



Law Department public lecture

# Untangling the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: a negotiation perspective

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A map of Israel and the West Bank. Major cities like Tel Aviv, Ben Gurion Airport, Ramallah, Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron are labeled. Various colored shaded regions (pink, purple, orange) indicate different administrative or conflict zones. Distances are marked between Jerusalem and Bethlehem (3km) and between Jerusalem and Ramallah (2.5km).

# The Paradox:

- There is a Conspicuous Deal
- But the Violent Conflict Persists

A map of Israel and the West Bank. A thick pink line outlines a proposed border for a new Palestinian state, covering the West Bank and parts of the Gaza Strip. The map includes labels for Tel Aviv, Ben Gurion Airport, Ramallah, Jericho, Bethlehem, and Hebron. The Mediterranean Sea is visible on the left, and the Dead Sea is on the right.

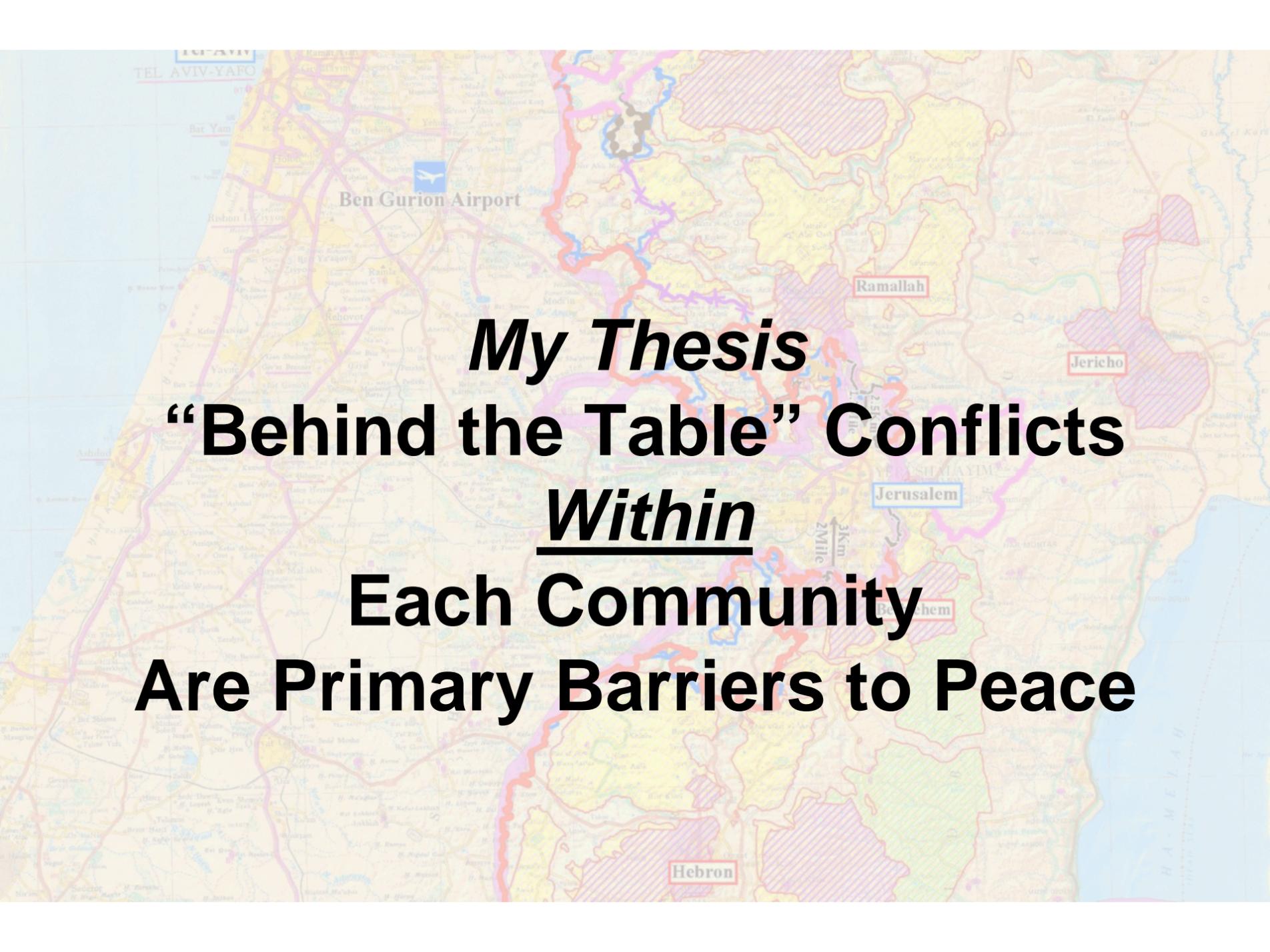
# The “Obvious” Two State Deal

**A new Palestinian state  
living at peace with  
a secure Israel that  
remains a democratic  
Jewish State**

# Deal Elements: The “Final Status Issues”

- Borders
- Jerusalem
- Israeli security
- Settlements
- Refugees



A map of Israel and the West Bank. The map shows various cities and towns, with some areas highlighted in pink and yellow, indicating conflict zones or areas of interest. The text is overlaid on the map.

