CHAPTER 3. GLOBAL SCENARIOS

3.7 Middle East Peace Scenarios

Written in 2004 based on studies conducted in 2002–04

3.7.1 Three Middle East Peace Scenarios

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Note: Arabic and Hebrew translations of the scenarios are available on the Millennium Project website: <//www.acunu.org/millennium/ME-Peace-Scenarios.html>

3.7.2 The Middle East Peace Study

—preliminary study for the scenarios, conducted in 2002–03

3.7.1 Three Middle East Peace Scenarios

A new story is needed for the Middle East.

The old story seems like "bite hands," a game played by two boys. Each puts a hand in the other's mouth. Both bite hard until someone gives up. "Give me justice or I bite harder!" "Give me peace or I bite harder." This chapter provides three normative scenarios, three new stories for the Middle East, that are intended to stimulate and be a resource for new discussions and actions for peace.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has to be one of the most studied and contested issues in world affairs today. Surprisingly, there are no well-researched, objective, plausible peace scenarios—not frameworks, in other words, or objectives, analyses, proposals, proclamations, accords, treaties, or road maps, but scenarios: stories with causal links connecting the future and the present like a movie script. It is easy to imagine many scenarios that describe alternative ways the current conflict continues. But what is needed is a set of alternative peace scenarios created by participants with a range of views. In this way, many ideas can be woven together into a story to see how a culture of peace might emerge in the region. The Cairo Node of the Millennium Project at Cairo University in Egypt suggested this void had to be filled by taking a futurist "backcasting" approach to the problem: imagine peace is achieved, and then look at how we got there.

The normative peace scenarios presented in this chapter were created through a unique process. A series of literature reviews and interviews identified seven conditions that seemed required by all sides prior to the emergence of peace. The review also found a set of actions to help establish each precondition. An international panel of several hundred participants was asked to rate the importance of each action for achieving the precondition, the likelihood that the action could occur, and the possibility that it might backfire or make things worse. Additional actions were also collected and rated subsequently in a second-round questionnaire. The results were used to write draft alternative peace scenarios and submitted in a third round to the panel for critical review. The drafts were then edited based on the results and are presented in this chapter.

Source: CIA, The World Factbook

3.7.1 Three Middle East Peace Scenarios

1. Introduction

Over the past three years The Millennium Project has been engaged in a study of routes to Middle East peace. The study involved, initially, a two-round Delphi in which respondents were asked in the first round to identify preconditions to achieving peace in the Middle East. These were found to be:

- Secure borders for Israel
- Establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state
- Resolution of the Jerusalem question
- End violence by both sides and build confidence
- Social and economic development
- Education

- Resolution of Palestinian refugee status

The second round of the Delphi study requested that respondents suggest means for achieving these preconditions. Action suggestions were made and rated according to the following scales:

Importance
5 = must be achieved for peace to exist
4 = very effective in leading to peace
3 = effective but not essential
2 = not very effective
1 = counterproductive

Likelihood of Implementation
5 = very likely
4 = likely
3 = implies a lot of compromise
2 = almost impossible
1 = never achievable

Backfire Potential (for unintended deleterious consequences)
5= almost certain to backfire
4= very risky
3= as likely as not to backfire
2= minor chance
1= no chance to backfire

Among the most important suggestions that were rated by the international panel, for each of the seven preconditions for peace were:

Secure borders for Israel

Recognizing Israel as an independent state by all Arab states

Withdrawing from all areas occupied by Israel since the 1967 war

Urging that agreements survive regime changes within Israel

Resuming the peace process on the basis of U.N. resolutions

Trying to ensure that any agreement represents the view of the people of both sides and not just the ruling power

Establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state

Recognizing Palestine as a sovereign U.N. member state

Encouraging representative governments whose goal will be the well-being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which people can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives.

Withdrawing Israel military forces from the disputed and/or occupied territories they control

Enacting a U.N. General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a U.N. Security Council resolution

Holding democratic Palestinian elections

Resolution of the Jerusalem question

Guaranteeing religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem

Developing a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites

Guaranteeing free access to holy sites

Enacting a clear, definitive U.N. General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the government of Israel and Palestine, based on previous Security Council resolutions

Declaring Jerusalem an international city

End violence by both sides and building confidence

End suicide bombings

End Israeli occupation of land obtained during the 1967 war

Withdraw Israel settlements to the pre-1967 line

Cooperate to combat terrorism

Honor international commitments in good faith

Social and economic development

Negotiate long-term water sharing agreements

Launch special international programs under the U.N. for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state

Create local participatory planning process connected to development budget

Encourage direct foreign investment in the new Palestinian state

Education

Create, via UNESCO, scholars' curricula for introduction to school systems in the Middle East that provide unbiased historical awareness and information designed to teach tolerance

Provide equal access to education for women

Invest in Palestinian educational infrastructure to bring it up to par with Israel

Organize cultural symposia with religious leaders from both sides to discuss ways to cultivate tolerance and peace

Begin internationally monitored media coverage on both sides that would condemn violence against the other side and would show the downside of their own violent acts

Resolution of Palestinian refugee status

Initiate international inspections under the U.N. to assure that human rights are being respected

Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to general assembly resolution 194/ 48

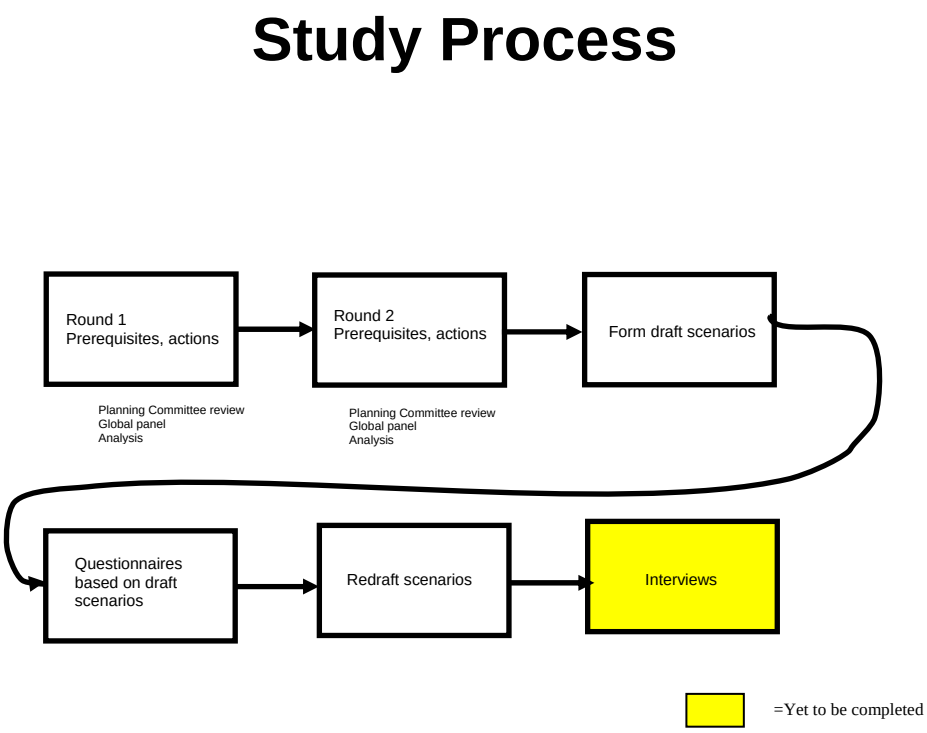
Provide Palestinians the right to return to Israel as Israeli citizens

Create an Israeli/Palestinian commission which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians would have the right to return to Israel and Israelis to remain in Palestinian areas.

In all some 108 actions were suggested by the respondents. The complete results of the prior Middle East Delphi studies may be found in the 2003 State of the Future report and elsewhere in this report.

Given this body of judgmental data, this year's work focused on constructing a series of normative scenarios to integrate the suggested actions and preconditions to peace into story lines that hopefully would describe plausible routes to peace.

The figure below illustrates the study flow:



The remaining step, illustrated in the yellow box, is planned for next year. We hope that this final step will involve decisionmakers in round table workshops or interviews, where they will be asked to focus on the plausibility of the scenarios and if found plausible, then recommended next steps toward peace.

2. Normative Scenarios

A scenario is a rich and detailed portrait of a plausible future world, one sufficiently vivid to illustrate problems, challenges, and opportunities that would be faced in such an environment. A scenario is not a forecast per se; rather, it is a plausible description of what *might* occur. Scenarios describe events and trends as they could evolve and the most useful scenarios focus on causal relationships leading from the present to some future state and decision points along the path. .

No scenario is ever seen as probable; the probability of any scenario ever being realized is vanishingly small. It's not accuracy that's the measure of a good scenario; it is rather

Plausibility (telling the story about getting from here to there)

Internal self consistency

Usefulness in decision making.

Sets of scenarios are used in planning; if the sets encompass a broad span of futures, and plans are generated to cope with the eventualities they portray, then the plans are robust and the future can be met with some degree of confidence.

Most often, scenarios are “exploratory”; that is, they are directed toward a future that might evolve, even though the descriptions have very low probability. In the Middle East study, we used a different type of scenario: a normative description of causal changes that, taken together, could produce a desirable world. We began each scenario with the understanding that the final outcome would be peace in the Middle East. The questions were what causal routes, what chains of circumstance, could lead the world in that direction?

3. The Questionnaires

Using the material generated by the previous Delphi study –the seven pre-conditions and the 108 actions suggested by the respondents, as well as open ended comments, three preliminary scenarios were formed. These scenarios were presented to an international panel and the participants were asked to comment on individual paragraphs of the scenarios, provide additional material, and dispute or endorse the content of the paragraph. The format permitted respondents to provide as much or as little as they wished.

In general, the questions appeared as follows:

> *First, a paragraph from the scenario appeared* [example—excerpt from the questionnaire]*:*
>
> With the evolution of democratic processes in the region, and continued security guarantees from the United States, Israel surprised many in the Middle East with their ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty as a gesture of long-term good will and allowed IAEA inspectors to verify their dismantling of nuclear weapons. These actions led even the skeptics to nod their heads and say that, this time, maybe it really will be a lasting peace.
>
> *Then an open-ended question was asked:*
>
> WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

The comments were analyzed, combined where appropriate, edited, and tabulated (see Appendix 2 which presents essentially all of the commentary). All of these comments were considered and the scenarios were modified to accommodate the suggestions where appropriate.

4. Analysis

Taken as a whole, the scenarios included several new ideas; among these were:

- A terrorist debate about the value of escalation of terror
- An Arabic television series Salaam-Shalom about the adventures of two girls- Arab and Jew
- Business joint ventures that involved both Muslims and Israelis
- Challenges to the secular power of Muslim and Jewish religious leaders
- Changes in US policy: a diplomatic campaign to defuse Arab financial support of the militants and moving US aid to Israel away from arms.
- Compensation to families of people killed or tortured in the conflict.
- Coordinated external assistance to promote self help initiatives

- Creation of a NAFTA-like free trade zone among Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.
- Dual citizenship for Israelis in Palestinian areas and Palestinians in Israel.
- Establishment of an Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation fund by Christian aid agencies, Jews around the world, and Arab oil-sheiks to reduce poverty in the region and promote religious and cultural tolerance.
- Grass roots for peace: spread of an Israeli Refusenik movement
- Grass roots for peace: the growth of a Palestinian popular movement
- Israel negotiating agreements with Arab nations stating that Israel has a right to exist
- Jerusalem governance: a "calendar-location matrix"
- Jerusalem governance: a leader would be elected every six years by the General Assembly; no sect would have control for more than one consecutive term.
- New oil pipelines from the Gulf to the Mediterranean,
- Plebiscite to assure UN resolutions would be supported by the people.
- Pope taking leadership of an international religious movement toward peace
- Quotas for immigration into Israel, restricting the vote to seven year residents
- Recognition by radical Palestinians that Israel can not be eradicated
- Recognition that each side had its reasons for wanting to stop but momentum carrying the conflict forward.
- Religious Leaders for Peace (RLP): a new movement
- Return to prosperity by Lebanon as a result of the return of refugees and dismantling of Hezbollah.
- SERESER, an acronym derived from the seven preconditions for peace:
- Teacher and student exchange programs
- Terrorism being declared a religious crime by all religions of the world
- The Peace Child project designed to bring teenagers from both sides together
- Tranquilizers for conflicting parties
- Unilateral ending of retaliation by Israel
- Unilateral ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty by Israel
- United States and the EU reconsidering their role in the situation, including the possibility of staying out of the peace process entirely.
- Unofficial university tele-education programs aimed at improving tolerance
- Water as an instrument of peace: the First Lady of Egypt convening a conference on Middle East Water

A few of the respondents said outsiders can't understand the issues and some saw biases in the scenarios. Many responses were invectives damning the other side. Other respondents saw the instrument as too simple and blunt. Nevertheless, new strategies were invented by the respondents, some new partial scenarios were written, reasons why the proposed causal chains would work or not were provided, and the given scenarios were extended

Some comments about the process:

> I can see from the information you sent that the focus has been only on approaches that advocate separations and two-state solution. As I have expressed in my earlier messages and essay, I believe that efforts towards a two-state solution has disappointed both Jews and Arabs since 1947, and resulted in the death of many on both sides.... an Al-jazeera survey ...showed the 44% of Arabs in the Arab world supported such an (single state) approach!

The linkage between the Palestinian issue and the status of the Arab minority in Israel is completely ignored in your scenarios.

I strongly urge to add a scenario on a Palestinian Peace Movement that gains majority support: this could have quite some impact on Israel. All the more so as there are nearly no traces of such a movement among the Palestinians,

I find your material superior to much public discourse and in part stimulating, but not really adding any new ideas to what those working on the issue know. (By the way, I have seen scenarios on coping with the issue in several places, but not in the public domain.) .My next part in your project will be to wait and read the results.

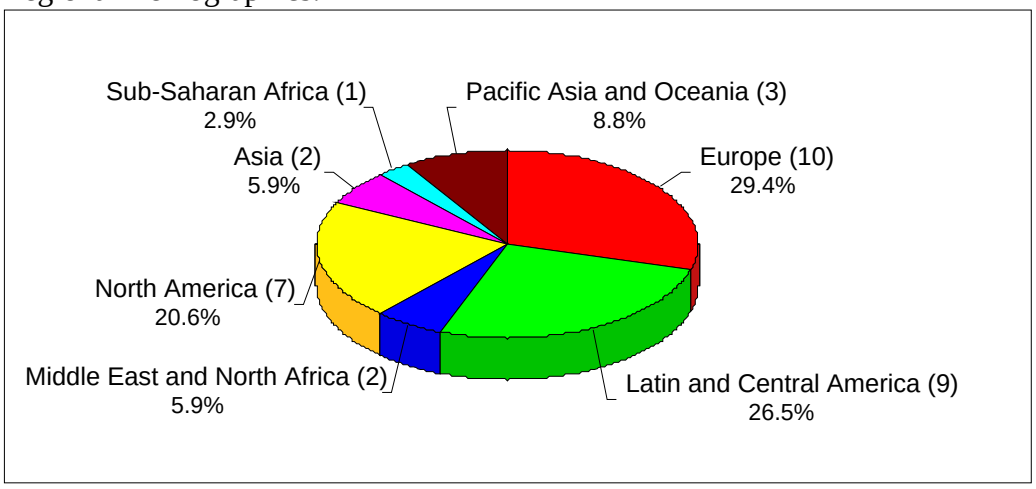
The USA and EU must put massive pressure on BOTH Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis. The program will essentially implement the presently empty provisions of the roadmap - but with teeth - real reform of the Palestinian authority, real evacuation of settlements.

When I have something significant to say for public use, I will write it up and publish it. The additional attachments illustrate what little I publish on this matter. If the Israeli Prime Minister (or, even less likely, the UN Secretary-General, the President of Egypt, or the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority) would ask me what to do, I would ask for two months time to re-study and think over the matter,...and then I may or may not have something significant to offer.

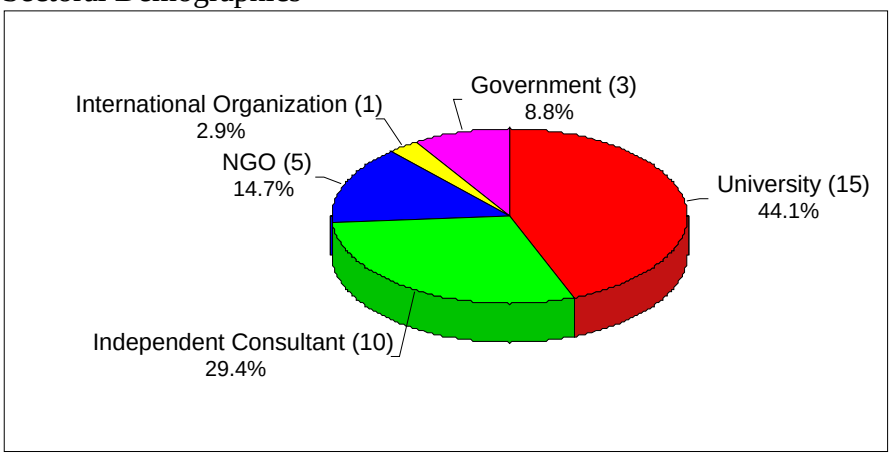
5. The Panel Sample

The following charts present the demographics of the Participants.

Regional Demographics:



Sectoral Demographics



6. Conclusions and Questions

As one considers the scenarios and the comments by the participants, several themes emerge, a few observations can be made, and many questions remain:

There is a nascent Israeli grass roots movement calling for peace, in much the same way as the call for peace emerged in the US during the Viet Nam era. This development could gain tremendous power if a parallel Palestinian movement appeared. Is there now such a movement brewing among Palestinians? Could it be encouraged?

All of the scenarios started from a single spark: in one case from cooperation of solving the water issue, in another from the cooperation and enthusiasm of religious leaders, and finally from the public saying “end this conflict.” Once these sparks started the ball rolling, the next steps, complex and intricate, nevertheless became feasible. If the stimulants we chose for the scenarios are not the “correct” premises, what are?

There was disagreement about the roles that the US and EU should play. Some participants said that they should withdraw and allow the principals to "work it out." Others said that to withdraw would be disaster. Some participants accused the US of perpetuating the conflict with its policies that encouraged Israel to increase its military strength. What policies by outside nations would help lead to peace while preserving the sovereignty of Israel and the integrity of the participants?

Peace is not simply a matter of replacing the current political leadership; the post-Sharon/ post-Arafat situation may be more chaotic than at present.

Who is the Gandhi of the Middle East? A champion could be important. He or she could emerge from the outside, although, more likely, the person would have to arise from within the conflict.

Terrorist extremism born in the Middle East could easily jump borders. Perhaps it has already. Further terror attacks in the West may be the trigger to actions against radicals in the Middle East. Thus, from the vantage of history, the suicide bombings of the Muslim extremists, the 9/11 murders, the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, and whatever comes after, may all seem to be part of a single context.

The hawks will try to derail any plan that seems to be working; consequence for policy: anticipate the countermovement whenever a new step toward peace is initiated.
.
Funding would help peace phone programs (e.g. Parents Circle and Internet for Peace)

UN actions and motivations are distrusted by some respondents and its ability to promote favorable change was questioned. Yet in the end there is no other global body to which appeals can be made, to hear and ratify the plans, to monitor agreements when required. A

respondent suggested the creation of a new body to serve the interests of countries in the Middle East but this entails a new layer of bureaucracy and complexity. So despite its shortcomings, the UN is likely to be involved, to codify, ratify, and guard agreements.

Educational reforms while necessary can produce results only in the long term

As some of the participants said: a miracle or two would help

7. The Scenarios

ABSTRACT OF THE SCENARIOS

Scenario 1 “Water Works”

The need to increase water supply encouraged political negotiations and built trust that peace was possible. Momentum increased with an innovative TV series, tele-education in refugee camps, new political movements, participatory development processes, and a unique "calendar-location matrix" for time sharing of the holy sites. UN troops enforced agreements with non-lethal weapons, and new forms of international collaboration cemented the peace.

Scenario 2 “The Open City”

The new Pope challenged Jewish and Muslim religious leaders to solve the question of governance in Jerusalem. Politics, power, and media all played a role in reaching a proposed solution that was ultimately codified in a resolution adopted by UN General Assembly. The threat of a fatwa ended the suicide bombings; when the bombings stopped so did the Israeli retaliatory missions. Education of young Muslims gradually changed; schools that once taught hatred moderated. On the question of refugees, the Israelis were concerned about being overwhelmed and outvoted by Palestinian immigrants in their democratic society. The issue promised to be inimical but a compromise restricted the right to vote to people who had lived in Israel for more than seven years. Finally, an historic proposal came to the UN from Israel- it traded guarantees of Israeli security for establishment of a permanent Palestinian state.

Scenario 3 “Dove”

"Dove" was a secret, contested Israeli plan to de-escalate and unilaterally renounce retaliation to demonstrate that Palestinians were aggressors. A secret debate was also taking place among extremist Palestinians on whether to escalate to more lethal weapons. Those against escalation said “If we desist, Israel will be seen as the aggressor.” So each side had reasons for wanting to stop but seemed frozen by circumstances. Then the tide changed. Twenty-seven Israeli pilots said they would not participate in future air raids, initiating the "refusnick" movement. What happened next was like a chess game. The Israelis got a guarantee that the bombing would stop; the Palestinians got an agreement that the Israelis would withdraw to the pre-1967 borders. A series of non-aggression treaties and agreements stated that Israel had a right to exist. Jerusalem became an open city, with its own democratic government. Immigration quotas were established. Foreign capital flowed into the area. New businesses were established, and unemployment among the Palestinians dropped sharply. It was a self-fulfilling cycle: the move toward peace sparked the environment for peace.

FULL-TEXT OF THE SCENARIOS

Scenario 1. Water Works

Now that peace seems to have been finally achieved in the Middle East, everyone is claiming credit for the success. Historians will document the many causes, but most agree today that when the First Lady of Egypt responded to the worsening water crises by inviting UNEP, UNDP, and the Quartet (EU, United States, Russia, and the UN) to be the co-conveners of an exploratory conference on Middle East water, a new sense of hope began to grow in the region.

Since the previous leadership in Israel had said it would take no significant steps in the Quartet's Roadmap until attacks on Israelis stopped, and since the more militant Palestinians had said they would not stop until Israel withdrew from the occupied areas, a new approach had to be found.

Going beyond the mid-1990s water agreements between Israel and the PLO, the Middle East Water Conference concluded that a series of regional water negotiations would be chaired by a UN Envoy appointed by the Secretary-General and funded by the Quartet. The conference would include delegations from Israel, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and Lebanon, plus the Quartet and observers, and would proceed from the premise that regional water scarcity was inevitable without major desalination; the focus had to be not just redistribution of unsustainable current sources but increased water supply. The US representative stressed this throughout the conference, saying that water-sharing agreements alone would not lead to peace, even if the United States agreed to referee infractions. Producing more water was the key to building trust.

Others believed that the real watershed event leading to peace was the resignations of both Sharon and Arafat, which cleared the way for the establishment of SERESER to coordinate the extraordinarily complex set of agreements, projects, study commissions, joint corporations, and oversight of the fund for joint projects in cooperative research that evolved over the years. Quiet talks among moderates on both sides produced the Geneva Accords, which led to further quiet talks sponsored by the Quartet that spelled out the conditions for SERESER—a body that took its name from the first letter of seven preconditions for peace: **S**ecure borders for Israel, **E**stablishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state, **R**esolution of the Jerusalem question, an **E**nd to violence by both sides and an effort to build confidence, **S**ocial and economic development, **E**ducation, and **R**esolution of Palestinian refugee status.

Still others said that without secret negotiations by the hardliners, none of this would have been possible. Just as Switzerland provided good offices for moderates to meet in secret and produce the Geneva Accords, Switzerland welcomed the meetings of hardliners, which took a circuitous route getting to the negotiations table.

It all started in Iraq. Sunni Muslims did not want Iraq to become the second Shia Islamic Republic, so representatives of the International Muslim Brotherhood (Sunni) approached the US

Administrator in Iraq to offer cooperation, which included efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The United States had to give greater emphasis to democratization than military management in Iraq and had to prevent breaking Iraq into Switzerland-like cantons, which would give the Shia the upper hand. Since it was better to have peace with Israel and a democratizing Iraq than an Iran-Iraq Shia juggernaut, Sunni hardliners agreed to meet secretly with Israeli hardliners. The US-Swiss insistence that the meetings begin where the moderates left off in the Geneva Accords delayed the negotiations, but in retrospect turned out to be the only workable framework for them.

Regardless of what historians finally credit as the key trigger for peace, the water negotiations provided a consistent side channel for keeping hope alive. Since water is the most universally recognized human need and the negotiations were more focused than general peace negotiations, they helped to build confidence among the Israelis and Palestinians that peace might be possible. For example, the section of the Wall that enclosed the western mountain aquifer that provides Palestinians in the West Bank with over half their water was rebuilt as a result of the water negotiations. This confidence spilled over into other negotiations in the region, but when these became deadlocked, the Middle East focus returned to the water meetings to restore trust. As water agreements were reached, the Arab Integrated Water Resources Management Network, USAID, the Arab-Israeli joint Regional Center for Research on Desalination in Oman, and UNDP quickly implemented authorized programs, such as emergency water relief systems in Gaza.

The first major success in increasing water supply was the agreement that dramatically accelerated construction of reverse osmosis desalination plants to counter future water scarcity. A commitment to finance the Dead Sea canal and a desalination plant at the Dead Sea to produce water for equal distribution to Jordan, Israel, and Palestine was the first partnership of Israeli technology and Arab oil money. Another agreement followed to build an aqueduct, an irrigation system, and a network of channels from Turkey to Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. These and subsequent projects have made water available to all today through a common infrastructure for the region. Joint Arab-Israeli educational institutions were established to focus on hydrology, hydraulic engineering, and systems for the transport and distribution of the desalinized water. This also provided the confidence to begin building new oil pipelines from the Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea, with an outlet in Palestine and another in Israel, which will reduce dependence on geographic pinch points in the Gulf and the Red Sea and will help Palestinian economic development.

Meanwhile, many of the 4.1 million registered Palestinian refugees were in desperate need of education. The collapse of the USSR, the expulsion of Palestinians from Arab Gulf countries, and the closing of most PLO institutions after their forced departure from Lebanon in 1983 meant that access to secondary, informal, and higher education became more and more difficult for refugees. At the same time, the UN Relief and Works Agency had less money to provide refugees with basic services, let alone quality education. The construction of the Wall further complicated access to education, so tele-education seemed the only reasonable course. With UN and EU endorsements, the Palestinian Authority and Palestinian Diaspora gained the political will to raise the initial money from wealthy Arab donor states and personalities to create tele-education programs and initiate an education Peace Corps to support tele-education in refugee

camps. As these programs began to show signs of success, such as students getting scholarships to universities and others creating on-line businesses, Israel—as a sign of good will—contributed to expanded operations. This triggered matching funds from Arab countries.

Al-Quds Open University of Palestine and the Open University of Israel jointly implemented the unofficial tele-education program with help from several NGOs and UNESCO, enlisting renowned educators and providing new tele-curricula that emphasized respect and hope for the future. Tele-education reached more women and taught the next generation the value of individual efforts to succeed, since their education was self-motivated and self-paced. Tele-education joint learning activities among Palestinians and Israelis broke down stereotypes, led to enough trust to organize some face-to-face meetings, and increased the commitment and ability to achieve peace in the region.

These developments led to the Great Peace March organized by youth groups. Some of the youth leaders came from the tele-education classes; others were alumni of the Peace Child projects that quietly brought teenagers from both sides together over the years. The youth groups called on the political leaders of both sides to end the hostilities and sign the peace accords, the same accords that later some of these "next generation" leaders would implement as civil servants in the Governments of Palestine and Israel.

While the Great Peace March was being covered by Aljazeera, CNN, and the BBC, the President of Katun stunned the UN Security Council in a closed session by advocating a medical solution: "Diplomatic, military, political, and economic strategies to make peace in the Middle East have failed. It is time to take a public health approach," he said. "All countries have processes to take mentally ill people into custody when they are a danger to themselves and or others, and give them tranquilizers against their will. If so for one person, then why not for two? If so for two, than why not for many?" The Security Council Members could not understand where the President was going with this. He continued, "Clearly much of the Middle East is mentally ill; therefore, I propose that the Security Council authorize a UN force to put tranquilizers in the air and water systems of the conflicting parties until peace is achieved."

No one knew what to say. Was he serious? The silence in the Security Council became unbearable. Finally the President of Katun said: "You know I am right and you know it will not happen. So I propose instead that a UN Peacekeeping Force be equipped with tranquilizer bullets, sticky foam, and other non-lethal weapons and be deployed in areas of conflict or potential conflict." The President pulled out a piece of paper and read: "This UN Force would:

- Enforce the UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defined the borders.
- Oversee the Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied by it since the 1967 war.
- Protect the Quartet's pollsters who are assessing Israeli and Palestinian views on the proposed borders to make sure that the agreements would survive regime changes within Israel and Palestine.
- Enforce the agreement on religious rights that guaranteed access to holy places in Jerusalem to all creeds."

The UN Security Council approved the recommendations. Within weeks of the arrival of the UN

Peacekeepers, SERESER's operations were expanded, all Arab states formally recognized Israel as an independent state, and the UN General Assembly welcomed Palestine as the newest UN member state. Hardliners on both sides of the secret talks in Switzerland insisted that some public process be created to "set the record straight," and through SERESER Archbishop Tutu was called in to help establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The commission, instead of the streets, became the focus of much of the heated debate. And like the water negotiations, the commission became a moderating influence to reduce the violence and to focus on issues of justice. "Town meetings" were held throughout the region to discuss the UN's role. The Israeli delegation in the hardliners' negotiations addressed the Israeli resistance to UN Peacekeepers by getting an agreement that UN forces would have a US commander.

Even before these political agreements were completed, the UN Special Coordinator's Office brought together the leaders of the Palestinian Elected Local Councils to design a comprehensive social and economic development process that included self-help participatory planning for local development in the Palestinian territories. People began to assume responsibility for developing their own communities, while seeking external technical and financial assistance.

UNSCO, in coordination with the Palestinian Authority and SERESER, helped bring in external assistance for this development process by calling representatives together from different international agencies (World Bank, IMF, EU, USAID, UNDP, and international NGOs) and the local coordinating committees representing the Ad-Hoc Liaison Committee, the Local Aid Coordination Committee, and several Palestinian NGOs. Business and religious leaders were also included. New Palestinian leaders who emerged from inter-religious dialogues and the water negotiations earned the respect of their Israeli counterparts, making cooperation possible.

Palestinian Elected Local Councils received training from *Shrouk* (the local participatory planning and development process in Egypt) on how to mobilize local groups of people, help them assess their resources, and plan their future. With UNSCO guidance, this self-help approach attracted resources and expertise. Some Palestinian youth from the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Canada returned to mobilize local Palestinian youth grassroots programs that were financed and launched by wealthy US and Arab millionaires who saw the benefits of bringing young people who had been fully exposed to democratic principles and the Information Age into direct contact with their Palestinian peers. The self-help participatory program ran in juxtaposition with tele-education to supplement each other, and the education Peace Corps and self-help volunteers worked together.

As the local participatory planning processes became more popular, their results became connected to development budget decisionmaking of the Palestinian Authority and SERESER. As Palestinian young people began to see results, their faith in their future increased; this in turn focused their energy on development of their communities. As a result, Islamic militia groups found fewer volunteers. Natural local leaders emerged throughout the process in each community. Those leaders fed the evolution of representative government based on liberal economic principles. Regular transactions between Palestinians and government officials made the government more accountable to its citizens and provided a trust-building mechanism that was critical to the evolution of democratic culture.

Probably the most difficult issue other than the return of refugees was jurisdiction of Jerusalem. Proposals to declare Jerusalem an international city, establish a UN Trusteeship, and even set up time-sharing arrangements were debated. Finally it became clear that Israel would agree to return to its 1967 borders, including those within Jerusalem, and the Palestinians would have to agree to give up the right to return to Israel except in special humanitarian situations. All refugees did have the right to return to the new nation of Palestine. All agreed that a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites had to guarantee free access to these areas that would recognize the religious rights of all creeds.

But it was not until a unique process created a time-sharing agreement that UN Peacekeepers could oversee the arrangement. A preliminary "calendar-location matrix" was proposed, which eventually identified all the possible "time slots" and holy sites. It included the times of day when the highest demand locations coincided with the highest demand times of year. Parties who wanted access to the various date/location combinations in the matrix were given the opportunity to rank their preferences from highest to lowest. Each party rank ordered all the cells in the matrix. Initially UNSCO and then SERESER (selected by agreement by all the parties) used the rankings to assign a party to each of the date-location slots. Statements by the respected leadership of the three religions supported the idea and accepted that only a lay administration of the matrix process could lead to an eventual agreement. There were conflicts, but SERESER used its judgment to complete the matrix. Some seemingly impossible impasses were solved by giving jurisdiction for alternating years. Others were resolved by the special lay committee for ongoing disputes. Once the master calendar-location matrix was filled in, it was made public for final commentary. With minor modifications, the final Jerusalem Matrix is still used today.

One factor that helped heal the region was the Arabic television series "Salaam-Shalom" about two girls—one Palestinian and one Israeli. They met in a peace camp and made a pact to counter the hatred in their communities. Although the Peace Child exchanges between Palestinians and Israelis included only a small number of teenagers, it did stimulate conversations on both sides that added to the belief that peace might be possible one day. The idea was approved by the hardliners' talks in Switzerland, which, it was rumored, even suggested several story ideas.

Each week the girls on the television show confronted seemingly impossible obstacles, and each week they overcame them with extraordinary compassion and intelligence. Television sets across the world showed how the girls used cell phones connected to the Internet to create mini swarms of sympathizers who ran to the area and overwhelmed an impasse. "Copycat" peace swarms began to appear in the real world. Young people armed with their "peace phones" started to call everyone in their areas to calm emotions at checkpoints and other areas of confrontation.

Almost immediately after the first few peace swarms, a Peace Phone Internet weblog and photo gallery was set up, opening a worldwide window on the process and creating a near-instantaneous "global fair witness" to the outcomes of each swarm. The "before" and "after" photos on the weblog, together with the weekly "Salaam-Shalom" television shows, added global pressure for more rational negotiations that finally drew the lines for peace.

Radio talk shows were alive with discussions about each TV program. The one most vigorously discussed had the girls creating a peace swarm to support Archbishop Tutu's suggestions on how

to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. As "Salaam-Shalom" was recognized as a successful television series, an adults' version followed that had politicians and other leaders challenged to solve more sophisticated problems of balancing peace and justice. Dismantling settlements in the West Bank nearly caused a civil war. The Wall took a longer time. Both transitions were helped by the active involvement of the media and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

With the evolution of democratic processes in the region and continued security guarantees from the United States, Israel surprised many in the Middle East when it ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a gesture of long-term good will and allowed IAEA inspectors to verify their dismantling of nuclear weapons. These actions led even the skeptics to nod their heads and say that this time maybe it really would be a lasting peace.

Scenario 2. The Open City

The white smoke signaled the election of a new pope. He assumed the office with humility and fervor. His priority, he announced, was facilitating peace around the world, particularly in the Middle East. He began his mission by addressing the Jerusalem question. Although his advisors cautioned "you can only blunt your authority—it's unsolvable," he maintained that God had given him this mission and as far as he and the church were concerned this took priority over politics. "The fact that it is a difficult mission," he said, "only raises the stakes of the test. Is it more difficult than the tests that God gave Jesus, Moses, or Abraham?" The cardinals were mute but whispered among themselves, "the church will be in chaos."

He personally called the leaders of the Jewish orthodox and reformed sects in Israel and their counterparts in the Muslim world, as well as Buddhist and Hindu leaders. (The non- involved religious leaders were invited to provide added credibility to the proceedings.) The new US president and EU leaders gave secret and subtle signals that they endorsed such a meeting. Deft use of the media—particularly live interviews on CNN and "60 Minutes"—made it hard for the religious leaders who were invited by the pope to refuse to meet and talk.

When the plans were made public, Muslim hardliners called this a "new Christian crusade." Jewish right-wingers were also not very interested in the views of the Catholic Church, recalling the expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem during the Crusades.

Yet the meeting plans continued and the religious leaders met on neutral ground, at an isolated ranch in New Zealand, and called their historic session Religious Leaders for Peace. That the Chief Rabbi of Israel and the Grand Mufti met in the same room was viewed as a worthy accomplishment and a milestone in its own right on the way to peace, since attending the meeting carried the very real risk of being ostracized by conservatives in their own camps.

At the first meeting, the initial coolness worsened a bit after each member justified his or her position as God-given. Then the pope said, "Yes. God has blessed each of you as you have said, and he has also given us brains with which to reason, and that is what I pray we can do. This

issue of Jerusalem pertains to religious law and custom; it should be above secular self-interests and politics and we can at least begin to discuss how to resolve it. It is too simple to say that Jerusalem can be a city-state like the Vatican; there are three religions involved here. We must ask God for guidance."

Perhaps the meeting went ahead because Jews, Palestinians, and Arabs were war-weary; perhaps the governments realized that the possibility of progress without some help from outside was not good; perhaps it was the general belief that the issue had progressed to the point of being "much too important to be left to governments"; perhaps the rise of interest in religion around the world caused people to be open to considering "a higher way."

The religious leaders began with points of agreement: free access to the holy sites should be guaranteed. How ludicrous it would be, they agreed, if one religion were to attempt to deny access to anyone of another religion who wanted to pay homage there. The plan must be beyond political, ideological, and economic interests. It grew from these seeds of agreement. Jerusalem should be an open city under no nation's sole jurisdiction, but under religious protection and authority. They recognized that the problem of Jerusalem does not affect just Israel or a future state of Palestine but is of global concern. Their proclamation recognized that Jews, Muslims, Christians, and other faiths have to work toward a sharing of God's gifts.

But the question before the group was how to proceed.

- One participant pointed out the UN had already laid the foundation. In late 2003, a UNESCO conference had noted that two of its resolutions had strong support from both Israeli and Palestinian representatives. The UNESCO participants "reiterated their support for the initiative taken by the director-general to prepare a comprehensive plan of action to safeguard the old city of Jerusalem (*al-quds*); and invite him to send as soon as possible, in cooperation with the concerned parties, a technical mission and to establish, within a year, a committee of experts 'entrusted with proposing, on an exclusively scientific and technical basis, guidelines for this plan of action.'"

- Several participants argued that each group—Christians, Jews, and Muslims—should have definitive borders in the "old city" based on their history and tradition.

- Other participants focused on governance issues: a subgroup suggested that the city have a constitution and a representative administration, involving the three religions but also including a UN representative with a double vote for five years or until normalization without the UN presence could be achieved.

- Another acrimonious issue: some of the delegates felt the Temple Mount should be an "open area" not belonging to any jurisdiction; others said that the open city idea would not work because of problems of security, customs control, and so on. They argued that the UN failed in 1947 to enforce its plan for internationalization of Jerusalem, and it was not plausible that such a plan would succeed today. It was an idea whose time came—and went.

- Finally, some people said they wanted no part of the UN at all but suggested another international organization be created for these purposes to establish clear goals with respect from all the actors and with plain authority to carry out the results of the negotiations and make them permanent.

When the debate seemed endless and agreement elusive as ever, the pope moved the group for prayer at the holy sites, at the Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, and at the graves of Palestinians, and asked that the religious leaders pray for forgiveness of violence, for wisdom, for the spark of leadership, and for the insight needed to form a plan. It was a poignant and catalytic moment. A plan was drafted and the leaders pledged to maintain contact and work under their God for peace.

The Religious Leaders for Peace report that emerged from the meeting was directed to the Secretary-General and asked that the UN General Assembly enact a resolution to declare Jerusalem an open city of a new design and that the governments of affected nations support the plan with required legislation. The UN's role would be codified by the UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Under this plan, Jerusalem's leader would be elected every six years by the General Assembly, with the rule that no sect would have control for more than one consecutive term. Terrorism in the area would be dealt with harshly.

Publication of the RLP conference recommendations evoked widespread public acclaim and a few pockets of dissent and grumbles of "sell-out" and worse, but it was clear that the weight of public sentiment had begun to build an unprecedented momentum for peace. Even the most extreme factions felt the ground shift under them; what God wanted was now redefined.

Religious leaders around the world discussed the potential consequences of RLP. Although they did not put it so directly, the mullahs, mashaikhs, and orthodox rabbis in the Middle East faced a central issue of preserving power and face.

