

*Governing Peoples and Territories*. Daniel J. Elazar (ed.), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1982.

Reviewer: *Stuart Gabriel*

In *Governing Peoples and Territories* scholars from the Jerusalem Institute for Federal Studies examine imposition of a federalist model in the structuring of relations between Israel and Palestinian Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza. The federalist idea challenges the notion of "one people, one government, one territory," offering instead a model that views the polity as a set of interacting and overlapping units and powers. Federalism in its modern form represents the dispersion of authority among a network of arenas, and is manifest in a variety of self-rule, shared-rule contexts. This volume comprises a rather exhaustive rendering of the federalist option, including its theoretical and historical development, varied examples in modern nation-states, and discussion and debate of the Israel-Administered Territories application.

In introductory chapters Daniel Elezar provides theoretical underpinnings of the federalist model and perspectives regarding people, land, and the state in contemporary Israel; Leonard Binder offers similar perspectives from an Islamic viewpoint; and Nathan Glazer then argues that the West Bank should appropriately be viewed as a context in which ethnicity exerts the dominant effect on identity, to the exclusion of common regional or economic interests that might cut across ethnic lines. Application of a federalist model must then account for the primary ethnic basis of political mobilization, while in so doing facilitating the emergence of a certain commonality of interests over time.

Part 2 of the study examines imposition of federalist political structures in the multiethnic contexts of Yugoslavia, Italy, the Balkans, and elsewhere. Subsequently, various alternatives for ruling the Israel-Administered Territories are presented and debated. The concept of self-rule is developed from both Israeli and Palestinian viewpoints, as are issues related to partition versus sharing of territory in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The hypersensitivity of Third World states, including some of the Arab Middle East, to questions involving limited or shared sovereignty is cited, as is expected opposition to such a plan among Palestinians of the territories, yet the authors favor the power-sharing proposal, on the basis of economic and strategic interdependence of the parties. Although an Allon-type partition of territory is deemed unworkable because of its rejection by

former Jordanian leaders, the carrot of local economic development is to provide the cutting edge regarding Palestinian acceptance of power-sharing. This despite the Glazer discussion regarding the predominance of ethnic rather than economic politics in the area.

On the basis of these preceding chapters, the final section of the book debates both the desirability and feasibility of alternative political futures for the administered territories. Yehudah Ben Meir provides exposition of what he terms the only realistic option of "sharing the land," this amounting not to a repartition of the territories but rather to a division of rights and authority among inhabitants thereof. Ben Meir then explains the essence of autonomy as perceived by the former Begin government, including separate Palestinian and Israeli control over their day-to-day affairs in the context of continued settlement and security responsibilities by the latter. In contrast, the virtues of repartition of the West Bank are expounded by Dan Horowitz, who suggests collapse of the peace initiative unless symmetric interpretations of sovereignty, including territorial integrity, are applied to the Israel and Jordanian-affiliated sectors. The book concludes with further remarks by Elazar and a round-table discussion regarding interpretation and fate of the Camp David provisions regarding autonomy.

The volume goes to great lengths to expound a federalist interpretation of autonomy. In presentation of that option, it is well researched and well written. It is an articulate expression of those ideas in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, intended for both a general readership and policy analysts in the Middle East and abroad.

At its base, however, the book concerns power, consent, and political viability in regard to alternative structures for Israel-Administered Territories interactions. The constellation of political realities in the near term suggests that although Israel will continue to exercise substantial power concerning the territories' political outcomes, that rule has not succeeded in galvanizing a significant measure of consent among those governed. That measure of consent is a necessary condition of the political viability of a federal solution.