***My Thesis***  
**“Behind the Table” Conflicts**  
**Within**  
**Each Community**  
**Are Primary Barriers to Peace**

# The Conflict Within Israel About the Future of the Jewish Settlements



# Conflict Among Palestinians

**One State or Two?**

**Scope and Meaning of Right of Return**



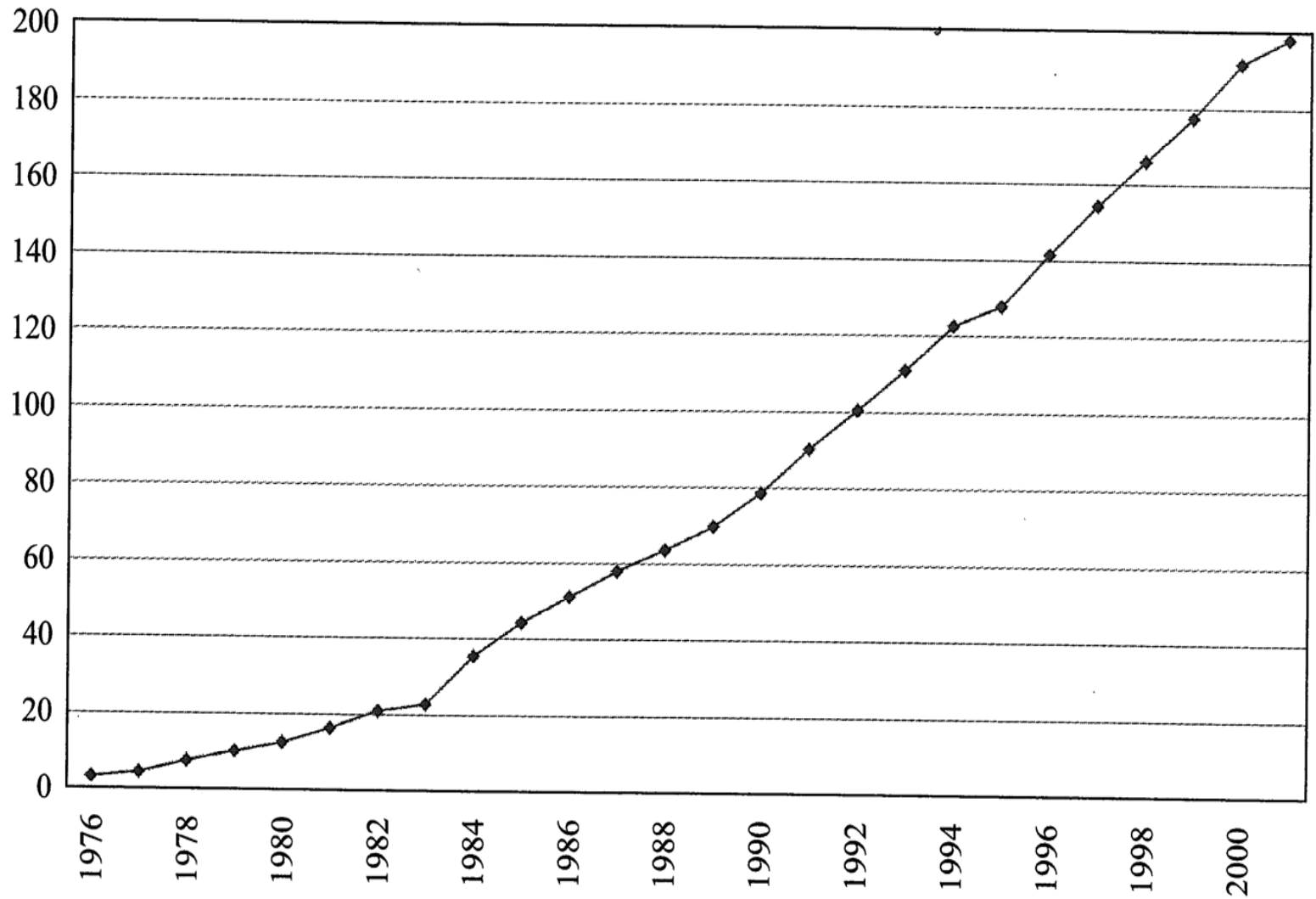
# The Growth of the Settlements



Karel Prinsloo / AP file

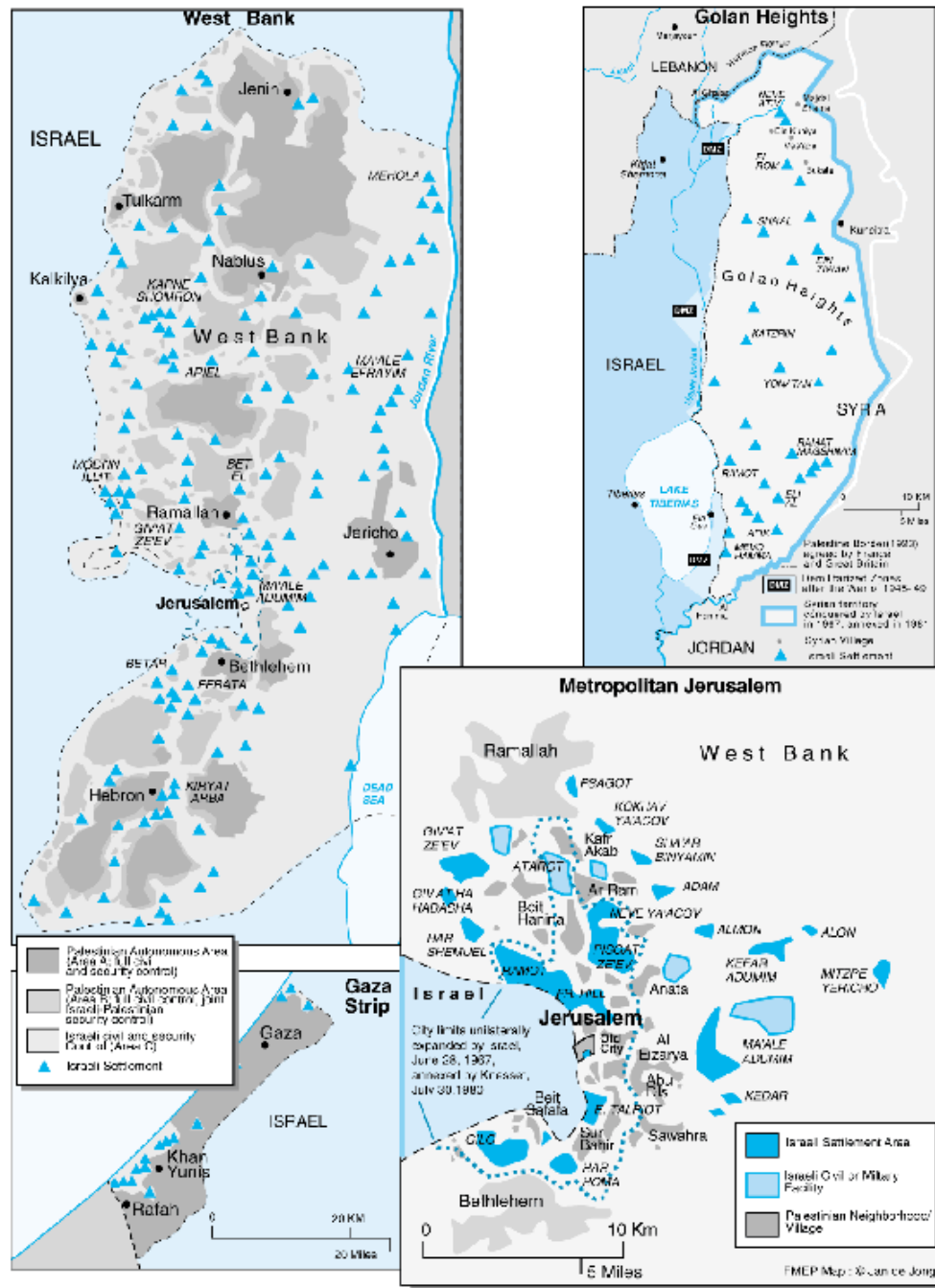
Hebron

## Settlers in the West Bank\* (in thousands)



\* Not including East Jerusalem.

# Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories - 2002

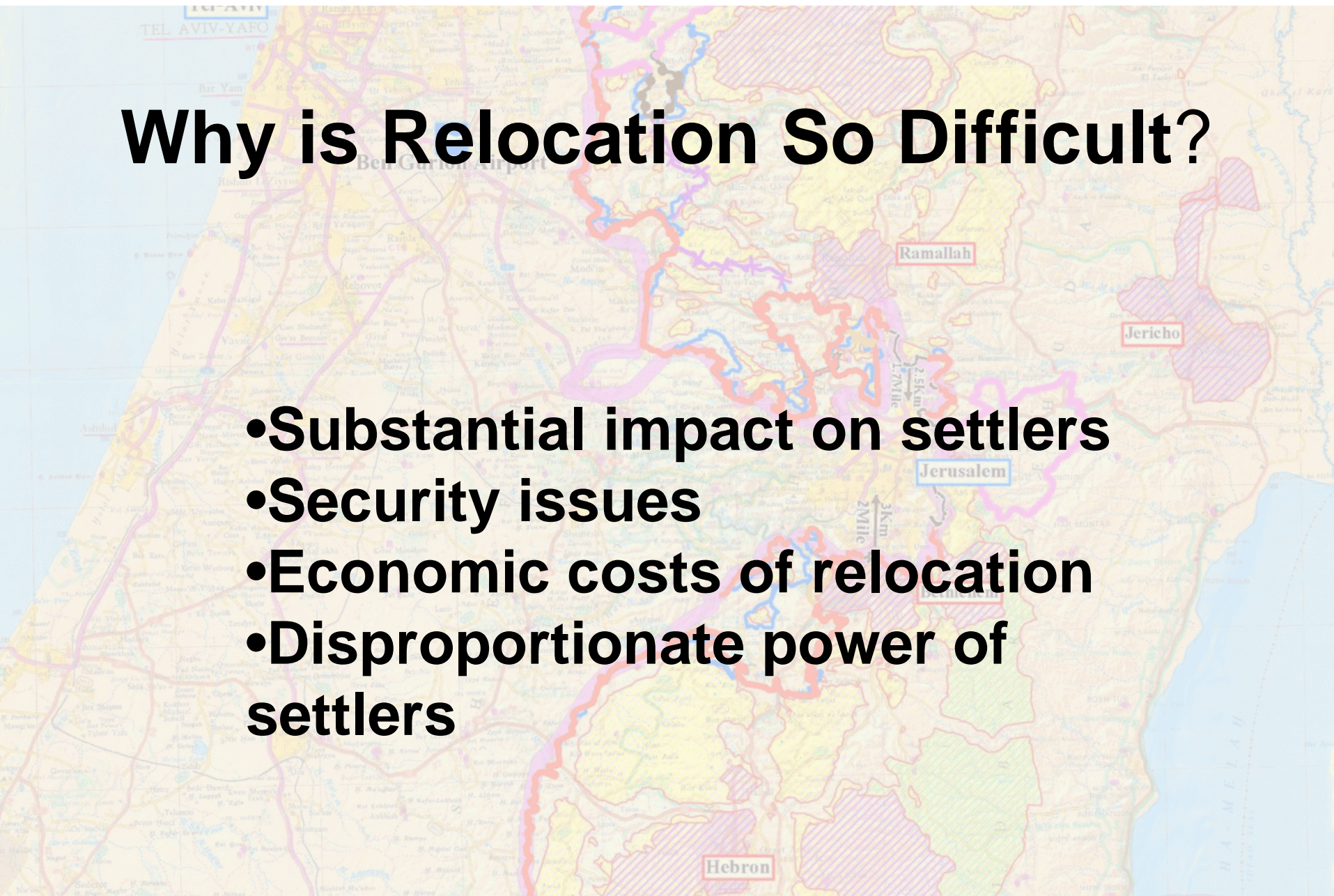


# The Nature of the Internal Conflict Within Israel Over the Settlements



# Why is Relocation So Difficult?

- Substantial impact on settlers
- Security issues
- Economic costs of relocation
- Disproportionate power of settlers