For the mullahs, there were new arguments. Muslim believers had long said that all of Palestine was given by Allah to the Muslims. Yet a holy man said the Jews had a right to be in the Middle East as surely as we ourselves do. The holy Qur'an tells us of the Promised Land for Jews. It says that God had promised the Holy Land to Moses and his followers on their way out of Egypt (the Qur'an 5:20–21), so Muslims cannot casually dismiss the concept of the Promised Land. Muslims need to develop methods to attract Jews to come back in a way that is not threatening to Arabs and Muslims. Imagine if Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan could develop policies and provisions that say:

> *we would welcome any Jew who wants to come to this part of the world, being part of the promised land, to come and live, we'll give you citizenship; you want to buy a house, buy land—fine; you want to have your relatives come live or visit, fine; do your work, live with your community, build your synagogue, have your own laws to govern your family and community life. But do not threaten a national entity. And come to any part, come to Syria, come to Egypt, come to Iraq, and come to Jordan, whatever you believe the promised land to be.*

Such a solution would be based on a religious understanding of God's promises to Jews and Muslims alike. And he added, without intending to be cynical, we can expect in return from the Jews an equal admission of the right of our displaced people to return to their homes as well.

Turmoil. Chaos. Other Muslim clerics interpreted the holy word in their own ways but no matter what spin was put on the proposition, Qur'an 5:20–21 was clear enough and could not be rationalized away. Terrorism needed to be declared a religious crime. The threat of a fatwa for those who disagreed helped end the suicide bombings. Some extremists said that they would continue, that violence worked, that the holy Qur'an could be read and interpreted in different ways, but the die was cast and the momentum for peace built.

In Israel, orthodox rabbis who steered the far right were at a loss. By providing a religious basis for the Jews to exist in the area, the Muslims had, in a single stoke, eroded the political power of the Israeli far right. Check, maybe checkmate. The rabbis issued this statement:

> *Jews accept that the way to fulfill the promise of God does not include depriving others of their homes; and if Muslims and Arabs recognize the sincere attachment of Jews to the promised land and make serious efforts to accommodate that promise…we are in for a "deep peace," not a superficial one that has been broken, stepped upon, and tarnished, for 55 years. We vow to extend the Jewish idea of the sanctity of the home to others and will help bring about a future that makes homes—all homes—holy and safe.*

The idea that started in New Zealand among religious leaders took on political reality: the retaliatory bulldozing stopped. Religious leaders urged that seek-and-destroy missions be put on hold, and they were.

The fanatics did not yield immediately. From one side: "We will bomb until Israel topples." And from the other: "We will retaliate with all our strength—we were weak once and it cost 6 million lives." Yet slowly the power base of the extremists eroded as it became clear that support was disappearing, and they gradually became irrelevant. In Israel and the future state of Palestine, a movement toward secularism accelerated.

Against the background of improving conditions (removal of the Wall, a workable social net for Palestinians, ending of the killings), education of young Muslims changed. The schools that once taught hatred for the Jews moderated, turning to if not enthusiastic tolerance, then at least an acceptance of laissez faire—a reasonable first step for moderates on both sides. The schoolbook texts damning Israel were withdrawn; in their place were books teaching tolerance and the positive elements of each religion's work in the region. This so-called Cordova program was launched by three Arab countries (including Syria and Egypt) and was based on the successful collaboration of all three religions under Spain's Moorish golden age in the tenth century to teach tolerance, cooperation, and the values of a "win-win" peaceful world. Exchange programs were extended to provide education for teachers in other settings—Israelis in Arab universities, Arabs in Israel. Schools in the region were created to teach both Arab and Israeli children. To change from hate to tolerance could not be instantaneous, but it began with the hope that the new generation would do better than the old and would carry visions of peace into adulthood.

With RLP, the UN mission, the diminished teaching of intolerance, the acceptance by many Muslims of the idea of a Jewish presence in the Middle East, the end of suicide bombings and the retaliation they evoked, and the softening of the teachings that had inflamed rather than calmed, all that remained was to cement the nervous peace that existed.

With violence from both sides almost at an end, a tenuous ad hoc confidence was built from the bottom up through hundreds of thousands of projects and business ventures that involved both Muslims and Israelis. The projects were large and small (from agricultural cooperatives to jointly owned shops), local and national (from new schools open to all students to lower import and export restrictions between Israel and Arab countries). And with this improved spirit of confidence, the ventures grew in number and significance, economic development grew, jobs became plentiful, unemployment dropped, and in a marvelous demonstration of social feedback, nascent prosperity bred more confidence and cooperation. Travel into and out of Israel was normalized, controlled only by passports and visas. A NAFTA-like free trade zone was established (covering Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan) to improve the competitiveness of the region in the global economy, to decrease dependence on outside big powers, and to help transform domestic economies. In addition, expatriate communities of Jews and Arabs established functional ties aimed at making this new pan-Middle East a reality. Through investment, leadership, and pressure, expatriates became a powerful force that moved the process forward—to the benefit of their nations and of their nations' businesses, economies, and people.

Outside observers marveled at how the need for employees eradicated the prior need for travel restrictions. It was only possible, they said, when the end to suicide bombings and retaliation was a credible fact. Some years ago, someone had said, "End the suicide bombings and the response to them and everything is possible." He was right.

A joint project sponsored by international Christian aid agencies, Arab oil sheiks, and Jews around the world contributed not only to the elimination of poverty in the region but also to growing religious and cultural understanding. A special Israeli-Palestinian fund was also established for reconciliation; thanks to this fund, victims of torture and arrests and the families of people killed by army and terrorists of both parties obtained compensation.

It would have been too much to hope that all violence ceased as if a switch were thrown to move from darkness to light; even in the most peaceful setting there are violent people. And so it was in the Middle East. But now nations and their people disavowed isolated acts and labeled them inhumane and counter-religious.

In a year of growing economic cooperation, an Israeli-Palestinian commission was appointed to review the status of refugees. They negotiated an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and of Israelis who could remain in the Palestinian areas. Israel argued that this limitation in the number of migrants was in fact no different from any country setting immigration limits. Palestinians responded by saying that Israeli limits would keep people from the locations of their birth and their families. The Israelis were clearly concerned about being outvoted by the immigrants (Palestinians called them "repatriates") in their democratic society. The issue promised to be inimical to the process, but

compromise was finally reached by accepting a limit based on census data that recorded ethnicity and by restricting the vote to people who had lived in the country for more than seven years. In addition, should a Palestinian state be established, Israeli settlers in Palestinian areas and Palestinians living in Israel would be given the opportunity for dual citizenship.

Post-Arafat, post-Sharon politicians followed their vocal populations. A historic proposal came to the UN from Israel, based on discussions and contributions of Israeli and Palestinian constituents. There was skepticism about requesting a role for the UN, but in fact there was nowhere else that this proposal could be made. It rested on the tradeoff between the need for Israeli security and the need for a permanent Palestinian state. Israel agreed to withdraw from all areas it had occupied since the 1967 war, to close appropriate settlements, and to cede these areas to the new state of Palestine. Israeli settlers in the areas would be given dual citizenship. It called for the free and open recognition of an independent Israel by all Arab states, with a sovereign right to exist in perpetuity. From the Palestinian point of view, the recommendation clearly defined the borders of the newly proposed state (roughly as in the Geneva accords). Since the Palestinians had participated in the definition of the resolution, it was clear that the recommended borders would be acceptable. The resolution also called for enforcement by the UN (a much debated point) and defined sanctions and penalties for violation of the provisions of the resolution. In a move never seen before but perhaps reflecting a pattern for the future, the resolution was ratified by a plebiscite, helping to ensure that when the agreement was accepted by the UN it would be supported by people in these countries.

Extremists on both sides attempted to derail the plebiscite and the agreement and to intimidate people through various atrocities. But these just caused the public to revile extremism even more, and the vote approved the resolution overwhelmingly.

Thanks to the economic boom, the successful peace process, and the growing political culture, both Palestine and Israel became islands of democracy and prosperity. The beneficial influences flowing from them contributed to profound political changes in the Middle East. The situation in Lebanon became much more stable thanks to the return of Palestinian refugees to Palestine and Israel and to the dismantling of militia such as Hezbollah. Muslims and Christians in Lebanon followed the good example of Palestine and confirmed the peace treaty; Lebanon became the prosperous country it used to be.

And the mullahs, mashaikhs, and rabbis, reflecting on the events since the RLP conference, said it was God’s destiny. The rest was details. Inshallah.

Scenario 3. Dove

In Israel, it started with a simple idea: end the retaliatory violence. The plan was code-named Dove. Israeli leaders debated the possibility in secret; the debate occasionally became public for a short while in the Knesset, but by and large it was secret. The idea of Dove was to turn world opinion, possibly even the preponderance of Palestinian and Arab opinion, against the idea of suicide bombings. The hawks of the argument said, “There are only two responses to the

violence of bombings: ‘Turn the other cheek until they tire of killing us,’ or ‘An eye for an eye.’ The Talmud teaches the ‘eye for an eye’ approach; our public and the world will think us weak if we abandon it; the enemy will see our turning the other cheek as a sign of capitulation. We must continue to respond even though it is a dark tunnel we go down.” Their opponents said, “But in history, ‘an eye for an eye’ was meant to limit retaliation, not escalate it: so that a small injury only evoked a small response. We have tried the club and as you say it has only led us down the dark tunnel where our only alternative is stronger force. We drive them into a corner with our escalating retaliation. If we were to just stop—unilaterally announce it—the world would see the Palestinians in a new light. Now they are seen by many people as freedom fighters simply because we respond. If we stopped they would soon be seen for the terrorists they are. And perhaps if we stopped, moderate Muslims would rally and take the initiative to press for peace on their side.”

While that secret Israeli debate was going on, Islamist extremists had their own secret debate. The coincidence in timing was extraordinary—perhaps it was simultaneous exhaustion on both sides that led to these secret internal discussions. The Islamist hawks argued for increasing the scale of their activities, moving from high-explosive missions to other lethal forms that would involve more people and thus become even more visible, frightening, and persuasive to the Israelis. The forms that might be used were obvious enough and easily available: from chemical and radioactive toxins to small nuclear weapons. They said: “Don’t the Israelis know that suicide bombing is our only effective weapon? They must realize that scale is important to our cause. Just consider how effective the operation in New York was in disrupting the West and changing the nature of the conflict. We brought it home to them. Our cause is now on the minds of all people around the world. It unleashed immense forces that can only lead to our victory. Measure our success by the West’s frustration in Afghanistan and Iraq, by the spread of global terrorism, by the impotence of the UN. We must keep faith in our ultimate victory.”

Their opponents in this argument were radical in the opposite sense. They said: “Consider what you have said. Our actions have wakened the sleeping giant. Libya has capitulated. UN inspections are starting in Iran. We are hiding in Afghanistan and Iraq. Does this lead to our goal? Does this help us to establish our own safe homeland and the condemnation of Israel for its misdeeds?” The response: “How you have changed, brother. We used to say it was our mission to eliminate Israel and take back our homeland, now you’re willing to settle for condemnation.”

“Yes, perhaps this argument is a bit different from before, but it recognizes a reality—Israel will not be eradicated. The West will not permit it. Do you not see how our present course works to the disadvantage of establishing our own homeland? It is costing us the best and brightest young people who could be the leaders of that country. If we desist, if we change tactics, then who will be seen as the aggressors? Who will fare better in any negotiations? What excuse will their Prime Minister then have for breaking our homes and killing our people?” The response: “But can we stop the suicide bombing even if we wished? Would we have to gun down our own people?” The question hung in the air.

So each side had its reasons for wanting to stop and turn to a new path but, like the sorcerer’s apprentice, the momentum carried the bombings and escalating retaliations on and on.

Then an unexpected event changed the tide. The headline read:

> ***Israeli Refuseniks Say They Will Not Participate in Bombing Attacks***
> *Israeli press, public, and politicians condemn 27 pilots as unfit to serve*
>
> *JERUSALEM - Twenty-seven Israeli reservist pilots last week joined the "Refusenik" movement, saying they would not participate in bombing attacks in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which often injure civilians. "We refuse to participate in Air Force attacks on civilian populations," the pilots said in a petition delivered to the head of the air force, Maj-Gen Dan Halutz. "We refuse to continue harming innocent civilians."*
>
> *Last week's Refuseniks are part of a small but vocal movement opposing Israel's policy of "targeted killings," in which helicopters and planes drop bombs or fire missiles to kill terrorists hiding in civilian areas.*

This was part of a peace movement—"small but vocal," Reuters said—not generally known outside of Israel. In fact, moderates in both the Palestinian and Israeli camps had been in contact for some time. They talked on an Internet peace site, usually using pseudonyms; they said peace was achievable, a remarkable statement to be made when killing and retribution were all around them. History, they said, will condemn us for not taking a position and acting on our moral convictions. Life as it is today is unacceptable.

The movement was visible outside of the region. The idea that moderates might gain power and that this new force might help bring peace was enticing. The unspoken question at the UN, in Washington, in London, and everywhere people of good will searched for peace was, "What can be done to encourage this movement?" Within Israel, within the ranks of the Palestinians, there was opposition, of course. Peace movements such as Mothers for Peace in Israel had come and gone—were times different now, would one killing, one murderous bomb, one ill-conceived assassination tip the scale? Some hoped it would; some feared it would. At the UN, the newly established Gandhi award recognized the moral courage required to call for moderation. Because it could make the recipients targets, it was given anonymously, with the announcement delayed until peace was achieved. The United Nations established an Academy of Non-violence as a permanent institution. The Refuseniks, who were arrested for resistance against military authority, were adopted as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International. A wide-scale movement for their liberation was initiated, and finally they were released from military prisons. Their leader was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, but the principal reason for progress was that each side could say: "See, there is a partner on the other side."

The refusal movement came at the same time the politicians were searching for a way to change course. These forces came together and steps, at first tenuous, moved the violence toward peace. Following the practices of Gandhi and King, the movement grew and, in echoes of the Vietnam era, when dissent grew in the United States and politics followed, dissent in Israel and among Palestinians became mainstream.

Here's what happened next. It was like a chess game. Leadership on both Israeli and Palestinian sides changed as a result of many factors: increasing external political pressure, new elections,

aging of the principals, and political infighting all played a role. Popular support grew on both sides, spreading from the vocal Refuseniks to the broader population. With the new leadership in place and the movement toward peace swirling around them, the game moved forward. The Israelis got a guarantee that the bombing would stop and the instigators would be arrested and punished. The Palestinians got an ironclad agreement that the Israelis would withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, end building new settlements (existing settlements could remain, with dual citizenship for their populations), and stop the retaliatory raids. The Palestinians called it an end to occupation. The Israelis called it a victory for peace.

Within months, the Israelis negotiated a series of treaties and agreements not only with the Palestinian Authority but with essentially all Arab states, stating that Israel had a right to exist and that there would henceforth be a state of non-aggression in the area. Palestinians and neighboring states welcomed Israel's agreement to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in return for their own promise to remain non-nuclear and allow international inspections under the UN.

Other problems still had to be resolved in this game of give and take. First was jurisdiction over Jerusalem (eventually it became on open city, with its own democratic government, open to all religions, with responsibility to guard and protect all holy sites). Second was the problem of Palestinians who wanted to return to Israel. Israel perceived that an avalanche of migrants would upset the political structure; as a result, immigration quotas were established. Lebanon, Jordan, and, to an extent, Egypt and Syria, helped by absorbing some of the migrants. Cynics searched for hidden agendas but peace was in the air. The extreme Muslim minority became invisible and this was a matter of concern, but conspiracy theorists aside, the silence was welcome.

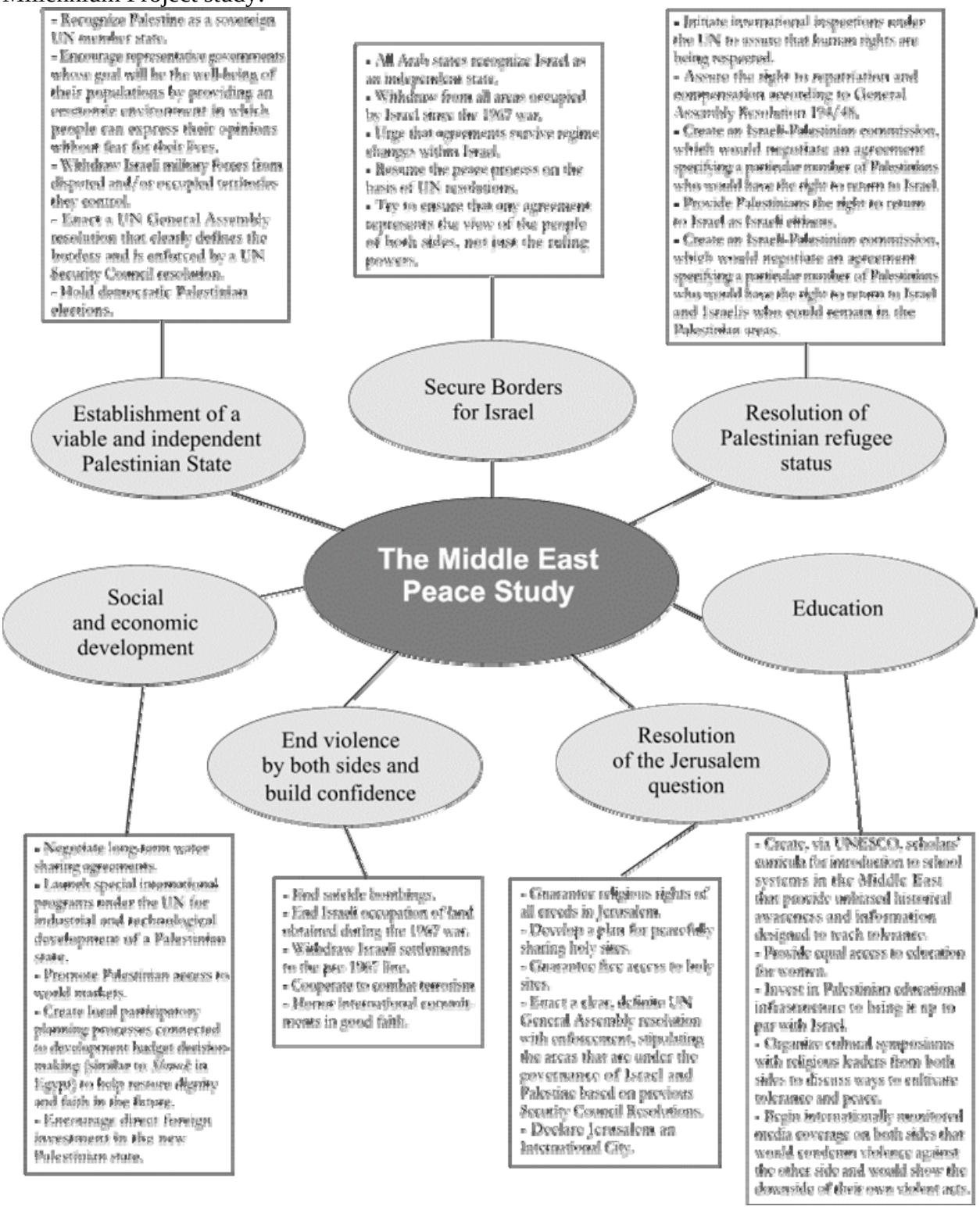
As this give and take progressed, both the United States and the EU stayed back from direct participation but helped in other ways. Foreign capital flows into the region were encouraged through trade and capital incentives. The United States mounted a diplomatic campaign to defuse Arab financial support of the militants and it slanted its support for Israel away from arms. The rationale for these policy shifts was simple: for a constructive Israeli-Palestinian process to unfold, outsiders needed to stop feeding the fire. Some politicians wanted to "help" the process along in other ways (and reap some political benefit), but wiser heads prevailed and the two parties were largely left to work out the agreements themselves.

When it was clear that the chess game was evolving, foreign capital did flow into the area, as had been hoped. New businesses were established, and unemployment among Palestinians dropped sharply. It was a self-fulfilling cycle: the move toward peace sparked the environment for peace. With new large-scale water projects, large portions of the Negev Desert were made fertile and habitable.

And the crown jewel: both parties presented a formal joint statement to the UN Security Council, declaring that they considered resolutions 194, 242, and 338 fully realized and asked that the UN monitor for a time the progress and adherence to the agreements. When the UN agreed bells of peace that seemed so tentative at first sounded long and deeply.

8. Middle East Peace Process Diagram

Futures wheel-type representation of the Middle East peace process based on the findings of the Millennium Project study:



3.7.2 The Middle East Peace Study

—study conducted in 2002–03

Executive Summary

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict may be the hottest issue for debate, studies, and suggestions for peace in the world today. Surprisingly, there are no well-researched, objective, plausible peace scenarios—not frameworks, objectives, analysis, proposals, accords, treaties, or road maps, but scenarios—stories with causal links connecting the future and present for the Middle East. Why should people cooperate if no plausible peace scenario could be imagined? The Cairo Node of the Millennium Project at Cairo University in Egypt suggested this void had to be filled by taking a futurist "backcasting" approach to the problem: imagine peace is achieved, how did we get there?

The study is now half completed. Thus far more than 180 futurists, social scientists, representatives of involved institutions, and decisionmakers in the Middle East and elsewhere have participated. This chapter reports on progress to date. More complete details on both the results and methods are in the attached CD. The full scenarios are expected to be completed next year.

The study began by identifying seven preconditions to achieving peace in the Middle East. They are:

- secure borders for Israel
- establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state
- resolution of the Jerusalem question
- end violence by both sides and build confidence
- social and economic development
- education
- resolution of Palestinian refugee status

An initial list of actions that might help achieve each of the seven preconditions was developed. Experts were invited to rate the actions as to importance, likelihood, and ability to backfire (to make the situation worse) through a questionnaire. They were also invited to suggest additional actions. A second questionnaire shared the ratings of the given actions and invited the experts to rate the additional suggestions giving in the first questionnaire. They were also asked to suggest strategies to carry out the key actions and the impact of the war in Iraq on the situation. This chapter is the executive summary of the results of these two rounds, while the full details are in the attached CD. The ratings of importance, likelihood, and backfire potential will be used to weave together the actions into draft peace scenarios.

The draft scenarios will be the basis for interviews with relevant decisionmakers, policy advisors, and opinion leaders to improve the plausibility of the draft scenarios. Re-writing based on these interviews is expected to produce peace scenarios with the ability to show how peace is possible, recognizing the evolving needs and positions of parties to the issue. These revised

scenarios would then be sent for final critical review to the participants prior to publication in the *2004 State of the Future* and possibly used as the basis for discussions in various settings.

Through this scenario study process, previous peace plans were reviewed, literature and the Internet were searched, input from the Cairo Node's advisor team and individual advisors in Israel was received, discussions via the Millennium Project listserves were held, and the Millennium Project Planning Committee and interested outside experts provided feedback. In addition to participants selected through these processes, Millennium Project Nodes also invited experts from their regions to participate in the two-round questionnaire. No attributions are made, but participant demographics and details are available in the following sections of this chapter.

A total of 108 actions were rated by the international panel. The complete results are in the following sections. The top five actions rated the most important for each of the seven preconditions for peace were:

SECURE BORDERS FOR ISRAEL

- Recognize Israel as an independent state by all Arab states
- Withdraw from all areas occupied by Israel since the 1967 war
- Urge that agreements survive regime changes within Israel
- Resume the peace process on the basis of UN resolutions
- Try to ensure that any agreement represents the view of the people of both sides, not just the ruling powers

ESTABLISHMENT OF A VIABLE AND INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE

- Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state
- Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well-being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which people can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives
- Withdraw Israeli military forces from disputed and/or occupied territories they control
- Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution
- Hold democratic Palestinian elections

RESOLUTION OF THE JERUSALEM QUESTION

- Guarantee religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem
- Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites

- Guarantee free access to holy sites
- Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions
- Declare Jerusalem an International City

END VIOLENCE BY BOTH SIDES AND BUILD CONFIDENCE

- End suicide bombings
- End Israeli occupation of land obtained during 1967 war [although previously rated, rate it here for its effect on condition 4]
- Withdraw Israeli settlements to the pre-1967 line
- Cooperate to combat terrorism
- Honor international commitments in good faith

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- Negotiate long-term water sharing agreements
- Launch special international programs under the UN for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state
- Promote Palestinian access to world markets
- Create local participatory planning processes connected to development budget decisionmaking (similar to Shrouk in Egypt) to help restore dignity and faith in the future
- Encourage direct foreign investment in the new Palestinian state

EDUCATION

- Create, via UNESCO, scholars' curricula for introduction to school systems in the Middle East that provide unbiased historical awareness and information designed to teach tolerance
- Provide equal access to education for women
- Invest in Palestinian educational infrastructure to bring it up to par with Israel
- Organize cultural symposiums with religious leaders from both sides to discuss ways to cultivate tolerance and peace
- Begin internationally monitored media coverage on both sides that would condemn violence against the other side and would show the downside of their own violent acts

RESOLUTION OF PALESTINIAN REFUGEE STATUS

- Initiate international inspections under the UN to assure that human rights are being respected
- Assure the right to repatriation and com-pensation according to General Assembly Resolution 194/48
- Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel
- Provide Palestinians the right to return to Israel as Israeli citizens
- Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and Israelis who could remain in the Palestinian areas

The top *10 most important actions*, regardless of which precognition was addressed, were:

- Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state
- Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well-being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which people can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives
- Recognize Israel as an independent state by all Arab states
- Withdraw Israeli military forces from disputed and/or occupied territories they control
- Negotiate long-term water sharing agreements
- Guarantee religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem
- End suicide bombings
- Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution
- Withdraw from all areas occupied by Israel since the 1967 war
- Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites

Agreement among the respondents was extraordinarily high among the important actions, although the sample was too small to draw definitive comparisons. Naturally there were some different emphases between Israeli and Arab responses; however, the differences were not as high as people might think. For example, in order to provide secure borders for Israel, the Israeli group saw recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states as most important, and the Arab group saw this as most likely, and yet, having a high backfire potential. The Arab group saw Israeli withdrawal from areas occupied since the 1967 war as most important in accomplishing secure borders for Israel.

To establish a viable and independent Palestinian state, both the Israeli and Arab groups saw recognizing Palestine as a sovereign UN member state as most important and most likely. The Arab group considered this to be of highest backfire potential. The Israeli group added as

important "enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a Security Council resolution."

One important observation was the suggestion to "negotiate long-term water sharing agreements." This had the highest combination rating of importance, likelihood, and low backfire potential. Hence, efforts to create regional water long-term agreements could provide the basis to build confidence in other areas. Significant investment of time, talent, and resources on this action should bear more fruit than any other single activity on the list. Hence, it should be a core activity in a Middle East Peace Scenario.

Many of the most important actions involved the UN.

In general, the politics of the respondents could not be determined from their answers to a questionnaire, since differences in opinion about what is important were small. On average, most actions that we asked about were seen to be important and about as likely as not. The backfire potential was, on average, lower than 50/50. It is interesting and hopeful that the actions judged to be more important were also seen as most likely and that the more important actions also had the least backfire potential.

Normative scenarios have been used before occasionally in conflict resolution, most notably in the "Mont Fleur scenarios" used in South Africa to help smooth political differences at the time of transition from the apartheid government. Normative scenarios have been used in conflict resolution in only several other applications. So the present study represents a relatively rare application of normative scenarios in the conflict resolution process.

The action rated to have the greatest potential to make matters worse is what appears to be happening today: "build a new geopolitical order in the Middle East—that is, temporary western dominance aimed at a prolonged process of democracy-building (more possible after the war in Iraq)."

Respondents provided many valuable and detailed comments and suggestions—about 100 pages worth—about the preconditions, actions, strategies, and even strategies for forming strategies. These were reviewed, grouped, and edited. Comments that were essentially duplicates were consolidated. The comments will be invaluable in constructing normative scenarios in the next phase of this work. A few of these comments are presented here:

There will be no peace until both nations are internationally recognized.

In order to improve the chances of success, the regular evaluations (of the peace process) should be made public, a summary of the evaluation published in newspapers would attest the efficiency of the action. There ought to be a public "box score" that makes commitments widely known and keeps the world up to date on the plan vs. the accomplishments.

Once the Israelis have the will to make peace, then no problem would be insurmountable.

If the Arabs stop violence, there is peace in no time. The Arab violence started in 1948 (not

1967) and has continued since then. It is time for the Arabs to start thinking of a nonviolent option.

Both sides have come to view violence as their primary modality… An imbalance in coercive capabilities and international recognition allows the state of Israel to use force with a sense of entitlement and increases the desperation of Palestinians. Increased restraint on the part of the Israeli government can help to decrease this desperation and give Palestinian reform/ reconstruction efforts a chance. This will have to start with tough-minded reappraisals of the effectiveness of targeted killings and collective punishments, which cannot be empirically demonstrated to increase Israeli security.

Independent peace-making groups consisting of a few experts…might (enhance the) peace-making process much more than all governments taken together. It can be done now by involving explanatory and organizational work in the United Nations and in the Middle East among the governments and among ordinary people.

Plans for peacefully sharing holy sites have been developed before, e.g. by the Jerusalem Institute for the Study of Israel, but the catch is that they all assume peace and trust, which is exactly what is missing.

Jerusalem should be declared an international city by the UN and placed under its trusteeship to form a government, and enforce UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

Treat Jerusalem as a separate independent holy city just like Vatican, ruled by a religious head.

The control of the holy sites should not be exercised by the political authorities. Instead, it should be exercised by religious authorities—as is the case today regarding the Haram ash Sharif.

Pick a common need and a commodity that would give both sides exports or at least minimize imports. Advanced water purification or electrical energy production come to mind. Provide development aid to establish jointly managed and owned large-scale projects in these areas. This gives tech transfer to Palestinians, useful products in the interest of both sides. If possible, this might be a private enterprise.

Establishing a "Marshall Plan" under international control for impoverished Palestinian areas is a wonderful idea. It would help to focus international attention on the…situation of the Palestinians, creating hope among Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims that the Palestinian people have a future. Active international involvement in promoting Palestinian well-being would restore hope where there is despair, address crucial unmet needs, improve Palestinian civil life, and decrease reliance on Hamas and other organizations for economic support and social services. It could start with a UN resolution or an international conference. There could be a special fund dedicated specifically for the purpose of helping restore dignity and (in the long term) self-reliance to the Palestinians.

If we want the peace agreement to be sustainable and last for decades, it needs to be 1) drafted by people who work rationally and are not motivated mainly or solely by political reasons, and 2) make the agreement the product of shared effort, e.g. include women in the decisionmaking. On the Israeli side there are women in the parliament (though not enough) but the military approach of the whole society makes it all the more important to ensure that the agreement is not made only by politicians who are former army career men.

One of the key problems is that there is now a generation who have been brought under Israeli occupation/oppression and whose hatred of Israel is core to their identity and sense of who they are.

Many Arab states believe that until there is a positive move toward resolution of the Palestinian need for a homeland, they cannot deal politically or economically with the refugee ghettoes, once established as temporary havens and for (failed) political pressure. These communities have become eyesores of squalor and poverty and have led to disrespect for and a shaming of the refugees among the host societies. Since the host states cannot afford the necessary rebuilding or resettlement, the international community should shoulder the economic burden of rebuilding the settlements into permanent communities, and/or in relocating refugees to a new homeland. I suggest that in Syria, for example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs be approached with a plan for "normalization" of community and legal status, underwritten by the international community. As is it an issue of concern for the host countries, this must be done in the early stages to gain their support of any peace plan, and not left to an afterthought.

Mutual respect must be the goal. There are already several large and established organizations that attempt dialogue and bridge building between young people of both sides, but they are limited by their inability to continue and follow up their original programs and the pressures to show…results. I suggest that funds be channeled into practical projects in which young people participate and that will benefit communities, along the lines of Habitat for Humanity or Job Corps. If children of both sides are shown how to work alongside each other to correct the damage of past generations, their own self-respect may return at the same time their respect for others grows.

There is a need for a profound conceptual and practical shift on both sides toward a "human security" paradigm. The traditional, "national security" framework that has dominated the conflict is rooted in concepts of competitive/power politics. Security is understood to be a scarce commodity secured through military dominance or deterrence, which leads to a zero-sum attitude. A human security approach, in contrast, places the emphasis on human well-being—safety from threats to life or livelihood, protection from major disruptions, etc. A human security approach recognizes that neither Israelis nor Palestinians can become secure through reliance on strategies that threaten the other. Security must be built from the bottom up, through attentiveness to the ways that policies affect people in their everyday lives. Closures, intimidation and checkpoints, and "targeted killings" by Israelis undermine human security among Palestinians, and thereby feed the conflict. Likewise, Palestinian reliance on terrorist and guerrilla tactics is also escalatory.

If we take a look at the Holy Quran regarding the concept of the Promised Land for Jews, we find that the Holy Quran actually acknowledges that God had promised the holy land to Moses and his followers on their way out of Egypt (The Holy Quran 5:20-21).…So Muslims cannot casually dismiss the concept of the Promised Land. Muslims need to…develop methods to attract (Jews) to come back in a way that is not threatening to Arabs and Muslims. Imagine if Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan can develop policies and provisions that say "we would welcome any Jew who wants to come to this part of the world, being part of the promised land, to come and live, we'll give you citizenship; you want to buy a house, buy land—fine; you want to have your relatives come live or visit, fine; do your work, live with your community, build your synagogue, have your own laws to govern your family and community life. But do not threaten a national entity. And come to any part, come to Syria, come to Egypt, come to Iraq, and come to Jordan, whatever you believe the Promised Land to be."...Such a solution would be based on a religious understanding of God's promises to Jews and Muslims alike.

If Jews too can accept that the way to fulfilling the Promise of God does not include depriving others of their homes; and if Muslims and Arabs recognize the sincere attachment of Jews to the Promised Land and make serious efforts to accommodate that Promise…we are in for a "deep peace," not a superficial one that has been broken, stepped upon, and tarnished, for 55 years.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STRATEGIES

Several years ago, all of the actions and policies suggested by the Millennium Project's Global Lookout Panels were reviewed in an attempt to group them into categories of action and to see if meta-strategies would emerge. Twelve categories were found. These meta-strategies seemed to cover proposed actions for almost all of the issues under study by the Millennium Project and therefore were proposed as a checklist to help develop a more complete list of strategies for use in other situations.

The checklist was applied to the more highly rated actions from the Middle East study. Two or more actions could be placed under 11 of the 12 meta-strategy headings (see pages 86–87). The exception was "Creating Standards and Permits." Of course there is no rule that requires that all meta-strategies be used, but this does raise the question of whether there are approaches involving standards or permits that could be helpful—such as the possibility of harmonizing laws between Israel and a new Palestinian state so that penalties for various crimes would be similar, or establishing some standards that would facilitate the import and export of electronic or mechanical components between the countries. In any case, the following analysis can be extended by using the full list from the following sections of this chapter.

Establishing New Alliances, Agreements, and Treaties

- Water sharing agreements
- Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states
- Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state
- Resume the peace process on the bases of UN resolutions
- Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestinian areas

Engaging in Social Marketing

- Urge that agreements survive regime changes within Israel
- Urge that agreements survive regime changes within a new Palestinian state
- Begin internationally monitored media coverage on both sides that would condemn violence against the other side and would show the downside of their own violent acts

Enforcing or Modifying Laws and Regulations

- Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions
- End suicide bombings
- Withdraw from all areas occupied by Israel since the 1967 war
- Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to General Assembly Resolution 194/48
- Initiate international inspections under the UN to assure that human rights are being respected

Performing Scientific Research and Development

- Create via UNESCO scholars curricula for introduction to school systems in the Middle East that provide unbiased historical awareness and information designed to teach tolerance
- Create a fund for joint projects in cooperative research
- Launch special international programs under the UN for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state

ENGAGING IN MEETINGS, DIALOGUES, OR WORKSHOPS

- Create additional venues where moderates of both sides can talk to each other
- Establish many UN-funded citizens conflict resolution/dialogue groups to learn and practice peace-building skills
- Organize cultural symposiums with religious leaders from both sides to discuss ways to cultivate tolerance and peace

CREATING AND AMENDING ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, SANCTIONS, AND INCENTIVES

- Negotiate long-term water sharing agreements
- Launch common infrastructure projects based on social, economic needs and existing inequalities
- Launch special international programs under the UN for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state
- Promote Palestinian access to world markets
- Encourage direct foreign investment in the new Palestinian state

IMPROVING PLANNING, ACCOUNTING, AND FORECASTING

- As anticipated in the Quartet (EU, Russia, UN, US) roadmap, pursue any peace plan in well-defined phases, testing the results of one before proceeding to the next
- Create local participatory planning processes connected to development budget decisionmaking (similar to Shrouk in Egypt) to help restore dignity and faith in the future

CREATING AND IMPROVING NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

- Foster development of a specific set of "next generation" leaders from both sides who can look at the problem in a new way
- Promote cultural and artistic activities so one side can know the culture of the other

DEVELOPING AND SHARING INFORMATION

- Inculcate a mindset of co-existing in spite of differences by educating the younger generation on the need for tolerance and unconditional love
- Provide equal access to education for women

MODIFYING INSTITUTIONS, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND PRIORITIES

- Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well-being of their

populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives

- Re-establish a Palestinian national culture and identity that is not based on their post-Israel experience so that there is a sense of Palestinian pride
- Guarantee religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem

INITIATING NEW INSTITUTIONS, PROJECTS, AND PROGRAMS

- Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel
- Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites
- Declare Jerusalem an International City

1. Introduction

At its 2001 and 2002 meetings of its Planning Committee, the possibility of a study of routes to Middle East peace was suggested as study topic worthy of a global effort. Dr. Kamal Zaki Mamoud, Chairman of the Project's Cairo node emphasized the need for this work. As the design evolved, the central purpose became to create a series of normative scenarios based on judgments of the Project's global panel and interviews with key decision makers involved or influential in addressing the issue. It was hoped that the normative scenarios would illustrate some plausible paths to long-term peace that were either novel or had been dismissed as impractical previously.

Two rounds of questionnaires have been constructed, translated into Spanish and Arabic, and administered to futurists, academics and political figures around the world. As the work evolved, the Cairo node felt that the questionnaires no longer sufficiently reflected their views and although they continued to support the project by providing their judgments and comments in response to the questionnaires, the work was managed by the Millennium Project's staff.

At this point, the results of the two questionnaires are available; in the next phase, the scenarios themselves will be constructed.

The Project was under no illusion that the work would be easy or would avoid controversy; we felt it likely that no matter how deep the research, the work would be considered naive, and accused by one side or both as being biased toward their opposition. Although only beginning the work has been controversial, called naïve, and seen as biased by both parties. Obviously, feelings are deeply rooted and no study such as this will lift the veil of conflict. But it is hoped that some new insights will be produced, some questions and possibilities will be raised, and dialog about this most complex issue will be improved by this work.

Our conclusions are summarized as follows:

Substantively, we have come to believe:

> The issues are deeply rooted, tied to individual, religious, and national identity and peace will be costly to those who have hardened attitudes, believe that God is on their side only and have invested their lifetimes in hate.
>
> Peace will come eventually.
>
> The steps in any approach to peace should be sequential (as in the Roadmap)
>
> Success of any peace plan depends on the details of the plan
>
> Any step of a peace plan need not be "all or nothing." Establishing partial goals could be helpful.

Economic measures such as joint water purification or other infrastructure projects, promotion of trade, technology transfer, loans for development under favorable terms seem likely to be productive and relatively free of the potential for dispute.

As one respondent put it: human rights may need to be redefined in an age when fewer and fewer people can kill more and more.

Monitoring progress and public visibility of progress toward the goal of peace will be stabilizing.

The UN needs to participate strongly; nations which offer help, particularly the US must stay the course.

Methodologically, we find:

Systematic study of routes to peace seems possible (in doubt at the start)

In general, the politics of the respondents cannot be determined from the answers to a questionnaire.

Differences in opinions about what is important are small

On average, most actions are important, and about as likely as not.

The backfire potential is, on average, lower than 50/50.

The more important actions are also seen as most likely

The more important actions also have the least backfire potential.

The consequences and cross impacts of any action are complex and must be carefully thought through in any scenario and planned action.

2. Study Design

Despite the complexity of the issues involved, the design of the study was straightforward. A two round questionnaire presented to participants a number of "prerequisites to peace" which are listed below:

1. Provide Secure borders for Israel
2. Establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state
3. Resolution of the Jerusalem question
4. End violence by both sides and build confidence
5. Social and Economic Development
6. Education
7. Resolution of Palestinian refugee status

For each, a number of actions derived from the study of previous peace plans, literature search and discussions with colleagues, were listed and in the questionnaire the respondents were asked to provide suggestions about other actions and to add to the list. Both the list of prerequisites and actions were reviewed by the Planning Committee and interested outside contributors. The first round questionnaire went through 13 drafts, and the second, three.

