach, 123 - 24143 Great Britain, 31, 56 Great Rift Valley, 72 Holy Sepulchre (church), 145 Green line, 56, 58f, 76, 79, 85, 90, Holy wars, 135, 157 93, 102, 167, 172, 173, 185, 186, Homeland(s), 162, 164, 185 211, 212, 227, 241; business Horowitz, Donald L., 35 contacts across, 126; exit/entry Huntington, Samuel P., 35 "Hurting stalemate," 11, 221, 237, points near, 205; as peace border, 191; porous, 117–19 244 Groom, A.J.R., 32 Hussein, King, 52, 56, 61, 89, 90, Guerrilla warfare, 104, 113 103, 152, 182, 208

Gush Etsion bloc, 76, 79, 102, 228, 236 Haass, Richard, 12, 14 Haifa, 65, 73, 155, 181 Hamas, 105, 113, 166, 180, 207, 222, 236 Hampson, Fen Osler, 11 Har Homa housing project, 142, 145 Harkabi, Yehoshafat, 161 Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 62–63, 70, 89, 103, 251*n*18; claim to water resources, 130; Palestinian diaspora in, 184 Hashemites, 56, 241 Hasmonean tunnel, 142, 145, 157 Hebron, 65, 73, 85, 91, 156f, 157, 163, 200, 210, 211, 215; closure of, 206; in peace negotiations, 234 Hebron agreement (1997), 186, 212; "Note for the Record," 236 Heller, Mark, 173, 175, 226–27 Helprin, Mark, 30 Hirschfeld, Yair, 229 Historical sites, 69, 83, 155, 175 Hizbollah, 112 Holsti, K. J., 31 Holy Land, 1, 3, 4, 8, 66, 116, 138, 190; religious reciprocity in, 155–57; splitting, 30; and tourism, 124 - 25Holy places/sites, 138, 139; access to, 148, 149, 155, 157; protection of,

Husseini, Faisal, 152 Husseini, Jamal, 56, 66 Hydrostrategic map, 131*f*

Ideology, 15; regarding partition, 178, 182; in settlement ethos, 79 Implementation strategies, 237–38 Independence (Palestine), 64, 183, 184, 185; unilateral declaration of, 231 - 32India, 22, 28, 30, 31, 38, 70, 217, 238 Innocent passage, 111 Insecurity, 95–99, 112, 113 Integration theory, 32, 35–36, 37 Interconnectedness, 189 Interdependence, 62, 117, 205; economic, 119, 124, 125, 128-29; in Jerusalem issue, 155 Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Article 10 under Annex I, 194–96 Interim agreements, 13, 162, 230; phase, 63, 117, 123, 177 International actors, 42, 105; third parties, 235 International aid, 127–28 International community: and status of Jerusalem, 143 International guarantees, 112, 114, 115 International peace conferences, 17 International relations, 31–32, 36 International relations theory, 45 Internationalization (proposed): Jerusalem, 148, 150, 151, 152 Intifada, 105, 121–22, 232, 236; economic consequences of, 121–22, 126 Intransigence, 46, 49; politics of, 86 Invasion, threat of, 106–9, 111 Investment capital, 127–28

Iran, 90, 97; threat from, 103, 109

Iraq, 25, 30, 90; threat from, 103,

Irredentism, 53, 82, 103, 238

107, 109

Islam, 148, 149, 235
Israel, 70; Ministry of Religious
Affairs, 149; Palestinians in, 75,
81; paradigm shift to partitionism,
234–35; pluralism, 173–77, 185; in
politics of demography, 74; and
safe passage, 212–15; sovereignty
over Jerusalem, 139, 149–50; threat
of Israeli Arabs to, 82; withdrawal
by, 235, 236

Israeli airforce, 109
Israeli Arabs, 21, 80–82, 241;
intertwined with Israelis, 82–85, 86; *see also* Arab-Israeli conflict
Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), 101,

105, 108, 112, 113, 168, 170, 191; border checkposts, 206, 207; Deployment Map and West Bank Road Grid, 213f; and safe passage, 212; territorial schemes of, 172, 175; withdrawals, 231

Israeli-Jordanian dialogue, 17 Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, 200; partition in, 49–51

