

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

GOVT 4672-20; 4672-25: NEGOTIATING MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Dr. Arie M. Kacowicz (Professor of International Relations; Former Aaron and Cecile Goldman Visiting Israeli Professor, Department of Government),
Summer II 2025, July 7 – August 7, 2025
Lecture and Seminar (International Relations/ Middle East Politics and History),
Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, 1045-1230
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, the Palestinians, and most recently, the Abraham Accords of September 2020. In this context, we will attempt to understand the failure of the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, including the assessment of the Israel-Hamas War. 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 10 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 noon on August 7th (by the end of the simulation), at the Department of Government, ICC, 6th Floor, and also emailed to amk43@georgetown.edu in Word format please.***
- 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% |

Accommodation 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/>

Title IX Syllabus Statement (endorsed by Faculty Senate)

Georgetown University and its faculty are committed to supporting survivors and those impacted by sexual misconduct, which includes sexual assault, sexual harassment, relationship violence, and stalking. Georgetown requires faculty members, unless otherwise designated as confidential, to report all disclosures of sexual misconduct to the University Title IX Coordinator or a Deputy Title IX Coordinator. If you disclose an incident of sexual misconduct to a professor in or outside of the classroom (with the exception of disclosures in papers), that faculty member must report the incident to the Title IX Coordinator, or Deputy Title IX

Coordinator. The coordinator will, in turn, reach out to the student to provide support, resources, and the option to meet. [Please note that the student is not required to meet with the Title IX coordinator.]. More information about reporting options and resources can be found on the Sexual Misconduct Website:

<https://sexualassault.georgetown.edu/resourcecenter>.

If you would prefer to speak to someone confidentially, Georgetown has a number of fully confidential professional resources that can provide support and assistance.

These resources include:

Health Education Services for Sexual Assault Response and Prevention: confidential email sarp@georgetown.edu

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS): 202.687.6985 or after hours, call (833) 960-3006 to reach Fonemed, a telehealth service; individuals may ask for the on-call CAPS clinician

More information about reporting options and resources can be found on the [Sexual Misconduct Website](#).

(Above statement and TIX faculty resources found at: <https://sexualassault.georgetown.edu/get-help/guidance-for-faculty-and-staff-on-how-to-support-students/>)

Title IX Pregnancy Modifications and Adjustments

Georgetown University is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive environment for pregnant students. At any point throughout their pregnancy students may request adjustments/modifications based on general pregnancy needs or accommodations based on a pregnancy-related complication or medical need. Students may also request accommodations following labor and delivery based on a complication or medical need.

SCS students must complete the [Pregnancy Adjustment Request Form](#) (<https://titleix.georgetown.edu/title-ix-pregnancy/student-pregnancy/>) and submit it to the SCS Deputy Title IX Coordinator at titleixscs@georgetown.edu. Upon receiving the completed form, the Deputy Title IX Coordinator will schedule a meeting with the student to discuss the requested adjustments and implementation process.

More information about pregnancy modifications can be found on the [Title IX at Georgetown University Website](#).

The following books should be available for purchase:

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]

Alan Dowty, *Israel-Palestine* ([Fourth edition, Wiley, 2017 or Polity 2017].

ISBN: 978-1-509-52077-0 [\$25 paperback] [3rd edition from 2012 also available, pages quoted from the 2012 edition]

Yaacov Bar-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.]

Alan Dowty, ed., *The Israel/Palestine Reader* (London: Polity, 2019).

ISBN: 978-1-5095-2734-2 [pb]

Topics and Schedule of Classes

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Mon July 7 Introduction
2. Tue July 8 International conflict and conflict management
3. Wed July 9 Negotiations and mediation
4. Thu July 10 Negotiations as a process of peaceful change

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

5. Mon July 14 Historical background for the negotiations
6. Tue July 15 Core issues: Jerusalem and refugees
7. Wed July 16 General problems and patterns of negotiations