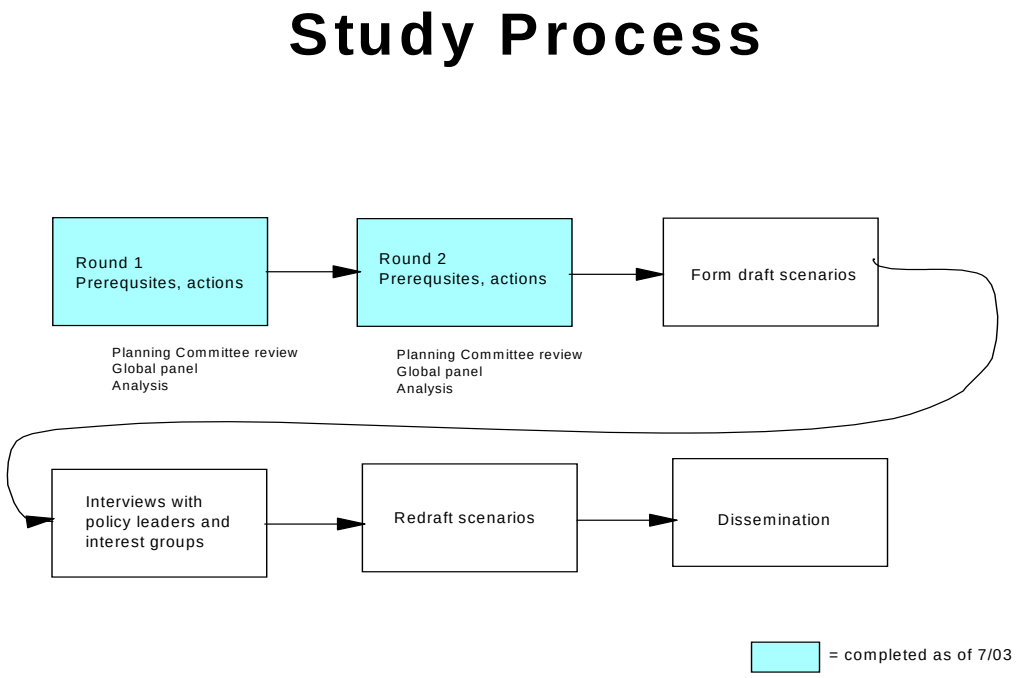
The study is not yet complete, and normative scenarios remain to be written. Two questionnaire rounds have been completed and results are reported here. The next step is to form normative scenarios on the basis of the questionnaire results. The intent is to draft an initial version of normative scenarios that illustrates paths to peace, use these draft scenarios as a basis for interviews with involved political leaders and interest groups. The interviews will ask, essentially, can these normative scenarios be implemented? What stands in the way? How can the roadblocks be overcome? The scenarios will then be reconstructed on the basis of the interview feedback and, if appropriate, widely disseminated.

In the questionnaires, each action that was nominated was judged on the basis of its potential importance and likelihood, and, in addition, its "backfire" potential.

This process is illustrated in Figure 1.

The full questionnaire used in Round 2 is presented in Appendix 1. This questionnaire recapitulates the Round 1 questions and results.

Figure 1



A total of 180 scholars, futurists, policymakers, and academics participated in the two rounds. Figure 2 and 3 present the demographics of the participants.

Figure 2: Regional Demographics

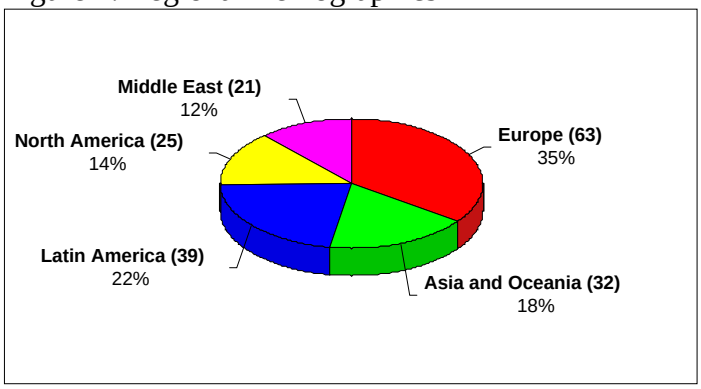
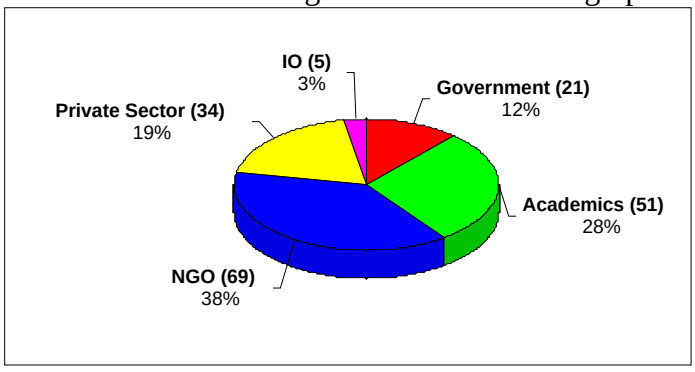


Figure 3 Sectoral Demographics



3. What's New About the Method?

Scenarios have been used only recently (1900-2000) in a few prior conflict resolution applications, principally in South Africa (the Mont Fleur study), Columbia (the Destino study), and Guatemala (the Vision Guatemala study). These applications generally involved wide public participation in workshops that resulted in alternative scenarios describing possible future conditions in their countries given one or another policy directions. The scenarios were generally exploratory although usually one of the set was clearly normative and therefore easily selected as the most desirable. These studies are described in Appendix 2.

In the present study, the scenarios were to be written on the basis of information derived from two rounds of questionnaires completed by futurists. political scientists, politicians, and others interested and involved in the Middle East conflict between Israel, Palestinians, and others. The questionnaires were designed to provide material from which scenarios could be written, to elicit views without the necessity of bringing face to face people and groups who would hardly speak in the same room. And the questionnaires (and the scenarios to follow in the next phase) were designed to identify policies that were seen to be effective, plausible, and having little chance of producing unintended consequences. The involvement of interest groups, which proved to be so important in the prior scenario- based conflict resolution studies is accomplished through the questionnaires, a technique which permits free expression of long and deeply held positions, and in the interviews yet to be accomplished.

In the present application, each questionnaire round had three parts. The first presented a list of strategies that had been suggested previously for moving toward peace. These suggestions were compiled from news reports, the history of the region, informal interviews and an extended period in which drafts of the questionnaire were circulated and revised. Respondents were asked to rate the suggestions on the basis of their Importance, Likelihood, and backfire potential, using the following scales:

Importance

5 = must be achieved for peace to exist
4 = very effective in leading to peace
3 = effective but not essential
2 = not very effective
1 = counterproductive

Likelihood of Implementation

5 = very likely
4 = likely
3 = implies a lot of compromise
2 = almost impossible
1 = never achievable

Backfire Potential (for unintended deleterious consequences)

5= almost certain to backfire
4= very risky
3= as likely as not to backfire
2= minor chance
1= no chance to backfire

The second part of the first round questionnaire called for the respondents to suggest other actions or conditions for peace in the Middle East that they strongly believed should be added to

the study. The first round suggestions were added to the set and evaluated in the second round. In addition., in the second round, respondents were asked to select three or more actions from the full list about which they might have special insight, and for these selected actions to provide opinions about:

- Their strategy to make the action occur and become an effective contribution to peace.
- Who might act and how would they get movement toward peace
- When might this be done
- What would improve chances for success

The third part of both rounds requested some institutional and personal information., address, profession, etc.

4. Objections to the Study

There were some who responded with enthusiasm:

> The world, all races and religions, will be grateful if the peace in the Middle East is achieved soon. I will participate..
>
> A timely and needed study, indeed. Will be glad to participate. Looking forward to the results.
>
> Excellent initiative Middle East Peace Scenario Studies (Round 2)

But others who found the effort misplaced and naïve. From an Israeli:

> …I do not intend to participate. …I regard as serious flaws in the underlying "frames" of the study. The crux of the matter is….recognition and "acceptance" of Israel as a "Jewish State" (with an Arab minority having full rights as citizen). …also any agreement (with) Palestinians being unstable unless there is an overall agreement between Israel and Arab-Islamic states. …Related is the crucial issue of the stability of Arab-Islamic regimes, any instability endangering peace agreements… the theoretic as well as practical value of the study is in my view (is) negative, being more misleading than enlightening.

Since this commentary was presented on an open listserve, it generated some responses:

> I agree (that) recognition (of Israel) is not enough. "Acceptance" is very necessary and the difference between the two is very important .Recognition is usually given by the Arabic political regimes and acceptance is given by the Arabic people. If the Arabic regimes represent their people, recognition means acceptance, if not recognition means an official position not the people's view.
>
> I agree that the Palestinian issue should be located with in the context of Arab -Muslim nations …because the acceptance (by) the Palestinians is not enough in long run. Most of Arabs and Muslims believe that the holy land doesn't belong to Palestinians alone, but it belongs to all Muslims .That is why peace process should solve this issue.
>
> Yes, we should put weights for the role of each of the three (Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims),

> and I will give big weight for Palestinians, but still there are some weights for Arabs and Muslims should be considered….
>
> (The respondent) mentioned the instability of Arab Islamic regimes and how this instability endangers peace agreements, but also the experience tells us that the democracy of Israel has a kind of instability as well which endangers peace agreements .Most of the Arabs believes that the successive governments of Israel don't respect the agreements which were signed by other party, Likud did not respect all the agreements signed by Labor.

To which the Israeli responded:

> I ..think that there is a difference between regime instability and policy instability within a given regime, the first one being open to more radical discontinuities. However, this does not deny the problems posed by policy instabilities in Israel because of deep disagreements on the Palestinian, "land" and related issues.
>
> I do not think that all "modern states" have to be of one stance. In the case of Israel, in any case, the endeavor supported by the vast majority is to have a partly unique state characterized by Jewish civilization (not exclusively or necessarily in the religious sense). And, of course, other countries should select whatever nature they wish. Thus, I have no problem with Arab countries being "Islamic" -- as long as the Jewish nature of Israel and the Islamic nature of, say, Iran and Saudi Arabia, involves no threats to others. …

Another invited participant said:

> I cannot respond to your questionnaire because I believe that whatever agreements the Israeli government may sign and whatever agreements the Arab governments may sign and whatever resolutions the UN General Assembly may sign and whatever international observers may be deployed (and I would not trust any of them except those from the U. S.) - no lasting peace will be achieved as long as the mullahs continue to brainwash every new generation with hate and indoctrinate them with the goal of the destruction of Israel and the killing or removal of all Jews from "Arab" lands.
>
> And, I believe the mullahs will continue to do so until the Arab theocracies are replaced with representative governments whose goal will be the well being of their populations by way of providing an economic environment wherein those populations can earn a decent life style and a political environment where they can express their opinions without fear for their lives. And I believe this would deprive the mullahs of their audience.

While such “evolutionary” issues are difficult to address in the form of a questionnaire, they are fundamental to scenarios and the study outline calls for the construction of scenarios after the questionnaires are completed. Furthermore, the “backfire” assessment was included in the questionnaires to mark those actions that might have unexpected and deleterious downstream consequences. Those actions that seem important and likely (such as enabling a Palestinian State, to use the respondent’s example) might also have a very high rating for backfire potential, indicating the possibility of the longer term stabilizing/destabilizing branch point which would be fodder for the scenarios..

A potential respondent pointed out some definitional difficulties:

> I have problems with the term “peace”, all the more so as there are different words in Arabic for that term implying more of a “permanent relation of peace and friendship between equals” or more of a temporary and tactical situation of “no war”. Also, remembering that nearly all wars in history broke out from situations of “peace” a differentiation is necessary between reaching a “peace agreement” or “building a dynamics leading to peace and friendship”. Quite different responses are appropriate to these different images of “peace”. This point is all the more important because of present Western views that a peace agreement means the end of conflict – which is a delusion in situations such as prevailing in the Middle East and West Asia.

Several potential respondents said they doubted whether the method we proposed was robust enough for the task. Here are two partial quotes:

> You are dealing here with an exceedingly complex system where everything interacts with everything and Delphi with its compartmentalization and simplifications is in my humble opinion just not adequate to elicit meaningful answers. …My conclusion: it is a valiant attempt to use a rational technical (T) perspective in an irrational R-O-P setting. The religious, organizational, and personal perspectives are dominant in the Mid East and a questionnaire of the type you favor cannot encompass their approach. At best you get input from other western-trained or oriented individuals to a T-type process and the result does not reflect the emotional, driven, motivational realities of the situation. And only a realistic appreciation of all the perspectives can lead to peace.

> To illustrate additional complexities, let me raise the issue of the evolutionary potential of a Palestinian State, for better or worse, such as: becoming a stabilizing factor serving as a model to other states on one hand, or becoming an irredentist factor destabilizing Jordan and consequently large parts of the Middle East. Such longer-term possibilities have to be taken into account in any peace settlements -- so as to avoid short-term benefits leading to much larger longer-term damage…. I doubt, methodologically, if such a deep, complex, "murky" and partly "chaotic" issue embedded in multiple systems with non-linear dynamics can be adequately handled via a variation of the Delphi Method. Having observed top quality experts really knowing relevant facts and theories and also outstanding Think Tank teams having difficulties analyzing the issue adequately, I am all the more doubtful.

The questionnaire is of average quality because it under-represents the ideological, emotional, affectional and religious factors in this conflict, and it over-represents the rational factors of the education type, standard of living, joint projects. Moreover it gives much importance to the idea of a bi-national type of state—of federal or free-market type, whereas, in the current context, this is an idealistic vision that would just exacerbate the conflicts. However, which is unrealistic and counterproductive in the phase of construction of a negotiation process—as currently the issue is that of the affirmation of an independent political identity of each part and the acceptation of the other—could become possible when peace would exist, but with no doubts only after a long phase of a peaceful coexistence, which will require at least a generation. The problem of the questionnaire is that it mixes what is desirable before the peace process and after peace is established. It is thus questionable because it’s non-temporal.

I suggest adding a rubric for "possible surprise events which may help or hinder achievement of a stable peace". This is all the more important because the Middle East/West Asia are "surprise prone" with a high probability of some very low probability events happening. Indeed, it might be a good idea to enlarge the proposed rubric and ask about illustrations of "inconceivable" events.

And another felt that the study itself might be counterproductive:

> I understand your interest in examining deeper religious and historical factors in this dispute, but these become far too complex to be usefully discussed via a questionnaire. Operationally, there is a huge difference between looking for pragmatic formulae that can allow for achieving mutual interests in survival, in contrast to efforts that require a reformulation of entire cultural and civilizational approaches to identity. The former task is extremely difficult in most if not all ethno-national conflicts, including the Arab-Israel situation. The latter effort, based on my experience, is far the bounds of political reality and is likely to be counterproductive and contribute to violence and hatred.

The Palestinian view was expressed vigorously and in some detail in a letter received from Hamas.

> It is obvious that the questionnaire is politically biased towards the Israeli point of view about Jerusalem which is often advocated by Israeli politicians from the middle and the left and sometimes by the right wing. The questionnaire is based on the a political philosophy maintaining that the ultimate solution will reside in the creation of two states in Palestine, one Arab state and another Israeli one. This solution is described as the realistic solution which gives the Israeli side the full right to make all changes they have so far made . It supports the idea of sharing the governance of the Holy City and the internationalization of its control while ignoring the possibility of returning its sovereignty back to the Arab and Palestinian authority as stipulated by the UN resolution 242.
>
> The questionnaire has also called for the settlement of the refugees issue without taking into consideration their fundamental right to return to their homes in accordance with the conditions set by the UN Higher Commission for Refugees, international treaties and human rights laws. That settlement consists only of opening the door to finding a solution and not to their repatriation.
>
> The questionnaire has also ignored the size of the damages caused by the continuous Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people. As a matter of fact, it avoided to hold Israel accountable for any damages for the sake of sounding neutral in the search for peace. This attitude is contradictory to the basic spirit of international law which holds the aggressor accountable for the damages it has caused. Even when talking about war crimes, the questionnaire has treating the two sides of the conflict on equal footing. As for the educational curricula, the questionnaire points out to a philosophy which has been embraced by international circles based on the necessity of building a new cultural philosophy called the culture of peace which is to be based on co-existence between Arabs and Israelis and the change of educational curricula to make them compatible with a point of view considered to be neutral. It includes also a call to write the history of the region in an unbiased way, something which has never happened in any country in the world or in the region.
>
> The questionnaire tries also two treat the two parties equally as though the conflict is about a specific piece of land or about borders or as though the Palestinians are a minority within the Israeli society who are calling for the recognition of their social, economic and political rights or just struggling for the mere recognition of their human existence. It tried also discount or disregard the truth about the political and historical conflict between the two parties as well the civilization gap between the two of them, and the role played by the Zionist movement in the extradition of the Palestinian people for their homeland and the seizure of their of their land by the might of weapons or the power of international law which was protected by the then colonial

countries. That was considered the basis for a solution and stability in the region.

Therefore, we suggest to prepare an alternative questionnaire which will be more comprehensive and pay more consideration to the Arab and Palestinian vision which represents at the current historical juncture the vision of the underdog side in this conflict; particularly in the following areas:

- The recognition of the existence of an occupation and aggression to be ended by an immediate international resolution.
- The right of the Palestinian people to exist without any interference from any foreign party.
- The right of the Palestinian people to maintain their own vision regarding their unalienable historical and political right to live on their own homeland regardless of the events imposed upon them by force.

The comment that the first questionnaire was biased toward Israel was also made by other Arab respondents. Some Israelis found the questionnaire biased toward Palestinian views.

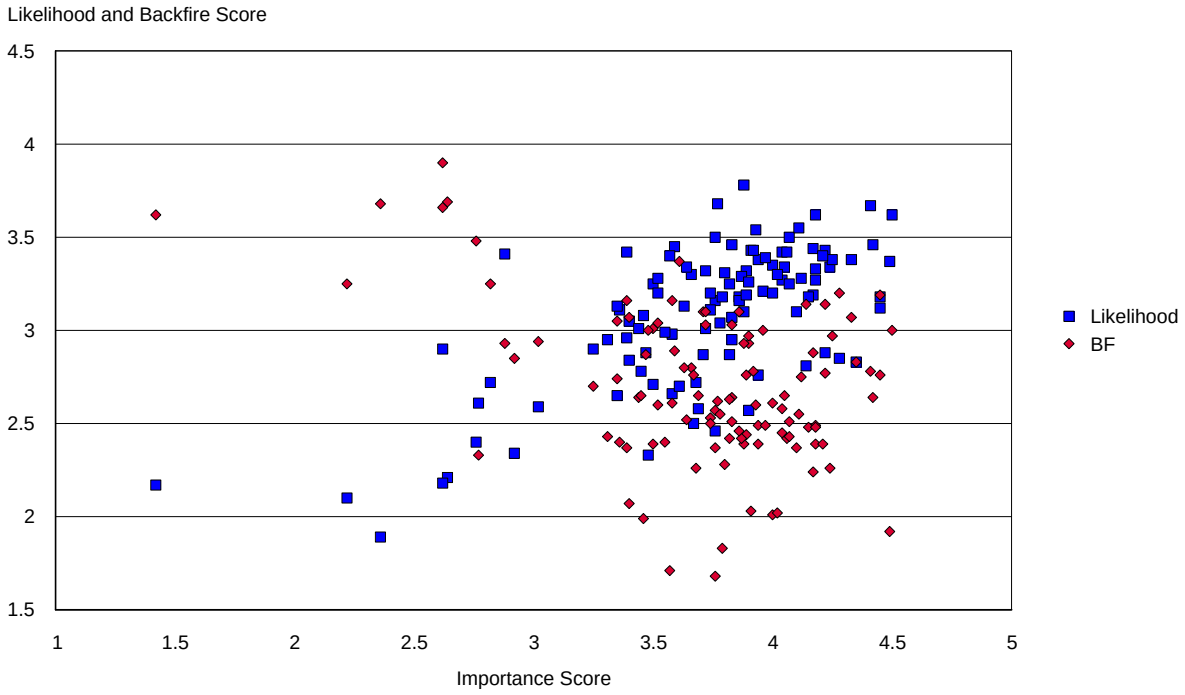
We found such discussion helpful and derived a number of items for inclusion in Round 2 from the discussion. Here are examples of policies and actions that were added to Round 2 as a result of this correspondence (the numbers in parenthesis represent the item number in Round 2).

1. Acceptance by Arab states of the right for Israel to be a state which integrates Jewish laws and traditions. (1.8)
2. Acceptance by Israel of the right for Arab states to integrate Muslim laws and practices within their governments. (2.5)
3. Requiring that any agreement involving Israel and the Palestinians be shared in and supported by most Arab-Islamic states. (1.9)
4. Urge that agreements survive regime changes within Israel. (1.10) (2.7)
5. Try to ensure that any agreement represents the view of the people of both sides, not just the ruling powers. (1.11) (2.8)
6. Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent life style and a political environment where they can express their opinions without fear for their lives (2.11)
7. Establish the right of the Palestinian people to exist without any interference from any foreign party. (2.12)
8. Recognize the need for international intervention without interference in the right of the Palestinian people to maintain their own vision regarding their historical and political right to live on their own homeland (4.28)

5. Questionnaire Results

Considering all of the responses to the suggested actions, a clear correlation could be seen between the average importance and likelihood, the more important, the more likely. Although the scatter was greater, a similar correlation was present in the relationship between importance and backfire potential: the more important, the lower the backfire potential. These correlations may say more about the perceptions of the respondents than reality, but if these correlations were true, the outlook is brighter than would have been the case had the correlations been reversed.

Importance vs. Liklihood and Backfire (Rd 1:n~ 110; Rd 2: n~75)



The following seven charts show the actions deemed most important for the attainment of the stated goal:

1. Provide Secure borders for Israel

	Importance	Likelihood	Backfire
1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states	4.45	3.12	2.76
1.1 Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied since the 1967 war	4.28	2.85	3.20
1.10 Urge that agreements survive regime changes within Israel.	4.24	3.34	2.26
1.2 Resume the Peace Process on the bases of UN resolutions	4.22	3.43	2.77
1.11 Try to ensure that any agreement represents the view of the people of both sides, not just the ruling powers.	4.17	3.19	2.24

2. Establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state

	Importance	Likelihood	Backfire
2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state	4.50	3.62	3.00
2.11 Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives.	4.49	3.37	1.92
2.3 Withdraw Israeli military forces from disputed and/or occupied territories they control	4.45	3.18	3.19
2.1 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution	4.33	3.38	3.07
2.9 Hold democratic Palestinian elections.	4.18	3.62	2.39

3. Resolution of the Jerusalem question

	Importance	Likelihood	Backfire
3.9 Guarantee religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem	4.41	3.67	2.78
3.2 Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites	4.25	3.38	2.97
3.8 Guarantee free access to holy sites	4.17	3.44	2.88
3.3 Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions	3.86	3.18	3.10
3.1 Declare Jerusalem an International City	3.71	2.87	3.10

4. End violence by both sides and build confidence

	Importance	Likelihood	Backfire
4.4 End suicide bombings	4.35	2.83	2.83
4.5 End Israeli occupation of land obtained during 1967 war [Although previously rated, rate it here for its effect on condition 4]	4.22	2.88	3.14
4.1 Israel withdraws its settlements to the pre-'67 line	4.14	2.81	3.14
4.17 Cooperation to combat terrorism	4.12	3.28	2.75
4.16 Honor international commitments in good faith	4.04	3.27	2.45

5. Social and Economic Development

	Importance	Likelihood	Backfire
5.1 Negotiate long-term water sharing agreements	4.42	3.46	2.64
5.5 Special international programs under UN for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state	4.11	3.55	2.55
5.3 Promote Palestinian access to world markets	4.07	3.50	2.51
5.10 Create local participatory planning processes connected to development budget decisionmaking (similar to Shrouk in Egypt) to help restore dignity and faith in the future	4.06	3.42	2.42
5.9 Encourage direct foreign investment in the new Palestinian state	4.05	3.34	2.65

6. Education

	Importance	Likelihood	Backfire

6.1 Create via UNESCO scholars curricula for introduction to school systems in the Middle East that provides unbiased historical awareness and information designed to teach tolerance	4.21	3.40	2.39
6.6 Provide Equal access to education for women	4.18	3.33	2.48
6.4 Invest in Palestinian educational infrastructure to bring it to par with Israel	4.07	3.25	2.43
6.5 Organize cultural symposiums with religious leaders from both sides to discuss ways to cultivate tolerance and peace	3.97	3.39	2.49
6.3 Begin internationally monitored media coverage on both sides that would condemn violence against the other side and would show the downside of their own violent acts	3.89	3.19	2.76

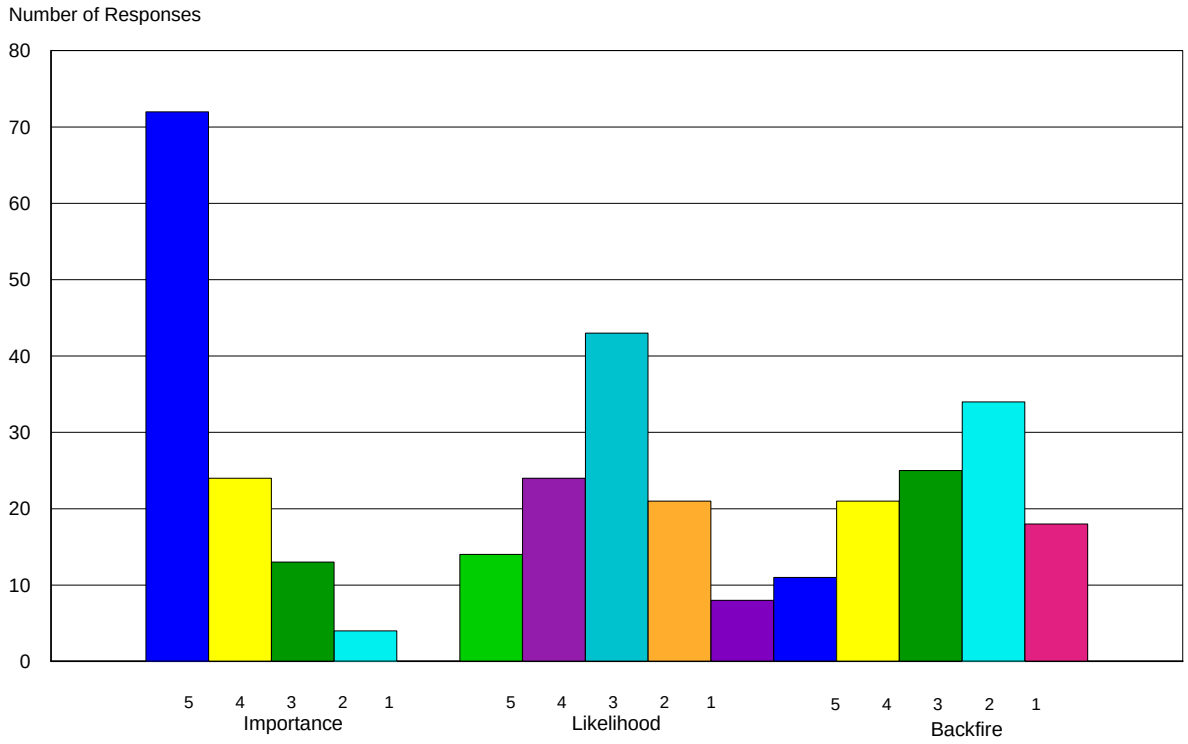
7. Resolution of Palestinian refugee status

	Importance	Likelihood	Backfire
7.3 Initiate International inspections under UN to assure that human rights are being respected	3.92	3.43	2.78
7.4 Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to General Assembly Resolution 194/48	3.90	3.26	2.97
7.2 Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel	3.72	3.01	3.10
7.1 Provide Palestinians the right to return to Israel as Israeli citizens	3.61	2.70	3.37
7.6 Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestine areas.	3.47	2.88	2.87

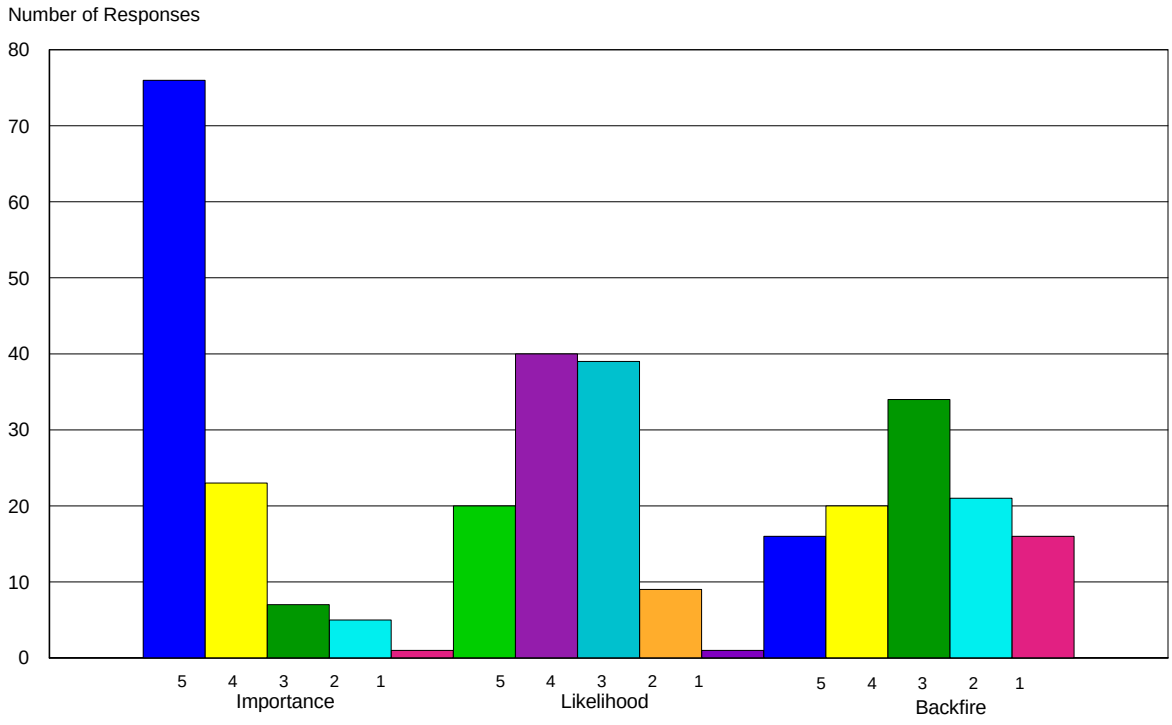
The levels of agreement among the respondents was extraordinarily high among the important actions. The seven chart below show the spread of answers for the most important item in each prerequisite areas. The following charts show the spread in the number of responses received for top rated actions:

Note: the numbers in the title of the following graphs represent the respective action's number in the questionnaire.

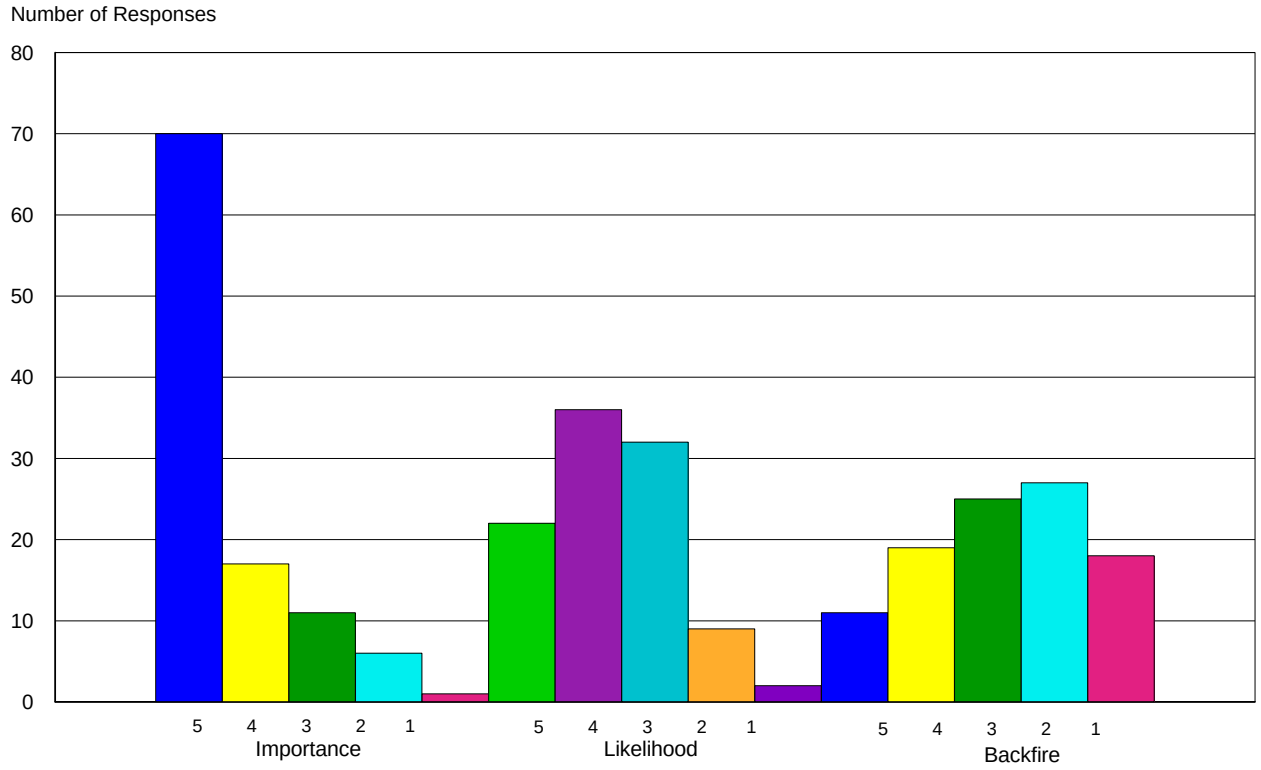
1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states



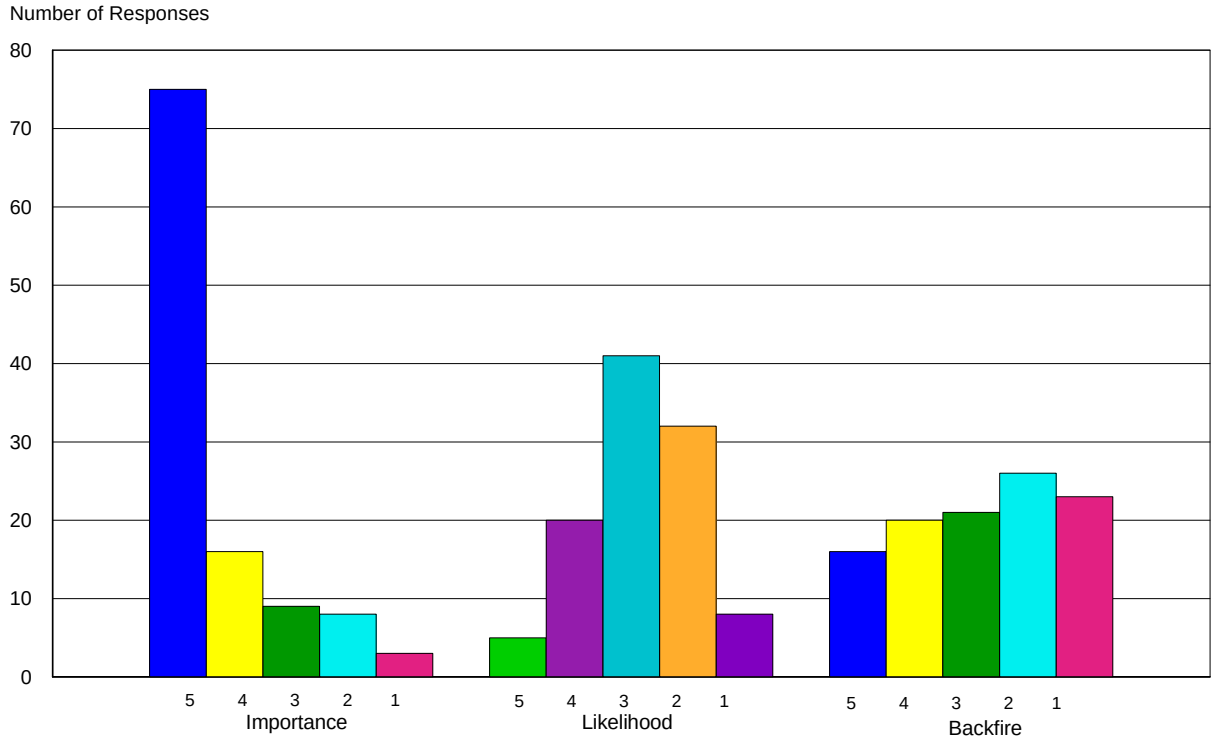
2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state



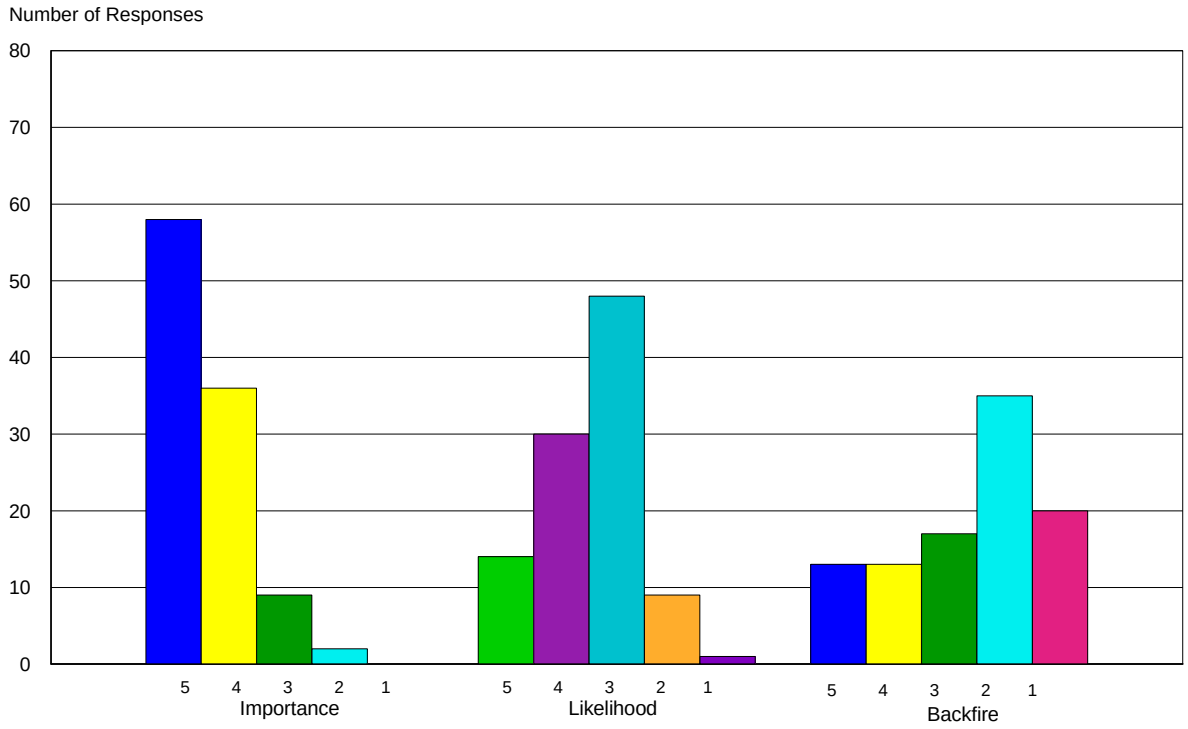
3.9 Guarantee religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem



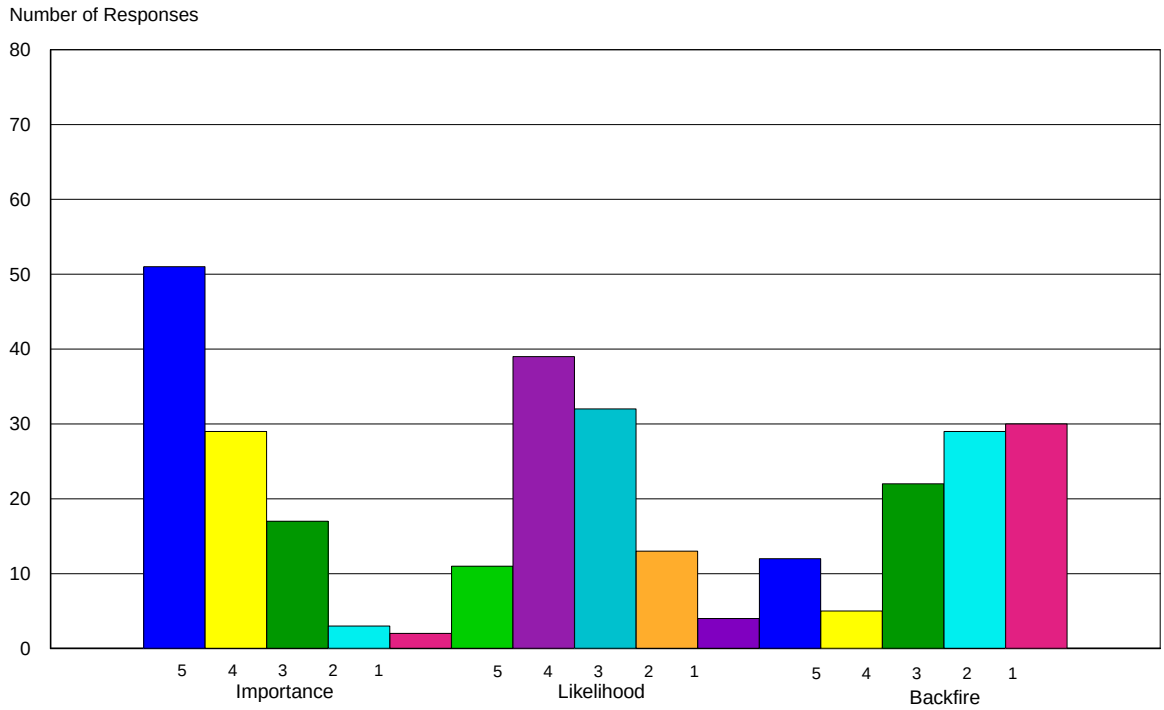
4.4 End suicide bombings



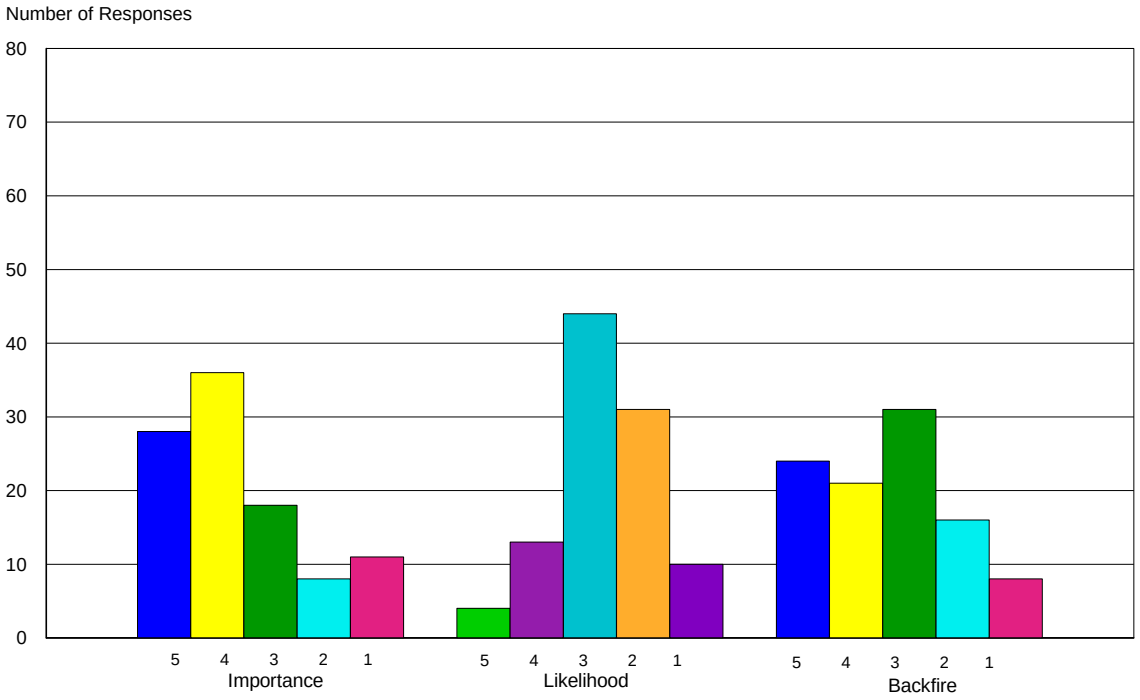
5.1 Negotiate long-term water sharing agreements



6.1 A curricula for introduction to school systems in Middle East to provide unbiased historical awareness, information designed to teach tolerance

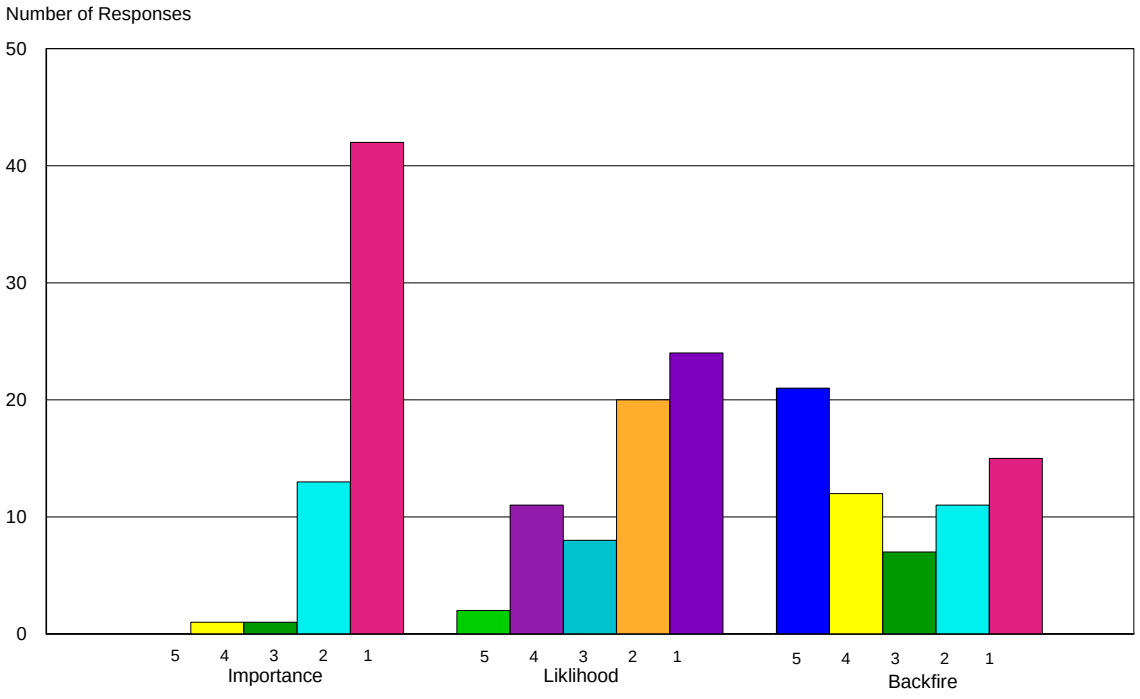


7.3 International inspections under UN to assure that human rights are being respected



One item that was viewed as least important and probably least productive was:

3.7 Build a "Berlin Wall"



6. Sub-group Comparison

We attempted to identify two subgroups and compare their responses but were frustrated in several ways. We had hoped to compare responses of people from Arab states with responses from Israelis or people who could reasonably be said to represent the Israeli positions. While it was simple enough to find the countries from which the respondents submitted their questionnaires, we could not identify their politics with any certainty or credibility. We ran an experiment with Round 1 data and formed two sub groups based on our own judgments about sorting respondents into the groups. One group was comprised of respondents from Arab countries (12), the other was composed of respondents from Israel and affiliated with Jewish organizations (6). Because there were so few people who fit these categories no hard and fast conclusions can be drawn from the comparison; nevertheless, as the following charts show, some interesting areas of agreement and contrasts were apparent (charts for the first two prerequisite areas are presented below):

1. Provide Secure borders for Israel

	Most Important >4	Most Likely >3.5	Highest Backfire >3.5	Good Agreement <.5	High Disagreement >2
Arab	1.1 Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied since the 1967 war	1.2 Resume the Peace Process on the bases of UN resolutions 1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states	1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states	Importance of 1.2 Resume the Peace Process on the bases of UN resolutions	Liklihood of: 1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states Arab group higher
Israeli	1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states	1.6 Install a high-technology sensor system on borders to detect clandestine motion			

2. Establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian State

	Most Important >4	Most Likely >3.5	Highest Backfire >3.5	Good Agreement <.5	High Disagreement >2
Arab	2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state	2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state	2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state	Liklihood of 2.1 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution	Backfire potential of: 2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state (1.38) Arabs rated it higher
Israeli	2.1 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution 2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign state	2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state	2.3 Withdraw Israeli military forces from disputed and/or occupied territories they control (3.29)		

One can see the beginnings of a mini-scenario from these charts. This is only a sketch to illustrate how such charts could be useful, given a sample in which we were more confident:

> Let us say that (1.2) the Peace Process is resumed on the basis of UN resolutions. Both sides agree that this is an important step. In the negotiations that follow, there is give and take: Israel insists that no matter what the outcome, (1.4) Israel has to be recognized as an independent state by all Arab states. In return, (1.1) Israeli agrees to withdraw from all areas occupied since the 1967 war, an action considered most important by the Palestinians and Arab states. To preserve the integrity of the borders, (1.6) a high-technology sensor system is installed on the border to detect clandestine motion. Both sides agree that (2.1) a UN General Assembly resolution should be enacted that clearly defines the borders between Israel and a new Palestinian state, and that this agreement should be enforced by a UN Security Council resolution. This leads to (2.2), the recognition of Palestine as a sovereign state. Israel is extremely wary of the long term consequences (2.3) and special provisions are made in the resolution to accommodate this concern.

The mini-scenario has elements of past Peace Plans, particularly the Oslo accord, the Clinton-Barak proposal and the proposal by Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz. One new element- about which some of thee respondents were skeptical- is the role of the UN.

Many of the actions involved the UN. The table below summarizes the responses to these actions:

United Nations Led Actions

(n~110)

Action	Import	Likelihd	Backfire (=>3.1)
2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state	4.50	3.62	3.00
2.1 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution	4.33	3.38	3.07
1.2 Resume the Peace Process on the bases of UN resolutions	4.22	3.43	2.77
6.1 Create via UNESCO scholars curricula for introduction to school systems in the Middle East that provides unbiased historical awareness and information designed to teach tolerance	4.21	3.40	2.39
5.5 Special international programs under UN for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state	4.11	3.55	2.55
7.3 Initiate International inspections under UN to assure that human rights are being respected	3.92	3.43	2.78
7.4 Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to General Assembly Resolution 194/48	3.90	3.26	2.97
3.3 Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions	3.86	3.18	3.10
4.7 Establish many UN-funded citizens conflict resolution/dialogue groups to learn and practice peace-building skills	3.83	3.46	2.64
1.3 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution	3.83	3.07	3.03
1.7 Place UN peacekeeping forces in areas of conflict or potential conflict	3.59	3.45	2.89
4.3 Establish a UN Security Council resolution banning further violent actions, which would be enforced.	3.52	3.20	3.04
3.4 Establish a UN Trusteeship	3.25	2.90	2.70

7. Internal Consistency Check

There were a number of actions designed to achieve pre conditions that were either identical or very similar. This redundancy afforded the opportunity to check the internal self consistency of the group's responses. Where redundancy permitted this sort of check, the levels of agreement were quite high as shown below:

Internal Consistency Checklist

	Import	Likelihood	Backfire
1.1 Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied since the 1967 war	4.28	2.85	3.20
2.3 Withdraw Israeli military forces from disputed and/or occupied territories they control	4.45	3.18	3.19
4.1 Israel withdraws its settlements to the pre-'67 line	4.14	2.81	3.14
4.5 End Israeli occupation of land obtained during 1967 war	4.22	2.88	3.14
1.3 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution	3.83	3.07	3.03
2.1 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution	4.33	3.38	3.07
3.3 Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions	3.86	3.18	3.10
1.5 Deploy international observers	3.77	3.68	2.62
4.12 Initiate UN inspections to ensure that human rights are being respected	3.66	3.30	2.80
7.3 Initiate International inspections under UN to assure that human rights are being respected	3.92	3.43	2.78

In only one case is the response significantly different: 2.1. Recognize, however that the respondents were answering the question about importance to a given pre-condition rather than overall importance to the peace process as a whole. Therefore differences between importance responses might be expected.

8. Comments and Suggestions From Respondents

The first round questionnaire asked for comments about the pre-conditions to peace (from which we could construct new actions for round 2) and the second round questionnaire asked respondents to choose three actions and for these, to consider:

- Your strategy to make the action occur and become an effective contribution to peace.
- Who might act and how would they get movement toward peace
- When might this be done
- What would improve chances for success

Respondents provided many valuable comments. These were reviewed, grouped and edited (with much attention to avoiding bias). Comments that were essentially duplicates were consolidated. For easier assimilation, the narrative contributions of the participants (which ran to about 100 pages) have been grouped as follows:

- Specific comments that relate to the seven preconditions to peace and the 109 possible actions that were listed for the preconditions.
- Suggestions for strategies.
- Changing the peace paradigm.
- Impacts of external events.
    - Comments on the Iraq war itself
    - Comments on the consequences of the Iraq war
    - Comments on the Iraq war pertaining to the UN
- Scenario considerations

Selected comments are presented below are presented in the sections that follow.

9. Comments on Preconditions and Actions

In this section the respondents' comments on the preconditions are listed first, followed by comments made on specific action suggestions.

1. Provide Secure borders for Israel

.

Israel will eventually have to withdraw from the totality or a large part of the areas occupied since 1967…

Consider Israeli withdrawal from PART OF OR MOST areas occupied since the 1967 war, with possible mutually agreed swap of territories.

Taking into consideration the geographic, demographic, geopolitical, cultural, religious and military elements, it is nearly impossible to provide secure borders for Israel for an area preceding the 1967 war. In addition, it is even more difficult to create two sovereign states in this small geographically and demographically shattered area and secure their borders. The idea of a sovereign nation state (Israel or Palestine or both) is not … viable in this tiny area. A totally new approach is needed to secure the borders of states

1.1 Israel withdrawal from all areas occupied since the 1967 war

As a show of trust to all Arabs … Israel needs to withdraw from all occupied territories before 1967 and very fast. The Israeli policy of Iron fist is creating … distress among Palestinians and creating more anger and distrust (of) ….Israel.

The image of Israel in the Arab and Palestinian mind will not change unless Israel shows drastic change in the dealing with the Peace process. Such a change might be visible through a fast withdrawal from the pre-67 war territories

What country in the world can act to help achieve this? The United States, (is) the only country in the world to have an influence on Israel. When could that be carried out? When the current leaders…are replaced by younger leaders. What would improve the chances of its success? A common will of the United States, European Union, Russia on this point, and the agreement of these three powers to work with the UN. which cannot be, in this matter, just an implementation body.

1.2 Resume the Peace Process on the bases of UN resolutions

This is a must step to insure fairness and justice in the world of today… Such a move would get strong Arab as well as world support….The UN leaders need to work at this stage tirelessly in order to implement such a move.

1.3 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution

This is a challenge that might change the face of the UN especially the unilateral decision of the US to go to war with Iraq. … I doubt the US would allow (it) at this point. Will the UN be able to take this challenge? Will they be able to work out the road between the GA and the SC smoothly? This is an historical moment, the UN has to face. Otherwise it will continue tailing the supper power for another decade or so.

The unilateral decision of United States and their ally the United Kingdom to invade Iraq against the resolution of the UN Security Council and indirectly the UN General Assembly role has denied (the UN) ....respect and observance to its resolutions. (Therefore) empower, as soon as possible, the UN General Assembly role.

1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states.

An agreement, with full international recognition, not just from Arab countries, has to be reached in order to settle the issue of Israel as a nation. International pressure from the major world powers has to be used, including China and Russia. This could happen in a few years (10-20) if there is a consensus for a new world order.

1.5 Deploy international observers.

The United States is the only country in the world that can place international observers in Israel

When that could be carried out? As soon as true negotiations (i.e. without preconditions by either side) These observers should have precise missions, and …formulate recommendations--followed by effects--each time that they notice a problem of design or a dysfunction in the peace plan.

1.9 Require that any agreement involving Israel and the Palestinians be shared in and supported by most Arab states.

In order to accomplish this, require ratification through the UN General Assembly as part of the agreement. One or more resolutions of the UN (would be required) on the items below related to Jerusalem, economic development, education, and coalition building.

The great powers, starting with the United States, should clearly express their will to begin and stay with the process up to the end (that means until all decisions taken at the table of negotiation are actually accomplished.

1.11 Try to ensure that any agreement represents the view of people of both sides, not just the ruling powers

There must be a well-developed complex of … investigations by the people of both sides to help them to represent their views. Media assistance will be valuable but not enough in this case.

Independent peace-making groups consisting of a few experts ….might (enhance the) peace-making process much more than all Governments taken together. It can be done now by involving explanatory and organizational work in the United Nations and in the Middle East among the Governments and among ordinary people.

Include USA in all talks of compromise.

1.12 Create a new federal state, which would comprise the two relatively autonomous regions of Israel and Palestine.

It is almost impossible,, (and) may worsen the situation.

Any attempt to create an independent Palestinian state will increase the violence from the both side.

1.13 In all Israel-Palestine negotiating teams, women peacemakers, politicians, academics and professionals be equally represented on both sides.

Contact all participants and organizations represented at the UN Summit on Women and Development, Beijing – all UN Women's & Human Rights agencies, etc – media advocates to campaign for this equal gender representation as part of the global 50-50 campaign. This strategy has never been tried – it might help!

..If we want the peace agreement to be sustainable and last for decades, they need to be 1. drafted by people who work rationally and are not motivated mainly or solely by political reasons and 2. make the agreement the product of shared effort e.g. include women in the decision making. On the Israeli side there are women in the parliament (though not enough) but the military approach of the whole society makes it all the more important to ensure that the agreement is not made only by politicians who are former

army career men.

2. Establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state

There will be no peace until both nations are internationally recognized.

An independent Palestinian state would not be a viable solution for many reasons. The fact is that the territory of such a state would be either very scattered or would contain very many ethnographically (also religiously) divided groups of peoples. Those two elements would contain in themselves the seeds of endless internal and external problems of such a state, maybe even the seeds of possible war, because the surrounding states would carefully monitor their own interests (demographic or military, or religious and there would be a constant danger that a neighboring state would intervene militarily to protect those interests.

(Consider) a new type of federal state, which would comprise two relatively autonomous states of Israel and Palestine (each containing several regions) in the present day Israel territory excluding Syrian areas of Golan heights with a high standard of minority (linguistic, religious etc.) protection (Finland as an example). While each state would regulate its internal affairs, it would not be concerned with foreign relations, tariffs, immigration, military affairs, or interstate commerce. Neither should the individual states concern themselves with matters of citizenship. The federal state could be called e.g. Israpal or Palisra or United States of Palestine. It should also be responsible for a judiciary system and control of vital natural resources such as water…. According to the subsidiary principle, the states would have … autonomy on those matters that are closely related to local (issues).

2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state.

Palestine has to prove that it can rule itself and that it will be peaceful, without more suicide bombs… Arab nations have to help economically, particularly during the beginning, while Palestine strives to (create) a free government with an open economy. Superpower pressure is needed to force this process, which otherwise could be delayed for many years.

2.3 Withdraw Israeli military forces from occupied territories they control:

Withdrawal must begin with leaving the reoccupied cities within the autonomous area. To make it easier to "sell" this step to the Israeli public, armed observers should be placed in the cities to ensure that there is no power vacuum. Then Palestinian elections on the national and local level should be held. The elected government would have the legitimacy to re-enter into negotiations with Israel about an end of the conflict. The negotiations must lead to the withdrawal of Israeli military forces of all of the West bank and the Gaza Strip (with the exception of a few very large settlements for which a territorial swap can be negotiated). Of course, a prerequisite of such a withdrawal is the preparation for the voluntary transfer of settlers back to Israel proper. Whoever chooses to remain in the Palestinian areas would have to choose between dual citizenship or Palestinian citizenship. The remaining settlers, who would be without Israeli military protection, would for an intermediate period of time be protected by an international

peace keeping force.

It would be impossible to reach a long-term peace without justice (unless this is accomplished)

2.6 Require that any agreement involving Israel and the Palestinians be shared in and supported by most Arab states

An opinion poll is highly recommended to be conducted when both sides come to agreement. To minimize the chances of rejecting such agreement from either of the sides, it is recommended that the suggested solutions on hot issues like (settlements, refugees, East Jerusalem) be presented with more than one scenario (depicting) resolution.

2.11 Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives.

I believe economic stress is among the first reasons why people are turning their negative emotions against the other. …Israel is much stronger and more developed than the Palestinians, but still creating a common market (a little like the European one though not as intense, at least for a start) will benefit both sides and will ensue they have a lot to lose form not cooperating. Economic dependence already exists but the people who suffer from it most are Palestinians as Israelis have substitutes (e.g., foreign workers replacing the Palestinians). It is also important to give professional and educated Palestinians opportunities in the Israeli market and so change the image of Palestinians in the eyes of Israelis and create more equal basis for negotiation.

Unless peace proposals are going to be followed by immediate change in the life of people it is not likely that peace will happen. I would foster visions[1] of what (life could be like) through a series of TV programs on:…economically sustainable … projects which foster the local economy, such as permaculture, use of new technologies, bio-degradable products, "new works" water and land sharing and so on…It is necessary to inspire people and give them a sense of the possible. Then I would invite leaders to observe what people have thought of and to be inspired to make commitment to some changes. This could happen around earth day . There is already a large "Earth Day" celebration in Israel organized by the youth which offer some of this…. It would be a form of participatory education.

International funds could be used more effectively for the creation of a new economic situation in the region. USA, Europe, Russia and Arabs countries could move their military support to economic support. International discussion of this economic development would improve overall chances of success for the correct implementation.

[1] Editor's note: see Appendix 1 in this report on the role of normative scenarios in conflict resolution.

2.12 Establish the right of the Palestinian state to exist without interference from any foreign party.

All diplomatic action should be taken to establish the Palestinian state: it should become part of international forums, formal embassies should be established around the world, it should participate in economical development institutions, etc.

2.14 As anticipated in the Quartet (EU, Russia, UN, US) roadmap, pursue any peace plan in well-defined phases, testing the results of one before proceeding to the next.

…In order to improve the chances of success, the regular evaluations should be made public, a summary of the evaluation published in newspapers would attest the efficiency of the action

…It will be very important that once one phase in the peace process is accepted there must not a way back. Israel and Palestine must sign the acceptance of this process with all its conditions, involving the government and population with the supervision of the Quartet.

It appears that Sharon may be willing to accept the Roadmap and that the new Palestinian Prime Minister Abu Mazen may have enough power to begin the road to peace. There ought to be a public "box score" which makes commitments widely known and keeps the world up to date on the plan vs. the accomplishments.

This is a project which concerns all the actors of the Middle East… It's a win-win project which can not fail. Who might act? The ministry of foreign affairs of each country and the president of the UN can check the evaluation When might this be done? Now, it can begin In order to improve the chances of success, the regular evaluations should be made public, a summary of the evaluation published in newspapers would attest the efficiency of the action

2.15 In all Israel-Palestine negotiating teams, women peacemakers, politicians, academics and professionals be equally represented on both sides.

Contact all participants and organizations represented at the UN Summit on Women and Development, Beijing – all UN Women's & Human Rights agencies, etc – media advocates to campaign for this equal gender representation as part of the global 50-50 campaign. This strategy has never been tried – it might help!

We would gather peace activists, teachers, nurses, doctors, artists, various working people. Community organizers and /or influential community leaders from both sides that have already participated in dialogues groups, common actions would be invited also. We would follow agendas of such organizations as The Jerusalem Link (BatShalom and the Jerusalem Center) Palestinian and Israelis women who have worked together for a long time and presented proposal written together. Then larger community public hearing could happen as a response to local proposal s. Then political proposal would be designed. I would have tables in as many communities as possible, simultaneously. This could be done by next fall after the human right march. www.humanrightsmarch.org According to UN resolution 1325 half of the people would be women. Women are more likely to make pragmatic proposals and compromises, also they are the facilitators of the community. www.coalitonofwomen4peace.org

3. Resolution of the Jerusalem question

Jerusalem could come under the UN's direct jurisdiction and as its name suggests it could become the epitome of God's peace for the whole of humanity. No warrior should be allowed access into it except as a child of the Godhead. Those who do not wish to abide by this could be asked to leave in the larger

interests of humanity

Declaring Jerusalem an International City is a meaningless idea unless put into operational form – what does it mean? How would Jerusalem be controlled? And order maintained? And movement of population – I regard this as escape into "magic formulas" without any actual significance.

Plans for peacefully sharing holy sites have been developed before e.g. by the Jerusalem Institute for the Study of Israel but the catch is that they all assume peace and trust, which is exactly what is missing

Enact a clear, definitive UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions. It's hard to take seriously before global governance changes. Who and how will a resolution be enforced against determined Arab/Israeli resistance on a matter regarded by them as of existential importance

Establishing a time sharing governance between Israel and Palestine requires a stable and friendly peace – in which case a simpler arrangement of co-governance would work

Declare Jerusalem as a demilitarized zone, or a common museum area, for all humanity, put peacekeeping forces to guard over Jerusalem, and dedicate each day of the year for visit for different religions so that they don't mix and can worship in peace.

Divide Jerusalem and create two capitals: Oriental for Palestine, Occidental for Israel.

Treat Jerusalem as a separate independent holy city just like Vatican, ruled by a religious head

3.2 Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites:

This should be part of a more comprehensive plan which would be based on the principle of sharing the capital as a capital for both states. The control of the holy sites should not be exercised by the political authorities. Instead, it should be exercised by religious authorities - as it is the case today, regarding the Haram ash Sharif.

Jerusalem should be declared an international city by the UN and placed under its trusteeship to form a government, and enforce UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. This could be the first step in the process to implement a peaceful transition from the current state.

Any long-term solution has to solve the problem of Jerusalem and the holy places. Indeed, that is a problem not just of Israel or Palestine, but a truly global concern. Jews, Muslims and Christians have to work towards an everlasting agreement for opening and sharing the holy places. Again, it would be incredibly important if countries like China and India (which mainly do not belong to the Abrahamic monotheistic faiths) are also involved. That is the way to seal the process for lasting peace, with an interfaith commitment that separates religion from nationality

A further possibility would be to constitute a "condominium" for the government and administration of Jerusalem. …In the long term the population of Jerusalem would elect the Mayor of Jerusalem from candidates that would be neither Palestinian nor Israelis. Initially, … it would be necessary to involve a third party, a country that has already demonstrated interest and success in achieving productive agreements in the Middle East in the past, such as Norway. The first Mayor would then be, e.g., a Norwegian designee. When appropriate rules for the election of a Mayor can be arranged elections could be held but again from candidates outside of the region.

4. End violence by both sides and build confidence

Ban all terrorist organizations and punish the people who contribute funds …

Re-establish/define a Palestinian national culture/identity which is not based on their post-Israel experience so that there is a sense of Palestinian pride which is established on a foundations other than being a suicide bomber.

Again, the "all or nothing" fallacy: the question is how many settlements can/will be withdrawn for what kind of security/peace. Unless options are formulated as matters of measure and degree, their applied value approximates zero

Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz's proposal calls for Israel's withdrawal from lands occupied in 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in return for which all the Arab States will recognize Israel as a state. This was and is an important initiative, but it was not clear enough on crucial points, such as recognition and "acceptance" of Israel as a Jewish State, assurance of security to Israel and the Palestinians in an unstable region …

The success of long-term UN peacekeeping forces in both countries depends on the basis of details such as their enforcement authority, capacity and ability. Will they be heavily armed? Ordered to shoot on terrorists on the way to Israel? Shoot at Israeli preemptive actors against terrorists on the way

Initiate UN inspections to ensure that human rights are being respected: And if not? And what about the need to redefine human rights in light of the ability of less and less to kill more and more….?

Create additional venues where moderates of both sides can talk to each other. There are plenty of such venues and a lot of such talking, in part useful

Eliminate (or marginalize) extremist ideologies and parties on both sides (of the conflict) by an external power – (like the) USA. (Build) a new geopolitical order in the Middle East , i.e. temporary Western dominance aiming at a prolonged process of democracy building . (This) will be more clearly visible after a possible war in Iraq.

Re-establish/define a Palestinian national culture/identity which is not based on their post-Israel experience so that there is a sense of Palestinian pride which is established on a foundations other than being a suicide bomber.

Creating two scattered and to great extent artificial sovereign states in a small area will not be a ….. solution to reducing violence and building confidence. Rather, this would be at counterproductive action since both states would have such a small area … Two sovereign states in the area would inevitably mean important minorities in both of the states in danger to be somehow discriminated, trade and movement barriers would be created, a great number of people would be forced to move away from their present day homes.. This type of action would rather increase the danger of violence in the area than diminish it. A natural and durable solution for most of the present day problems would be to establish a federal United States of Israel-Palestine, which would be based on democracy with good minority protection, free elections, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of trade within the area respecting every person's human rights and similar principals.

If the Arabs stop violence, there is peace in no time. The Arab violence started in 1948 (not 1967) and has continued since then. It is time for the Arabs to start thinking of a non violent option.

4.4 End suicide bombings:

This strategy must be combined with ending targeted killings (extra-judicial executions). Precondition: Democratic elections in the West Bank and the Gaza strip and a negotiated "ceasefire" between the Israeli and the Palestinian governments. Precondition: Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from Palestinian population centers to allow for elections.

4.19 Restrict US funding of Israel to economic needs only.

Tie U.S. aid to Israel to removal of West Bank settlements and shift to an even-handed policy to advance a peace settlement. Curb power of Likud lobby and Christian fundamentalists in Washington.

4.21 Launch common infrastructure projects based on social, economic needs and existing inequalities

Pick a common need and a commodity that would gives both sides exports or at least minimize imports. Advanced water purification or electrical energy production come to mind. Provide development aid to establish jointly managed and owned large scale projects in these areas. This gives tech transfer to Palestinians, useful products in the interest of both sides. If possible this might be a private enterprise.

Common infrastructure projects are a really good way of increasing confidence between the two parties in conflict. This strategy has been used in many international conflicts and become an effective contribution to peace, for example in the Ecuadorian- Peruvian Borders conflict (1941 -1998). Private companies working together with the government organizations involved in solving social, economic needs and existing inequalities is a key strategic approach to improve the chances of success.

4.24 Unilateral end to violence by Israel to deprive Palestinians of a principal reason for continuation of violence.

Both sides have come to view violence as their primary modality…. an imbalance in coercive capabilities and international recognition allows the state of Israel to use force with a sense of entitlement and increases the desperation of Palestinians. Increased restraint on the part of the Israeli government can help to decrease this desperation and give Palestinian reform/reconstruction efforts a chance. This will have to start with tough-minded reappraisals of the effectiveness of targeted killings and collective punishments, which cannot be empirically demonstrated to increase Israeli security…..

Probably the most influential external actor which can influence Israeli strategy is the US, which should ideally make its diplomatic, economic, and military support of Israel more conditional upon Israeli resort to tactics and strategies that can be demonstrated to a) work, and b) correspond with international human rights norms (e.g., torture, due process).

5. Social and Economic Development

Create Trade agreements that promote trade between Israel and Palestine: Yes, but please check the Harvard work on the subject, inter alia: the economies are radically different. What really matters is the issue of Palestinians working in Israel and low-salary jobs (but highly paid in terms of the Palestinian economy). This depends on stable peace and complete absence of terror

Assure free movement of investments to all the nations of the region: Please consider whether this free market view really fits the needs of most countries in the Middle East – for Israel it exists and works fine

but Israel has a highly developed competitive economy

Create fund for R&D research, open to all countries of the region.

Guarantee free access and stability to the hundreds of thousands of peaceful Palestine employees and people who run a small enterprise in West-Jordan and Gaza. Stop endangering or destroying their economic base again and again, i.e. (use the concept of the) "Marshall Plan" under international control.

How could a Palestinian state, made of the Gaza strip and the West Bank (or large parts of them, could be made economically self-sustainable?

5.2 Encourage free trade with both a new Palestinian State and Israel

… Maybe economic initiatives and common trade postures could succeed were the military and the politicians failed. The idea is to develop some kind of economic program between both, Israeli and Palestinian entrepreneurs, where the final product can be commercialized by both sides, for internal use of both communities or for export. The fact that both communities work together, with a common profit, will, with the passage of time, strengthen peaceful co-existence. This strategy, as a long term process, must be initiated a soon as possible, once a “cease of hostilities” can be achieved, and sustained by both governments. It would be better initiated by the commerce chambers (or something like that) of both communities, as a non-official initiative. The international support for this program could be aided by trade policies encouraged by UN, and in mainly US and EU countries…

5.8 Establish a program of technology transfer from Israel to the Palestinian state to improve agriculture and economic development

This program could focus on: methods for production and cultivation in desert and dry zones, improved systems of use of the water, and medicine of medium and high complexity. In all cases real transfer should be sought, favoring transfer of funds…to affirm the regional commitment to Palestinian reconstruction. Israel would perform this as an important gesture toward Palestinian development and at the same time would demonstrate its technological power that would flatter its people. The probability of achieving this is high since the need for the technologies by the Palestinians is high; and the transfer benefits the Jewish side as well.

5.13 Encourage representative governments in a Palestinian state whose goal will be the well being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent living and develop a political environment where they can express their opinions without fear for their lives.

Easy explanation: DEMOCRACY is going to be important to tolerance of diversity of opinions….

Start and support model communities in Palestine that provide economic bootstrapping and thus a source of self-respect and pride to their participants.

5.15 Establish a "Marshall Plan" under international control for impoverished Palestinian areas.

Member nations of the UN should contribute personnel and resources to repair and construct infrastructure and provide services to impoverished areas. They should establish a plan for turning over operations to the new government when appropriate levels of service and local capability have been achieved.

This is a wonderful idea. It would help to focus international attention on the ….situation of the Palestinians, creating hope among Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims that the Palestinian people have a

future. Active international involvement in promoting Palestinian well-being would restore hope where there is despair, address crucial unmet needs, improve Palestinian civil life, and decrease reliance on Hamas and other organizations for economic support and social services. It could start with a UN resolution or an international conference. There could be a special fund dedicated specifically for the purpose of helping restore dignity and (in the long term) self-reliance to the Palestinians. It would signal that the war will end, because the symbolism is associated with the end of WWII. A crucial factor is that the program should help all needy Palestinians, including members of the Palestinian Diaspora, especially in the Middle East.

Addressing economic needs would not eliminate other thorny issues, but it would help to create optimism and a sense of possibility. It would decrease the attractiveness of radical messages, and generate commitment to peace.

5.16 Create and sign a peace agreement between the Muslim and Jewish religious leaders

…Taking it to the religious level is so risky. It might provoke a lot of hard feelings between the two sides. In addition, the possibility of not achieving an agreement might bring the two sides back to the same cycle of violence

5.18 Begin the difficult process of separating religion and state for both Arab Moslems and Israeli Jews. Israel agrees to be a civil state with a Jewish majority and a new civil Palestinian state is created with a Moslem majority.

This one is a hard, but very effective way to achieve practical results by simplifying the complexity of the organization structure and introduce recommendations to improve the welfare of people in the Middle East region.

5.19 Form a league (e.g. Middle East Union for Economy & Development) with Israel as a permanent member, with the Arab countries represented, for discussion and resolution of common economic and social issues.

Create a fund shared 50 percent by US / EU and 50 percent by the countries of the region. This fund would finance a University for the Peace in Medium East, with access free for Jews and Palestinians; destined to study and solve the common problems and to provide the tolerant analysis and issues of diversity. Other ethnic groups besides Jews and Palestinian would be included. The internal organization and administration will be democratic. The opportunity is high, the need is great.

5.20 Foster development of a specific set of "next generation" leaders from both sides that can look at the problem in a new way.

Education solves problems by itself. If we invest in educating not only the middle east youth, but all youth, we will guarantee that we have learned the lesson from this awful set of experiences.

There are always dangers involved in developing a corps of “next generation.” Turkey’s government-condoned an elite military class, for example, abhors the intellectual class -- religious or secular -- which rises out of the population, and focuses its corrective course on this competing “next generation” to the detriment of the republic. I suggest that present generation of Palestinian and Israeli thinkers be used as advisors to all young children, but to a core of young leaders in particular, and that their hard-learned lessons and wisdoms be passed on. Also, this council of elders should include Arab and Jewish thinkers-and-doers from outside the region as well as advisors from other cultures and regions (e.g.., South African, Czech and Slovak, Native American) who will expose them to a range of options in order to stimulate creative thinking. Funding for such must be long term and must become at least partially

internally funded after a period of external support.

6. Education

Lessons on the teachings of Buddha, Hindu principles of tolerance and the Gandhian ideas of Ahimsa and Non-violence can be included in the school curriculum.

Create a new story and vision of what it means to be Palestinian and Israeli: The idea of someone rewriting for the Jewish People and Israel its narrative is not to be taken seriously. Also, please note again and again how the concept of "Israeli" is used, in contrast to the concept of "A Jew in Israel" or similar term, which is fundamental to the core idea of Israel as a Jewish State. Without understanding this basic point, accepted according to all studies by the vast majority of Jewish Israelis, the whole problem and its dynamics are misread.

Introduce military service or extended civil service and additional taxes to ultra-orthodox Jewish fundamentalists/ settlers; they should bear the burdens of war like the other Israeli people. Introduce a five percent hurdle to Israeli and Palestine parliament to reduce the extraordinary influence of small extreme parties on governmental policy, according to the example of several European countries.

The UN has a crucial role at the global level to help prepare access for all to a fair legal system band education system, in the Middle East and in other countries as well. This will in the long run be more decisive than single technological or even political steps.

Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to a mutually agreed interpretation of the General Assembly Resolution 194/48

The need for educating the younger generation to realize their common religion roots, celebrate their common for parents and accept one another as member of a larger family. Here women educators could be utilized to inculcate the values of mutual tolerance, goodwill and unconditional love as mothers are the first educators of their children.

Work within opinion leaders in Judaism, Islam, and Christianity to find the interpretations of sacred scriptures that encourage peace in the Middle East

6.2 Create joint Israeli-Palestinian task force of scholars that would write together the history of Middle East for classrooms with particular focus on Israel and Palestine

Children from both communities should share their scholarship, study the same program aimed more on the future than on the past. Children should learn both cultures, languages, history, and construct over those subjects a common future, common rules of living and ruling their own communities. Those learning programs should be supported by extra-scholar activities focused on human rights, humanitarian activities and cultural interchanges, where children of both communities would practice those principles of life and mutual understanding. … This would take a long term to work, maybe generations… If we cannot create a local conscience about solidarity, mutual respect and peaceful co-existence in the people rather than the governments, we're not going to achieve a complete success. That necessary conscience can only be created beginning with the children, because nowadays they grow up learning to think about each

other as enemies. …UN and the rest of the international community can support this strategy by encouraging and developing students interchange programs with other countries, were Israeli and Palestinian kids could share experiences living together in a same house, with a different culture family, learning that things can be different…

6.4 Invest in Palestinian educational infrastructure to bring it to par with Israel.

Getting the right educational infrastructure in Palestinian education is key as amongst other things, it gets the youths off the streets and focused on their future. However, this should not necessarily be a Western education structure driven by examinations and measures of achievements as initially I think this would set people up to fail. The development of the education system needs to occur hand in hand with the economic development in the region so that (people who leave) school have the abilities they need to work in the Palestinian economy, and adults can return to education to help them become more skilled in the areas necessary for earning a living. Much of this may focus on small business development, and international awareness, as well as the key skills of literacy, numeracy and IT. The operation of the Mondragon system (worker cooperative driven establishment) may be a model to implement in a new Palestinian state as it gives everyone ownership of the resources and benefits that are accrued

6.6 Provide equal access to education for women.

Women are key to any society as they generally spend the most amount of time with the children as they grow up and hence can have profound impact on the development of views and opinions that children form as they grow into adults. School should be mandatory for all children (regardless of gender, etc) until age 16 minimum, and adult education should be provided for women as well as men. Initially this may need to be segregated until equality issues are more broadly accepted within the Palestinian culture.

6.7 Create a new story and vision of what it means to be Palestinian and Israeli.

….History should not be re-written and understanding the extreme views and differences that have occurred in the past, and how they have led to hatred and violence should be important elements of the story.

6.10 Create a fund for joint projects in cooperative research.

This is a project which concerns all the actors of the Middle East Peace Scenario and can not be rejected in itself and would contribute to a better and mutual knowledge and insight. It's a win-win project which can not fail. Who might act? All the universities, companies, religions, an several other different fields and citizens can participate. It can start now, it's just a question of organization and money.

6.14 Promote cultural and artistic activities so one side can know the culture of the other.

This .project.. consists of creating an Art Foundation which aim is to mingle both culture. For example: a show where musicians and comedians could perform together on stage and create an events together. … sponsors from Saudi Arabia, for example…

6.15 Inculcate a mindset of co-existing in spite of differences by educating the younger generation

on the need for tolerance and unconditional love.