Israeli-Palestinian relations, 20, 65, 234; clash of rights in, 226; collaboration in, 147; conflict, 8; disengagement, 63; interdependence in, 117; lack of identity of purpose in, 221–25; partition in, 240–42; safe passage in, 217, 220

Israeli-Palestinian security: Jordan in, 88–90

Israelis, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 17, 42, 45, 48; and economics of partition, 119–23, 125–29; and green line, 118; intertwined with Arabs, 82–85, 86; in Jerusalem, 144, 145; and Jerusalem sovereignty, 150–52, 153, 154, 155; measuring success/failure, 161; nationalism, 21, 22; and partition, 6, 22, 53–54, 61, 66, 163, 168, 172, 173, 174–75,

176–77, 178, 186; and peace process, 221–25, 233, 234–36, 237, 238, 241, 242–44; and safe passage, 191, 192, 198–99, 202–5, 209, 211, 212–15, 218–20; security dilemma, 88, 96; security requisites, 101–4, 114; separatism embraced by, 46

Jabotinsky, Vladimir (Ze'ev), 52 Jaffa, 65, 155, 181 Jenin, 211, 232 Jericho, 80, 91, 95, 162, 192; putting first, 139; in safe passage issue, 200 Jerusalem, 49, 56, 64, 65, 73, 79, 85, 102, 135, 136–57, 171, 185, 215; business contacts in, 126; as capital of Israel, 143; as capital of proposed Palestinian state, 93; capital of two states, 153; defenses of, 108, 172; divided, 140*f*, 146, 176; dual sovereignty for, 152–55; emotional sentiment, 142; fictional, 144–45; municipal boundaries, 144; Old City, 144, 145, 148, 157; in partition plans, 167, 168, 178; in peace accord, 228, 229; periphery, 175; preserving status quo, 145–46; religious reciprocity in, 155–57; reunification, 144; sovereignty, 139, 143, 144, 150–52; status of, 61, 63, 66, 143; subterranean tunnels, 200; three strata of, 146–50; two-dimensional, 137–39; umbrella municipality, 141; working within confines of, 142-46 Jerusalem corridor, 75, 76, 102, 171

Jerusalem corridor, 75, 76, 102, 171
Jerusalem Institute for
Communication, 180
Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies,
153, 258n6
Jerusalem issue, 224, 229, 230;

Jerusalem issue, 224, 229, 239; putting first, 139–42

Jerusalem sector, 75 Jewish Agency, 50, 82 Jewish diaspora, 83 Jewish state, 184-85; PLO intentions to liquidate, 101 Jews, 7, 50, 53–54, 85, 223, 239, 243; and Israeli Arabs, 82, 83; and Jerusalem, 138, 154, 155, 157; in Jerusalem, 139, 141, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150; in Palestine, 73, 74; population in Israel, 75–76 Jezreel valley, 75 Joint nonaggression pacts, 114 Joint supervision (proposed): Jerusalem, 148, 150 Joint water regime (proposed), 133, 134 Jointness, 86, 117, 125, 205

Jointness, 86, 117, 125, 205
Jordan, 20, 28, 52, 62, 72, 74, 106, 225, 241, 242; and economics of partition, 117; Hashemite royal house, 148–49; interest in air corridors, 208; in Israeli-Palestinian security equation, 88–90; and Jerusalem, 152; Palestinians in, 73, 75, 163; in/and peace accord, 229; refugee camps, 130; and security, 103, 107–8, 109; and tourism, 124, 125; water sources, 130, 133, 134; see also Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

as border, 91; border crossings, 94*f*; military outposts and early warning stations on, 212; as security border, 108, 118, 174, 176; sovereignty over, 173

Jordan River system, 130

Jordan Valley, 80, 167, 172, 178, 228, 229; north-south strip, 97; in partition plans, 174; in peace negotiations, 227; as security border, 102, 103, 108; status of, 172–73

Jordan River, 93, 102, 168, 178, 241;

"Jordanian option," 56
Jordanian-Palestinian federation
(proposed), 229
Joseph's Tomb, 155, 157
Judea, 53, 72, 80, 91, 167, 234; holy
places in, 155; Israeli presence in,
191; in partition plans, 170;
repartitioning of, 174–75
Judean Desert, 178, 215
Just peace, 88; just stability or,
11–24