C. Case-Studies

8. Thu July 17 Israel and Egypt: 1973-1975 and 1977-1979
9. Mon July 21 Israel and Lebanon, Israel and Syria
10. Tue July 22 Israel and Jordan, 1987 and 1993-1994
11. Wed July 23 Israel and the Palestinians I: 1967-1993
12. Thu July 24 Israel and the Palestinians II: 1993-2001
13. Mon July 28 Israel and the Palestinians III: 2001- 2023
14. Tue July 29 What went wrong in the I-P negotiations
15. Wed July 30 The Israel-Hamas War, 2023-2025
16. Thu, July 31 The Abraham Accords, scenarios, and the future

D. Empirical Applications and Extrapolations

17. Mon, Aug 4 Students' Presentations
18. Tue, Aug 5 Students' Presentations
19. Wed, Aug 6 Students' presentations
20. Thu, Aug 7 Simulation of the Gaza Conference

Course Outline and Readings

A. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. Introduction (July7)

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").

2. International Conflict and Conflict Management (July 8)

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

Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century: Principles, Methods, and Approaches* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009), pp. 1-16;184-190.

3. Defining Negotiations and its Components: Negotiations, Mediation, and Bargaining (July 9)

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 (July10)

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* (London: Routledge, 2014) Chapter 1, pp. 7-27.

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

5. Historical Background of the Negotiations (July 14)

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, browse Chapters 1-9, pp.3-443.

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 1-104 [2012 edition]

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

Alan Dowty, *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapters 2, 3, and 4. [pp. 20-87].

Shaul Arieli (2021), *The Truman Institute of the Jewish-Arab Conflict*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace.

Retrieved at: shaularieli.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Eng-Atlas-4.1.21-2pages.pdf

6. Core Issues: Jerusalem and Refugees (July 15)

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.

Alan Dowty (2008), *Israel-Palestine*, pp. 200-203 [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions].

Lior Lehrs (2013), "Peace Talks in Jerusalem: A Review of the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations Concerning Jerusalem, 1993-2013," *JHIS Series*, 432, The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 161-258 (especially 252-258).

"Palestinian Refugees," *PASSIA – Special Bulletin*, Jerusalem, May 2001.

Alan Dowty (2008), *Israel-Palestine*, pp. 208-213. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

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

Alan Dowty (2019), *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapter 9 on the refugee issue: Rashid Khalidi and Efraim Karsh, pp. 197-204.

7. General Problems and Patterns of Negotiations (July 16)

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: America’s Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008), pp. 361-385.

C. Case-Studies

8. Israel and Egypt, 1973-1975 and 1977-1979 (July 17)

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

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.

9. Israel and Lebanon, 1983; Israel and Syria (July 21)

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

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

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.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 632-634.

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.

10. Israel and Jordan, 1987 and 1993-1994 (July 22)

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.

11. Israel and the Palestinians, I: 1967-1993 (July 23)

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 4, pp. 75-89.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 12, 561-610.

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 105-136. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

Dowty, *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapter 5, pp. 88-110.

12. Israel and the Palestinians, II: 1993-2001 (July 24)

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 6, pp. 103-126.

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 13, pp. 611-651.

"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.

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 137-168. [Check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

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

Dowty, *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapter 6, pp. 111-131.

13. Israel and the Palestinians, III: 2001-2023 (July 28)

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 14, pp. 652-675.

"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]

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

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. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

Aaron Miller (2008), *The Much Too Promised Land*, pp. 321-360.

Bar-Siman-Tov (2014), Chapter 6, pp. 114-132.

Dowty, *The Israel/Palestine Reader* (2019), excerpts from Chapters 7-8, pp. 132-179.

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>

John Kerry (2016), "Speech on Middle East Peace," December 28, 2016 [available online].

John Kerry's Speech on Middle East Peace, December 28, 2016. Download at: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-john-kerrys-speech-on-middle-east-peace-december-28-2016/>

Trump Plan (2020), "Peace to Prosperity: A Vision to Improve the Lives of the Palestinian and Israeli People," whitehouse.gov/peacetoprospersity [available online]

14. What Went Wrong in the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations? (July 29)

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

Alan Dowty and Michelle Gaviera, "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.