The wording is unfortunate, and since words affect action, should be changed. Tolerance implies an attitude of a superior group towards an inferior. Rather, mutual respect must be the goal. There are already several large and established organizations that attempt dialogue and bridge building between young people of both sides, but they are limited by their inability to continue and follow up their original programs and the pressures to show ….results. I suggest that funds be channeled into practical projects in which young people participate and that will benefit communities, along the lines of Habitat for Humanity or Job Corps. If children of both sides are shown how to work along side each other to correct the damage of past generations, their own self-respect may return at the same time their respect for others grows.

7. Resolution of Palestinian refugee status

Israel will need to equally recognize that (if) …. it insists on closing its doors to the Palestinians who have been driven out of their homes, there is no promise of peace. If Jews too can accept that the way to fulfilling the Promise of God does not include depriving others of their homes; and if Muslims and Arabs recognize the sincere attachment of Jews to the Promised Land, and make serious efforts to accommodate that Promise…. we are in for a "deep peace", not a superficial one that has been broken, stepped upon, and tarnished, for 55 years.

Lacking are the options of resettlement in other countries with financing by many countries including Israel.

Dissolve the "Palestine-refugee-camps/quarters" in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and so on, or turn them into common, fully equipped city-quarters with mixed population. Or consider integrating the grandchildren of the original refugees into the society of their Arab brothers. Maybe (the) Europe(an experience) after 1945 could be an example, where millions of refugees were successfully integrated in their new home.

Provide Palestinians the right to return to Israel and provide the Jewish people the possibility to stay in the West Bank and Gaza strip as citizens of the United States of Israel-Palestine.

Much depends on the definition of "refugees" – does it include the children born in exile?

Provide Palestinians the right to return to Israel as Israeli citizens: How would one provide such a right, with the vast majority of Israelis, including most of the "extreme left" and the "peace camp" regarding this as a way to destroy Israel and preferring war to suicide

Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel : Creating a commission is a favorite way to escape from critical issues without solutions. Please remember that the Clinton-Barak proposals seem to have broken down exactly on this point.

The key is to give all Palestinians whose ancestors lived in the border of present Israel either land in Israel, the new Palestine, or the United States or some other mutually agreed on country. A financial settlement would be acceptable if the US can reach accommodation with the descendent.

7.6 Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestine areas.

This could be a good topic for a TV debate and discussion, in Hebrew and Arabic, leading to a plebiscite.

This kind of public discussion could reduce the backlash potential.

Some assume that only about 100,000 Palestinian people would return and most of them would return to agricultural land or villages…. Most of the Palestinian would prefer compensations although many state now that they would not take the money.

I would put in this commission people from each of the refugee camps and of the communities of the Diaspora, and some of the leaders of the Israelis communities that live in the area in questions. I would start with Kibbutz Megiddo and the town of Um-el-Farhem, If the process started from within Israel first, it might better succeed because many Arab Israelis prefer to live in Israel (i.e. village of Mousa) The process would need a lot of fact and figures and maps, and talented negotiators

7.7 Dissolve the "Palestine-refugee-camps/quarters" in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and so on, or turn them into common, fully equipped city-quarters with mixed population.

Many Arab states believe that until there is a positive move towards resolution of the Palestinian need for a homeland, they cannot deal politically or economically with the refugee ghettoes, once established as temporary havens and for (failed) political pressure. These communities have become eyesores of squalor and poverty and have led to disrespect for and a shaming of the refugees among the host societies. Since the host states cannot afford the necessary rebuilding or resettlement, the international community should shoulder the economic burden of rebuilding the settlements into permanent communities, and/ or in relocating refugees to a new homeland. I suggest that in Syria, for example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs be approached with a plan for “normalization” of community and legal status, underwritten by the international community. As is it an issue of concern for the host countries, this must be done in the early stages to gain their support of any peace plan, and not left to an afterthought.

10. Suggestions for Strategies

Throughout the two rounds, participants contributed suggestions about strategies and strategies on forming strategies. Some of these comments were:

> The base of the problem, is that Israel does not believe in the good faith of the Arabs. Israel lives on the double syndrome of the fear of being "thrown to the sea" and of its military and technological supremacy. Only a change of attitude of the Arab world (not only of Palestinians) can dispel the syndrome of fear of negation of the Israeli people…
>
> Only a strong long-term presence of the Americans in the Middle East can impel the Arab governments and bring them to basically accept Israel.
>
> Calm down the game and restore confidence is the obligatory phase to reach a first level of peace, a cold peace. That will take time. At least one decade.

One of the key problems is that there is now a generation who have been brought under Israeli occupation/ oppression and whose hatred of Israel is core to their identity and sense of who they are. Once you have a mass of people who are willing to die for their cause, there is very little you can do to stop them…. While this situation exists, there will never be a solution to the conflict.

> Develop public relations campaigns in each affected country to spread … inspiring narratives

I believe that one of the reasons for the continuation of suicide bombings is the

support they are receiving implicitly or even explicitly from substantial parts of the European left wings. For instance some of the left-wing French medias tirelessly denounce US “aggression” and “colonial war” against Iraq as well as Israeli oppression of Palestinians however they fail to put so much attention on Palestinians terrorism.

If the European Commission and Member States could convince the Palestinian Authority and part of the intelligentsia that terrorism is only weakening their position, a new leadership willing to fight effectively terrorism could possibly emerge.

Focus on finding and developing a “next generation” of leaders from both sides who can look at the problem in a new way. Perhaps, look for these individuals among those who have lived in the land, but are now living outside of the land. They may not have credibility with those in the land today, but if this approach had been started 50 years ago, perhaps we would be in a different condition than we are today.

The main driving forces of the conflicts between Palestine and Israel include: Religion, Resource, Revenge and Foreign interference. These four forces interwoven each other in a world wide and centuries long scale, which make the situation more complicated and falls into a positive feedback of conflicts re-enhancement, Though most of Palestinian or Jewish are longing peace and love is a basic nature of both nationalities.

Initiating a comprehensive Middle East Peace study by UN, participated by a international research team having no-interests in Middle East. Our MP network and this scenario team might be part of this group. This study is to systematically summarize and simulate the lessons, experiences of Middle East Peace during the past half century, and to let people understand the dynamics, cybernetics, tendencies and its impacts of the long-term conflicts on the people, the region and the world.

We have to view the Israeli / Palestinian issue as a historical legacy with common people at the receiving end of all the injustice. It is true that Israel has been carved out of a hostile area but it should be remembered that Jews have been a persecuted people for long and almost wiped out of earth’s face in two world wars. Palestinians must face the fact that Israel has come to stay and deserves recognition as such. At the same time Israel should eschew all intentions of expanding further beyond its borders on adventurist forays . Independence of the Palestinian state also deserves recognition by all and treated as such.

Only a strong U.N. sincerely backed by affluent / Powerful states that can assure peace in the area. It is to be impressed on a belligerent Palestine that terrorism should be stopped at all costs that innocent people should not be made to suffer on religious grounds. Politics and religion must be kept apart if peace is to prevail.

….once the Israelis would have the will to make peace then no problem would be insurmountable.

Change USA biased role in handling of the Israeli Palestinian conflict by showing the implications of such policy on the Islamic and Arab worlds. Do this by means of films, documents and books showing the impact of biased policy, bringing congressmen and American leaders to visit the region, by bringing Muslim leaders into American political areas, establishing stronger connections between

Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims and American Jewish groups in the US. Meetings conference, new joint organizations, etc.

… it is imperative that neighboring countries maintain their democracies and do not show any possibility of attacking or invading Israel or Palestine. Any violation has to be prevented by the UN international forces and legal actions taken against the aggressors.

I believe that the United States' position is critical for the peace in the area. Today's US position is too much biased toward Israel. If the US takes a fairly neutral position, it will improve the situation dramatically. What we need to do is to persuade the US to change their position not only for Palestine but also Israel as well as the US itself. In order to do so, the rest of the world should cooperate together to persuade the US. The war in Iraq, which gave a chance for Americans to think about the Middle East issues deeply. I believe that it is time to take an action to push the US.

Those who aim to reap monetary benefits at the cost of well being of the people should be strictly punished. Protection of human rights and … international cooperation to combat terrorism by all possible means should be aimed and achieved.

There is a vital need also for a larger, post-9/11 international discussion about the relationship between security and human rights. Israelis cannot be requested to practice restraint if those calling for restraint are unwilling to take a similar course in probing the roots of terrorism and working to understand how structural conditions, deep-rooted grievances, power struggles, and cultural narratives create asymmetrical warfare strategies and cycles of violence. This discussion should begin as soon as possible; perhaps European and East Asian statespersons could lead the way. Israelis and Palestinians should also be encouraged to approach terrorism as a shared problem rather than an issue to manipulate (for Israelis to avoid making concessions, or for Palestinians to acquire "leverage").

The peace process cannot be handled or even be imposed by the U.S.A. alone. The European countries created the problem, the League of Nations (1920) and the UN (1947) took the decisive decisions, followed by UNSC-Res 242 and 338. The U.S.A must push the process, but the UN-General Assembly and the UNSC must consolidate it.

Meta-strategies

Several years ago, all of the actions and policies suggested by the Millennium Project's Global Lookout Panels were reviewed in an attempt to group them into categories of action and to see if meta-strategies would emerge. Twelve categories were found. These meta-strategies seemed to cover proposed actions for almost all of the issues under study by the Millennium Project and therefore were proposed as a checklist to help develop a more complete list of strategies for use in other situations.

The checklist was applied to the more highly rated actions from the Middle East study. Two or more actions could be placed under 11 of the 12 meta-strategy headings (see pages 86–87). The exception was "Creating Standards and Permits." Of course there is no rule that requires that all meta-strategies be used, but this does raise the question of whether there are approaches involving standards or permits that could be helpful—such as the possibility of harmonizing laws between Israel and a new Palestinian state so that penalties for various crimes would be similar, or establishing some standards that would facilitate the import and export of electronic or mechanical components between the countries. In any case, the following analysis can be

extended by using the full list from the following sections of this chapter.

ESTABLISHING NEW ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS, AND TREATIES

- Water sharing agreements
- Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states
- Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state
- Resume the peace process on the bases of UN resolutions
- Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestinian areas

ENGAGING IN SOCIAL MARKETING

- Urge that agreements survive regime changes within Israel
- Urge that agreements survive regime changes within a new Palestinian state
- Begin internationally monitored media coverage on both sides that would condemn violence against the other side and would show the downside of their own violent acts

ENFORCING OR MODIFYING LAWS AND REGULATIONS

- Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions
- End suicide bombings
- Withdraw from all areas occupied by Israel since the 1967 war
- Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to General Assembly Resolution 194/48
- Initiate international inspections under the UN to assure that human rights are being respected

PERFORMING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

- Create via UNESCO scholars curricula for introduction to school systems in the Middle East that provide unbiased historical awareness and information designed to teach tolerance
- Create a fund for joint projects in cooperative research
- Launch special international programs under the UN for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state

ENGAGING IN MEETINGS, DIALOGUES, OR WORKSHOPS

- Create additional venues where moderates of both sides can talk to each other
- Establish many UN-funded citizens conflict resolution/dialogue groups to learn and practice peace-building skills
- Organize cultural symposiums with religious leaders from both sides to discuss ways to cultivate tolerance and peace

CREATING AND AMENDING ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, SANCTIONS, AND INCENTIVES

- Negotiate long-term water sharing agreements
- Launch common infrastructure projects based on social, economic needs and existing inequalities
- Launch special international programs under the UN for industrial and technological development of a Palestinian state
- Promote Palestinian access to world markets
- Encourage direct foreign investment in the new Palestinian state

IMPROVING PLANNING, ACCOUNTING, AND FORECASTING

- As anticipated in the Quartet (EU, Russia, UN, US) roadmap, pursue any peace plan in well-defined phases, testing the results of one before proceeding to the next
- Create local participatory planning processes connected to development budget decisionmaking (similar to Shrouk in Egypt) to help restore dignity and faith in the future

CREATING AND IMPROVING NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

- Foster development of a specific set of "next generation" leaders from both sides who can look at the problem in a new way
- Promote cultural and artistic activities so one side can know the culture of the other

DEVELOPING AND SHARING INFORMATION

- Inculcate a mindset of co-existing in spite of differences by educating the younger generation on the need for tolerance and unconditional love
- Provide equal access to education for women

MODIFYING INSTITUTIONS, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND PRIORITIES

- Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well-being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives
- Re-establish a Palestinian national culture and identity that is not based on their post-Israel experience so that there is a sense of Palestinian pride
- Guarantee religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem

INITIATING NEW INSTITUTIONS, PROJECTS, AND PROGRAMS

- Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel
- Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites
- Declare Jerusalem an International City

11. Changing the Peace Paradigm

One respondent presented a "A Vision for Peace in the Middle East" in which he saw three scenarios:

> … The first discourse, *Conflict of Existence*, refers to the denial of the right to exist by each party of the other. In other words, Arabs regard the Israeli existence as illegitimate, thus must be eradicated, and Israelis see the Arab existence in what is considered the Promised Land to be equally illegitimate, thus deserving to be eradicated or tolerated only on second class basis.
>
> The second discourse, *Conflict of Borders*, assumes that each party acknowledges that the other has the right to exist as a sovereign nation-state within agreed upon borders, while struggling with three major issues: the status of Jerusalem, the expansion of Jewish settlements, and the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes of 1948 and 1967….
>
> The official peace process… embraces the *Conflict of Borders* discourse. The militants on both sides, Militant Palestinian groups, and fundamentalist Zionists, try to advance their *Conflict of Existence* approaches via terrorist attacks, confiscation of land, and building illegal settlements….
>
> The third discourse, *Conflict of Promises*, assumes that if Arabs and Jews (are) able to acknowledge the divine promises to each, and to recognize that they both can make their promise come true without having to either eliminate the other…..According to the *Conflict of Promises* discourse, all Jews should be encouraged to come back to that area of the world…
>
> If we take a look at the Holy Quran regarding the concept of the Promised Land for Jews, we find that the Holy Quran actually acknowledges that God had promised the holy land to Moses and his followers on their way out of Egypt…(The Holy Quran *5:20-21)*. …So Muslims cannot casually dismiss the concept of the Promised Land. Muslims need to … develop methods to attract (Jews) to come back in a way that is not threatening to Arabs and Muslims. Imagine if in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan we can develop policies and provisions that say "we would welcome any Jew who wants to come to this part of the world, being part of the promised land, to come and live, we'll give you citizenship; you want to buy a house, buy land - fine; you want to have your relatives come live or visit, fine; do your work, live with your community, build your synagogue, have your own laws to govern your family and community life. But do not threaten a national entity. And come to any part, come to Syria, come to Egypt, come to Iraq, and come to Jordan, whatever you believe the Promised Land to be." …..Such a solution would be based on a religious understanding of God's promises to Jews and Muslims alike.

In a similar vein, one respondent suggested changing the whole conceptual process, the framework, the orientation, in order to achieve success in the peace process:

> There is a need for a profound conceptual and practical shift on both sides toward a "human security" paradigm. The traditional, "national security" framework that has dominated the conflict is rooted in concepts of competitive/power politics. Security is understood to be a scarce commodity secured through military dominance or deterrence, which leads to a zero-sum attitude. A human security approach, in contrast, places the emphasis on human well-being -- safety from threats to life or livelihood, protection from major disruptions, etc. A human security approach recognizes that neither Israelis nor Palestinians can become secure through reliance on strategies that threaten the other. Security must be built from the bottom up, through attentiveness to the ways that policies affect people in their everyday lives. Closures, intimidation and checkpoints, and "targeted killings" by Israelis undermine human security among

Palestinians, and thereby feed the conflict. Likewise, Palestinian reliance on terrorist and guerrilla tactics is also escalatory…..

The United Nations Secretary General and the Quartet could begin the shift to this approach through public declarations, criticism of actions by both sides which violate principles of human security, and provision of incentives for relevant programs….. The key is transforming the conflict dynamics from negative sum to positive sum.

12. Impacts of External Events

The second round questionnaire also posed a new question: " How might external developments such as the war in Iraq change strategies that could lead to peace in the region?" There was little uncertainty that the war had weakened the UN, placed the US in the role of unilateral superpower willing to exert its power for its purposes, and that elimination of WMD is now seriously on the agenda. There was disagreement about whether the war would have a beneficial affect, detrimental affect of the Israeli Palestinian conflict. Here are some comments:

Comments on the Iraq war itself

Despite all the benefits the region will gain from the defeat of dictatorship in Iraq, this war was an illegal one. The US failed working as a world team player. Since the US is a mighty power now, it will keep showing this power as long as this conservative government holds power.

Before any solution can be implemented we need to have democracies in all Arab states. Iraq is a good start.

Iraq could become a fundamentalist Islamic state worse than Iran – or not

Maybe could be a backfire situation, give some Arab countries the excuse to strength their position against Israeli presence.

This depends on the final outcome of the changes. For instance if the war in Iraq ultimately results is the overthrow of tyranny and the establishment of a regime that is acceptable to most of the citizens and is conducive socioeconomic development of even the most vulnerable sections of society then the charge would be acceptable. But even so US and UK should not have sidelined the UN by taking the law their own hands.

The action of US in Iraq is counterproductive politically and it will generate reactions not only against US, but also against the entire West.

(External developments such as the Iraq war) makes peace much more difficult as passions of Muslims are fanned into greater hate of Israel and the U.S. Increases sense of humiliation and inferiority on the part of Muslims everywhere. Raises rate of recruiting of terrorists. Unites Muslims ("the Islamic nation").

A major concern, is that the doctrine of intervention may be applied as a justification for this war by others such as India against Pakistan. That would lead to greater instability and factionalism.

(As a result of recent events, it will be necessary in the future) to limit the unilateral

decision of United States to act in accordance with their strategy of preventive war at any time that the sovereign decisions of the states don't agree with their own interests.

Comments of the consequences of the Iraq war

Strangely enough the war in Iraq may have beneficial consequences. US will have reinforced its leadership role (for better or worse). Other external developments of importance include: credibility of the UN, statesman like performance of the Palestinian leadership, exposure of corruption in either camp, etc.

If democracy is consolidated in Iraq, this will be a push for peace in the region. In general, democratically elected governments NEVER go to war with each other, and look for all possible ways to solve their problems. Democracy and a free market economy in Iraq will give a big boost to the peace process in the region. On the other hand, if no democracy surfaces in Iraq, it will take another "spark" to help the peace process.

The US action may increase resistance among certain countries such as Syria; or it may lead to increases in terrorism or challenges to monarchies in Saudi Arabia or Egypt. There are also hopeful signs that Arabs may demand better education, free press, and condemn fundamental extremists actions.

If the reconstruction of Iraq is a model for what the Western world can do in participation with local people it could be inspiring but if the whole rebuilding process becomes catastrophic then there is little chance that any third word country is going to have any faith in the Western/US world.

I think that the war has given a great chance to the US people to review their position on the conflicts between Israel and Palestine. As long as the US has a biased position toward Israel, the problem will not be resolved. I believe that many US people have started noticing the situation. The war, which basically I hate, unexpectedly has given a window opportunity for the rest of the world to push the US to rethink his policy in the Middle East.

It is vitally important that international diplomatic efforts continue to focus on Arab-Israeli issues, while also promoting cooperation to expedite Iraqi reconstruction and regional democratization. Democracy, however, is difficult to cultivate under conditions of national humiliation, economic decline, etc., so "regime change" must not be promoted as a panacea to the regions problems. The Arab-Israeli conflict helped to fuel the emergence of dictatorial regimes, and not vice versa. Settling outstanding differences among Palestinians and Israelis, however difficult it may be, is nonetheless essential to generate hope and a new vision for the future of the region.

The political situation in Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict are two very different issues with very few interrelations Let's wait and see (how) democratic elections in Iraq will turn out. The domino theory of neo-conservative authors in the U.S.A. ignores historical, political and psychological realities of the Middle East. Western style "democracy" is not an essential prerequisite for a stable peace. Look at moderate and pro-western Arab states like Egypt or Jordan. Look at Arab monarchies lacking any democratic basis, where U.S. military power is pre-positioned like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman.

Prolonged military presence of the U.S in Iraq can have a very counterproductive effect ... (will be resented) by radical Islamic (factions, improves) conditions for Al-Qaida and destabilizes moderate Arab governments.

The strategies after the war in Iraq, could change dramatically since Hussein is not anymore in the government sponsoring the Palestinian cause. Therefore, the Quartet (EU, Russia, UN, US) is suggesting a very innovative peace plan, which should be considered by the countries of the region.

From a geopolitical point of view, now is the opportunity to solve the Palestinian situation with Israel in terms of borders problems, defining their territory.

It is also important to consider the situation in the Iraq northern border with Turkey.

Rebuilding of Iraq could be tied to rebuilding of Palestine; the Palestinian issue is climbing to the top of USA agenda after Iraq.

…the finish of Husein´s regime could be the opportunity to gather all Arab countries in a common effort to definitely end the Israeli-Palestinian problem. Maybe the key is to encourage them to take the point in the development of initiatives of peace programs, under the UN umbrella, but conducted by a regional organization of countries, where both communities must be represented. Let them be ones who solve their own problems.

(One impact is) eventually destroying all Weapons of Mass Destruction world wide and or putting it under an International organization monitored by a group of world powers not only super powers.

Even if the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein justified the incursion of the United States in Iraq, it still went against the .. UN and now we can imagine that wars might be declared on and off due to personnel interests. It is possible to imagine the same scenario re-enacted in the Middle East between the Middle East countries which have very varied ethnic and financial interests. …This situation will not promote peace in the world.

Comments on the Iraq war pertaining to the UN

I believe that one reason why the US decided to take action against Iraq was that the world, at this moment, does not have an international military force which is capable of enforcing UN resolutions and punish those governments or leaders who violate human rights inside their own country. The fact that the US decided to go against the UN might force us to move in the direction of creating an effective international government with the sole purpose of enforcing peace, human rights and democracy in the world.

The UN needs to recover its credibility and leadership to be considered a valid “spokesman” in the region and in the world.

With the beginning of the war in Iraq our world has changed as we knew it. The United Nations' institution is more compromised than ever. THAT is the great risk that the USA has taking by moving forward into Baghdad. It is not a question of peace in the Middle East region anymore, but how to ensure the peace in other places of our world in the future? What will happen to the United Nations' role in improving our welfare and our world?

The unilateral decision of United States and their ally the United Kingdom to invade Iraq against the resolution of the UN Security Council and indirectly the UN General Assembly role, has denied the UN respect and observance to its resolutions. Empower the role of the UN General Assembly.

13. Scenario Considerations

Other respondents also had strategic suggestions:

> Send a UN peacekeeping troops to freeze all military, violent and revenge actions of both Palestine and Israel;
>
> Cut off all foreign interference from any countries, parties or interests groups except those assistance through UN representatives;

The world's countries should boycott both the countries if they refuse to accept the U.N. actions to achieve peace

> ….after the war in Iraq: …for Israel, a "cooling down" of their requests, in particular a significant withdrawal of the colonies of the West Bank and Gaza. But .. public opinion (might nit support this)… Yet the Palestinian State that Israel imagines is a nonviable abstract construction, based on a principle of territorial continuity and this is completely unacceptable to Palestinians. Thus the situation is blocked.
>
> Missing is the option of Israeli withdrawal from part/most if the areas. Missing are questions on the credibility of any UN resolution, international observers etc. Missing is the need for recognition and acceptance of Israel as a Jewish State with an Arab minority having full citizen rights. Missing is the option of Israeli unilateral withdrawal from large parts of the territories and various forms of "separation". Missing are essential "external" variables of achieving a viable peace, such as peace and full relations with all or almost all Arab/Islamic nations; and stability or "positive dynamics" in all involved countries.

… long term peace is possible and even probable, but there will be various states of peace …a first provisional state of peace, a "reduced" peace represents a critical phase from which could evolve other levels of peace, more "broad" or deeper. In this critical phase, it is clear that the world political situation weighs heavily.

> The war in Iraq is part of a U.S post 9/11 policy to re-map the whole region of the Middle East in a way to be more stable economically and politically. After this war and potential wars with some neighboring countries to Israel, the U.S will try to secure the borders of the State of Israel and at the same time practice pressure on the Israeli government to end its occupation and deconstruct major big settlements in the West Bank and Gaza to contain the hard feelings of Arab nations. I believe that this is the strategy adopted by the U.S, and Israel and that some of the Palestinians who are taking sensitive positions in the PA recently, are also aware of that.
>
> For better or worse, the war in Iraq has the attention of world, and the US and UN should partner with other countries in the region to move the Palestinians and Israelis towards resolution. Residents of Gulf Arab countries understand that their future is linked to the political and economic stability of Palestine and Israel and that a permanent and honest resolution in which they invest and participate is in their own interests. The citizens of immediately neighboring countries such as Syria would also benefit from the shift from a draining war-time economy to a peace-time economy. Jordan would be freed of the Saudi-Subsidy and the burden of supporting refugees.
>
> The most powerful actor in the area is the United States. If this country really wanted a peace balanced (this is not so obvious) it could advance the things without being too much concerned about external events. A large number of countries, Europeans in particular, could contribute to

the diplomatic work and to the economic efforts as soon as the United States gave its assurance that it would go up to the end of the process

US policy makers have decided that a new geopolitical order in the Middle East should be based on prolonged (now it looks that perhaps even permanent) presence of the US and their allies in the region. So far (4 May 2003) no role is expected for the UN and other organizations, but only for the "willing" allies of the USA…. This changes the whole concept of the Middle East peace process The basic "hot question" is: Will the USA be ready to exert equal pressure on both parties of the Middle East conflict? If not, an imminent decision must taken by the USA - how to impose peace…... It can be done in different ways - political and economic pressure, military protectorate exercised by the "willing" allies of the USA.

14. Scenario Construction

Although the work to this point was designed to provide information useful in constructing normative peace scenarios, some respondents began to sense and commented on features that a normative scenario might contain:

Israel declares that it recognizes a Palestinian state in the pre-67 borders, with some mutually agreed modifications. In order to prove its good will and build confidence, Israel dismantles unilaterally at least one settlement, and promises to dismantle a second one after 3 months free of terrorist attacks. Palestinian leadership publicly and persistently denounces terrorism, not because "it does disservice to the Palestinian interests" (as they usually say), but because it is immoral. Palestinians give up the "right of return" into Israel (except mutually agreed limited number of humanitarian cases). Israelis give up their "right of return" (or "right to settle") in the territories occupied in 67, although considered as their historical homeland.

The preliminary requisite for any talks to resume is the end of suicide bombings and random killing of Israelis by Palestinians. Then a cease-fire on both sides and withdraw of the Israeli military forces from disputed and/or occupied territories they control could be achievable, and then negotiations towards a comprehensive peace accord could commence.

Once we have democracies in all Arab countries and have created a military UN force capable of enforcing resolutions and human rights, we can establish UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions for the following points:

1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states
4.25 Ratification by Israel of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty.

These two points will be to demonstrate that both sides are willing to find a peace settlement.

Another respondent began to build a scenario by sequencing the actions presented in the questionnaires:

1 Immediate and unconditional end of suicide bombings by the Palestinians
4.23 Unilateral end to violence by Palestinians to deprive Israeli government of reasons to keep hawks in power.

4.17 Cooperation to combat terrorism

2 This move is acknowledged by a resolution of the Security Council:

4.3 Establish a UN Security Council resolution banning further violent actions, which would be enforced.

3 Israel withdraws from large parts of the occupied territories:

4.24. Unilateral end to violence by Israel to deprive Palestinians of a principal reason for continuation of violence.

1.1 Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied since the 1967 war

2.3 Withdraw Israeli military forces from disputed and/or occupied territories they control (within one month)

4. The peace process resumes(within 2 months):

1.2 Resume the Peace Process on the bases of UN resolutions

1.9 and 2.6 Require that any agreement involving Israel and the Palestinians be shared in and supported by most Arab states.

1.10 Urge that agreements survive regime changes within Israel.

2.7 Urge that agreements survive regime changes within a new Palestinian state.

5. Peace settlements with concessions on both sides (by 6 months and within two years):

1.3 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution

1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states

1.5 Deploy international observers

2.1 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution

2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state

3.1 Declare Jerusalem an International City

3.2 Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites

3.3 Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions

3.8 Guarantee free access to holy sites

4.1 Israel withdraws its settlements to the pre-'67 line

4.2 Accept Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz proposal [that calls for Israel's withdrawal from lands occupied in 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and then all the Arab States will recognize Israel as a state]

4.5 End Israeli occupation of land obtained during 1967 war

4.6 Assign long-term UN peacekeeping forces in both countries

4.9 Establish an International Tribunal that would try civilians and/or leaders from Palestine and Israel accused of heinous crimes

4.15 Create additional venues where moderates of both sides can talk to each other

5.14 Guarantee free access and stability to the hundreds of thousands of peaceful Palestine employees and people who run small enterprises in West Jordan and Gaza.

5.16 Create and sign a peace agreement between the Muslim and Jewish religious leaders.

7.3 Initiate International inspections under UN to assure that human rights are being respected

7.4 Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to General Assembly Resolution 194/48

7.2 Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel

7.6 Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestine areas.

6. Building long-term peace (the post WWII peace process between France and

Germany may be used as a model)(between 1 year and 20 years):

2.11 Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives.

15. Conclusions

We conclude that:

- Systematic study of routes to peace using an international panel seems possible (it was in doubt at the start)
- The UN is involved in many of the promising actions and therefore must exert a leadership role.
- The answers do not distinguish the politics of the respondents.
- Differences in opinions about what is important are small
- On average, most actions are considered important, and about as likely as not.
- The backfire potential is, on average, lower than 50/50.
- The more important actions are also seen as most likely; there is no relationship between importance and backfire potential.
- The consequences and cross impacts of any action are complex and must be carefully thought through in any scenario and planned action.
- Responses from sub-groups from Arabic countries and Israel agreed in many areas, an inkling of a way to begin dialog.
- More work is required to synthesize the results into coherent normative scenarios and action plans.
- Respondents who chose to comment on the impacts of external developments on the Middle East agreed that a dangerous government has been removed from Iraq as a result of actions by the United States, the United Kingdom, and their allies, but that those actions raised a host of new and disturbing questions including the role and authority of the United Nations, the role of unilateralism in the future, how the precedent would play out for other countries in other situations, and the need for and resolve to remove WMD everywhere.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Middle East Peace Scenarios Study

––Round 2 Questionnaire and Results

The Round 2 questionnaire was constructed based on the responses received to the first round. The average ratings of the actions from the first round were included in the second round questionnaire for the participants' information. This appendix includes the Round 2 questionnaire with the ratings received in both rounds. The actions *listed in italics* were suggested in Round 1 and rated in Round 2; the results of Round 2 are presented in bold.

Millennium Project

The Middle East Peace Scenarios Study

Invitation

The recent events in Iraq remind us why it is important for international collaboration to build peace scenarios. The Millennium Project of the American Council for the United Nations University, its sponsors listed below, and the Cairo Node of the Millennium Project have the honor to invite you to participate in Round 2 of a study designed to produce Middle East Peace scenarios with a primary focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The purpose of the enclosed questionnaire is to collect a broad range of views on how peace might be achieved.

Futurists, social scientists, representatives of involved institutions and decisionmakers in the Middle East and elsewhere participated in Round 1 and are again being invited to participate through the Millennium Project Nodes, the Project's listserves, and the World Futures Studies Federation.

The Millennium Project is a worldwide effort to collect and synthesize judgments about emerging global challenges that may affect the human condition. Its annual *State of the Future* and other special reports are used by decisionmakers and educators to add focus to important issues, clarify choices, and improve the quality of decisions.

The first round asked participants to rate options or actions that might help achieve several pre-conditions for peace and to suggest others. The results are included in the enclosed Round 2 for your information. This second round questionnaire invites you to judge these additional suggestions as to their importance, likelihood, and backfire potential (the possibility of making the situation worse). You are also invited to select several options or actions about which you have special insight and briefly explain a strategy for their implementation. Lastly, you are asked how external developments like the war in Iraq may change peace strategies.

Based on the results of Round 2, draft scenarios will be written and shared with relevant decisionmakers, policy advisors, and opinion leaders. The leaders will be interviewed to include their views to further develop alternative peace scenarios.

The Millennium Project plans to publish the results of the study to-date in the *2003 State of the Future* and to share the results with the international community. Those who respond to this questionnaire will receive a complimentary copy of the *2003 State of the Future*. No attributions will be made, but respondents will be listed as participants, unless we are requested otherwise.

Please contact us with any questions and return your responses to arrive at the AC/UNU Millennium Project by May 1, 2003. We look forward to including your views.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome C. Glenn	Theodore J. Gordon	Kamal Zaki Mamoud
Director	Senior Fellow	Chairman, Cairo Node

Current Sponsors: Applied Materials, Deloitte & Touche, General Motors, U.S. Army Environmental Policy Institute, U.S. Dept. of Energy Office of Science.
Inkind: Albrycht McClure, Embassy of Cape Verde, Smithsonian Institution, and the World Federation of UN Associations.

Middle East Peace Scenarios Study - Round 2

Instructions

An initial set of potential conditions for peace and actions to help achieve these conditions were given in Round 1. These were developed from staff research, the Cairo Node of the Millennium Project, suggestions of the Project's Planning Committee, and built on the guiding principles in UN Security Council Resolutions 181, 242, 338, 373, and the Oslo Accords. These were rated by the respondents to Round 1 using the scale below. The results are provided in the tables below.

The participants in Round 1 were also asked to suggest addition actions. These suggestions were distilled and edited by staff and are presented in italics for your judgments. Please use the following scales to rate these additional suggestions:

Importance
5 = must be achieved for peace to exist
4 = very effective in leading to peace
3 = effective but not essential
2 = not very effective
1 = counterproductive

Likelihood of Implementation
5 = very likely
4 = likely
3 = implies a lot of compromise
2 = almost impossible
1 = never achievable

Backfire Potential (the possibility of making the situation worse)
5= almost certain to backfire
4= very risky
3= as likely as not to backfire
2= minor chance
1= no chance to backfire

You are not required to answer every question. Provide your judgments just about those items within your expertise and interest.

Since faxes and hand written responses may be difficult to read, please consider sending your response by email to make sure your views are recorded correctly. This questionnaire can be downloaded from http://acunu.org/millennium/rd2-mepeace. In this way you can fill out the questionnaire on your computer off-line and then send it back by email.

Please respond by 1 May 2003.

All responses are confidential and no attributions will be made. Please respond by e-mail to acunu@igc.org with a copy to jglenn@igc.org and Tedjgordon@att.com, or fax to +1-202-686-5179, or airmail to: The Millennium Project, American Council for the United Nations University, 4421 Garrison St. NW, Washington, DC 20016 USA

THE MILLENNIUM PROJECT
MIDDLE EAST PEACE SCENARIOS STUDY
ROUND 2 QUESTIONNAIRE

Section 1.

Using the scales in the Instructions, please enter your judgments in the blank cells about the importance, likelihood, and backfire potential of the new actions *listed in italics* suggested in Round 1. The averaged judgments of the participants on the initial list given in Round 1 (using the same scale) appear in the three columns. [2]

Necessary condition for peace / actions—options	Impor-tance	Likeli-hood	Backfire Potential
1. Provide secure borders for Israel			
1.1 Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied since the 1967 war	4.28	2.85	3.20
1.2 Resume the Peace Process on the bases of UN resolutions	4.22	3.43	2.77
1.3 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution	3.83	3.07	3.03
1.4 Recognition of Israel as an independent state by all Arab states	4.45	3.12	2.76
1.5 Deploy international observers	3.77	3.68	2.62
1.6 Install a high-technology sensor system on borders to detect clandestine motion	2.88	3.41	2.93
1.7 Place UN peacekeeping forces in areas of conflict or potential conflict	3.59	3.45	2.89
1.8 Acceptance by Palestine of the right for Israel to integrate Jewish laws and traditions in their government.	**3.40**	**2.84**	**3.07**
1.9 Require that any agreement involving Israel and the Palestinians be shared in and supported by most Arab states.	**3.76**	**3.16**	**2.37**
1.10 Urge that agreements survive regime changes within Israel.	**4.24**	**3.34**	**2.26**
1.11 Try to ensure that any agreement represents the view of the people of both sides, not just the ruling powers.	**4.17**	**3.19**	**2.24**
1.12 Create a new federal state, which would comprise the two relatively autonomous regions of Israel and Palestine.	**2.64**	**2.21**	**3.69**
1.13 In all Israel-Palestine negotiating teams, women peacemakers, politicians, academics and professionals be equally represented on both sides.	**3.40**	**3.05**	**2.07**
2. Establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state			
2.1 Enact a UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defines the	4.33	3.38	3.07

[2] Note that the numbers in bold represent the averages of the responses to the second round and were not included in the round 2 questionnaire. These numbers are presented here as feedback of the round 2 results.