Kahalani, Avigdor, 119
Kahana, Meir, 166
Kaplan, Morton, 32
Karni checkpost, 207
al-Katib, Ghassan, 180
Katz, Yossi, 170
Kennedy, Paul, 115
Khalidi, Ahmad, 99–100, 102–3, 183–84
al-Khanka Mosque, 145
Khouri, Rami, 183
Knesset, 80, 143, 176, 208
Korea/Koreans, 30, 31, 41
Kumar, Radha, 38–39, 40

Labor Party, 52, 53, 79, 80, 174, 230; peace platform, 56
Laitin, David D., 13
Lake Tiberias region, 75
Land, 2, 69, 72t, 73, 74, 167; arable, 72; corridors, 66; division of, 239; and economic health, 116; mutual exchange of, 93, 229; and people, 74–76; questions relating to, 61; redistributions, 63; struggle for possession of, 233–34; title to, 27; value of, in struggle over Palestine, 223

Land factor, usages of, 32 Land for land, 41, 46, 93, 223, 224 Land for peace, 1, 7, 46, 91, 93, 114,

166, 168, 173, 175–76, 223, 226, 235, 236 Land for security, 223 "Land of Israel": repartition of, 234–35 Land sharing, 21, 28, 32, 54, 263*n*31; by land division, 164, 166; necessity of, 5 Law of Return, 82 Leaders, 20; and dual sovereignty for Jerusalem, 154; Palestinian, 182, 184, 229; and partition, 242; rational action by, 15 League of Arab States, 235 Lebanon, 30, 51, 62, 107, 112, 130 Lewis, Samuel W., 54 Lijphart, Arend, 27 Likud party, 52–53, 163, 168, 174, 177, 230, 232, 234 Little Triangle, 73, 75 Lod, 73, 93, 102, 181

Ma'ale Adumim, 79, 102, 144, 172, 228 Ma'avar batuach, 200 Madrid Conference, 60; framework, 20, 221 Madrid-Oslo peace process, 7, 19 "Man-milieu relationships," 65 Maps: based on compromise, 224; partition in, 138; permanent status, 222, 223; proposed, 234-35; see also Peace maps Maps of Palestine (proposed), 166, 167–68, 170, 176–77, 178, 179, 181; repartitioning in, 163 Maximum assured security, 98 Mearsheimer, John, 33, 34 Middle East, 23, 215; air power in, 109; instability in, 106; military balance in, 88; negotiating behavior, 17; nuclear-free, 103; perceptions of, 186; political instability, 238; regional map, 71f;

regional security, 89; ripeness, Nationalist conflicts, 31, 226 19–21; security frameworks, 62–63 Nationalist movements, 225 Middle East conflict, 49, 234 Natural resources, 69, 73, 240 Middle East-North Africa (MENA) Nazareth, 65, 73, 93 economic conferences, 127 "Negative equilibrium," 222, 230 Middle East peacemaking, 1, 2, 42, Negative peace, 13 Negev, 72, 75, 208-9 49, 54; constructive ambiguity in, 61; security question in, 113 Negotiating success/failure, 5–6 Middle ground, 161-87, 226; in safe Negotiating "tracks," 14 Negotiation, 2, 11, 25, 97, 187, 222; passage, 200 Military doctrine (Israel), 108, 109 direct, 17–18; economic, 116; Minimax, 225–33 focused and intensive, 3; Minorities problem, 61, 63, 70, 76, mechanics of, 19; modalities and 80-82; see also Ethnic groups/ technical questions in, 16; phased, minorities 233; regarding safe passage, Mitchell, Christopher, 13 210–15, 216, 218; time factor in, Mixed cities and towns, 61, 65, 73, 233; vagueness in, 47 165; Jewish and Arab populations Negotiation theory, 37, 48–49 in, 85*t* Neopartitionism, 31, 36 Mixed municipalities: as metaphor, Netanyahu, Binyamin (Benjamin), 52, 85-86 91, 163, 166, 167, 168, 172, 174, Mordechai, Yitzhak, 208, 214, 215, 175, 177, 208, 226, 230, 266*n*28; 234, 266*n*28 autonomy plus, state minus Mountain Aquifer, 132 proposal, 1; "Note for the Record," Muslims: in/and Jerusalem, 138, 141, 197; and partition, 186, 264*n*38; 145, 148, 149, 150, 155–57 and safe passage issue, 211, 212; "Mutual hostage" theory, 219 and territorial compromise, 234 Mutual reassurances, 114 Netanyahu government, 79, 100, 126, 176, 210, 259n2 Nablus, 211, 232 New Republic, 174 Nation(s): dividing, 41; unity of, 36 Normalization, 14, 18, 238 Nuclear weapons, 96, 103 Nation building, 23 National Agreement Regarding the O'Brien, Conor Cruise, 34 Negotiations on the Permanent Settlement with the Palestinians, Olson, William C., 32 173 - 74Opportunity costs, collective, 121, National self-determination, 4, 31, 74 122 Nationalism, 4, 29, 37, 242; and Orient House, 142, 144 economic relations, 125; European, Orthodox Churches, 148 37; regarding Jerusalem, 142; Oslo accords/agreement, 3, 7, 17, 39, Jewish, 187; Palestinian, 21, 22, 81, 49, 60, 89, 100, 109, 141, 145, 90, 170, 178, 184; and partition, 35; 157, 192, 199, 204, 221, 231, 232, rival, 27; in water issue, 134 233; borders in, 90–93; interim,