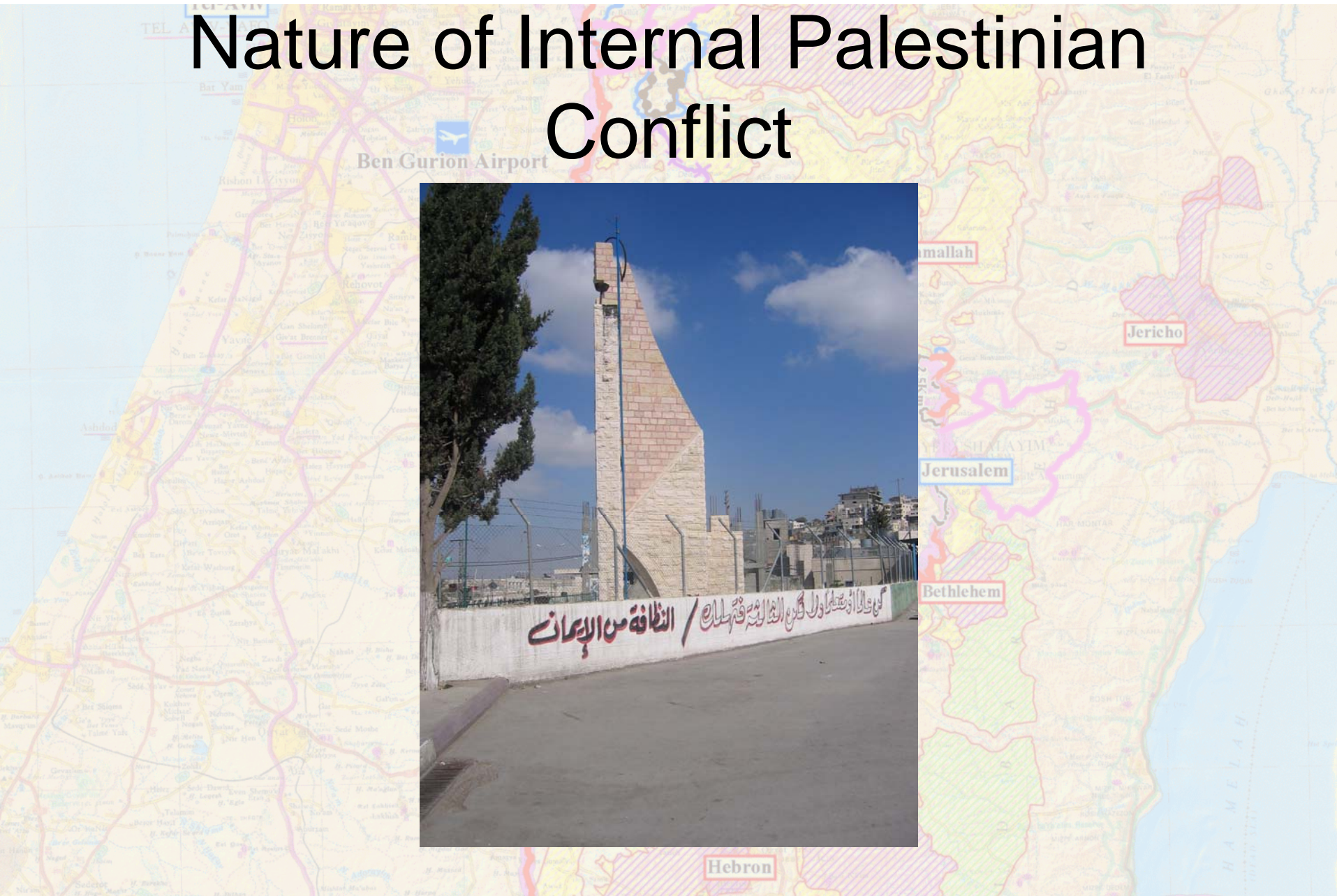
# Disproportionate Settler Power

- Settlers are well organized
- Overrepresentation in Knesset
- In settler organizations, overrepresentation of more extreme elements
- Close relationship with the military
- Willingness to use “hard-ball” and even violent tactic
- Appeal to themes with broad resonance

# Settlers Appeal to Broader Themes

- Pioneer spirit: settling the land and “creating facts”
- Project framed as natural continuation of Zionism
- Successors to Kibbutz movement - communitarian spirit in capitalist age
- A “serving elite”
- Religious roots: Re-settling biblical lands