Necessary condition for peace / actions—options	Impor-tance	Likeli-hood	Backfire Potential
borders and is enforced by a UN Security Council resolution			
2.2 Recognize Palestine as a sovereign UN member state	4.50	3.62	3.00
2.3 Withdraw Israeli military forces from occupied and/or disputed territories they control	4.45	3.18	3.19
2.4 Succession of President Yasser Arafat by free supervised elections	3.50	3.25	3.01
2.5 Acceptance by Israel of the right of Palestine to integrate Muslim laws and practices within their government.	**3.39**	**2.96**	**3.16**
2.6 Require that any agreement involving Israel and the Palestinians be shared in and supported by most Arab states.	**3.74**	**3.11**	**2.53**
2.7 Urge that agreements survive regime changes within a new Palestinian state.	**4.18**	**3.27**	**2.49**
2.8 Try to ensure that any agreement represents the view of the people of both sides, not just the ruling power(s).	**4.10**	**3.10**	**2.37**
2.9 Hold democratic Palestinian elections.	**4.18**	**3.62**	**2.39**
2.10 Create a new democratic Palestinian constitution.	**3.94**	**3.38**	**2.49**
2.11 Encourage representative governments whose goal will be the well being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent living and develop a political environment in which people can express their opinions without fear for their lives.	**4.49**	**3.37**	**1.92**
2.12 Establish the right of the Palestinian state to exist without interference from any foreign party.	**4.15**	**3.18**	**2.48**
2.13 Create a new federal state, which would comprise the two relatively autonomous regions of Israel and Palestine.	**2.62**	**2.18**	**3.66**
2.14 As anticipated in the Quartet (EU, Russia, UN, US) roadmap, pursue any peace plan in well-defined phases, testing the results of one before proceeding to the next.	**3.89**	**3.32**	**2.44**
2.15 In all Israel-Palestine negotiating teams, women peacemakers, politicians, academics and professionals be equally represented on both sides.	**3.46**	**3.08**	**1.99**
3. Resolution of the Jerusalem question			
3.1 Declare Jerusalem an International City	3.71	2.87	3.10
3.2 Develop a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites	4.25	3.38	2.97
3.3 Enact a clear, definite UN General Assembly resolution with enforcement, stipulating the areas that are under the governance of Israel and Palestine based on previous Security Council Resolutions	3.86	3.18	3.10
3.4 Establish a UN Trusteeship	3.25	2.90	2.70
3.5 Reduce the size of the city of Jerusalem to its pre-'67 borders	2.76	2.40	3.48
3.6 Establish a time sharing governance between Israel and Palestine	2.22	2.10	3.25
3.7 Build a "Berlin Wall"	1.42	2.17	3.62

Necessary condition for peace / actions—options	Impor-tance	Likeli-hood	Backfire Potential
3.8 Guarantee free access to holy sites	4.17	3.44	2.88
3.9 Guarantee religious rights of all creeds in Jerusalem	4.41	3.67	2.78
3.10 Return to pre-1967war sovereignty arrangements for Jerusalem as stipulated by the UN resolution 242.	**3.58**	**2.66**	**3.16**
4. End violence by both sides and build confidence			
4.1 Israel withdraws its settlements to the pre-'67 line	4.14	2.81	3.14
4.2 Accept Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz proposal [that calls for Israel's withdrawal from lands occupied in 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and then all the Arab States will recognize Israel as a state]	3.96	3.21	3.00
3.4 34.3 Establish a UN Security Council resolution banning further violent actions, which would be enforced.	3.52	3.20	3.04
4.4 End suicide bombings	4.35	2.83	2.83
4.5 End Israeli occupation of land obtained during 1967 war	4.22	2.88	3.14
4.6 Assign long-term UN peacekeeping forces in both countries	3.72	3.32	3.03
4.7 Establish many UN-funded citizens conflict resolution/dialogue groups to learn and practice peace-building skills	3.83	3.46	2.64
4.8 Ban any aid in weapons (or funds intended for weapons) to both sides	3.90	2.57	2.93
4.9 Establish an International Tribunal that would try civilians and/or leaders from Palestine and Israel accused of heinous crimes	3.35	2.65	3.05
4.10 Place an international peacekeeping force in the area—outside the UN jurisdiction	2.82	2.72	3.25
4.11 Accelerate the "children exchange" program between Israeli and Palestinian children to promote peace and coexistence	3.52	3.28	2.60
4.12 Initiate UN inspections to ensure that human rights are being respected	3.66	3.30	2.80
4.13 Promote women activist groups to cultivate peace ideas in the family environment	3.64	3.34	2.52
4.14 Implement a vigorous energy program in western countries to reduce dependency on oil	3.31	2.95	2.43
4.15 Create additional venues where moderates of both sides can talk to each other	3.88	3.78	2.39
4.16 Honor international commitments in good faith	4.04	3.27	2.45
4.17 Cooperation to combat terrorism	4.12	3.28	2.75
4.18 Cooperation to combat all types of organized crime	4.00	3.20	2.61
4.19 Restrict US funding of Israel to economic needs only.	**3.48**	**2.33**	**3.00**
4.20 Build a new geopolitical order in the Middle East, i.e. temporary Western dominance aiming at a prolonged process of democracy-building (more possible after the war in Iraq)	**2.62**	**2.90**	**3.90**
4.21 Launch common infrastructure projects based on social,	**4.00**	**3.35**	**2.01**

Necessary condition for peace / actions—options	Impor-tance	Likeli-hood	Backfire Potential
economic needs and existing inequalities			
4.22 Re-establish a Palestinian national culture and identity that is not based on their post-Israel experience so that there is a sense of Palestinian pride.	**3.80**	**3.31**	**2.28**
4.23 Unilateral end to violence by Palestinians to deprive Israeli government of reasons to keep hawks in power.	**3.69**	**2.58**	**2.65**
4.24 Unilateral end to violence by Israel to deprive Palestinians of a principal reason for continuation of violence.	**3.76**	**2.46**	**2.57**
4.25 Ratification by Israel of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty.	**3.68**	**2.72**	**2.26**
4.26 Require the US to maintain a more balanced political position and avoid real or perceived pro-Israel bias.	**3.94**	**2.76**	**2.39**
4.27 As anticipated in the Quartet (EU, Russia, UN, US) roadmap, pursue any peace plan in well-defined phases, testing the results of one before proceeding to the next.	**3.87**	**3.29**	**2.42**
4.28 Recognize the need for international intervention without interference in the right of the Palestinian people to maintain their own vision regarding their historical and political right to live on their own homeland	**3.63**	**3.13**	**2.80**
5. Social and Economic Development			
5.1 Negotiate *long-term* water sharing agreements	4.42	3.46	2.64
5.2 Encourage free trade with both a new Palestinian State and Israel	4.04	3.42	2.58
5.3 Promote Palestinian access to world markets	4.07	3.50	2.51
5.4 Normalize travel between both states, controlled only by passports and visas.	3.88	3.10	2.93
5.5 Establish special international programs under UN umbrella to encourage industrial and technological development for the Palestinian state	4.11	3.55	2.55
5.6 Establish a Palestinian Reconstruction Fund by Arab countries	3.93	3.54	2.60
5.7 Create Trade agreements that promote trade between Israel and Palestine	3.74	3.20	2.50
5.8 Establish a program of technology transfer from Israel to the Palestinian state to improve agriculture and economic development	3.58	2.98	2.61
5.9 Encourage direct foreign investment in the new Palestinian state	4.05	3.34	2.65
5.10 Create local participatory planning processes connected to development budget decisionmaking (similar to Shrouk in Egypt) to help restore dignity and faith in the future	4.06	3.42	2.42
5.11 Assure free movement of investments to all the nations of the region	3.82	3.25	2.63
5.12 Redistribute the US economic aid so that Palestine gets a larger share.	**3.55**	**2.99**	**2.40**
5.13 Encourage representative governments in a Palestinian state whose goal will be the well being of their populations by providing an economic environment in which populations can earn a decent	**4.02**	**3.30**	**2.02**

Necessary condition for peace / actions—options	Impor-tance	Likeli-hood	Backfire Potential
living and develop a political environment where they can express their opinions without fear for their lives.			
5.14 Guarantee free access and stability to the hundreds of thousands of peaceful Palestine employees and people who run small enterprises in West Jordan and Gaza.	**3.86**	**3.16**	**2.46**
5.15 Establish a "Marshall Plan" under international control for impoverished Palestinian areas.	**3.36**	**3.11**	**2.40**
5.16 Create and sign a peace agreement between the Muslim and Jewish religious leaders.	**3.82**	**2.87**	**2.42**
5.17 End mandatory service in the Israeli Army.	**2.92**	**2.34**	**2.85**
5.18 Begin the difficult process of separating religion and state for both Arab Moslems and Israeli Jews. Israel agrees to be a civil state with a Jewish majority and a new civil Palestinian state is created with a Moslem majority.	**3.67**	**2.50**	**2.76**
5.19 Form a league (e.g. Middle East Union for Economy & Development) with Israel as a permanent member, with the Arab countries represented, for discussion and resolution of common economic and social issues.	**3.50**	**2.71**	**2.39**
5.20 Foster development of a specific set of "next generation" leaders from both sides that can look at the problem in a new way.	**3.91**	**3.43**	**2.03**
6. Education			
6.1 Create via UNESCO scholars curricula for introduction to school systems in the Middle East that provides unbiased historical awareness and information designed to teach tolerance	4.21	3.40	2.39
6.2 Create joint Israeli-Palestinian task force of scholars that would write together the history of Middle East for classrooms with particular focus on Israel and Palestine	3.83	2.95	2.51
6.3 Begin internationally monitored media coverage on both sides that would condemn violence against the other side and would show the downside of their own violent acts	3.89	3.19	2.76
6.4 Invest in Palestinian educational infrastructure to bring it to par with Israel	4.07	3.25	2.43
6.5 Organize cultural symposiums with religious leaders from both sides to discuss ways to cultivate tolerance and peace	3.97	3.39	2.49
6.6 Provide Equal access to education for women	4.18	3.33	2.48
6.7 Create a new story and vision of what it means to be Palestinian and Israeli	3.78	3.04	2.55
6.8 Produce a movie based on the results of this study to show how many different elements can come together to achieve peace	3.39	3.42	2.37
6.9 Challenge worldviews of each by creating a Jewish-Palestinian dialog that focuses on Abraham, the father of each religion	3.35	3.13	2.74
6.10 Create a fund for joint projects in cooperative research.	**3.57**	**3.40**	**1.71**
6.11 Introduce military service or extended civil service and	**3.02**	**2.59**	**2.94**

Necessary condition for peace / actions—options	Impor-tance	Likeli-hood	Backfire Potential
additional taxes to ultra-orthodox Jewish fundamentalists/ settlers, so that they bear the burdens of war like the other Israeli people.			
6.12 Introduce a five percent requirement to Israeli and Palestine parliaments to reduce the extraordinary influence of small extreme parties on governmental policy, according to the example of several European countries.	**3.44**	**3.01**	**2.64**
6.13 Include the teachings of Buddha, Hindu principles of tolerance and the Gandhian ideas of Ahimsa and Non-violence in the school curriculum in Israel and Palestine.	**2.77**	**2.61**	**2.33**
6.14 Promote cultural and artistic activities so one side can know the culture of the other.	**3.76**	**3.50**	**1.68**
6.15 Inculcate a mindset of co-existing in spite of differences by educating the younger generation on the need for tolerance and unconditional love.	**3.79**	**3.18**	**1.83**
7. Resolution of Palestinian refugee status			
7.1 Provide Palestinians the right to return to Israel as Israeli citizens	3.61	2.70	3.37
7.2 Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel	3.72	3.01	3.10
7.3 Initiate International inspections under UN to assure that human rights are being respected	3.92	3.43	2.78
7.4 Assure the right to repatriation and compensation according to existing General Assembly resolutions.	3.90	3.26	2.97
7.5 Create a new country--the United States of Israel-Palestine. As citizens, Palestinians would have the right to return to Israel and Israelis would be able to stay in the West Bank and Gaza strip.	**2.36**	**1.89**	**3.68**
7.6 Create an Israeli-Palestinian commission, which would negotiate an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestine areas.	**3.47**	**2.88**	**2.87**
7.7 Dissolve the "Palestine-refugee-camps/quarters" in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and so on, or turn them into common, fully equipped city-quarters with mixed population.	**3.45**	**2.78**	**2.65**

Section 2.

2.1 Please select three or more actions from the full list in Section 1 (both initial list and additional suggestions in italics). The ones you select should be actions about which you have special insight into their possible implementation. **Please use the numbers associated with the actions listed above**.

Your responses will be used to help give further details for the construction of peace scenarios. For each item you select, please consider including:

- Your strategy to make the action occur and become an effective contribution to peace.
- Who might act and how would they get movement toward peace
- When might this be done
- What would improve chances for success

Please note that a criticism that was made for many of the actions listed in Round 1 was that details of implementation were lacking, so if possible, include details about your recommendations.

Implementation strategies:

First Strategy:

Second Strategy:

Third Strategy:

2.2 How might external developments such as the war in Iraq change strategies that could lead to

peace in the region?

Please list your primary institutional affiliation and address below:
(No attributions will be made, but we need to know where to mail the *2003 State of the Future*):

Your Name: Title:

Organization:

Address:

City: State/Country: Postal Code:

E-Mail:

3.2. Please write the letter(s) corresponding to your profession in the brackets: [_____]

a) futurist, b) politician, c) military d) academic, e) religious professional, f) consultant
g) other _____

Additional Comments:

Please respond by e-mail to acunu@igc.org with a copy to jglenn@igc.org and Tedjgordon@att.com, or fax to +1-202-686-5179, or airmail to: The Millennium Project, American Council for the United Nations University, 4421 Garrison St. NW, Washington, DC 20016 USA. Thank you for your participation. We plan to send you the results in the *2003 State of the Future* in August.

Appendix 2. The Use of Scenarios in Conflict Resolution[3]

In 2000, the Millennium Project published a series of case studies illustrating how various methods of futures research had proven useful in real life decisionmaking applications. Among the cases cited was the "Mont Fleur scenarios" used in South Africa to help resolve political differences at the time of transition from the apartheid government. Normative scenarios have been used in conflict resolution in several other applications as well, but the approach is not usual or widespread. So, the present study represents another early application of normative scenarios in the conflict resolution process.

The Mont Fleur Process

Because they were ground breaking and effective, it is worth reviewing the Mont Fleur scenario application.[4],[5]

The Mont Fleur scenarios take their name from the Mont Fleur conference center outside Cape Town where a diverse group of 22 prominent South Africans met in 1991 (three years before the end of Apartheid) with a team of scenario writers from Shell Oil Company to create four scenarios. Funded by a private foundation, the scenarios were intended to "stimulate debate on how to shape the next ten years" for South Africa.

One of the first successes of this project was to bring together the people and ideas from the extremes as well as the center, including the South African government, the African National Congress (ANC), the Inkatta, and the far right wing extremists. The discussions were facilitated by Adam Kahane, a Shell employee at that time. The key axes involved in the scenario space were political settlement and economic policy. The outputs were series of papers and a very effective video presentation of the scenarios.

Four scenarios were produced[6]:

> "Ostrich," in which a negotiated settlement to the crisis in South Africa is not achieved, and the government continues to be non-representative.
>
> "Lame Duck," in which a settlement is achieved but the transition to a new dispensation is slow and indecisive.

[3] Much of the material in this Appendix was prepared by Susan Jette and is drawn from the original and secondary sources noted.
[4] Derived from Olugbenga Adesida, The Knowledge Network, Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire, and Verne Wheelwright, University of Houston, Clear-Lake
[5] Derived from *State of the Future at the Millennium.* Jerome C. Glenn and Theodore J. Gordon. The American Council for the United Nations University, 2000
[6] www.gbn.org/scenarios/fleur/fleurintro.html

> "Icarus." in which transition is rapid but the new government unwisely pursues unsustainable, populist economic policies.
>
> "Flight of the Flamingos," in which the government's policies are sustainable and country takes a path of inclusive growth and democracy."

In a very simple manner (using cartoons and bird fables) the scenarios highlighted the dangers ahead if a political settlement was not reached between the anti-apartheid movement and the Government. It also indicated the impacts that ill advised economic policies could have on the future of South Africa. The scenarios were credited with nudging the National Party towards a negotiated settlement and convincing the ANC about the need for a sensible economic policy.

The scenarios were published in a 14 page insert in *The Weekly Mail* and *The Guardian Weekly*, major South African newspapers. Over the rest of the year, the team presented the scenarios to more than 50 influential groups throughout South Africa. A thirty-minute video presenting the scenarios was also released.

After the completion of the exercise, it was presented to all the major groups in South Africa, including the ANC and the apartheid Government.

The Mount Fleur scenarios exercise was an example of futures studies as a change agent and a tool for changing mind-sets. President Nelson Mandela of South Africa, then the leader of ANC requested to be shown the video more than twice as did then President De Klerk, the Cabinet, leaders of the ANC and other associations. A road show was undertaken in and outside of South Africa to present the scenarios. It was also shown to the World Bank and in several European capitals.

The success here is apparent since they scenarios became widely discussed in South Africa at all levels, including taxi drivers and talk radio shows. The extent of the influence of the scenarios is not measurable, but seven years later we know that South Africa made a peaceful transition to representative government. It could have been much different.

Mont Fleur Lessons

So what are the lessons learned from the Mont-Fleur Scenario Project that may apply to the Middle East? Why was it so successful?[7]

> First, the historical context is important. The Mont Fleur Scenario Project took place when Nelson Mandella was recently released from prison and the African National Congress (ANC), Pan African Congress (PAC), South African Communist Party (SACP), and other organizations were legalized. The historical context of the Middle East today is somewhat similar to the historical context of South Africa back in 1990. The situation has garnered international attention, the outcome of

[7] The lesson learned listed here are based on 'The Mont Fleur Scenarios – What Will South Africa be like in the year 2002?" Deeper News, a GBN publication: 1996.

published plans is by no means certain, and the intent and potential actions of leaders and parties to the conflict are masked.

Second, the Mont Fleur process may have been so successful because it engaged the public and stimulated debate on the street about how to shape the next 10 years. To date, Middle East Peace plans while well intentioned have been, for the most part, "top down"

Third, the project must involve important leaders who have the capability to deliver strong messages to and act in a post-conflict society.

Fourth, a common vocabulary and mutual understanding of the options are necessary. A common vocabulary is singularly important: for example, when is a refugee an immigrant? What is a settlement? When are occupied lands just disputed territories?

Fifth, the scenario building process should not be a mandated negotiation. Rather it should result from an informal, open dialogue.

Sixth, the facilitators of the process should focus on action-oriented results. This requires an understanding of the cultures involved.. The scenarios should be strong enough to impart relevant and timely messages.

Seventh, the informal networks formed during scenario building should have continuing pertinence and include influential groups from across the political spectrum. In the case of Mont Fleur, the maintenance of this networking was critical to subsequent formal agreements.

Eighth, it is important that the process be logical, open and informal; inclusive, holistic, and constructive.

Does the Middle East process used in this study build on these lessons? Some, certainly; others will await the next phase in which the scenarios themselves are constructed and disseminated.

The Desino Columbia Civic Scenario Project: 1996 – 1997

Inspired by Mont Fleur, the nation of Columbia undertook a civic scenario project that later became known as "Destino Columbia – A Scenario Planning Process for the New Millennium". It was 1997 when an extremely diverse group were drawn together in the context of a highly fragmented country:

> " It was beginning of the century when we lost Panama. Now, a century later, we faced the danger of losing San Andres and Providencia [Colombian islands 230 kilometers off the coast of Nicaragua that

> have been claimed by that country]. To add to the problem, groups of refugees were fleeing toward the borders, along with streams of migrants motivated by illusions of a better life in neighboring countries. All of these factors, like tributaries of a great river, contributed to the swelling flow of violence. The force of law had been replaced by the law of force. Citizens opted for arming themselves and creating militias. Homicide rates rose to unprecedented levels due to the private pursuit of justice and increasing numbers of armed people throughout the country. Between 1978 and 1994, the guerrilla forces had increased from 14 to 105, and had extended their control from 173 cities and towns to 600. They continued imposing their law and sharpening their confrontations with the armed forces and militias, which were completely immersed in a bloody struggle to control those territories. Murder rates thus reached a level of 120 per 100,000 inhabitants, five times the Brazilian rate and six times that of Mexico." (Columbian author.)

What made the Columbia Scenario process unique from the beginning, was the determination among a diverse group of participants – academics, self defense forces, peasants, the right and left, businessmen, managers, guerillas, the church, youth, the media –to make the project successful. The scenarios served to create a universal language among the participants. Not only were these scenarios designed to help the participants understand and adapt to the future, but they were intended to help the group influence and improve the future.[8]

Destino Columbia: The Process

The "Destino Columbia" process had three fundamental phases:

Scenario Development Phase:

- Divergence Stage: The ideas of the 43 participants on the problems of Columbia.
- Emergence Stage: Increase the participant's knowledge of Columbia and the world environment.
- Convergence Stage: Building multiple preliminary scenarios for Columbia and finally, agreement and revision: final version of the four scenarios.

Scenario Analysis Phase:

- Process of Reflection: Publication and national debate over the four scenarios.

Vision Phase:

- Process of Agreement and Action: Building a shared vision and actions to fulfill it.

[8] "Destino Columbia" Centre for Generative Leadership.1997

Destino Columbia: The Scenarios

The following are short summaries of the actual scenarios. The original scenario-sets are contained in www.Generon.com. They contain a myriad of quantitative comparison tables of the Columbian economy; including future drivers of political, social, and environment trends and conflict resolution strategies.[9]

"When the Sun Rises We'll See"

> The country collapsed into chaos. The lack of will to confront necessary changes had left us with out the ability to act—because the worst thing people can do it nothing!

"A Bird in the Hand is Worth Two in the Bush"

> Following 10 years of bloodshed, and under continuing pressure from armed groups, the state and society decided that it was time to enter into a dialogue and come into serious agreements. Rather than losing it, everybody gained something—because any settlement is better than continuing a bad lawsuit.

"Forward March!"

> To rebuild a broken nation and mend the lacerations in the country's social fabric before other attempts to achieve peace could be frustrated, people elected a government that proved strong enough to impose order and put an end to institutional chaos.

"In Unity Lies Strength"

> From the base of society up, the nation began an effort that led to vast transformations in our individual and collective mentality. It amounted to changing an old way of life, the source of many of our troubles: the inclination to work against each other. Instead, we discovered our true solution, one that could be achieved only through respect for differences and the strength of unity.

The "Vision Guatemala" Civic Scenario Project: 1998 – 2000

The Vision Guatemala project took place over a period of two years – a duration record by any scenario planning or civic scenario process standards.

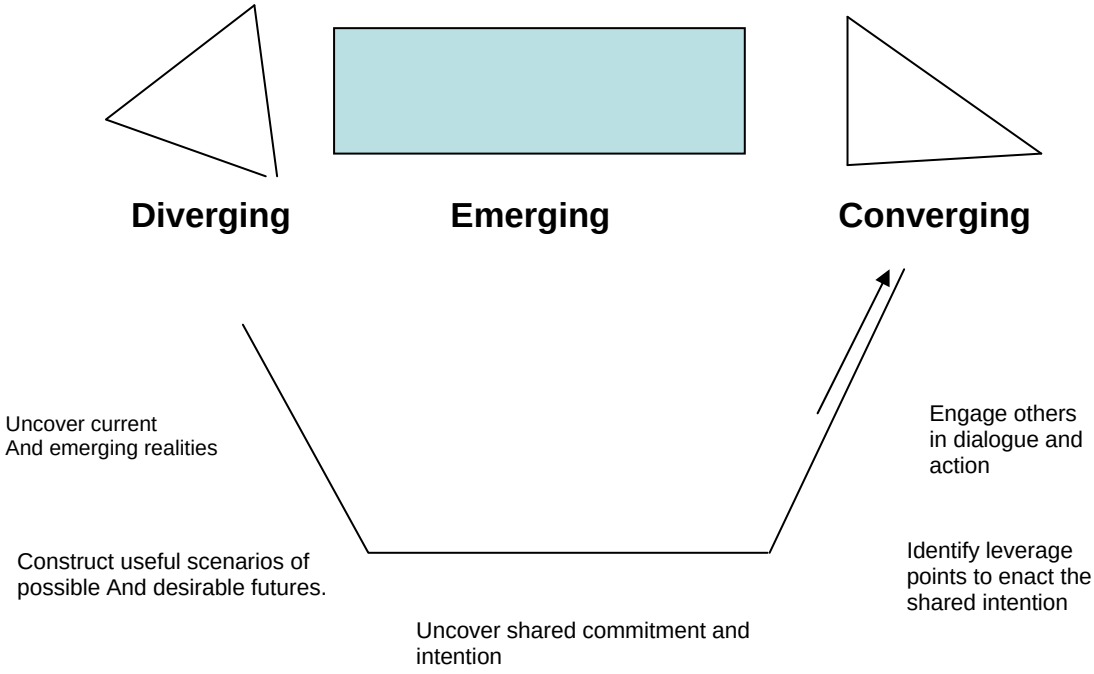
The historical context of Guatemala during the 1998 – 2000 period when the study took place is important and interesting. The project was launched just after a peace treaty ended 36 years of brutal civil war. For the team that worked on the project, there was a significant reframing of mind while they studied the country's past, present and future. They began to understand that the significant issue was the reality of the country's indigenous majority. In hopes that the newly signed peace treaty would be successful in the long term, the Vision Guatemala team went further than any other team in explicitly

[9] Ibid.

developing a preferred scenario, “Flight of the Fireflies”. They saw these stories not only as a tool to describe possible futures, but also as a means of shaping the future through engagement in dialogue with their fellow citizens

“Vision Guatemala”: The Process

The process was similar to the “Destino Columbia” process but better illustrated and refined:



The process also identified four concrete results to benchmark the success of future scenario projects:

1) Reframed mental models among participants.
2) Shared commitment to change developed by dialogue.
3) Regenerated energy and optimism.
4) Renewed commitment to action and continued momentum.

"Vision Guatemala": The Scenarios

The following are short summaries of the actual scenarios. The original scenario-sets are contained in www.Generon.com. They contain a myriad of quantitative comparison tables of the Guatemalan economy and include political, social, and environment trends and conflict resolution strategies.[10]

"The Illusion of the Moth"

> The moth's path is dangerous; it flies to whatever light it sees and is therefore often dazzled and even burned. In this scenario, economic conditions do not improve and diversity and inter-culturality are not really taken to heart, so discrimination of all types persists. National reconciliation is shallow and polarization and social conflict continue. People cry out for a political messiah and authoritarianism. Labor instability and unemployment rise and international cooperation decays. The economy is characterized by short-termism. Tax revenues are not sufficient to pay for social necessities. The national spirit is pessimistic, mediocrity prevails, the rule of law is absent, and the atrocities of the civil war era remain unacknowledged and unpunished. Overall the process is one of people being worn down, with expectations unmet and solidarity eroded in the face of selfish agendas.

"The Zigzag of the Beetle"

> The back-and-forth flight of the beetle is erratic and directionless. In this scenario, advances in political, economic and social life occur side by side with regressions. There is economic growth along with unequal participation in its benefits; inter-culturality along with exclusion and discrimination; and citizen participation along with apathy and lack of representation. Environmental degradation increases. The state is incapable of achieving real fiscal reform. Reconciliation and dialogue coexist with feelings of being wounded and fear. Overall the pattern is one of mixed results and no clear progress.

"The Flight of the Firefly"

> Each firefly illuminates its own way and also that of others; together a group of fireflies push back the darkness. In this scenario, Guatemalans recognize their history and construct a model where tolerance and educational transformation create inter-culturality and eliminate discrimination. Holistic development is reflected in a nation with its own identity, and with pluralism, fairness, the rule of law, and genuine consensus. A democratic state grants equal opportunities to all. A fiscal pact reduces gaps between sectors. Citizen participation and productivity increase. Optimism spreads with the real reconciliation that comes with sustained and fair economic growth.

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Appendix 3. Middle East Peace Scenarios Study
––Round 3 Questionnaire

On behalf of the Millennium Project of the American Council for the United Nations University, we have the honor to invite you to participate in a study to create normative scenarios depicting how peace may be achieved in the Middle East.

Over 200 experts identified and rated 108 actions to address seven pre-conditions for peace in the Middle East during the first two rounds of questionnaires of this study. The full results for these two rounds are available in the *2003 State of the Future* and have been used to create the three enclosed scenario sketches for your review. An executive summary of the first two rounds is available at http://acunu.org/millennium/MEPS.html.

Blank spaces have been inserted throughout these draft scenarios, so that you can provide your judgments about the plausibility of each section of the scenarios and how these sections might be improved. Based on this feedback, the scenarios will be rewritten and used as the basis for interviews with opinion leaders and policy advisors on prospects for the Middle East. At the end of this questionnaire, you are invited to recommend people who you think should be interviewed in the next phase of this study so that the scenarios could become more useful in the peace process.

The Millennium Project is a worldwide effort to collect and synthesize judgments about emerging global challenges that may affect the human condition. Its annual *State of the Future* and other special reports are used by decision-makers and educators to add focus to important issues, clarify choices, and improve the quality of decisions. The Project is funded by the sponsors listed below.

The results of this research will be of interest and value to decision makers in the Middle East and elsewhere, as well as to international policy research communities and the institutions that fund such research. Those who respond to this questionnaire will receive the report of the study's results in a complimentary copy of the *2004 State of the Future*. No attributions will be made, but respondents will be listed as participants.

Please contact us with any questions and return your responses to arrive at the AC/UNU Millennium Project by 5 March 2004**.** Please respond by e-mail to acunu@igc.org with a copy to jglenn@igc.org and Tedjgordon@att.net, or fax to +1-202-686-5179, or airmail to: The Millennium Project, American Council for the United Nations University, 4421 Garrison St. NW, Washington, DC 20016.

We look forward to including your views.

Sincerely yours,
Jerome C. Glenn, Director
Theodore Gordon, Senior Fellow

Current Sponsors: Amana-Key, Applied Materials, Deloitte & Touche, General Motors, Kuwait Oil Company, U.S. Army Environmental Policy Institute, U.S. Dept. of Energy **In-kind**: Smithsonian Institution, World Future Society, and World Federation of United Nations Associations.

Middle East Peace Scenario Study
Round 3

This questionnaire presents three scenario sketches for your consideration. Space is provided for you to provide your judgments about the plausibility of key sections and means of improving them. Please take as much space as you need. You do not have to address all three scenarios or all sections within a scenario -- just those related to your interest and expertise. There is also a space provided after each scenario for any additional comments that you think may improve the value of these scenarios for the peace process.

Briefly, the scenarios explore three different themes:

1. **Water Works:** the trigger to an evolving peace is the initial cooperation that develops into increasing trust as the two sides focus on extending the supply of water available to both.
2. **Open City:** religious leaders take action to solve the Jerusalem problem, and this foundation leads to an evolving overall peace.
3. **Dove:** a grass roots peace movement in Israel appears, spreads and leads to peace.

No attributions will be made. So that you can be listed properly in the appendix of the 2004 State of the Future, and so that a copy can be sent to you, please fill in the information below:

Name: _____

Title: _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____

_____

Scenario 1. Water Works

Now that peace seems to have been finally achieved in the Middle East, everyone is claiming credit for this success. Historians will document the many causes, but most agree today that when the First Lady of Egypt invited UNEP, UNDP, and the Quartet (EU, USA, Russia, and the UN) to be the co-conveners of an exploratory conference on Middle East Water, a new sense of hope began to grow in the region.

Since the previous leadership of Israel said it would take no significant steps in the Quartet's Roadmap until attacks on Israelis stopped, and the more militant Palestinians said they would not stop until Israel withdrew from the occupied areas, a new approach had to be found.

Building on the mid-1990's water agreements between Israel and the PLO, the Middle East Water Conference concluded that a series of regional water negotiations would be chaired by an UN Envoy appointed by the Secretary-General and funded by the Quartet. The conference would include delegations from Israel, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Turkey, and Lebanon, plus the Quartet and observers and proceed from the premise that regional water scarcity was inevitable without major desalination, not just re-distribution of unsustainable current sources.

1.1 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE

Others believed that the real watershed event leading to peace was the resignations of both Sharon and Arafat, which cleared the way for the establishment of SERESER to coordinate the extraordinarily complex set of agreements, projects, study commissions, joint corporations, and oversight of the fund for joint projects in cooperative research that evolved over the years. Quiet talks among moderates on both sides produced the Geneva Accords that led to further quiet talks sponsored by the Quartet that spelled out the conditions for SERESER. SERESER took its name from the first letter of the seven preconditions for peace: **S**ecure borders for Israel; **E**stablishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state; **R**esolution of the Jerusalem question; **E**nding violence by both sides and building confidence; **S**ocial and economic development; **E**ducation; and **R**esolution of Palestinian refugee status.

1.2 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Regardless of what the historians will finally credit as the key trigger for peace, the water negotiations provided a consistent side channel for keeping hope alive. Since water is the most universally recognized human right and the negotiations were more focused than general peace negotiations, they helped to build confidence among the Israelis and Palestinians that peace might be possible. For example, the section of the Wall that enclosed the western mountain aquifer that provides the Palestinians in the West Bank with over half of their water was rebuilt as a result of the water negotiations. This confidence spilled over into other negotiations in the region, but when these other negotiations became deadlocked, the Middle East focus returned to the water meetings to restore trust. As agreements were reached, the Arab Integrated Water Resources Management Network (AWARENET), USAID, the Arab-Israeli joint Regional Center for Research on Desalination in Oman, and UNDP quickly implemented authorized programs.

The first major success was the agreement that dramatically accelerated the construction of reverse osmosis desalination plans to counter future water scarcity. This first partnership of Israeli technology and Arab oil money spilled over into many more projects that have made water available to all today through a common infrastructure for the region. This also built the confidence to begin building the new oil pipelines from the Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea with an outlet in Palestine and another in Israel, which will reduce dependence on geographic pinch points in the Gulf and Red Sea, and benefit Palestinian economic development.

1.3 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Meanwhile, 4.1 million registered Palestinian refugees were in desperate need of education. The collapse of the USSR, the expulsion of Palestinians from Arab Gulf countries, and the closing of most PLO institutions after their forced departure from Lebanon in 1983, meant that access to secondary and higher education became more and more difficult for Palestinian refugees. At the same time, UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Agency) had less money to provide the refugees with basic services, let alone quality education. The construction of the Wall further complicated access to education, so tele-education seemed the only reasonable course. The Palestinian diaspora raised the initial money to create tele-education programs throughout the refugee camps. As these programs began to show signs of success, Israel, as a sign of good will, and Arab countries contributed to expand operations.

Al-Quds Open University of Palestine and the Open University of Israel jointly implemented the

unofficial tele-education program with help from several NGOs and UNESCO, enlisting renowned educators and providing new tele-curricula that emphasized respect and hope for the future. Tele-education reached more women, and taught the next generation the value of individual efforts to succeed, since their education was self-motivated and self-paced.

Tele-education joint learning activities among Palestinians and Israelis broke down stereotypes, led to enough trust to organize face-to-face meetings, and increased their commitment and ability to achieve peace in the region.

1.4 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

These developments led to the “Great Peace March” organized by youth groups, some from the tele-education classes and others composed of alumni of the Peace Child projects that brought teenagers from both sides together quietly over the years. The youth groups called on the leaders of both sides to end the hostilities and sign the peace accords, the same accords that later some of these "next generation" leaders would implement as civil servants in the Governments of Palestine and Israel.

While the Great Peace March was being covered by Aljazeera, CNN, and the BBC, the President of Katun stunned the UN Security Council in a closed session by advocating a medical solution: “Diplomatic, military, political, and economic strategies to make peace in the Middle East have failed. It is time to take a public health approach,” he said. “All countries have processes to take mentally ill people into custody when they are a danger to themselves and or others, and give them tranquilizers against their will. If so for one person, then why not for two? If so for two, than why not for many?” The Security Council Members could not understand where the President was going with this. He continued, “Clearly much of the Middle East is mentally ill; therefore, I propose that the Security Council authorize a UN force to put tranquilizers in the air and water systems of the conflicting parties until peace is achieved.”

No one knew what to say. Was he serious? The silence in the Security Council became unbearable. Finally the President of Katun said: “You know I am right and you know it will not happen. So, I propose instead, that a UN Peacekeeping force be equipped with tranquilizer bullets, sticky foam, and other non-lethal weapons and be deployed in areas of conflict or potential conflict.” The President pulled out a piece of paper and read: “This UN Force would:

1. Enforce the UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defined the borders.

2. Oversee the Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied by it since the 1967 war.

3. Protect the Quartet’s pollsters assessing Israeli and Palestinian views on the proposed

borders to make sure that the agreements would survive regime changes within Israel and Palestine.

4. Enforce the agreement on religious rights that guaranteed access to holy places in Jerusalem to all creeds.

Within weeks of the arrival of the UN Peacekeepers, SERESER's operations were expanded, all Arab states formally recognized Israel as an independent state, and the UN General Assembly welcomed Palestine as the newest UN member state.

1.5 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Even before these political agreements were completed, the UN Special Coordinator's Office (UNSCO) brought together the leaders of the Palestinian Elected Local Councils to design a comprehensive social and economic development process that included self-help participatory planning for local development in the Palestinian territories. People began to assume responsibility for developing their own communities, while seeking external technical and financial assistance.

UNSCO, in coordination with the Palestinian Authority and SERESER, helped bring in external assistance for this development process by calling representatives together from the different international agencies (World Bank, IMF, EU, USAID, UNDP, and international NGOs) and the local coordinating committees representing the Ad-Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC), Local Aid Coordination Committee (LACC), and several Palestinian NGOs. Business and religious leaders were also included.

Palestinian Elected Local Councils received training from Shrouk (the local participatory planning and development process in Egypt) on how to mobilize local groups of people, help them assess their resources, and plan their future. With UNSCO guidance, this self-help approach attracted resources and expertise. As the local participatory planning processes became more popular, their results became connected to development budget decision making of the Palestinian Authority and SERESER. As the Palestinian youth began to see results, their faith in their future increased; this in turn focused their energy on development of their communities. As a result, Islamic militia groups found fewer volunteers. Natural local leaders emerged throughout the process in each community. Those leaders fed the evolution of representative government based on liberal economic principles. The regular transactions between the Palestinians and their government officials made the government more accountable to the citizens and represented a trust-building mechanism, critical to the evolution of democratic culture.

1.6 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

However, probably the most difficult issue other than the return of refugees was jurisdiction of Jerusalem. Proposals to declare Jerusalem an international city, establish a UN Trusteeship, and even time-sharing arrangements were debated. Finally, it became clear that Israel would agreed to return to its 1967 borders including the borders within Jerusalem, and the Palestinians would have to agree to give up the right to return to Israel, except in special humanitarian situations. All agreed that a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites had to guarantee free access to these areas that would recognize the religious rights of all creeds. However, not until a unique process created a time-sharing agreement was it possible for the presence of UN Peacekeepers to oversee the arrangement: A preliminary "calendar-location matrix" was proposed, which eventually identified all of the possible "time slots" and holy sites. It included times-of-day for when the highest demand locations coincided with the highest demand times-of-year. Parties who wanted access to the various date/location combinations in the matrix were given the opportunity to rank order their preferences from highest to lowest. Each party rank ordered all of the cells in the matrix. Initially UNSCO and then SERESER (selected by agreement by all of the parties), used the rankings to assign a party to each of the date-location slots. There were conflicts, but the SERESER used its judgment to complete the matrix. Some seemingly impossible impasses were solved by giving jurisdiction for alternating years. Once the master calendar-location matrix was filled in, it was made public for final commentary, with minor modifications – the final Jerusalem Matrix is still used today.

1.7 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

One factor that helped to heal the region was the Arabic television series Salaam-Shalom about two girls - one Palestinian and one Israeli. They met in a peace camp and made a pact to counter the hatred in their communities. Although the Peace Child exchanges between Palestinians and Israelis included a very small number of teenagers, it did stimulate conversations on both sides

that added to the belief that peace might be possible one day. Building on this, each week the girls confronted seemingly impossible obstacles, and each week they overcame them with extraordinary compassion and intelligence. Television sets across the world showed how the girls used their cell phones connected to the Internet to create mini swarms of sympathizers who ran to the area and overwhelmed the impasse. “Copy cat” peace swarms began to appear in the real world. Youth armed with their “peace phones” started to call everyone in their areas to calm emotions at checkpoints and other areas of confrontation.

Almost immediately after the first few peace swarms, a Peace Phone Internet web-log and photo gallery was set up opening a worldwide window on the process, and creating a near-instantaneous “global fair-witness” to the outcomes of each swarm. The “before” and “after” photos on the web-log, together with the weekly Salaam-Shalom television shows, added global pressure for more rational negotiations that finally drew the lines for peace.

1.8 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

With the evolution of democratic processes in the region, and continued security guarantees from the United States, Israel surprised many in the Middle East with their ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty as a gesture of long-term good will and allowed IAEA inspectors to verify their dismantling of nuclear weapons. These actions led even the skeptics to nod their heads and say that, this time, maybe it really will be a lasting peace.

1.9 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

1.10 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE WATER WORKS SCENARIO, AS-A-WHOLE, MORE PLAUSIBLE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE?

Scenario 2. The Open City: How the Solution to the Jerusalem Question Led to Peace

The white smoke signaled the election of a new Pope. He assumed the office with humility and fervor. His priority, he announced, was facilitating peace around the world, particularly in the Middle East. He began his mission by addressing the Jerusalem question. His advisors cautioned: "You can only blunt your authority - it's unsolvable," but he maintained that God had given him this mission and as far as he and the Church were concerned this took priority over politics. "The fact that it is a difficult mission," he said, "only raises the stakes of the test. Is it more difficult than the tests that God gave Jesus, Moses or Abraham?" His bishops were mute but whispered among themselves, "the Church will be in chaos."

He personally called the leaders of the Jewish orthodox and reformed sects in Israel, and their counterparts in the Muslim world. Deft use of the media made it hard for them to refuse to meet and talk. They met on neutral ground, at an isolated ranch in New Zealand and called their historic session Religious Leaders for Peace (RLP). At the first meeting, the initial coolness worsened a bit after each member justified his or her position as God-given. Then the Pope said, "Yes. God has blessed each of you as you have said, and He has also given us brains with which to reason, and that is what I pray we can do. This issue of Jerusalem pertains to religious law and custom; it should be above secular self-interests and politics and we can at least begin to discuss how to resolve this issue."

2.1 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

They began with points of agreement: free access to the holy sites should be guaranteed. How ludicrous it would be, they agreed, if one sect were to attempt to deny access to anyone who wanted to pay homage there. The plan grew from that seed of agreement. Jerusalem should be an open city under no nation's sole jurisdiction, but under religious protection and authority. They recognized that the problem of Jerusalem does not affect just Israel or a future state of Palestine, but is of global concern. Their proclamation recognized that Jews, Muslims and Christians and other faiths have to work towards a sharing of God's gifts.

But the question before the group was how to proceed. One participant pointed out the UN had already laid the foundation. In late 2003, a UNESCO conference had noted that two of its resolutions had strong support from both Israeli and Palestinian representatives. The UNESCO participants "reiterated their support for the initiative taken by the Director-General to prepare a

comprehensive plan of action to safeguard the Old City of Jerusalem (al-Quds); and invite him to send as soon as possible, in cooperation with the concerned parties, a technical mission and to establish, within a year, a committee of experts ‘entrusted with proposing, on an exclusively scientific and technical basis, guidelines for this plan of action'.”

2.2 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

As a result, the RLP report was directed to the Secretary-General and asked that UN General Assembly enact a resolution to declare Jerusalem an open city of a new design, and that the governments of affected nations support the plan with required legislation. Its role would be codified by the UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Its leader would be elected every six years by the General Assembly with the rule that no sect would have control for more than one term. Terrorism in the area would be dealt with harshly.

2.3 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Publication of the RLP conference recommendations evoked widespread public acclaim, and a few pockets of dissent, grumbles of “sell-out” and worse, but it was clear that the weight of public sentiment had begun to build an unprecedented momentum for peace. Even the most extreme factions felt the ground shift under them; what God wanted was now redefined.

Religious leaders around the world discussed the potential consequences of RLP. Although they didn’t put it so directly, the mullahs, mashaikh, and orthodox rabbis in the Middle East faced a central issue of preserving power and face.