230; principle of contiguity in, 219; safe passage in, 209, 210, 211–12
Oslo declaration (of principles), 2, 20, 56
Oslo model: gradualism in, 63; negotiations, 105, 143, 263*n*31
Oslo process, 93, 177; pace of, 127
Oslo spirit, 198
Oslo timetable, 21, 60
Oslo II, 91, 162
Oslo II map, 92*f*Ottoman Empire, 28, 251*n*18
Outside mediators, 17
Outside monitoring regime, 6, 101

Oslo accords/agreement (continued)

Pakistan, 22, 28, 90, 217, 238 Palestine, 6, 8, 15, 20, 28, 31, 38, 69–86; under British Mandate, 43f; clash of right with right in, 226; compromising, 185; debate over dividing, 189–90; economic foundations, 116-17; as Jewish "national home," 47; liberation of, 90; partition, 23, 39-40, 45-66, 70, 240, 244; physical landscape, 70–73; piecing, 233–36; population of, 73–74; reinventing, 161–63; repartitioning, 36, 42, 234, 237, 239; separation supported in, 22; struggle over, 1, 21; undivided, 138 Palestine mandate, 73, 251n18Palestine National Council, 51, 93, 232, 263n32 Palestine National Covenant, 50, 236 Palestine problem, 4, 19, 25, 48; constructive ambiguity in, 47 Palestinian Authority (PA), 6, 48, 74, 83, 95, 105, 162, 190, 191, 202, 232; and border crossings, 207; declaring unilateral independence, 231; and economic factors, 123, 129; elections, 143; "entity" status

for, 234; police forces, 113; and safe passage issue, 201, 205, 209, 210; and sea and air rights, 109–11 Palestinian day workers, 63, 120–21, 122, 124 "Palestinian Declaration of Independence," 51 Palestinian diaspora, 75, 83, 130, 163, 184, 241 Palestinian national movement, 6 Palestinian rights, 20 Palestinian state (proposed), 52, 53, 61, 62–63, 75, 76, 79, 81, 85, 93, 179, 181, 182, 183–84, 191, 227, 228; bifurcated, 219; demilitarized, 229, 232; and partition, 240; and safe passage issue, 204; threat posed by, 104; unilateral declaration of, 1, 231-32; in West Bank and Gaza, 235 Palestinians, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 17, 42, 45, 48; conformity, 177–87; and control of border crossings, 95; and economics of partition, 119–23, 125–29; expanding dominion of, 91; and green line, 118; internal threats to, 113; in Jerusalem, 139, 144, 145, 148; and Jerusalem sovereignty, 150–52, 153, 154, 155; measuring success/failure, 161; nationalism, 21, 22, 81, 90, 170, 178, 184; and partition issue, 22, 50–51, 53–54, 56, 60, 61, 66, 163–64, 168, 172, 173, 174–75, 176–87; and peace process, 221– 25, 231–32, 233, 234–35, 236, 237, 238, 241, 242-44; population dispersed, 75; and safe passage, 190–91, 192, 198, 201, 202, 203, 205, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 218–20; and security, 88, 96, 99–101, 114; and separatism, 46; and terrorism, 104–5