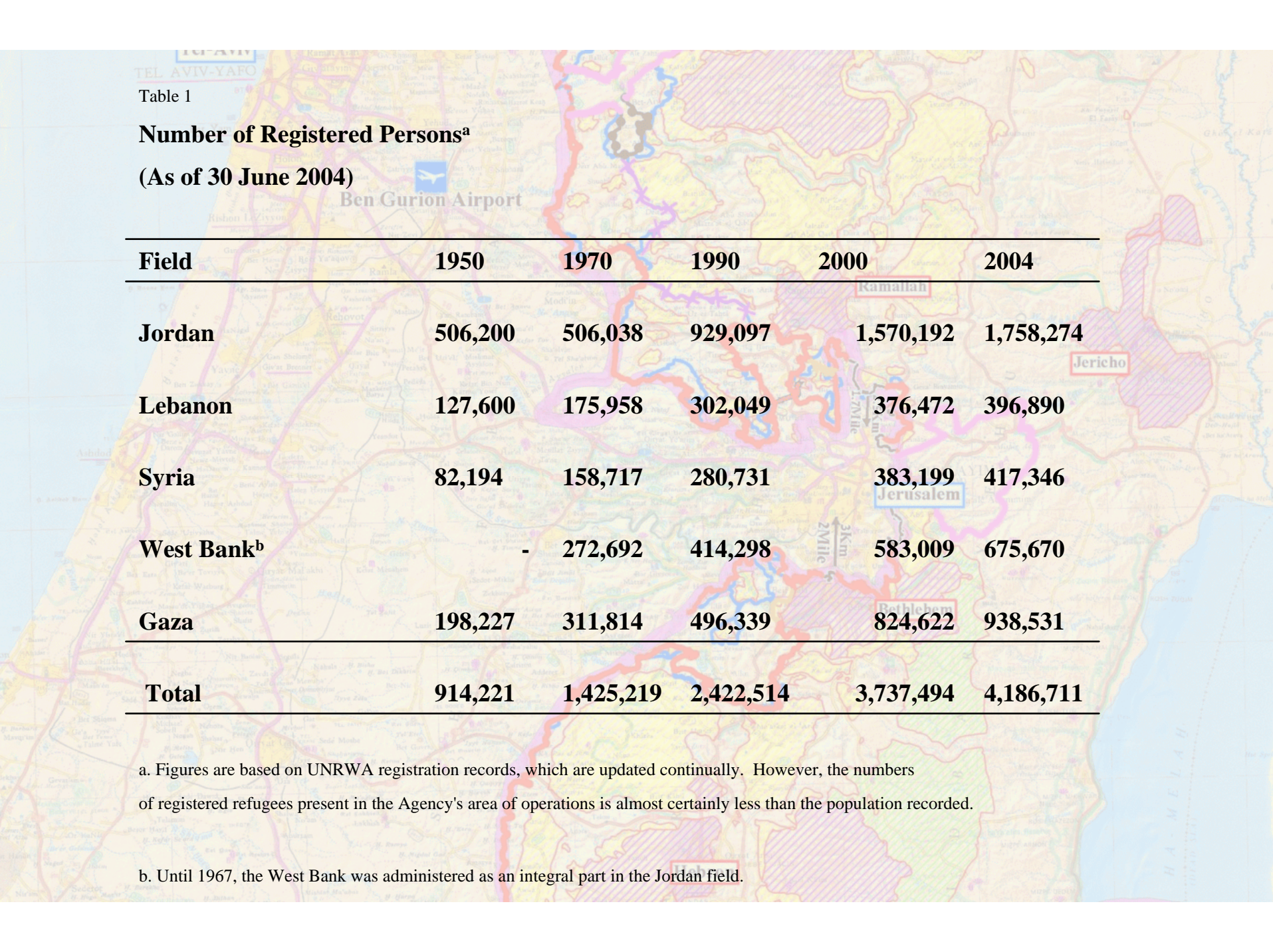
# Nature of Internal Palestinian Conflict



# Conflict Among Palestinians over the Scope and Meaning of the Right of Return



Table 1

**Number of Registered Persons<sup>a</sup>****(As of 30 June 2004)**


Field	1950	1970	1990	2000	2004
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>506,200</b>	<b>506,038</b>	<b>929,097</b>	<b>1,570,192</b>	<b>1,758,274</b>
<b>Lebanon</b>	<b>127,600</b>	<b>175,958</b>	<b>302,049</b>	<b>376,472</b>	<b>396,890</b>
<b>Syria</b>	<b>82,194</b>	<b>158,717</b>	<b>280,731</b>	<b>383,199</b>	<b>417,346</b>
<b>West Bank<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>-</b>	<b>272,692</b>	<b>414,298</b>	<b>583,009</b>	<b>675,670</b>
<b>Gaza</b>	<b>198,227</b>	<b>311,814</b>	<b>496,339</b>	<b>824,622</b>	<b>938,531</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>914,221</b>	<b>1,425,219</b>	<b>2,422,514</b>	<b>3,737,494</b>	<b>4,186,711</b>

a. Figures are based on UNRWA registration records, which are updated continually. However, the numbers of registered refugees present in the Agency's area of operations is almost certainly less than the population recorded.

b. Until 1967, the West Bank was administered as an integral part in the Jordan field.

A map of Israel and the West Bank, showing various cities and regions. The map is color-coded with different shades of yellow, green, and blue, representing different administrative areas. Labels for cities like Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Jericho, and Hebron are visible. The title 'Interesting Parallels Within Each Community' is overlaid on the map in a large, bold, black font.

# Interesting Parallels Within Each Community

- Narratives of Suffering and Victimization
- Issues of Identity
- Appeals with Broad Resonance
- Bargaining Chip Mentality
- Need for Compensation and Relocation
- Money not Enough – Giving Up Dreams
- Monumental Leadership Challenges

A detailed map of Israel and the West Bank. The map shows various cities and towns, with some areas highlighted in pink and purple, indicating conflict zones or areas of military activity. The Ben Gurion Airport is marked with a blue airplane icon. The Mediterranean Sea is visible on the left, and the Dead Sea is on the right. The text "The Urgent Need for Dialogue Within Each Community" is overlaid in the center.

