

THE MILKEN LIBRARY OF  
JEWISH PUBLIC AFFAIRS

---

*The "Unseen" Israelis: The Jews from Turkey in Israel  
(1988)*

*Economic and Social Policy in Israel: The First  
Generation (1989)*

*Morality and Power: Contemporary Jewish Views  
(1989)*

*Maintaining Consensus: The Canadian Jewish Polity  
in the Postwar World (1989)*

*Israel's Odd Couple: The 1984 Elections and the  
National Unity Government (1990)*

*Authority, Power and Leadership in the Jewish Polity:  
Cases and Issues (1990)*

*Two Peoples—One Land: Federal Solutions for Israel,  
the Palestinians, and Jordan (1991)*

Forthcoming:

*Major Knesset Debates (1948-1981)*

Made possible by a gift from the  
Milken Family Foundation

# CONTENTS

Preface .....	vii
Chapter 1 – SELF-RULE AND SHARED RULE .....	1
Three Parties — Three Ambivalences / Searching for a Solution / Looking Toward Federalism / The Prob- lem of Sovereignty	
Chapter 2 – THE PERMANENT AND THE TRANSIENT IN THE SEARCH FOR ISRAEL-ARAB PEACE .....	15
People and States / Impermanent Boundaries / The Mixtures of Populations / Peace and Sovereignty / Ex- traterritorial Arrangements / The Interests of the Concerned Parties / Four Possible Solutions / From Partition to Sharing / The Revival of the Federal Op- tion / Symmetries and A-Symmetries	
Chapter 3 – WHAT ARE FEDERAL SOLUTIONS? .....	37
Federalism as Structure and Process / Federalism as Unity and Diversity / The Basic Forms of Federalism/ Federal Combinations / The Will to Federate / Thinking Federal	
Chapter 4 – WHY NO SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE WEST OF THE JORDAN .....	71
The Problem of a Second Palestinian State / Divisions Among the Palestinians / New Realities in the Terri- tories / Changes in the Legal System / The Territories in the Context of the Metropolitan Frontier / Combin- ing People and Territory: The Local Dimension / What Then?	
Chapter 5 – SOME POSSIBLE FEDERAL SOLUTIONS .....	99
General Principles / Eleven Options / Israel-Palestine Federation / Israel-Palestine Confederation / A Fed- eration of Multiple Jewish and Arab Cantons / A Palestinian Arab <sup>1</sup> State (or Entity) Associated with Israel / Israel-Jordan Confederation with the Pales- tinian Arabs Incorporated into Jordan / Israel-Jordan	

*Two Peoples — One Land*

**Confederation with a Palestinian Entity Federated with One or the Other / Israeli Incorporation of the Territories with an Internal Consociational Arrangement on a Constitutional Basis / A Totally Non-Territorial Consociational Federation within the Entire Area / Condominium — Joint Israeli-Jordanian/ Palestinian Rule Over the Territories with the Local Authorities Attached to One or the Other for Civil Purposes / Various Partial or Sectoral Federal Arrangements such as a Customs Union, Common Market, or Joint Special-Purpose Authorities Serving Two or Three States / Bilateral Federal Arrangements with Different Kinds of Links between Israel, Judea, Samaria and Gaza, or Jordan / A Final Point**

<b>Chapter 6 — WHAT IS TO PREVENT A FEDERAL SOLUTION? .....</b>	<b>129</b>
Symbolic and Emotional Demands / Timing / Political Culture / Leadership / Political Will / The Demographic Problem / The Influence of the Palestinians on the Israeli Arabs / Palestinians' Fears of Jordan (and Vice-Versa) / Settlers and Borders / Power-Sharing and Sovereignty	
<b>Chapter 7 — THE SPECIAL CASE OF JERUSALEM .....</b>	<b>147</b>
City-County Arrangements / Federated Municipalities / Neighborhood District Programs / Functional Programs / Extralocal Models / Implications for Jerusalem	
<b>Chapter 8 — NOW MORE THAN EVER IS THE TIME FOR A FEDERAL SOLUTION.....</b>	<b>175</b>
Reagan, Hussein and Begin Opt for Shared Rule / The Appropriate Federal Solution / The Nature of an Israeli-Jordanian/Palestinian Confederation / A Possible Governmental Structure / How to Achieve It / Linking Peoples: The Political Dimension / Steps Toward Negotiating a Solution / What Role for the United States? / What Role for Europe? / A Final Word	
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>201</b>