Partition, 1–2, 6, 8, 21–23, 25, 27–28, 29–30, 32, 45–66, 83–84; applied to Jerusalem, 146; applying to irreconcilably divided societies, 34–36; borders and, 87; change in thinking toward, 33–34, 37–38; chronology of, 56; conditions for, 240; conflict resolution through, 69–70; economics of, 115–35; hard/soft, 1, 46, 66, 86, 88, 164-66, 242, 243; holy places in, 138; and human landscape, 73–76; inescapability of, 4–5, 223; issues in, 26, 61; logic for, 243; meaning of, 6–7, 224, 225; opposition to, 51–54; Palestinian conformity regarding, 177-87; as permanent status peace construct, 231; and physical landscape, 70–73; prescription/doing of, 23; questions in, 61–64; reasons for, 65–66, 74; and safe passage, 192, 217–18; settlements and, 76–80; shifting lines in, 90–93; standard for, 42; step-by-step, 63; as territorial compromise, 39-40, 41; and world politics, 30-34 Partition agenda, 64, 66 Partition plans, 166–73; safe passage in, 214, 216; with economic union, 117 Partition plus, 5, 66, 88, 117, 164, 165, 185, 231, 237–42, 243, 244 Partition qualifiers, 40–42 Partition regime: "hard"/"soft," 41 Partition variables, 41–42, 42t Partitioned countries, 249n31 Partitionism, 30, 34, 38, 243–44; in Arab-Israel conflict, 41-42; Israeli shift to, 234-35 Partitionist peace: inching toward, 163-66

Peace, 7; compromise necessary to, 186; factors affecting prospects for, 177; meaning and substance of, 7–8; negative/positive, 13; and partition, 37-38; price of, 8; safe passage issue and, 218 "Peace construct," 18, 20–21, 22, 189; criteria for, 26–27; models, 27–30; partition as, 39 Peace formulations: Palestinian, 184 Peace maps, 2, 8, 18, 64, 65, 88, 114, 181, 223; transit rights in, 111 Peace Now Movement, 266n27 Peace paradigms, 25 Peace plans, 64 Peace process, 3, 30; Jordan in, 89 Peace research, 32, 37 Peacemaking, 14, 48, 221–25; absence of minimax in, 226–33; Arab-Israel, 20–21, 23; ground rules, 25; international, 17, 19; language in, 47; Middle East, 1, 2, 42; need for exit strategy in, 18; partition in, 138; success/failure in, 11; variables in, 14 Peel, Lord, 226 Peel commission, 54–60, 61, 190, 221; partition plan, 55f, 72; report, 50, 242 People: land and, 74–76 Peres, Shimon, 1-2, 52, 134, 190, 229, 243, 258n2 Permanent status, 25; debate over, 240–42; deferring, 233 Permanent status negotiations/talks, 5, 8, 21, 90, 163, 174, 178, 230–31, 233, 234; status security concerns, 114; territorial compromise in, 6, 82 Permanent status settlement, 60–61, 89; outlines for, 209, 227–30; terms of, 90 Physical capital: control over, 116