# The Urgent Need for Dialogue Within Each Community

A map of Israel and the West Bank, showing major cities and geographical features. The map is color-coded with various shades of yellow, green, and blue. Key locations labeled include Tel Aviv-Yafo, Ben Gurion Airport, Ramallah, Jericho, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. The Mediterranean Sea is visible on the left, and the Dead Sea is on the right. The text is overlaid on the map.

# Five Off-the Record Dialogue Sessions with Israelis over the Internal Conflict With 11 Israeli Leaders

*Amirei Hagalil*

April 19-20, 2004

*Jerusalem*


September 8-9, 2004

February 10-11, 2005

July 19-20, 2005

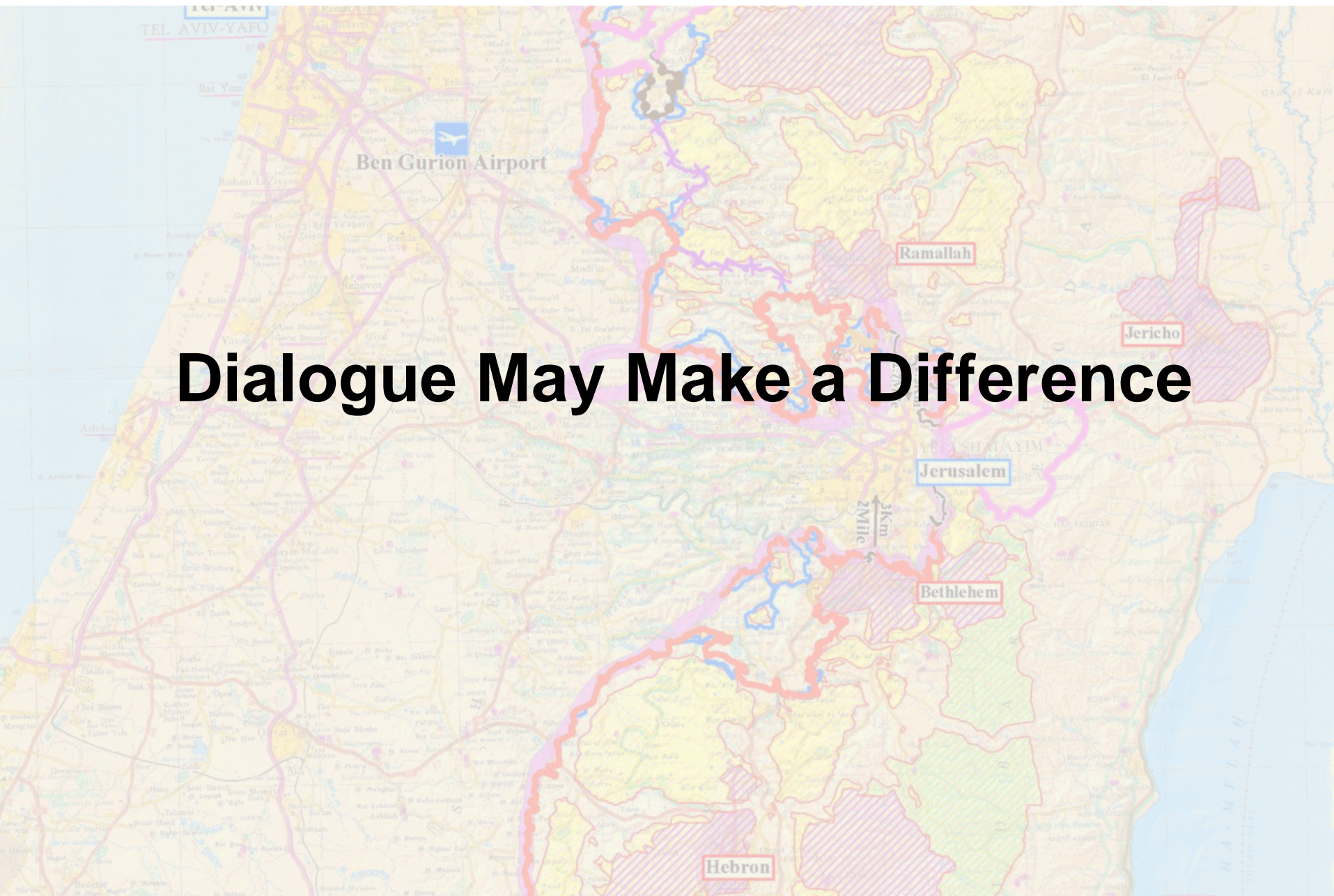
February 2006

# What Did I Learn from Israeli Dialogue?

A background map of Israel and the West Bank. The map shows various cities and regions, with some areas highlighted in different colors. Key locations labeled include Tel Aviv, Ben Gurion Airport, Ramallah, Jericho, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron. The map also shows the Mediterranean Sea to the west and the Dead Sea to the east.