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. [check pages for 2012 and 2017 editions]

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.

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.

15. The Israel-Hamas War, 2023-2025 (July 30)

Joe Biden (2023), “The U.S. Won’t Back from the Challenge of Putin and Hamas,” *The Washington Post*, November 18, 2023.

Hamas (2024), “Our Narrative ... Operation Al-Aqsa Flood.”

Arie M. Kacowicz (2024), “An International Peace Conference in the Aftermath of the Israel-Hamas War,” January, *Mitvim*.

Martin Indyk (2024), “The Strange Resurrection of the Two-State Solution: How an Unimaginable War Could Bring About the Only Imaginable Peace,” *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 8-22.

Marc Lynch and Shibley Telhami (2024), “The Two-State Mirage: How to Break the Cycle of Violence in a One-State Reality,” *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 23-31.

Dalia Dassa Kaye and Sanam Vakil (2024), “Only the Middle East Can Fix the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 32-43.

Aluf Benn (2024), “Israel’s Self-Destruction,” *Foreign Affairs* 103 (2): 44-55.

Keith Dayton, James Jeffrey, Eran Lerman, Robert Silverman, and Thomas Warrick (2024), “Plan for Postwar Gaza,” Wilson Center, Middle East Program, Washington, DC, May 7, 2024.

International Criminal Court (2024), “Statement of ICC Prosecutor Karim A.A. Khan K.C.: Applications for Arrest Warrants in the Situation in the State of Palestine,” May 20, 2024.

United Nations Security Council (2024), Resolution 2735 (2024), June 10, 2024.

16. The Arab Peace Initiative, the Abraham Accords, Scenarios, and the Future (July 31)

The Arab Peace Initiative, 2002 (Official translation).

Elie Podeh, *Chances for Peace*, Chapter 21, pp. 304-323.

Nadia Hijab, “To Achieve One State, Palestinians Must Also Work for Two,” February 2018, *Alshabaka-Palestinian Policy Network*, www.al-shabaka.org

Alan Dowty (2019), *The Israel/Palestine Reader*, excerpts from Chapters 9-10, pp.180-227.

Bernard Avishai (2018), “Confederation: The Only Possible Israel-Palestine Solution,” *New York Review of Books*, February.

Jake Wallis (2019), “The Two-State Solution Remains the Only Pathway to a Mutually Agreed Resolution of the Conflict,” *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-2): 8-13.

Husam Dajni (2019), “The Future of the Two-State Solution and the Alternatives: A View from Gaza,” *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-2): 14-20.

Shaul Arieli (2019), “There is No Other Solution,” *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-20): 21-25.

Tony Klung (2019), “Is There a Plausible Alternative to the Two-State Solution?,” *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-20): 26-33.

Manuel Hassassian (2019), “A Paradigmatic Shift from Two-State to One-State Solution,” *Palestine-Israel Journal* 24 (1-2): 120-128.

Peter Beinart (2020), “Yavne: A Jewish Case for Equality in Israel-Palestine,” *Jewish Currents*, July 7. Available online at: jewishcurrents.org/yavne-a-jewish-case-for-equality-in-israel-palestine.

U.S. Department of State (2020), “The Abraham Accords Declaration,” retrieved from state.gov/the-abraham-accords/ [September 15, 2020; download Israel-Bahrain Agreement, Israel-Morocco Agreement, Israel-UAE Agreement, Sudan]

Elie Podeh (2021), “Abraham Accords Does Not Solve Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” *The Jerusalem Post*, January 11. Retrieved at: jpost.com/opinion/Abraham-accords-does-not-solve-palestinian-conflict-opinion-655075

Tova Norlen and Tamir Sinai (2020), “The Abraham Accords – Paradigm Shift or Realpolitik?,” George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, No. 064. Retrieved at: marshallcenter.org/en/publications/security/-insights/abraham-accords-paradigm-shift-or-realpolitik.

Arie M. Kacowicz (2023), “The Best of All Possible Worlds? An Israeli-Palestinian (Jordanian?) Confederation as a Feasible Alternative for the Two-State or One-State Solution?”