Physical landscape, 70–73 Rabin, Yitzhak, 46, 105, 199-200, Physical space, 2, 223; and economic 227, 229 Rabin government, 143 health, 116 Physicians for Human Rights, 206 Rachel's Tomb, 155, 157 Players, alignment of, 16–18, 20 Rafael, Gideon, 17 PLO, 56, 62, 81, 82, 85, 88, 95, 101, Rafiah, 111, 208 102, 105, 120, 129, 166, 179, 182; Ramallah, 152, 210, 211 covenant clauses, 48; and safe Ramle, 73, 93, 181 Rapid intervention force(s), 172–73 passage issue, 200 Pluralism, 28; Israeli, 173-77, 185 Rational choice theory, 32–33, 125 Poland, 30, 41 Reagan plan, 56 Political compromise, 2, 5, 6, 31, 45, Realist school, 32, 34 46, 61, 223 Realpolitik, 40–41 Political jurisdiction: Jerusalem, 146, "Red lines" doctrine, 90, 108 147, 149 Refugee problem/refugees, 61, 64, 74, Political legitimacy, 74 100, 129–30, 132, 229 Political realism, 37, 40–41, 164, 183, Refugee repatriation, resettlement, 243 and compensation, 63, 224, 237 Political values, 74 Regional linkage (security), 89, 99, 100 Politics: demographic, 241–42; economic, 129, 133-34; and Regional stability (issue), 62–63; religion, 138; of safe passage, 205, politics, 88; water policy, 134 208-9, 215-16 Regionalism, 35-36, 128 Politics of partition, 170–73, 181–82, Reintegration, 38, 39 187, 224, 238; theory of, 42 Religion: and politics, 138 Population transfers, 70, 80–81, 84, Religious condominium, 150 224, 239 Religious fundamentalism, 36 Positive peace, 13 Religious jurisdiction: Jerusalem, Post Oslo, 45–46, 48 146, 147–50 Postpartition, 238, 240 Religious reciprocity: in Jerusalem, Postripeness, 12 155 - 57Power sharing, 28, 30, 120 Religious sentiment: regarding Prepartition, 237 Jerusalem, 142 Primakov, Yevgeni, 113 Religious sites, 69, 83; shared control Protective measures, 3, 98 over, 63; violence at, 157; see also Psychological barriers, 15–16, 20, Holy places/sites 60 Religious tolerance, 149, 157 Repartition(ing), 5, 6, 23, 40, 46, 147, Psychological environment: security 162-63, 175, 224, 236, 237-38; in, 88, 96 Public opinion surveys, 22, 46, 53, green line in, 118; lines of, 90–91; 139, 180-81 opposition to, 51-54; safe passage in, 219; territorial claims in, 165-66 al-Quds, 228

Repartition agenda, 60–61, 62 Resource allocation, 63, 69, 116, 224 Resources, 120, 127; control over, 97 Right of return, 84, 100, 101, 129, 181, 229 Ripeness, 11–14, 16, 226, 236, 237; prerequisite for, 187; testing for, 19 - 21Roads, 112, 175, 197–98, 200, 201; closure of, 218; control of, 214 Roman Catholics, 148 Rosenberg, Naomi, 186 Safe passages, 111, 112, 189–220, 229, 232, 239; bargaining regarding, 209-15; details of, 201-2; logistics of, 205-8; meaning of, 200, 209, 210; modalities for effecting, 193–97; paper and political trails, 215–18; as peace issue, 197–200; politics of, 205, 208–9, 215–16; safeguards in, 202–5 Sadat, Anwar, 15, 17 Sadat-Begin peace negotiations, 182 Said, Edward, 8, 27 Samaria, 53, 72, 79, 80, 91, 102, 133, 167, 172, 234; holy places in, 155; Israeli presence in, 191; in partition plans, 170, 171; repartitioning of, 174-75 Samuel, Lord, 189–90, 191, 214 Sarid, Yossi, 175 Savir, Uri, 39 Schaeffer, Robert, 34, 38, 40 Schiff, Ze'ev, 101, 102, 103, 168 Second-order problems, 60, 63 Second Temple, 148 Security, 6, 53, 60, 61, 62, 64, 86, 189; borders and, 87–114; common, 112–14; and economics,

115–16, 117, 120; final settlement

based on, 214; green line and, 119; Israeli requisites for, 101–4; Israeli responsibility for, 198, 202, 211; Israel's right to, 174; Palestinian concerns regarding, 99-101; in partition, 168–70, 175, 239, 241; in safe passage, 202–5, 208–9; and territorial claims, 172; and water resources, 133 Security danger(s): defining, 97–98 Security dilemma/predicament, 96, 204 Security for sovereignty, 114 Security guarantees, 63 Security sphere: outer limits of, 102 - 3Security zone, 167, 190–91, 232 Sea and air threats, 109–11 Seaport rights, 109, 111 Self-defense, Palestinian, 99, 100-1 Self-determination, 38, 66 Self-interest, 134–35, 237, 243; economic, 124, 127 Self-rule, 64, 88, 162, 192, 212, 241; interim, 60; limited, 53 Separation/separatism, 1, 21, 22, 29, 35–36, 45, 46, 53, 54, 84, 164, 165–66, 191; degree and extent of, 61; economic, 126–27; economics of, 64; exclusivity and insularity in, 62; historical record of, 70; lines of, 23; maximum, 64; political, 126–27, 162, 239, 240, 242; and safe passage issue, 204, 205, 211; and security, 114; soft, 263*n*34; together, 242-44 Settlement, 60–61; terms of, 18–19, 21, 25 Settlements/settlers, 52, 76–80, 77f, 78f, 91, 164, 165, 168, 183, 215; annexing, 232; in partition plans, 170, 172, 174, 175, 176, 178; in peace negotiations/proposals, 227, 228, 234; policy, 200; and safe