For the mullahs, there were new arguments. A holy man said the Jews have a right to be in the Middle East as surely as we ourselves do. It is written. The Holy Quran tells us of the Promised Land for Jews. It says that God had promised the holy land to Moses and his followers on their way out of Egypt (The Holy Quran 5:20-21)... So Muslims cannot casually dismiss the concept

of the Promised Land. Muslims need to develop methods to attract (Jews) to come back in a way that is not threatening to Arabs and Muslims. Imagine if Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan can develop policies and provisions that say “we would welcome any Jew who wants to come to this part of the world, being part of the promised land, to come and live, we’ll give you citizenship; you want to buy a house, buy land—fine; you want to have your relatives come live or visit, fine; do your work, live with your community, build your synagogue, have your own laws to govern your family and community life. But do not threaten a national entity. And come to any part, come to Syria, come to Egypt, come to Iraq, and come to Jordan, whatever you believe the Promised Land to be.”...Such a solution would be based on a religious understanding of God’s promises to Jews and Muslims alike.

Turmoil. Chaos. Other Moslem clerics interpreted the Holy word in their own ways but no matter what spin was put on the proposition, Quran 5:20-21 was clear enough and could not be rationalized away. The threat of a fatwa for those who disagreed helped to end the suicide bombings.

2.4 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

In Israel, the Orthodox rabbis that steered the far right were at a loss. By providing a religious basis for the Jews to exist in the area, the Muslims had, in a single stoke, eroded the political power of the Israeli far right. Check, maybe checkmate. The Rabbis issued this statement:

Jews accept that the way to fulfill the Promise of God does not include depriving others of their homes; and if Muslims and Arabs recognize the sincere attachment of Jews to the Promised Land and make serious efforts to accommodate that Promise…we are in for a “deep peace,” not a superficial one that has been broken, stepped upon, and tarnished, for 55 years. We vow to extend the Jewish idea of the sanctity of the home to others and will help bring about a future that makes homes- all homes- Holy and safe. The retaliatory bulldozing stopped. Seek and destroy missions were put on hold.

2.5 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Over the next year or two, education of young Muslims changed. The schools that once taught hatred for the Jews and inculcated an attitude of “drive them into the sea” moderated, turned to- if not enthusiastic tolerance- then at least an acceptance of laissez faire, a reasonable first step for moderates on both sides.

2.6 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

With RLP, the UN mission, the diminished teaching of intolerance, the acceptance by many Moslems of the idea of a Jewish presence in the Middle East, the end of suicide bombings, and the retaliation they evoked, and the softening of the teachings that inflamed rather than calmed, it remained to cement the nervous peace that existed.

With violence from both sides ended, a tenuous confidence was built ad hoc from the bottom up through a hundred thousand projects and business ventures that involved both Muslims and Israelis. The projects were large (agricultural cooperatives) and small (jointly owned shops), local (new schools open to all students who could attend) and national (lowering of import and export restrictions between Israel and Arab countries.) And with this improved spirit of confidence, the ventures grew in number and significance, economic development grew, jobs became plentiful, unemployment dropped, and in a marvelous demonstration of social feedback, nascent prosperity bred more confidence and cooperation. Travel into and out of Israel was normalized, controlled only by passports and visas. Outside observers marveled at how the need for employees eradicated the prior need for travel restrictions. It was only possible, they said, when the end to suicide bombings was a credible fact. Some years ago one person had said, “End the suicide bombings and everything is possible.” He was right.

2.7 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

In this year of growing economic cooperation, an Israeli-Palestinian commission was appointed to review the status of refugees. They negotiated an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel, and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestine areas. Israel argued that this limitation in the number of migrants was in fact no different than any country setting immigration limits. Palestinians responded by saying that Israeli limits would keep people from the locations of their birth and their families. The Israelis were clearly concerned about being outvoted by the immigrants in their democratic society. The issue promised to be inimical to the process but compromise was finally reach by accepting a limit based on the census data that recorded ethnicity, and restricting the vote to people who had lived in the country for more than seven years. In addition, should a Palestinian state be established, they said, Israeli settlers in Palestinian areas and Palestinians living in Israel would be given the opportunity for dual citizenship.

2.8 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Post-Arafat, post-Sharon politicians followed their vocal populations. An historic proposal came to the UN from Israel, based on the discussions and the contributions of their Israeli and Palestinian constituents. It rested on the tradeoff between the need for Israeli security and the need for the establishment of a permanent Palestinian state. In this tradeoff, Israel agreed to withdraw from all areas it occupied since the 1967 war and to cede these areas to the new state of Palestine. Israeli settlers in the areas would be given dual citizenship. It called for the free and open recognition of an independent Israel by all Arab states, with a sovereign right to exist in perpetuity. From the Palestinian point of view the recommendation clearly defined the borders of the newly proposed state. Since the Palestinians had participated in the definition of the resolution it was a forgone conclusion that the recommended borders would be acceptable. The resolution also called for enforcement by the UN and defined sanctions and penalties should the provisions of the resolution be violated. In a move never seen before, but perhaps reflecting a pattern for the future, the resolution was ratified by a plebiscite helping to assure that when the agreement was accepted by the UN it would be supported by people in these countries.

2.9 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

And the mullahs, mashaikh, and rabbis, reflecting on the events since the RLP conference, said it was God's destiny. The rest was details. Inshallah.

2.10 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE OPEN CITY SCENARIO, AS-A-WHOLE, MORE PLAUSIBLE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE?

Scenario 3. Dove

In Israel it started with a simple idea: end the retaliatory violence. The plan was code named Dove. Israeli leaders debated the possibility in secret; the debate occasionally became public for a short while in the Knesset but by and large it was a secret debate. The idea of Dove was to turn world opinion, possibly even the preponderance of Palestinian and Arab opinion against the idea of suicide bombings. The hawks of the argument said," There are only two responses to the violence of bombings: 'turn the other cheek until they tire of killing us,' or 'an eye for an eye.'" The Talmud teaches the "eye for an eye" approach; our public and the world will think us weak if we abandon it; the enemy will see our turning the other cheek as a sign of capitulation. We must continue to respond even though it is a dark tunnel we go down." Their opponents in the argument said, "We have tried the club and as you say it has only led us down the dark tunnel where our only alternative is stronger force. If we were to just stop - unilaterally announce it - the world would see the Palestinians in a new light. Now they are seen by many people as freedom fighters simply because we respond. If we stopped they would soon be seen for the terrorists they are."

3.1 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

While that secret debate was ongoing, the Islamist extremists had their own secret debate. Their hawks argued for increasing the scale of their activities, moving from high explosive missions to other lethal forms that would involve more people and thus become even more visible, frightening, and persuasive to the Israelis. The forms that might be used were obvious enough and easily available: from chemical and radioactive toxins to small nuclear weapons. They said: "Scale is important to our cause. Just consider how effective the operation in New York was in disrupting the West and changing the nature of the conflict. We brought it home to them. Our cause is now on the minds of all."

3.2 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Their opponents in this argument were radical in the opposite sense. They said: "Consider what we are after: acceptance by the world of the need to establish our own safe homeland and the condemnation of Israel for its misdeeds."

The response: "How you have changed, brother. We used to say it was our mission to eliminate Israel and take back our homeland, now you're willing to settle for condemnation."

"Yes, perhaps this argument is a bit different from before, but it recognizes a reality—Israel will not be eradicated. The West will not permit it. Do you not see how our present course works to the disadvantage of establishing our own homeland? It is costing us the best and brightest young people who could be the leaders of that country. If we desist, if we change tactics, then who will be seen as the aggressors? Who will fare better in any negotiations? What excuse will their Prime Minister then have for breaking our homes and killing our people."

"But can we stop the suicide bombing even if we wished? Would we have to gun down our own people?" The question hung in the air.

So each side had its reasons for wanting to stop and turn down a new path but, like the sorcerer's apprentice, the momentum carried the bombings and escalating retaliations on and on.

3.3 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Then an unexpected event changed the tide. The headline read :

Israeli Refuseniks Say They Will Not Participate in Bombing Attacks
Israeli press, public, and politicians condemn 27 pilots as unfit to serve
JERUSALEM

Twenty-seven Israeli reservist pilots last week joined the "refusenik" movement, saying they would not participate in bombing attacks in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which often injure civilians.
"We refuse to participate in Air Force attacks on civilian populations," the pilots said in a petition delivered to the head of the air force, Maj. Gen. Dan Halutz. "We refuse to continue harming innocent civilians."

Last week's refuseniks are part of a small but vocal movement opposing Israel's policy of "targeted killings," in which helicopters and planes drop bombs or fire missiles to kill terrorists hiding in civilian areas.

This was part of a peace movement - “small but vocal” as Reuters said - not generally known outside of Israel. In fact moderates in both the Palestinian and Israeli camps had been in contact for some time. They talked on an Internet peace site, usually using pseudonyms; they said peace is achievable, a remarkable statement to be made when killing and retribution was all around them. History, they said, will condemn us for not taking a position and acting on our moral convictions. Life as it is, is unacceptable.

3.4 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

So the refusal movement came at the same time the politicians were searching for a way to change course. These forces came together and steps, at first tenuous, moved the violence toward peace. Following the practices of Gandhi and King, the movement grew and, in echoes of the Viet Nam era when dissent grew in the US and politics followed, dissent in Israel and among Palestinians became mainstream.

Here’s what happened next. It was like a chess game. The Israelis got a guarantee that the

bombing would stop and the instigators would be arrested and punished. The Palestinians got an ironclad agreement that the Israelis would withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, end building new settlements and stop the retaliatory raids.

3.5 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

Within months, the Israelis negotiated a series of treaties and agreements, not only with the PA, but with essentially all Arab states, stating that Israel had a right to exist and that there would henceforth be a state of non-aggression in the area. The Palestinians and neighboring states welcomed Israel's agreement to sign the nuclear non proliferation treaty, in return for their own promise to remain non-nuclear and allow international inspections under the UN. Certainly other problems had to be resolved in this game of give and take. First was the jurisdiction of Jerusalem (eventually it became on open city, with its own democratic government, open to all religions, with responsibility to guard and protect all holy sites). Second was the problem of Palestinians who wanted to return to Israel. Israel perceived that an avalanche of migrants would upset the political structure; as a result, immigration quotas were established.

3.6 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

As this give and take progressed, both the United States and the EU stayed out of the picture. Some politicians wanted to "help" the process along (and reap some political benefit) but wiser heads prevailed and the two parties worked out the agreements themselves.

When it was clear that the chess game was evolving, foreign capital flowed into the area. New businesses were established, and unemployment among the Palestinians dropped sharply. It was a self-fulfilling cycle: the move toward peace sparked the environment for peace.

And the crown jewel: both parties presented a formal joint statement to the UN Security Council, declaring that they considered resolutions 194, 242 and 338 fully realized and asked that the UN monitor for a time the progress and adherence to the agreements. When the UN agreed in 2006, bells of peace which seemed so tentative at first sounded long and deeply.

3.7 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SECTION ABOVE MORE PLAUSIBLE?

3.8 WHAT WOULD MAKE THE DOVE SCENARIO, AS-A-WHOLE, MORE PLAUSIBLE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE?

4. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

Thank you very much for your participation. We will send you the results in the *2004 State of the Future*. In the meantime, please list those opinion leaders who you think should be interviewed in the next step of this study. If you have their contract information, please include it below:

Your recommendation(s) to be interviewed:

Name: _____

Title: _____

Organization: _____

Email/or Fax: _____

Others?

Appendix 4. Selected Comments Received in Round 3

Scenario 1: Water Works
Selected Comments

Note: for easier reading, the paragraph from the questionnaire was included (in italic) preceding the comments.

1.1 On the possibility of a water conference

Now that peace seems to have been finally achieved in the Middle East, everyone is claiming credit for this success. Historians will document the many causes, but most agree today that when the First Lady of Egypt invited UNEP, UNDP, and the Quartet (EU, USA, Russia, and the UN) to be the co-conveners of an exploratory conference on Middle East Water, a new sense of hope began to grow in the region.

Since the previous leadership of Israel said it would take no significant steps in the Quartet's Roadmap until attacks on Israelis stopped, and the more militant Palestinians said they would not stop until Israel withdrew from the occupied areas, a new approach had to be found.

Building on the mid-1990's water agreements between Israel and the PLO, the Middle East Water Conference concluded that a series of regional water negotiations would be chaired by an UN Envoy appointed by the Secretary-General and funded by the Quartet. The conference would include delegations from Israel, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Turkey, and Lebanon, plus the Quartet and observers and proceed from the premise that regional water scarcity was inevitable without major desalination, not just re-distribution of unsustainable current sources.

There must be a mutual understanding of the need to find water resources that can be used by all; and the consequences of not developing alternative water supplies. Without that awareness, public opinion can not be influenced.

The United States government (should) stop funding the Government of Israel; otherwise Israel will continue ignoring the rest of the region because it virtually has a blank check …and can afford to do anything it wants, including just taking whatever water it wants.

I don't feel the water problem is (important enough) ….to let those governments forget their own perspectives and join for a common solution.

This scenario is not plausible, because of incapacity of both cultures to share the source of water in a long run.

…While water is part of the political calculus that drives these issues, it doesn't move people in a

visceral way and I don't think you could get broad regional participation in a conference on water without addressing the issues that "securitize" the conflict for Palestinians and Israelis.

This is very good scenario, but must have also religious dimension, because this conflict is primarily a religious conflict also interconnected with new forms of terrorism on international level e.g. suicide bombings, "water agreement" have to be part of complex system of agreements

To develop this scenario, (there must be)… an international organization other than UN, that must be created for these purposes, thinking in the same way that Israelis and Palestinians think, establishing clear goals to be achieved and respected by all the actors that participate in these regional water negotiations, and with plain authority to make the negotiations become true and permanent.

(The scenario would be improved if reference were made to the following:) a) Severe drought in area resulting in actual shortages that affect businesses and health care facilities so that the "news" makes water scarcity part of public awareness in Israel and neighboring countries. b) 2005 (?) UNDP Human Development Report highlights dangerous water shortages due to population and global warming, c) Israel convenes a panel of experts from inside and outside country to discuss water shortages and alternate sources; d) Israeli Ministers of Industry, Health, and Agriculture have water supply as major ministry issue; e) Bio-terrorists threaten water supplies (even unsuccessfully).

Israeli-Palestinian water negotiations were not a notable success or fair to the Palestinians and are generally considered a dead end I believe. Water is a highly visible and highly politicized issue, and the success of peace projects is inversely related to the amount of publicity they get. If Mrs. Mubarak makes such an announcement, then surely Syria will be against it. It is much better to start with other areas, or to make the water project one of many, all done in a low-key way at least at first. The SESAME Synchrotron accelerator project in Jordan may be a much better example, and there can be many more like it. The success of this project (still in doubt for political reasons) depends on these factors:

1- Something everyone wants
2- Israel has vital know-how that others want
3- The condition for getting the project was cooperation with Israel
4- It was done in a low-key way, without major announcements and fanfare.

Through the late President Sadat, Egypt was invited to negotiate water supply to Israel across Sinai, through new tributaries of the River Nile. Therefore, the conference would include delegations from Egypt as well as other nominated before.

…A solution to problems related to water is necessary, but is not enough to arrive to a sustainable peace. The country which administrates the source or the desalination plant will be always under suspicion.

I do not think this plausible at all. The line on which the wall is being built is being diverted to make sure it claims the water that Palestinians have used for years. It is not plausible that Israel would negotiate a fairer deal or even come to the negotiating table as this would make it even

more obvious to the international community the absolute duplicity in their current position about wanting peace…. A current example of this is how they have stated that the world court has no jurisdiction regarding the wall.

(Add to the scenario :) There is established international academic committee, where all of Middle East countries are represented. The committee starts wide-scale research of water situation in the region. Finally it produces a comprehensive report, where the water situation in region is described and reasonable proposals on how to solve the problems of water scarcity are presented not on the political, but scientific grounds.

The idea of working together on water supply can be appropriate. I think a multiparty organization should be created under the direction of the United Nations, with the participation of Israel and Palestine and other nations with the purpose of studying the problem of water in the region, giving solutions, and being able to provide a common plan of activities.

Strong cooperation and coordination between several professional experts: in astronomy, hydrology, climatologic, sociology, chemistry, agricultural engineering, among others, under scientific bases could allow the development of common points of view from all the parties and a first agreement about management and administration of current water resources.

The Water Conference should be held as early as possible without even waiting for violence to cease. A couple of countries not involved in the conflict and slightly removed from the region, and having a working relationship with both Palestine & Israel, like India and Japan, should also be invited.

Not only the desalination, but an irrigation system starting from the Turkish water mantles. An egalitarian distribution of the water for both Palestinians and Israelis would be a precondition.

….Egypt sees itself as a moderating influence in the region and, as the convener of the conference, would be expected to be a player in the follow-up negotiations. Saudi Arabia, with its resources and central location in the region, would be expected to be a player, also. Reference is later made to "Arab money," which basically means Saudi Arabia.

Funds (might) be made available from the UN to build and operate water desalination plants.

(Add) a paragraph that summarizes the history of the water needs and demands for the region and the future predictions of water use over 10-50 yrs. This will give some compelling statistic to the readers.

1.2 On the resignations of Sharon and Arafat and the establishment of SERESER

Others believed that the real watershed event leading to peace was the resignations of both Sharon and Arafat, which cleared the way for the establishment of SERESER to coordinate the extraordinarily complex set of agreements, projects, study commissions, joint corporations, and oversight of the fund for joint projects in cooperative research that evolved over the years. Quiet

*talks among moderates on both sides produced the Geneva Accords that led to further quiet talks sponsored by the Quartet that spelled out the conditions for SERESER. SERESER took its name from the first letter of the seven preconditions for peace: **S**ecure borders for Israel; **E**stablishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state; **R**esolution of the Jerusalem question; **E**nding violence by both sides and building confidence; **S**ocial and economic development; **E**ducation; and **R**esolution of Palestinian refugee status.*

(It would be necessary to have) acceptance by important civil society actors on both sides (that) the only basis for progress is SERESER. It would involve a public campaign; influencing people; building a consensus around the basic principles.

There is no consideration of the factors, particularly the US/Israel connection which have kept things going the way they have for so long. There is no mention of anything which would have motivated any serious consideration of any changes in the status quo. Neither Arafat nor Sharon is the fundamental problem, though they aren't a lot of help either.

Less religious fundamentalism and its financial support. (is required)

… I think it's hard to overestimate the importance of an actively engaged American role. One powerful thing America could do would be to say that ongoing economic support to Israel and access to high-level military technology depends on a plan to return to something close to the 1967 boundaries. This would be costly domestically, but if accompanied by a simultaneous actions condemning anti-Semitism and demanding greater world engagement to stop violence would have an instant and quite powerful impact on Palestinians and Arabs, creating an opportunity to transform despair into something positive. Calling for a radical change in the wall would be an excellent confidence-building measure.

Focus on resources for education e.g. from ecological taxes, support of edition of textbooks based on civic principles, education of basic philosophy of all religions, cooperation also with religious leaders

(Add) cessation of terror acts by the different extremist “martyr” brigades. This means that these organizations somehow voluntarily or by force have stopped their operations (human bombs) either because their leaders and funding dried up or a new champion appeared they could rally around.

The disappearance of Sharon and Arafat is not sufficient: their kind is easily replaced. A “new breed” of leader or visionary who commands the respect of the military forces is needed. The US and UN cannot act in a vacuum.

…Israel, as Freidman points out, wants to be a Jewish State, not a pluralistic one. The Arab neighbors are beset by their own variety of fundamentalism the represses both its people and, in some instances, support terror activities. Can it (religion) be a positive force as it was with the Pope in East Europe and Gandhi in India? So far, religion has been the cause of dissension in the Middle East. Perhaps a dialogue of Islamic Sheikhs, Orthodox (and other Christian) Priests, and

Rabbinical leaders be formed to seek out and stress commonalities and defuse inflaming rhetoric.

I think it will take more than simply Arafat and Sharon going, although this needs to be the start point. Maybe the arrest of militant terrorist factions within Palestine, or their exile from Palestine to other Arab states? There are an awful lot of Palestinian refugees who see their purpose in life as being suicide bombers – somehow these people need to be relocated to a place where such behavior is seen and upheld by the state as unacceptable in order for reeducation to occur.

(This) is not realistic. The preconditions for peace require very tough pressure to eliminate terrorism and equally tough pressure on Israel for evacuation of settlements. These moves will make it possible to bring moderate agendas to the fore in Israel and Palestine
.
Resignation of Sharon will lead to a more right-wing government. Resignation of Arafat will lead to more chaos. Nobody believes that peace will be closer after those two gentlemen depart from the scene.

Resignations of persons will not make a difference. Most Palestinians are less compromising than Arafat. Sharon was elected democratically and if he resigns, a different leader with the same views, or worse, will replace him.

The keys to solving the problem are ending the occupation and ending the refugee problem. The refugee problem must be solved before peace negotiations can start in earnest, because the refugees constitute a lobby against peace. The settlements must be at least partially evacuated before peace negotiations can start in earnest, because the settlers constitute a lobby against peace, and because the lure of Greater Israel helps to swell this lobby.

In the US, the administration, supported by the congress, the media and the public could exert enough pressure to convince both Sharon and Arafat to resign.

This is also is not very plausible …. It is kind of general and does not really say much. I suppose they could both drop dead also but then what, moderates quietly talk? More like fantasy to me.

(Add to the scenario) Israel enables free work of Palestinian people on its territory. At the same time wide-scale aid programs, aimed at the development of infrastructure, health-care and educational system in the Palestinian territory are announced by Israeli government

(Add) wider cooperation beginning with the settlement of joint task force to investigate acts of terrorism and violence like military retaliation, kidnapping, and others in the region with members from Israel, and the Palestinian Authority, with observers from UN, EU, USA, and Russia.

An international group of eminent persons should be established by the UN, individuals not suspected of holding any prejudices either against Israel or Palestine, to commence ‘talks on talks’ on SERESER with the participation of both of them.

In effect, the resignation of Arafat and Sharon are a precondition, but the presence of a

temporary supra-state authority (composed by the quartet) is required to make the Palestinians and the Israelis to negotiate directly.

SERESER could be supported and funded by international community also as one of initial projects of the Global Partnership for Development – coordinated, comprehensive, and future oriented development plan with achievable, measurable, and definable goals.

It would be more plausible that Sharon and Arafat "pass from the political scene"; i.e., they will eventually die or be defeated in elections. It is hard to imagine that they will "resign." The effect would be much the same.

Nothing short of a revolution in the Jewish & Moslem religions (separation of religion and state) (could bring this about).

The resignation (or death) of Sharon and Arafat probably would be the best billet for peace. A more active role of Syria in the peace process would be helpful.

1.3 On rebuilding of the wall, the creation of Arab Integrated Water Resources Management Network partnership of Israeli technology and Arab oil money.

Regardless of what the historians will finally credit as the key trigger for peace, the water negotiations provided a consistent side channel for keeping hope alive. Since water is the most universally recognized human right and the negotiations were more focused than general peace negotiations, they helped to build confidence among the Israelis and Palestinians that peace might be possible. For example, the section of the Wall that enclosed the western mountain aquifer that provides the Palestinians in the West Bank with over half of their water was rebuilt as a result of the water negotiations. This confidence spilled over into other negotiations in the region, but when these other negotiations became deadlocked, the Middle East focus returned to the water meetings to restore trust. As agreements were reached, the Arab Integrated Water Resources Management Network (AWARENET), USAID, the Arab-Israeli joint Regional Center for Research on Desalination in Oman, and UNDP quickly implemented authorized programs.

The first major success was the agreement that dramatically accelerated the construction of reverse osmosis desalination plans to counter future water scarcity. This first partnership of Israeli technology and Arab oil money spilled over into many more projects that have made water available to all today through a common infrastructure for the region. This also built the confidence to begin building the new oil pipelines from the Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea with an outlet in Palestine and another in Israel, which will reduce dependence on geographic pinch points in the Gulf and Red Sea, and benefit Palestinian economic development.

I'm not sure that Israelis and Palestinians would necessarily find peace even if water negotiations worked out. It doesn't feel right to me from a cultural perspective. I believe there would be ongoing trouble for some time - perhaps play that up a little?

Water is NOT recognized as a right… but as a NEED, thanks to corporate interference in the UN conference on water. So there will be a lot of jockeying for position by the private sector, which has an abysmal record in providing useful solutions.

This scenario needs to include a retaking of the right to water by the governments and communities concerned. Techno-fixes simply lead to pushing the problems off into the future. There needs to be a re-appraisal in how water is being used and decided about.

More participation of non-governmental offices and social civil rights organizations in these negotiations and much less of radical and fundamentalism parties.

These are great and enticing ideas that might become viable after fundamental existential doubts on both sides are assuaged. Something needs to be done quickly to resurrect the idea of a two-state solution, and then these ideas can be put to work.

Development of system of bilateral and multilateral agreements on water, with focus of security protection of water sources and infrastructure.

…..Why not invite representatives of countries such as Japan, China, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and/or members of the OPEC?

The issue should also involve other Mediterranean countries

The presence of one or two key water negotiators, technicians, whose shared altruism – or good sense – override the usual mistrust. Also, an equitable formula for sharing – the Israeli birthrate is probably lower than the Palestinian rate, so the formula has to take into account other transparent factors. This might be the real breakthrough.

Large scale desalination is not economically practical at this stage, so you would have to mention research to lower costs.

The (scenario) has got it backwards. Water is used as a weapon. If there were no political conflict, it would be possible to solve the water problem on the basis of sharing as well as other methods. Politics are the REASON we cannot convene such water conferences. In order to make the above scenario plausible, you need some outside event that will cause a major "unfreezing" in Egypt and Syria in particular. Without such an event or massive pressure from USA and EU, it cannot happen.

The US administration could convince the partners, and support both Israeli technology and Arab Oil money to invest in joint peace projects.

There needs to be an immediate focus on the issue of access to potable water in the Gaza Strip where conditions for the 1.3 million inhabitants is often more dire than the West Bank. People are dying from kidney failure as a result of drinking saline water due to the diversion of fresh water sources to illegal settlements and also as a result of over-drilling to create wells in order to meet local demand for fresh water. The water table has been lowered and sea water has crept in

to the aquifers. Addressing the critical fresh water needs of people in Gaza will help make the above scenario more plausible.

If the right to life (that should be the first recognized human right) and peace was not enough to stop the current situation, I do not think water will solve it. As we see, pipelines in war time are common target of terrorism. Without a big deal between both sides, an oil or water pipeline could be easily shut. i.e. Turkey-Iraq or Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan.

(Add) Water produced in the desalinization plants is used for wide-scale irrigation, which makes the area of arable land dramatically larger. This new land in cultivated deserts is distributed in the sense of justice both to the Israelis and Palestinians. So some of Palestinian refugees first after forty years are moving from refugee camps to the new homes and become farmers and owners of high-productive land. The frustration of former uprooted people is going down; the economic development is beneficial both for Israel and Palestinian territory. This new economic boom is similar to the one that happened 50 years ago in the new Israeli state.

(Add) Not only a pipeline from the Gulf, but an aqueduct from Turkey and a network of channels uniting Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. The interdependence towards the water sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates will unite the parts. The construction would be achieved with Israeli technology and the financing of both the countries of the Gulf and the great powers'.

Water is more of a "universally recognized human need" than it is a "universally recognized human right." To call it a "human right" is to raise a philosophically arguable issue that detracts from the thrust of the scenario. It would be more plausible to include mention of a technological breakthrough by Chinese (or some other) scientists in devising a much more economical and efficient means of solar-powered (or some other process) desalination. An interesting addition would be mention of joint Arab-Israeli educational institutions that focus on water projects; e.g., hydrology, hydraulic engineering, and systems for the transport and distribution of the desalinized water. It is easier to see how cooperation in focused, technical education might develop from the desalinization initiative, than would oil pipelines. The step from a focused, technical educational effort to the more general, tele-education efforts described immediately below is more plausible.

1.4 On the unofficial tele-education and other education programs

Meanwhile, 4.1 million registered Palestinian refugees were in desperate need of education. The collapse of the USSR, the expulsion of Palestinians from Arab Gulf countries, and the closing of most PLO institutions after their forced departure from Lebanon in 1983, meant that access to secondary and higher education became more and more difficult for Palestinian refugees. At the same time, UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Agency) had less money to provide the refugees with basic services, let alone quality education. The construction of the Wall further complicated access to education, so tele-education seemed the only reasonable course. The Palestinian diaspora raised the initial money to create tele-education programs throughout the refugee camps. As these programs began to show signs of success, Israel, as a sign of good will, and Arab countries contributed to expand operations.

Al-Quds Open University of Palestine and the Open University of Israel jointly implemented the unofficial tele-education program with help from several NGOs and UNESCO, enlisting renowned educators and providing new tele-curricula that emphasized respect and hope for the future. Tele-education reached more women, and taught the next generation the value of individual efforts to succeed, since their education was self-motivated and self-paced.

Tele-education joint learning activities among Palestinians and Israelis broke down stereotypes, led to enough trust to organize face-to-face meetings, and increased their commitment and ability to achieve peace in the region.

(Add) Large infusion of funds and commitment of teachers from Arab countries in the service of the education sector in Palestine.

Establish an education Peace Corps run by the Quartet and involving Israelis and Palestinians to run the education programs.

This could work, if there is something in the education that supports people being able to develop economic enterprises that can work in very poor and restricted circumstances. It would be particularly important to connect this with a greater self determination by Palestine, and suggestions about a Mid East Common Market

(This has not been) a major ….need for the most of the population of Arab cultures since the XV century. There is only a relatively small group that appreciates the advantages of education and would make major efforts to receive the benefits of it, and to translate those to population. It doesn't mean that generally speaking the Arab culture is not interested in education, it means that during more than six centuries, absolutistic government are not interested in educating their people…

Good ideas. What will be done to provide refugees with a sense of "restorative justice"? The Israeli War of Independence was followed by both Arab and Jewish population dislocations, and I really have a hard time imagining a stable solution to this conflict without symbolic measures that tell these people two things: 1) the world recognizes that they were deprived of basic human rights, and 2) the world is actively concerned to provide at least partial compensation.

Education is very important…, and all the efforts are welcome to achieve this goal, but (are) conditions were the refugees live…the best to develop tele-education?…But, do we really believe that through education by technological means, is possible to brake down stereotypes between Israelis and Palestinians…

Tele education has to be supported ….by Intergovernmental Institutions (and)…countries which understand the importance of the issue.

This is not a stretch—the Palestinian Authority, if it has UN/EU recognition, can raise funds internally and from wealthy Arab donor states and personalities. The key is political will: the

Palestinians already have the will for education and improved lives for their children.

Tele-education assumes access to tele-technology both in terms of hardware and user knowledge. …How (has) … accessibility has been addressed.

The above picture of refugees is incorrect and unrealistic. While there are 4.1 million registered refugees, most of them do not live in camps. You should be aiming at those in camps, not at my friends who are geologists and university professors. I even have one friend who is a refugee in Jebalya refugee camp and an MD in a Soroka hospital. He does not need tele-education. Of course, he is an exception.

But in camps, the following scenario is more likely: When the first installers came to provide the equipment, they were lynched by BADIL organization activists, and hung upside down from electric pylons. The Fateh Al-Aqsa brigades put out flyers saying that whoever cooperates with the Zionists and traitor Nusseibeh is a traitor. That is much more plausible. As for education of women, the PA removed all the Israeli-sponsored family planning clinics.

No attempts to solve the refugee problem will succeed while refugees are in the camps. Education in the camps is just another way of perpetuating the problem.

(Where does the) Funding and political will to implement these curricula (come from?)

In a refugee camp is hard to learn about respect and hope towards the "other side."

It is one thing to be educated but that usually means a job. Israel is currently doing all it can to completely destroy any economic viability of the Palestinians. What is going to happen on the ground that might be considered a sign of success by Israeli or Palestinian? If you can answer that (the scenario) might be more plausible.

Exchange academic programs between Israeli and Palestinian students are organized; lots of Palestinian students are invited to study in the Israel. Their studies are sponsored both by the state of Israel and foreign Jewish foundations abroad.

Basic elements of the Tele-education framework (should be) designed to… include themes that condition the mind towards peace and cooperation should be spelt out in advance.

It is important to revise the school curricula both in Palestine and Israel to eliminate hate references and to create a new, more positive, mutual image. The virtual educative network can rely on other universities' (such as Monterrey Tech) experience on this topic, and obtain financing from international foundations in the great powers.

Tele-education is good idea but "face to face" education, everyday contact of students with teacher(s) is needed. Therefore something like "Teachers without Borders" or "Teacher's Peace Corps" should be established and to be supported to teach especially in refugee camps.

The scenario ignores the cultural differences that exist between the two communities and seems

to assume that those differences will all disappear in the light of "education." It would be more plausible to acknowledge the differences; e.g., Muslim insistence on religious context for their studies and resistance to broadening opportunities to women, on the one hand, and Israeli insistence on their "historical lands" and resistance to broadening opportunities to Palestinians, on the other. Having acknowledged the problems, the scenario could go on to say that despite these differences there was enough overlap of interest and views that a joint effort in tele-education could be begun.

Tele-education is just a small stone in the wall -- without personal contacts there is no chance for peace.

1.5 On the "Great Peace March," tranquilizers, and a UN Peacekeeping force.

These developments led to the "Great Peace March" organized by youth groups, some from the tele-education classes and others composed of alumni of the Peace Child projects that brought teenagers from both sides together quietly over the years. The youth groups called on the leaders of both sides to end the hostilities and sign the peace accords, the same accords that later some of these "next generation" leaders would implement as civil servants in the Governments of Palestine and Israel.

While the Great Peace March was being covered by Aljazeera, CNN, and the BBC, the President of Katun stunned the UN Security Council in a closed session by advocating a medical solution: "Diplomatic, military, political, and economic strategies to make peace in the Middle East have failed. It is time to take a public health approach," he said. "All countries have processes to take mentally ill people into custody when they are a danger to themselves and or others, and give them tranquilizers against their will. If so for one person, then why not for two? If so for two, than why not for many?" The Security Council Members could not understand where the President was going with this. He continued, "Clearly much of the Middle East is mentally ill; therefore, I propose that the Security Council authorize a UN force to put tranquilizers in the air and water systems of the conflicting parties until peace is achieved."

No one knew what to say. Was he serious? The silence in the Security Council became unbearable. Finally the President of Katun said: "You know I am right and you know it will not happen. So, I propose instead, that a UN Peacekeeping force be equipped with tranquilizer bullets, sticky foam, and other non-lethal weapons and be deployed in areas of conflict or potential conflict." The President pulled out a piece of paper and read: "This UN Force would:

> *1. Enforce the UN General Assembly resolution that clearly defined the borders.*
>
> *2. Oversee the Israeli withdrawal from all areas occupied by it since the 1967 war.*
>
> *3. Protect the Quartet's pollsters assessing Israeli and Palestinian views on the proposed borders to make sure that the agreements would survive regime changes within Israel and Palestine.*

4. Enforce the agreement on religious rights that guaranteed access to holy places in Jerusalem to all creeds.

Within weeks of the arrival of the UN Peacekeepers, SERESER's operations were expanded, all Arab states formally recognized Israel as an independent state, and the UN General Assembly welcomed Palestine as the newest UN member state.

Is the Quartet is prepared to underwrite the costs of running that UN Peace keeping force.

(Add) The declaration by the US that it would withdraw economic and political support from the government of Israel unless it cooperated fully, and a commitment of the US to cooperate with the rest of the world in international decisions, in contrast to its current declared policy to control the world in its own interests as the Project for the New America and the White House security paper declare.

(Becomes more plausible if) If guns businesses losses its profitability and lobby pressures on governments were not so high for selling all kind of guns.

(Add) And the US Ambassador. to the UN said that the US fully embraces the Geneva Accord and requests UN Security Council support to implement it." This would breathe some life into Middle Eastern politics, in a big way.

It is probable that all the actions … can work, each (with) different levels of success, but, (do they add up to) peace … in the region? …. Do we know those deep and primary causes of this longer conflict? Can they be solved? …Do we really understand, in the same way the Israelis and Palestinians think, what are those deep and primary causes of this longer conflict?

I don't think the tranquilizer statement would emerge, but the role of the UN in a peacekeeping force would probably happen but as a result of the Arabs and Israelis requesting neutral assistance in maintaining law and order during the period of change.

Any force will need to be equipped with automatic weapons, helicopters etc. What would this force be able to do against Iraqi terrorists? Do you really imagine that Hammas and Islamic Jihad will sit still for some UN force?

No Israeli government will ever agree to any UN force and no UN force can or will or should come without the invitation of the governments. UN is not related to peace in the minds of Israelis, but to "Zionism is Racism" "Durban Conference" "Permanent committee on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people." withdrawal from Suez in 1967, filming abductions in Lebanon and suppressing the films. That is the UN for Israelis.

Peace Child is a wonderful initiative, but it only brings together Israeli Jews and Arabs and at present is not being applied to solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

I have spent 5 weeks talking to students and youth in the Gaza Strip in 1998 and there was a clear consensus that real dialogue and compromise cannot take place until the institutionalized racism inherent in Zionism is permanently removed. Palestinians will not talk to Israelis as their subordinates, only as their full equals.

For too long, the institutional racism in Israel tried to make Palestinians invisible and insignificant, powerless and without a voice. If an entire people are suppressed and marginalized, they react with a strategy of "exaggerated visibility." Black inner city youth who have been totally marginalized in the USA now wear their pants half way down their hips with thick gold chains and blaring music. Exaggerated visibility. Palestinian youth wrap explosives around their waist and blow themselves up in an Israeli crowd. Exaggerated visibility.

This is laughable - sorry. Sticky guns? At present the Israeli myth is that the borders offered by Baruk were essentially the 67 ones. This is far from the truth. They have tried to enforce the UN resolution calling for a withdrawal to the 67 border before and it has always been vetoed by big brother - the US.

(Add) The number of terrorist attacks perpetrated against Israel and USA dramatically decreases, their perpetrators lost almost all sympathy in Moslem world and are publicly condemned by Moslem religious and intellectual authorities, including those the most conservative.

A peace enforcement operation is completely unlikely.

…The UN should hail the concretization of the border as the harbinger of durable peace and launch a propaganda offensive for maintaining it peacefully.

It is important that a multilateral peace force be installed in the region, but with the support of ALL countries (both Muslim and the great powers to IMPOSE a definitive solution to the problem). This is only possible with the backing of ALL countries involved. After a transition period no longer than three years, the grounds for two different States with multiple historical links will be ready.

This is not good science fiction. It is close to "enlightened dictatorship" or to Orwell's "big brother is watching you."

This portion seems especially implausible. It addresses mass riots, when, in fact, the weapon of choice is suicide bombers. One scenario - that may play out - is that the Wall is effective in slowing or stopping suicide bombers. (Based on the experience in Gaza, there is some reason to believe that this might be true.) As the bombing subsides, the post-Sharon Israeli government is pressed to dismantle settlements, which it does - albeit with reluctance by some. Given the greater security, the UN comes into the area to oversee the opening - and eventual removal - of the Wall.

More tranquillizers. Concentrated on the Prime Ministers Building Jerusalem and Arafat's Headquarters in Ramallah.

1.6 On a comprehensive social and economic development process, external assistance, training from Shrouk.

Even before these political agreements were completed, the UN Special Coordinator's Office (UNSCO) brought together the leaders of the Palestinian Elected Local Councils to design a comprehensive social and economic development process that included self-help participatory planning for local development in the Palestinian territories. People began to assume responsibility for developing their own communities, while seeking external technical and financial assistance.

UNSCO, in coordination with the Palestinian Authority and SERESER, helped bring in external assistance for this development process by calling representatives together from the different international agencies (World Bank, IMF, EU, USAID, UNDP, and international NGOs) and the local coordinating committees representing the Ad-Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC), Local Aid Coordination Committee (LACC), and several Palestinian NGOs. Business and religious leaders were also included.

Palestinian Elected Local Councils received training from Shrouk (the local participatory planning and development process in Egypt) on how to mobilize local groups of people, help them assess their resources, and plan their future. With UNSCO guidance, this self-help approach attracted resources and expertise. As the local participatory planning processes became more popular, their results became connected to development budget decision making of the Palestinian Authority and SERESER. As the Palestinian youth began to see results, their faith in their future increased; this in turn focused their energy on development of their communities. As a result, Islamic militia groups found fewer volunteers. Natural local leaders emerged throughout the process in each community. Those leaders fed the evolution of representative government based on liberal economic principles. The regular transactions between the Palestinians and their government officials made the government more accountable to the citizens and represented a trust-building mechanism, critical to the evolution of democratic culture.

This is a democratic approach to solve situation. Democracy is not a superior value for Arab culture.

(Add) Support of public sector by redirecting 50 % of GDP to education, security, infrastructure, army, social questions, young generation, science, culture, sport etc.