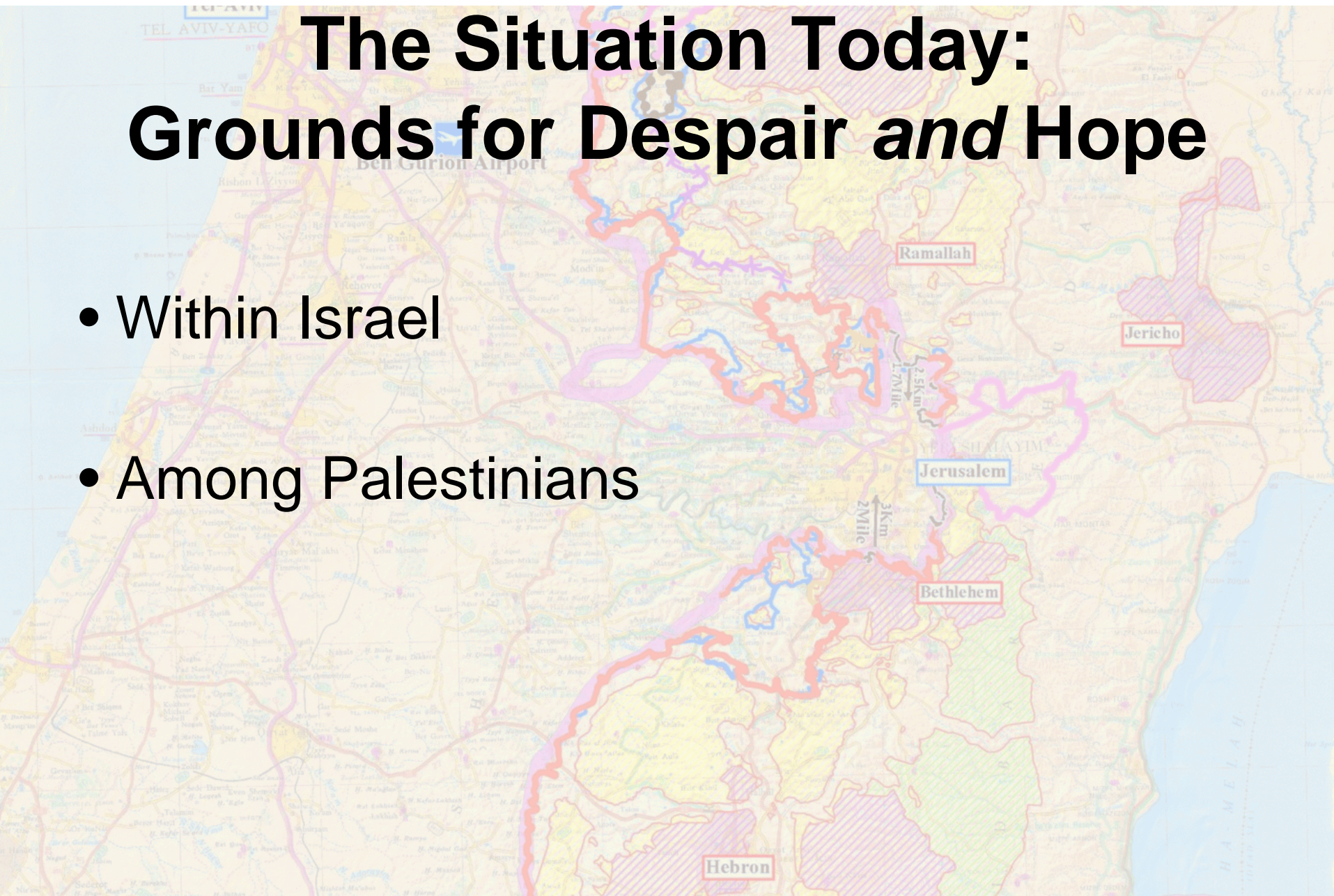
- An identity conflict implicating nature of the Jewish state
- Protagonists have deeply wounded one another
- Internal game of “chicken”
- Willingness to explore common values and interests

# Dialogue May Make a Difference



# The Situation Today: Grounds for Despair *and* Hope

- Within Israel
- Among Palestinians



# Implications of My Analysis

- Time is Not Ripe for Final Status Negotiations Across the Table
- Critical tasks *within* each community
- International community can play a useful but limited role