Settlements/settlers (continued) passage issue, 212, 214; socioeconomic motives of, 79-80; status and safety of, 63 Shalom al Yisrael synagogue, 155 Shamir, Yitzhak, 52, 91 Sharon, Ariel, 62, 133, 167, 172, 175, 214, 232, 234, 266n28 Sha'th, Nabil, 179 Sheehan, Michael, 32 Shiite Amal, 112 Shikaki, Khalil, 183 Silwan, 141, 142, 144 Sinai, 107, 182 Sinai I and II, 161, 235 Six Day War, 143 Slovakia, 28, 69 Slovaks, 33, 35, 36, 61, 119 Sofer, Arnon, 212 Solutions: ideal-type, 26–27; unacceptable, 23 Sovereignty, 28, 36, 64; dual: Jerusalem, 152-55; Jerusalem, 139, 143, 144, 150–52; Jewish, 91; Palestinian, 53, 63, 83, 101, 109, 227, 231; and safe passage, 201, 209, 211, 214; and security, 95, 114; shared, 27 Spheres of influence, 30, 32 Sprout, Harold and Margaret, 31 Stability, 26; different from peace, 13; just, 11–24 Standard of living: Palestinian, 120, 122, 124 State(s): conflict within, 35; dividing, 41; sovereignty of, 36 State of Israel, 50–51, 53, 56, 61, 185; as Jewish homeland, 82–83 Statecraft, 66, 243 Statehood (Palestinian), 88, 153, 165, 178, 179, 184, 215, 226; unilateral, 231, 232–33; see also Palestinian state (proposed)

Status quo: Jerusalem, 145–46; religious sites in Jerusalem, 148, 149–50 Stein, Kenneth W., 54 Stonewalling, 49 Successor states, 28 Sudan, 38, 217 Switzerland, 30, 217 Syria, 62, 130, 217; threat from, 103 107, 109

Syria, 62, 130, 217; threat from, 103, Technology, 126; military, 108–9 Tel-Aviv, 65, 79, 102, 107, 108, 118, 143, 152 Tel-Aviv—Jerusalem road, 107 Temple Mount (Haram al-Sharif), 141, 144, 145, 148, 149, 157; status for, 267n11Territorial adjustment: in security doctrine, 102 Territorial compensation and sharing principle, 31, 32, 37, 87 Territorial compromise, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 25, 31–32, 34–35, 46, 50, 54, 56, 60, 62, 66, 93, 163, 164, 182, 184, 186, 187, 190, 223, 230, 244; degrees of, 166–67; designated exit strategy, 21–24; effect on Palestinians, 75; ethnic conflict in, 69; and minorities problem, 81; models for, 164–66, 168–73; negotiated, 221–44; opposition to, 53; Palestine, 45; Palestinians and, 235; partition rests on, 28; peace map based on, 8; peacemaking through, 182; perceptions of, 178, 183; political and security arrangements, 61; principles for, 64, 239; rationalizing, 36–40; settlements in, 79, 80; West Bank, 91

Territorial compromise formula: prospects for, 226–33

Territorial concessions, 88; in bargaining, 87, 176; Palestinian, 178-79 Territorial contiguity, 174, 175, 181, 189–92, 197, 211, 215, 216–17, 218, 219, 232; and safe passage, 209 Territorial expanse, 60, 189 Territorial integrity, 181, 189–92, 197, 211, 212, 216, 217 Territorial partition, 2, 31; gray area of, 161–63; preconditions for, 33 - 34Territorial possession, 73 Territorial reciprocity, 252n6 Territories (the), 74; closure imposed on, 209; Israel's control of, 108; Jewish population in, 81; threats from, 104; water sources, 130; withdrawal from, 83, 84, 139, 176 Terrorism, 46, 83, 93, 104-6, 111, 112, 200, 209, 215, 241; prevention of, 203-4; vulnerability to, 75–76 Terrorism-closure cycle, 236 Third parties, 17, 18, 235; and security, 99-100 "Third Way" party, 80, 262n20 Threat perceptions, 96, 104-12, 113 Time/timing, 5, 13, 127; importance of, 1, 51; in negotiations, 230–31 Timetable, 60, 63, 232, 233 Tomb of the Patriarchs, 155 Tourism, 124-25 Transjordan, 56, 62, 74, 163, 216, 251n18; under British Mandate, 43f Transit rights, 63, 64, 111-12, 165, 190-91 Transport corridors, 200, 210, 211, 215, 216 Truman, Harry, 120 Tulkarem, 211 Turkey, 70, 206

Two-state solution, 1, 51, 56, 61, 62, 183, 184, 226

Umm al-Fahm, 211 Unilateralism, 88, 117, 214, 232 United Arab Republic (UAR), 217 United Nations, 50, 112; and Jerusalem, 149, 150, 152; 1947 plan, 117; partition resolution (1947), 56, 57*f*, 72, 225 United Nations General Assembly Resolution, 181, 51 United Nations Resolution 242, 26, 47, 87, 143, 170–71, 179 United Nations Resolution 338, 143 United States, 42, 105, 118, 184, 217, 222, 231, 235, 238; aid from, 129; and partition, 183 University students, 98, 205, 206–7 UNSCOP, 221, 242 Utopianism, economic, 125–26

Van Evera, Stephen, 33, 34 "Velvet divorce"/partition, 28, 61 Versailles peace treaties, 190

Wadi Ara region, 73, 75

Wadi Joz, 144 Waltz, Kenneth, 32 Walzer, Michael, 37 Warfare, 11, 104, 107 Washington protocol, 209, 210, 216 Washington "Safe Passages" Map (1995), 199fWater, 73, 129, 132, 232; allocation and control of, 61, 116, 133; distribution of, 72; rights, 63 Water crisis, 130–35 Water resources, 60, 65, 121, 128, 171, 175; control over, 91, 172 al-Wazir, Intisar ("Um Jihad"), 264*n*13 Weapons, 96, 103, 112–13

West Bank, 38, 40, 56, 62, 70, 72, 73, 75–76, 86, 97, 117; annexation of, 152; authority over, 231; covenantal birthright of Jewish people, 79; division of, 91, 162, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 175, 176, 178, 181, 224; economic development, 128; frontiers, 74; and Gaza Strip as territorial unit, 192; holy sites in, 155; industrial production, 122; Israelis in, 83; Jerusalem and, 143; key economic indicators, 120t; occupation and administration of, 120-21; opinion regarding partition, 180–81; Palestinians in/and, 75, 112, 182; partitioning, 117; in peace accords, 229; in peace negotiations, 227, 234, 235, 236; political stability in, 124; positions regarding, 186; refugees in, 129, 130; reoccupation of, 241; in repartition, 165, 166, 184, 185, 223; in safe passage issue, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205-8, 211, 212-14, 218; and security, 104, 106–8, 114; settlements, 76–79, 77f, 84; sovereignty over, 232; territorial

compromise, 187; water sources, 132, 133; withdrawal from, 89, 90, 93, 105, 162, 164
West Bank-Jordanian border, 106, 109
West Jerusalem, 107
Workability (criterion), 26, 42
World Bank, 129
World Economic Forum, 127
World politics: partition and, 30–34
Wye plantation summit, 2
Wye River agreement, 176
Wye River memorandum, 2, 7

Yamit, 84
Yarkon-Taninim Aquifer, 172
Yarmuk River System, 131*f*Yassin, Sheikh Ahmad, 180, 182, 259*n*3
Yesha Council of Settlements, 262*n*20
Yugoslavia, 23, 28, 30, 39

Zartman, I. William, 11, 14, 32, 221
Zero-sum positions, 15, 88, 184, 219, 225
Zionism/Zionists, 50, 54, 79, 84, 187, 225; practical, 74