Shrouk mobilizing Palestinians? How about: Palestinian youth from the US, UK (Canada, Australia, Britain), the EU and other nations, who financed by their countries as part of a labor-education exchange program, helped mobilize local Palestinian youth. This exchange program, financed and launched when the Intifada was at its height by wealthy US and Arab millionaires as a grassroots program, eventually was adopted by global organizations and national governments who saw the ready benefits of bringing youth who have been fully exposed to democratic principles (and the Information Age) into direct contact with local Palestinian youth.

Building on the early principles of the Peace Corps, this effort rapidly gained ground, especially among faith-based organizations, resulting in sweeping exchange programs that eventually prodded US government support by allowing Palestinian youth into the US for brief work-education periods. The fear that the youth would disappear and not leave the US proved to be unfounded as the youth welcomes the opportunity to return home and improve the lives of their families and elders by accepting jobs that were guaranteed as part of the exchange program.

…a bottoms up approach to change …. is crucial, however too much interference from outside can hijack such community building projects.

The above is an almost believable scenario, if you ignore the domination of Palestinian society by violent groups. Those groups will never be defeated by nonviolent means.

There must be a mechanism put in place to correct the widespread corruption and misappropriation of funds endemic within the Palestinian Authority.

This is very paternalistic. In fact the Palestinians are very able to help themselves - given a chance. They also have a highly developed sense of participatory Government and are in a better position to make something of an opportunity than many other impoverished peoples.

(Add) The new Palestinian state is organized with the help of advisers coming from European Union countries, the similar political principles of European political culture are applied there (welfare system, no death penalty etc.). The most visible success of new state is political agreement signed by representatives of both Palestinian Moslems and Christians, giving guarantee for peaceful coexistence of both main religious groups and their equal political, social, and cultural rights in new state of Palestine.

There is no time to wait for mutual trust to be established spontaneously, so it should be first imposed to later build it with a multinational transitional government.

This is not realistic, Israel will not give up possession of nuclear weapons (one reason is number of Jews living in Israel and number of Arabs in surrounding countries, second reason is long-term tension between Israel and Arab countries).

The scenario seems to suggest that the Islamic militia will quietly fade away. It is not likely. The scenario should have some carrot-and-stick approach to addressing the Islamic militia and the zealous Israeli settlers, both of whom have their foreign supporters egging them on. This could involve scholarships for and exchanges between the two groups. A program of spotlighting outside provocateurs could be included.

A good idea. Democracy starts at the grass roots.

1.7 On the jurisdiction of Jerusalem

However, probably the most difficult issue other than the return of refugees was jurisdiction of

Jerusalem. Proposals to declare Jerusalem an international city, establish a UN Trusteeship, and even time-sharing arrangements were debated. Finally, it became clear that Israel would agreed to return to its 1967 borders including the borders within Jerusalem, and the Palestinians would have to agree to give up the right to return to Israel, except in special humanitarian situations. All agreed that a plan for peacefully sharing holy sites had to guarantee free access to these areas that would recognize the religious rights of all creeds. However, not until a unique process created a time-sharing agreement was it possible for the presence of UN Peacekeepers to oversee the arrangement: A preliminary "calendar-location matrix" was proposed, which eventually identified all of the possible "time slots" and holy sites. It included times-of-day for when the highest demand locations coincided with the highest demand times-of-year. Parties who wanted access to the various date/location combinations in the matrix were given the opportunity to rank order their preferences from highest to lowest. Each party rank ordered all of the cells in the matrix. Initially UNSCO and then SERESER (selected by agreement by all of the parties), used the rankings to assign a party to each of the date-location slots. There were conflicts, but the SERESER used its judgment to complete the matrix. Some seemingly impossible impasses were solved by giving jurisdiction for alternating years. Once the master calendar-location matrix was filled in, it was made public for final commentary, with minor modifications – the final Jerusalem Matrix is still used today.

(The scenario would be more plausible with): Statements by the respected leadership of the three religions.

(The scenario would be more plausible) If the Vatican would not press for its 'piece' of Jerusalem.

Perhaps we could insert a paragraph describing the importance of "religious peace-building initiatives" and leadership on the part of visionary religious leaders on both sides... following through with the principles outlined at the Alexandria meeting of religious leaders. Time sharing might work, but year-long or even month-long blocks might be too long.

To declare Jerusalem as open mandate territory of the UN. With possibility of being a new state for all and moving some UN institutions into Jerusalem.

The matrix solution may work, but the religious behaviors on both sides are permanent, so this sort of solution, even ranked by both sides, I think that in the near future will cause new conflicts within the holy sites.

The question is: Will the presence of UN Peacekeeper be permanent to oversee the arrangement? If so, it means that the arrangement is imposed and controlled by UN Peacekeeper Force…..Once again, do we, the occidental countries, think in the same way and with the same values, vision, and goals as Israelis and Palestinians?

I think …. responsibilities within the sector will rotate between the interested parties but no one party will ever have overall control of everything.

(Problem: You say “that Israel would agree to return to its 1967 borders including the borders

within Jerusalem." This will happen when Hell boils over. What sort of time sharing do you suggest for the Hebrew University campus on Mt Scopus? The cemetery on the Mt of Olives? The Jewish quarter of the old city? Ramat Eshkol? .Jurisdiction for alternate years sounds like a really "good" idea. How will this be implemented in Ramat Eshkol?

The answer to the right of return cannot just be forgotten or traded off. What happens to all the millions of Palestinian refugees in other countries which (may not) want them? Anyway, it is not for outsiders to consider what their solution might be and it will be important that they arrive at a solution - like a journey, not a destination.

A children´ TV Series Program start considering global problems like: water scarcity, pollution, terrorism, gap between rich and poor, epidemics, and new virus infection, environmental security and show that all have responsibilities and opportunities to participate in efforts to solve them.

It may be helpful to prepare the Jerusalem Matrix in advance by way of a draft in consultation with some experts from the three religions involved and then present it for consideration and implementation in agreed phases.

Has something like this been tried before? How did it work? How would this be different? In the past has there been a city where religions coexisted peacefully on the same footing for some duration? I do not know any. If there was one, let's learn from that experience.

Maybe such a mathematical solution works. But I would prefer an international city solution, under a common political regime of the European Union and the Arab League and a spiritual regime of the religions

1.8 On the Arabic television series Salaam-Shalom, peace swarms, and Peace Phone Internet web-log.

One factor that helped to heal the region was the Arabic television series Salaam-Shalom about two girls - one Palestinian and one Israeli. They met in a peace camp and made a pact to counter the hatred in their communities. Although the Peace Child exchanges between Palestinians and Israelis included a very small number of teenagers, it did stimulate conversations on both sides that added to the belief that peace might be possible one day. Building on this, each week the girls confronted seemingly impossible obstacles, and each week they overcame them with extraordinary compassion and intelligence. Television sets across the world showed how the girls used their cell phones connected to the Internet to create mini swarms of sympathizers who ran to the area and overwhelmed the impasse. "Copy cat" peace swarms began to appear in the real world. Youth armed with their "peace phones" started to call everyone in their areas to calm emotions at checkpoints and other areas of confrontation.

Almost immediately after the first few peace swarms, a Peace Phone Internet web-log and photo gallery was set up opening a worldwide window on the process, and creating a near-instantaneous "global fair-witness" to the outcomes of each swarm. The "before" and "after" photos on the web-log, together with the weekly Salaam-Shalom television shows, added global

pressure for more rational negotiations that finally drew the lines for peace.

(More effective and plausible with a)Higher level of penetration of mass-media in Arab countries.

Also discussions in radio, creation of U.N. TV. and radio with international moderators from all states from region.

Do we really believe that this sort of “pink story” can solve and/or modify the deep and ancient causes of this longer conflict between Israel and Palestine? To be honest, I think that “peace phones”, the “before” and “after” photos on the web-log, and the weekly Salaam-Shalom television shows are exactly that: “a show, without real value” to accomplish and/or add global pressure for more rational negotiations to accomplish the real goals looking for permanent peace in the region. It has relatively (little) and/or no value as argument to contribute to …. the scenario.

I personally know of many activities carried out for years by Israeli and Palestinians in the area of education and culture and many have been carried out by women in difficult places as the Gaza strip. Why are they not known?

There actually was a story only a few weeks ago about an Arab Israeli youth and his Jewish Israeli girlfriend and how they had appeared on a TV show and were the toast of the town.

Sadly the media may actually have this power. Once the children’s version is successful, an adult’s version will be likely to follow where politicians or people with similar professions will be challenged to meet and come up with a workable solution to a real area of conflict.

The use of popular media for peace is a good idea and needs to be developed. However, when there is so much "anti-peace" programming and information, you need more than just one television program.
….developing the Peace Child format to reach significant numbers of Palestinian and Israeli kids is a great idea. What it boils down to is that someone (US, EU?) has to spend megabucks to counter the war propaganda and evangelism for fanatic causes.

There is a peace phone program in place of course, run by the Parents Circle. It is not notably successful. Internet for peace has likewise not been a great success unfortunately. Part of the problem is $$$. Part of the problem is language, part of the problem is fanatic groups like Yesha council and BADIL that lobby against it, and part of the problem is reality on the ground. When there are suicide bombings and IDF incursions, it is really hard to get 19 year old kids away from their M-16s and thinking about peace. When a kid was lured to his death through the Internet by a Palestinian girl, it didn't give internet for peace chat groups a very good name.

Be very careful with the use of the word “peace.” In the USA, white people want peace, people of color want justice. Israelis want peaces, Palestinians want justice. It sounds as though you have adopted an Israeli agenda at the get go.

This seems to have something. It must be some kind of grass roots thing that challenges and changes the culture at the same time it starts to build trust.

(A scenario :) The new Israeli-Palestinian culture festival (is performed) ….every year in Jerusalem and in many cities of the world, where both Jewish and Palestinian minorities live, in the day commemorating anniversary of signing final peace treaty between Israel and Palestine. The best of culture of both nations is presented here.

(A scenario:) The production of traditional violent Arab and Israeli TV films depicting Jews and Arabs as enemies was stopped, the new popular Israeli-Palestinian TV series "The Roses behind the Wall" depicting the moving love story between Israeli army officer and young Palestinian lady-teacher in the small town in occupied territories became the most recent hit all around the world.

(A scenario:) A wider perception of democratic processes was developed in the region. This was not a secular vision of the State and Society, but an integrated system of interrelation between religious precepts, civil law and costumes that allow a change in very old traditions, like conception of women, or more individual responsibility in relation with de law.

The Salaam – Shalom initiative should recruit girls and boys both for the peace dialogue and not just two girls initially.

…. it would take years to concretize. It is however imperative to start working on eliminating the mutual hatred culture.

This is an interesting thought, but it does not acknowledge that the hawks would try to derail the effort, as they have successfully done in the past; cf., Mothers' March for Peace, etc. It would seen that those bent on destruction have more staying power than those bent on peace. And yet, the experience of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. show that this need not be the case. The scenario should include a "champion"; e.g., a Gandhi or an MLK who captures the world's attention and its moral conscience. But I do like the idea of the TV show.

1.9 On security guarantees from the United States and Israeli ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty

With the evolution of democratic processes in the region, and continued security guarantees from the United States, Israel surprised many in the Middle East with their ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty as a gesture of long-term good will and allowed IAEA inspectors to verify their dismantling of nuclear weapons. These actions led even the skeptics to nod their heads and say that, this time, maybe it really will be a lasting peace.

Pressure from the U.S. as part of an international push to rid the world of “weapons of mass destruction."

(Add) The fact that the guarantees from the US will actually address Israeli concerns.

Wow. A big but positive step.

Do we really think that allowing IAEA inspectors to verify the Israeli dismantling of nuclear weapons is a real gesture … for peace in the region? …Realize that the relative distances between the main cities of both sides (are small and therefore a) … launch of nuclear weapons (risks) ….self damage.. We must try not to be so ingenuous to believe that this Israeli gesture will bring a lasting peace. If both sides don't find solutions on the deep and ancient causes of this longer conflict, nothing … will work…

I don't see this happening. Israel is based on a survival instinct in an insecure region where they don't fit with their neighbors. Nuclear weapons give them a sense of security, even if it is false.

Nuclear disarmament MIGHT come in the framework of a GENERAL peace - including Iran for example. You would need to give an intro for it in order to make it work. It cannot be the result of just better atmosphere among Israelis and Palestinians. The EU is perfectly happy with France having a force de frappe and Britain having nuclear weapons. Nobody suggests that they need to disarm. You would need to do a lot of explaining to explain why, if there is really peace, Israel would need to give up nuclear weapons, but France and Britain (and Pakistan and Iran) keep them. There is no doubt that by the time this scenario is implemented Iran will have nuclear weapons.

Sending UN Weapons Inspectors to Israel. Let the World Body have the courage to do to Israel what it did to Iraq by subjecting them to weapons inspections.

Strong guarantees from US only could be controversial.

….The current US and Israel leaders are not interested in real Democracy at all. If that democracy were to challenge the US right to milk their countries in the name of "free trade" they would be labeled as obstructive….

(Scenario) Israel is announcing and starting to implement large disarmament and demilitarization program. The obligatory military service of Israeli women and men is canceled; a new small and efficient professional army is established and trained mainly for engagement in humanitarian assistance (natural disasters etc.). As the expression of mutual trust and understanding, a joint Israeli-Palestinian military unit is established to be involved in the UN peace-keeping missions around the world

The scenario needs to address the breaches of non-nuclear proliferation that (have been by made) ….through Pakistan. It could build on the Libyan experience, indicating that through those new inspections, several sources of nuclear WMD were found. . . and effectively closed. (With) ….the greater light that had been cast on this once-shadowy landscape, Israel felt secure enough to join in the self-revelations and invited inspectors to oversee their dismantling.

1.10 What would make the water works scenario, as-a-whole, more plausible for the achievement of peace?

To me there needs to be some more input from a cross-cultural perspective. I sense a number of assumptions being made congruent with an American perspective on the situation.

The education as-a-whole, for all people, from the old lady at her house, to the kids, passing the young people, and even professional people. But the main issue in this educational process is to bring to society the internationalization of advantages of democracy. It is a rupture of paradigm for the Arab (specifically the Muslim) culture, which is not going to happen in the near future, because the effort of democratizing societies is so expensive and sometimes, worthless.

This is good scenario, but very optimistic, the reality is based primarily on religious roots of conflict interconnected with growing fundamentalism and radicalism especially of youth generation, this scenario is plausible only as a part of more complex scenario with focus on elimination of religious roots of conflict and redirection of main religious in more peaceful forms

I think that fresh water for all is the main conflict in the near future all around the world, and because of that, any kind of agreement on regional water negotiations is going to be led by the particular interests of all the participants and their needs to control the water resources within their own boundaries and/or their possession of positions, and of course, the conflicts that had been permanent since long time ago will be present over any kind of negotiations.

Alas, a serious water shortage where the …threat is sufficiently serious to prompt old enemies to close ranks. An invasion by Mars would also help…

The scenario is based on the assumption that water is so important that both sides feel they will benefit from an agreement. I am not sure what Israel will gain.

Improvement in water sharing is the result of peace. It cannot be a cause of peace, because the factor that is preventing rational exploitation of water is political enmity. Water has been a weapon since the early 60s, and the Arab decision and moves to stop the Israeli water carrier helped to ignite the 6-day war. They didn't need the water and they haven't used the water - they didn't want Israel to get it.

The important fact is all of this water research, management and distribution projects are based on joint cooperation of Israeli and Palestinian scientists, managers, politicians. There is no feature of paternalism from the part of Israel or any international organization

Starting the SERESER process at a non-official level through the formation of an eminent group first, and then taking it into the official domain.

It needs to consider the moves that different parties would take to prevent its successful implementation. And then, it needs to consider how those problems would be addressed - at least in some general terms.

Again I believe that having a realistic projection of the water situation over time and the implications for all local economies, and people will generate a strong impact on readers of the complex situation ahead.

This scenario mixes water and democracy. Water seems the minor problem, democracy the big issue.

In his book Stupid White Men, Michael Moore (no joke, it's a great piece of futures work!) essentially describes violent and non-violent scenarios for the Middle East. He writes an open letter to Arafat proposing mass non-violent action and points to these examples where this worked in the past: 1) In the US, Martin Luther King/the civil rights movement brought an end to legal segregation; 2) Gandhi brought the British Empire to its knees; 3) Nelson Mandela/ANC brought about the end of apartheid. Moore does also point to examples where violence worked: 1) Vietnam; 2) The American Revolution.

Scenario 2: The Open City
Selected Comments

2.1 On the Pope leading an effort to find a solution to the problem of Jerusalem.

The white smoke signaled the election of a new Pope. He assumed the office with humility and fervor. His priority, he announced, was facilitating peace around the world, particularly in the Middle East. He began his mission by addressing the Jerusalem question. His advisors cautioned: "You can only blunt your authority - it's unsolvable," but he maintained that God had given him this mission and as far as he and the Church were concerned this took priority over politics. "The fact that it is a difficult mission," he said, "only raises the stakes of the test. Is it more difficult than the tests that God gave Jesus, Moses or Abraham?" His bishops were mute but whispered among themselves, "the Church will be in chaos."

He personally called the leaders of the Jewish orthodox and reformed sects in Israel, and their counterparts in the Muslim world. Deft use of the media made it hard for them to refuse to meet and talk. They met on neutral ground, at an isolated ranch in New Zealand and called their historic session Religious Leaders for Peace (RLP). At the first meeting, the initial coolness worsened a bit after each member justified his or her position as God-given. Then the Pope said, "Yes. God has blessed each of you as you have said, and He has also given us brains with which to reason, and that is what I pray we can do. This issue of Jerusalem pertains to religious law and custom; it should be above secular self-interests and politics and we can at least begin to discuss how to resolve this issue."

The Pope is hardly a neutral arbitrator, nor is the Catholic church in any position to lecture Jews or Muslims about tolerance in Jerusalem. The Catholic Church has a certain history with regard to Jerusalem that makes it anathema to both sides. The Muslims will not listen to "crusaders."

The Jews are not very interested in the views of the Catholic Church about Jerusalem, which were first made known in the curse of Eusebius, and culminated in the expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem during the Crusades.

A more credible scenario - the UN rescinds the resolutions on internationalization of Jerusalem, and establishes a working group of religious and secular leaders to propose realistic solutions that are acceptable to both sides and that take into account the special rights of Jews and Palestinian Arabs in Jerusalem, as well as the well-known position of the Catholic Church. This group might include the Pope, the Chief Rabbi of Israel and the Grand Mufti. Just getting those three in the same room will be a worthy accomplishment and a milestone on the way to peace.

That the Pope is not alone in this insight and effort. That it be handled in a way to ensure to one faith is seeking to take credit for either the effort or good results. A lot of work should go on without any media awareness until the meeting is held. Jealousy is as alive in religious temples as it is in Hollywood. Sincerity is the key, but it requires the synergistic efforts of members of all three religions and men (women?) who are not afraid to lose. Whoever agrees to even attend the meeting in this scenario runs the very real risk of being ostracized by the conservatives in their own camp.

Perhaps a bevy of international stars and entertainers -- Bono, Omar Sharif, Spielberg, Gates, etc. – could begin this by laying the foundation for cross-religious discussions that would at least catch on with idealistic youth. These stars have less to lose than the Pope, chief Rabbi, or Sheikhs from Al-Azhar, Herat, and Iran.

Cut out the ranch in New Zealand!!! I think an invitation by a new US President, coupled with stark warnings to Israel and in cooperation with Europe, would help.

Call it Religious Institutions for Peace - R.I.P.

Maybe not (as depicted in the scenario) ……but the big C Church could play a role perhaps.

Some preliminary steps should be mentioned (in the scenario). For example: The parties (Jewish, Palestinian, Arab) were war-weary ; the governments were so entrenched that they realized that the possibility of progress on their own was not promising; the rise of interest in religion around the world caused people to be open to considering "a higher way"; preliminary talks had taken place over the past few years between church officials, exchanges between lay people from different religious persuasions around the world, etc; and the rise and increasing power of non-governmental organizations led people to believe that some problems were "much too important to be left to government."

Support in the form of a resolution by the United Nations.

Bring religious leaders from societies that have solved their conflicts to give testimony to the meeting in New Zealand.

After many secret meetings between religious leaders and once time achieved a certain grade of

coincidences, them agree on start public meetings, with diffusion in the media. At the same time start a process to be public the recognition and diffusion of numerous common points between the 3 religions. It will be useful to deconstructs and unprejudiced on some level the public opinion.

For Israel, Jerusalem is first and foremost an issue of sovereignty and "secular self-interest" Everyone else's holy cow is the capital of the Jewish state and always has been. Therefore, the Israelis will not be amenable to persuasion of the type envisioned above.

A radical change in Christian Church policy.

Influence of Pope on this region is very small.

I agree with the Pope view, but it only express WHAT to do, but not HOW to do.

The matrix solution may work, but the religious behaviors on both sides are permanent, so this sort of solution, even ranked by both sides, I think that in the near future will cause new conflicts within the holy sites. The reason: this matrix solution was designed and proposed as a unique process created as a time-sharing agreement, and it was possible because the presence of UN Peacekeepers to oversee the arrangement. The question is: Will the presence of UN Peacekeeper be permanent to oversee the arrangement? If so, it means that the arrangement is imposed and controlled by UN Peacekeeper Force, and in such way, Israelis and Palestinians accomplish the imposed rules, but there is not convincement that it is the best way to share the holy sites. Once again, do we, the occidental countries, think in the same way and with the same values, vision, and goal of Israelis and Palestinians? We must think about that to develop the scenario.

The declaration and activities by Pope John Paul II should be better known outside Rome and Europe”

As I have already said, there should be a continuous effort made at transforming people's fundamental identities from being religious to secular.

At the same time the Pope of Rome compared Jerusalem with Mount Sinai, where pilgrims of all of three great monotheistic religions have been meeting each other in peace and mutual respect for many years.

Although the initiative is important since great part of the conflict has cultural roots, it's a partial solution. The Pope has great influence in general opinion but after all it's a political problem and political leaders can't be excluded from consideration.

Maybe the first step was a joint decision to include a common preaching for peace and for the open all holy places in Jerusalem in all Jews, Christian, and Muslins religious celebration every week.

One cannot say when the white smoke will signal the election of a new Pope. Moreover, even when that occurs, we would not know the inclinations of the new one. Meanwhile, preparations

may be undertaken for the meeting of 'RLP' as far as possible.

A new similar pope

It could happen. Not in New Zealand, but at a more spiritual spot on earth. Why not directly in Jerusalem.

Television would have a role.

Religious agreements will mean nothing as long as the occupation continues.

Bring in other religions from around the world. Neutral representatives may lend credibility to the process.

Why is a new pope needed? The current Vatican with John Paul II could start such an initiative. The Catholic Church doesn't see much optimistic perspective for getting involved. The role of the church in this point is exaggerated. It is too an institution to an issue the peace process. It could be one of the mediators.

2.2 On the possibility of religious leaders cooperating to make Jerusalem an open city.

They began with points of agreement: free access to the holy sites should be guaranteed. How ludicrous it would be, they agreed, if one sect were to attempt to deny access to anyone who wanted to pay homage there. The plan grew from that seed of agreement. Jerusalem should be an open city under no nation's sole jurisdiction, but under religious protection and authority. They recognized that the problem of Jerusalem does not affect just Israel or a future state of Palestine, but is of global concern. Their proclamation recognized that Jews, Muslims and Christians and other faiths have to work towards a sharing of God's gifts.

But the question before the group was how to proceed. One participant pointed out the UN had already laid the foundation. In late 2003, a UNESCO conference had noted that two of its resolutions had strong support from both Israeli and Palestinian representatives. The UNESCO participants "reiterated their support for the initiative taken by the Director-General to prepare a comprehensive plan of action to safeguard the Old City of Jerusalem (al-Quds); and invite him to send as soon as possible, in cooperation with the concerned parties, a technical mission and to establish, within a year, a committee of experts 'entrusted with proposing, on an exclusively scientific and technical basis, guidelines for this plan of action'."

The act that enforces this decision would be the recognition of definitive borders of each religious group in the ¨old city¨, in relation with underground, history, and tradition of each group. As guarantee of this situation there should be the constitution an administration¨ of the city¨ with representatives of 3 religions, more a UN representative with right a double vote. This representative will be in charge for 5 years, with annual renovation until normalization without administrator of UN as controller is achieved

The Temple Mount should be an "open area" that doesn't belong to any country.
By this time, most people have recognized that the open city idea will not work for the whole city, because of problems of security, customs control etc. etc The people in the city are either Israelis or Palestinians and don't want to be robbed of their nationality.. The UN failed in 1947 to enforce its plan for internationalization of Jerusalem, and it is not plausible that they will succeed today. It is an idea whose time came - and went.

….These kind of agreements must be led by an international organization other than UN, that must be created for these purposes (representatives of the head of different religious behaviors), thinking in the same way that Israelis, Christians and Palestinians think, establishing clear goals to be achieved and respected by all the actors and with plain authority to make the negotiations become true and permanent, in order to let the holy sites to be just holy sites, out of any kind of political, ideological, and/or economic interests.

(A Scenario) There was appointed special joint City Council of Jerusalem, where the representatives of all religions of the city and representatives of UN have membership and right to vote. The work of this council was officially started by the silent ceremony held in the Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, where the representatives of all religions prayed for forgiving any violence perpetrated against human beings

The (group of religious leaders should include) leaders from Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism. It should be presided over by his Holiness the Dalai Lama. The group of five should undertake the preparation of the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) with the help of experts.

The scenario should make the case that (there is) support in the general population for such a move at this time. The religious leaders pledged to work with their own people to make this proposal succeed.. The religious leaders pledged to maintain contact as events unfolded and to reconvene as needed and helpful.

Committing religious leaders to the technical missions.

Initiate the UNESCO mission.

A very clever and equilibrated mission.

To support of split of all churches from state, support of atheistic philosophies.

The different efforts to declare Jerusalem open city should be supported from all sides.

Power sharing/open access to Jerusalem will need to be achieved before any discussion on religious grounds takes place. There will be a political, economic and social transformation first, and religion will come along later (of its own accord, not the Popes) because if they don't they will lose their followers.

This has already been considered in several opportunities, and even the United Nations in 1947 proposed Jerusalem to be an International Zone (Partition Plan), but it was never fulfilled. Why shouldn't we try with religious leaders? Maybe this time it comes true.

Jerusalem was considered a not national city, like the Vatican, but the new administration would be coordinate with the border states and principal religions with holy places in the city.

In the past has there been a city, where three religions have existed on equal footing. If yes lets learn from it. If not? Let's pray.

The UNESCO resolution was too weak. Change it.

Jerusalem could be a city state like the Vatican

The U.N. and its related institutions can only be partly effective in such an enterprise that can help them –perhaps a role for UNESCO.

The visions born within the U.N. are a product of internal bureaucracy and are designed almost solely for internal "systemic use," individual promotion, guarding interests of home countries and not for solving real world problems where governments and international companies have the last word to say. They are very much desired, ethical, etc but are too much self contained.

Why should the Japanese and Chinese be interested?

2.3 On the possibility that the religious leaders take their plan to the UN

As a result, the RLP report was directed to the Secretary-General and asked that UN General Assembly enact a resolution to declare Jerusalem an open city of a new design, and that the governments of affected nations support the plan with required legislation. Its role would be codified by the UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Its leader would be elected every six years by the General Assembly with the rule that no sect would have control for more than one term. Terrorism in the area would be dealt with harshly.

Use another mechanism than the UN. As far as the vast majority of Israelis are concerned, the UN can play no part in any solution in the Middle East. It is a regrettable fact, but the UN cannot be both an "impartial mediator" and at the same time have a permanent committee on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The UN cannot expect Israelis to trust it after the General Assembly passes overwhelmingly anti-Israel resolutions with huge majorities. If the UN is to play a part in bringing peace, it must begin to see itself through the eyes of Israelis, and it must recognize that to a large extent, from the point of view of the Israelis, the UN is part of the problem at present, and not part of the solution. If the UN does not even recognize this fact, then they have no understanding of the problem at all.

To develop this scenario, this kind of agreement must be mastered by an international

organization other than UN, (The organization) must be created for this purpose (involving) representatives of the head of different religions, thinking in the same way that Israelis, Christians and Palestinians think, establishing clear goals to be achieved and respected by all the actors and with plain authority to make the negotiations become true and permanent, in order to let the holy sites to be just holy sites, out of any kind of political, ideological, and/or economic interests.

Terrorism needs to be declared a religious crime, against the Gods and not something that any religion will support or pay homage to.

There are the common prayers of all religions representatives being organized everyday in the holiest places of the City to commemorate the need of mutual respect, tolerance, and peace.

I think that before asking the UN to declare Jerusalem an open city the religious leaders should negotiate first the terms of a possible agreement with the Israeli government.

Committing an international police force to deal with security.

Its leaders should rather come from the communities in the City itself - even if by rotation or a joint leadership. Outside impositions - even by the UN -will not be first prize.

The fact of existence of any terrorism act in the ¨holy City¨ implies the aggressor loss of condition as possible administrator for the correspondent period.

A very open, free borders and globalized (no-earth attached) mentality.

Add common security and army forces plus network of cultural and sport organizations.

It has to be remembered that the Koran does encourage peace even if changes have taken place in the culture for different reasons through the years

The CPA should be endorsed by the GA and the Security Council should oversee to implementation in the interest of Peace and Security.

Create a Military Police composed of representatives of the three religions, with rotating chief every month.

No control for one sect.

UN Multilateral force could be a solution.

The new design is too unclear. Why talk of sects Instead of religions or religious communities?

2.4 On the need for mullahs, mashaikh, and orthodox rabbis in the Middle East to preserve

power and face and interpretations of The Holy Quran call the Middle East the Promised Land for Jews. A fatwa is issued to condemn suicide bombings.

Publication of the RLP conference recommendations evoked widespread public acclaim, and a few pockets of dissent, grumbles of "sell-out" and worse, but it was clear that the weight of public sentiment had begun to build an unprecedented momentum for peace. Even the most extreme factions felt the ground shift under them; what God wanted was now redefined.

Religious leaders around the world discussed the potential consequences of RLP. Although they didn't put it so directly, the mullahs, mashaikh, and orthodox rabbis in the Middle East faced a central issue of preserving power and face.

For the mullahs, there were new arguments. A holy man said the Jews have a right to be in the Middle East as surely as we ourselves do. It is written. The Holy Quran tells us of the Promised Land for Jews. It says that God had promised the holy land to Moses and his followers on their way out of Egypt (The Holy Quran 5:20-21)... So Muslims cannot casually dismiss the concept of the Promised Land. Muslims need to develop methods to attract (Jews) to come back in a way that is not threatening to Arabs and Muslims. Imagine if Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan can develop policies and provisions that say "we would welcome any Jew who wants to come to this part of the world, being part of the promised land, to come and live, we'll give you citizenship; you want to buy a house, buy land—fine; you want to have your relatives come live or visit, fine; do your work, live with your community, build your synagogue, have your own laws to govern your family and community life. But do not threaten a national entity. And come to any part, come to Syria, come to Egypt, come to Iraq, and come to Jordan, whatever you believe the Promised Land to be."...Such a solution would be based on a religious understanding of God's promises to Jews and Muslims alike.

Turmoil. Chaos. Other Moslem clerics interpreted the Holy word in their own ways but no matter what spin was put on the proposition, Quran 5:20-21 was clear enough and could not be rationalized away. The threat of a fatwa for those who disagreed helped to end the suicide bombings.

Only a miracle would make this part of the scenario plausible

There would be a lot of controversy about this, but if the sheikh who proposed it also made his invitation conditional on "right of return" for Palestinian refugees (sharing the holy land) he just might get away with it. This could start a very interesting conversation indeed.

(This scenario should include): the schoolbook texts damning Israel are withdrawn and are no longer taught in schools… In their place, there are schoolbooks text teaching tolerance and reviewing positive elements of each religion's work in the region.

…The Quran has said what it says all along and has not stopped the violence and conflict that exists at present. Religion might be used to support political and social change but much of the justification will come from elsewhere.

There are too many Quranic quotes to the contrary… The Hammas clearly believe that all of Palestine (was)…given by Allah to the Muslims. The Orthodox Jewish fanatics (Union of Rabbis for Greater Israel) assert that all of Israel was given by God to the Jews.

The last sentence grossly overrates the impact of fatwas issued by clerics perceived to be close to political authorities.

If you see the suicide bombings in the context of a reaction to institutionalized racism and structural oppression, we will have to remove the oppression and the racism first before we can end the suicide bombings. At the same time, high quality secular education must be a top priority for the region.

Since the great variety of political and religious positions that there are between the Muslims it is most unlikely to believe that all of them might accept a fatwa and end the suicide bombings.

Legislating the right of return of Jews from Arab lands back to their original countries if they wish to.

Religious leaders and authorities with responsibilities over education in each country should appoint the progress his own people obtained by peace between sister communities, with emphasis in the need of love and respect of the other. This will change the type of learning in the school and the sermons in order to revert the process of exaltation of hate.

Monthly meetings of Jews, Muslims, and Christians.

Do we, the occidental countries, know and understand what were the reasons that spread out God’s promises in so many religions? I think it is a key question, and if both sides find the answers, may be the beginning of understanding among all, but never before that it occurs. In such a way, we must think to develop the scenario.

While there may be some religious interpretation to the justification for changes in policy, the Quran has said what it says all along and has not stopped the violence and conflict that exists at present. Religion might be used to support political and social change but much of the justification will come from elsewhere.

The UN made similar resolutions in 1948, when the Arab states and Israel were weaker, but Israel and the Arab states ignored them totally. There is no reason to expect that it would be different today.

The CPA should provide for this.

Last two paragraphs seem to be naïve. Jerusalem as open city, as "common global heritage" is good idea. But I believe Jews as well as Palestinians need two independent states and several decades to learn how to live together (in separate independent states). Then, after 2 - 3 generations of this (hopefully peaceful) co-existence they will be able to trust each other.

Provide an answer for some unanswered questions; e.g.

a. Is the current state of Israel "a national entity" that is being referred to?
b. Is a Palestinian state a part of the scenario?

The Jewish & Moslem religions need their "Renaissance." It took several centuries for the Christians. How long will it take to the Jews and the Moslems?

Nice findings. Could help. Why not start this saying immediately in the public?

Work with Muslim moderates

Looks far too implausible. Not sure how to sell this idea. The world, it seems to me, is too bigoted to listen to reason.

The religious argument is convincing. If anybody on earth could force religious leaders from the Middle East to meet and to discuss it would be the most important breakthrough – but how to do that?

The more plausible if the appeal would also be formulated the other way around: Arabs and Palestinians invited to settle Israel

2.5 On the acceptance by Muslims of idea that Jews had a right to a homeland in the Middle East and the Israeli response.

In Israel, the Orthodox rabbis that steered the far right were at a loss. By providing a religious basis for the Jews to exist in the area, the Muslims had, in a single stoke, eroded the political power of the Israeli far right. Check, maybe checkmate. The Rabbis issued this statement:

Jews accept that the way to fulfill the Promise of God does not include depriving others of their homes; and if Muslims and Arabs recognize the sincere attachment of Jews to the Promised Land and make serious efforts to accommodate that Promise…we are in for a "deep peace," not a superficial one that has been broken, stepped upon, and tarnished, for 55 years. We vow to extend the Jewish idea of the sanctity of the home to others and will help bring about a future that makes homes- all homes- Holy and safe. The retaliatory bulldozing stopped. Seek and destroy missions were put on hold.

There is a key, possibly unattainable pre-condition here. Since the holocaust, criticism of Israel has been deemed "anti-Semitic" to the extent that a US congressman has suggested a law equating any criticism of Israel as anti-Semitic and punishable. In Germany and other European countries, the general public at best deals with criticism of Israel gingerly. While the holocaust was unarguably a terrible, inhuman, and ghastly prolonged effort that the world (must) never

revisit, we need to understand that this ugliness can be applied to any group, any race, any religion – and has been, both before and following WWII. We cannot, out of guilt for “allowing Hitler” or out of a sense of recompensation, outlaw criticism of a country when that country is located in a sensitive (oil-rich) area when it has, for whatever reason, inflamed the feelings of its neighbors, and when the rest of the world (the North America, Australia, and Europe) are clearly affected by its behavior and policies.

It is more likely that the extremes in both religions will agree to tolerate each other in their own spaces rather than shared space. I think sharing space is a step too far.

The fanatics will not yield. That is why they are fanatics. The only way to overcome them is to remove their power base and make them irrelevant. The lobby for Greater Israel grew with the opportunity to get Greater Israel. Then Hammas grew in importance because no international body took any steps against it or condemned its ideas.

(With respect to): "The retaliatory bulldozing stopped. Seek and destroy missions were put on hold." The bulldozing and search and destroy missions are not done by orthodox rabbis, but by secular IDF and have nothing to do with religious issues. The inclusion of this sentence is bizarre.

Israel must redefine the very basis of Zionism. I believe a secular democratic state is the only long-term solution. In the short run, a confederation of states (Gaza, West Bank, Jordan) with Israel is possible.

(Consider this scenario:)…as the expression of changing policy the State of Israel started to accept not only the Jewish immigrants, but also asylum -seekers coming from other parts of world. The state of Palestine followed its example very quickly, so in few years both of these countries became of the most generous asylum donors in the world. The new asylum-seekers obtained dual Israeli-Palestinian citizenship in few years and in such way became the strong group contributing to the better understanding between two societies. Both Israel and Palestine are changing in multicultural societies.

Here are some thoughts: "By providing a basis for the Jews to exist in the area" is not the same thing as allowing the nation of Israel to reclaim "the lands of Judah and Samaria.” Therefore, it would be more plausible, if the religious leaders were able to accept this interpretation of Scripture in the modern context and, thereby, bring the vast majority of war-weary Jews seeking hope to follow them into this new camp. Some die-hard right-wingers would, in fact, die hard; but eventually the new way of thinking (could be) broadly accepted as the road to the future.

The re-interpretation could be compared to other re-interpretations that have been made in the past that have opened up ways to the future. Here you could list a number agriculturally based admonitions; e.g., sacrificial laws, that have been re-interpreted. c. Does this mean the current Israeli settlements (cf., ""homes"") would continue to exist? In the name of simple justice and to condemn the concept of ""land grab in the middle of the night"", some of them will have to go. This would be favored by most and expected by all.

United Nations' strong input.

Should control the fulfillment of this agreements the ""administration¨ of the city¨ with representatives of 3 religions.

A very deep commitment.

We must take in account this sort of acceptance between Jews, Muslims, and Arabs. This is the way I believe they think, and it's quite different of the way that we, the occidental countries, think about how to solve ancient and deep causes of a longer problem, without making decisions on the effects. I believe that in this way we can develop the scenario.

So, it seems to me that, at the very least, that the ability to hold open exchanges of Israeli – and Arab – policies, including condemning the repressive policies by Arab governments, could move the world a lot closer to a realistic evaluation of the use and misuse of "the Holy Land."

God's direct intervention would help, too.

This should also be part of the Comprehensive Plan of Action.

Too simple.

Jews need to accept that the Bible is not literal

It will take more time to change attitudes.

Plausibility would be improved if there was a mention of what will happen to those who were once ex-patriot.

2.6 On education reform

Over the next year or two, education of young Muslims changed. The schools that once taught hatred for the Jews and inculcated an attitude of "drive them into the sea" moderated, turned to- if not enthusiastic tolerance- then at least an acceptance of laissez faire, a reasonable first step for moderates on both sides.

The religious education and the schools of each country should be joint with the agreement of politic leaders to get to the main objective.

This could only happen if material conditions on the ground for Palestinians were improving, with signs that the wall would be removed or moved

It is very important that young of both sides change, and it must be improved by all means, because they are "the future." But the problem persists, here and now, because the influence of

older people and the anchors to their "traditions," adopting inflexible positions that make the solution of the conflicts impossible, in both sides. But if we think only in the young changes, assuming that older people and their influences don't exist any more, we can develop the scenario.

The schoolbook texts damning Israel are withdrawn and no longer taught in schools by its neighbors. In their place, there are schoolbooks text teaching tolerance and reviewing positive elements of each religion's work in the region. This is initiated as part of the Arab-initiated "Cordova Program" launched by three Arab countries (including Syria and Egypt) that uses as a basis the successful collaboration of all three religions under Spain's Moorish Golden Age in the 10th Century to teach tolerance, cooperation, and the values of a "win-win" peaceful life. It also means disarming the general public – a lot easier in the Middle East than in the U.S.

It would take about 10 years, not two, to reverse the damage that has been done over generations. That is how long it takes to educate a generation. The education would not change as the result of the solution of the problem of Jerusalem alone. Jerusalem, like water, became a problem because of the hate. … Muslims hated Israel in 1950, when Israel didn't occupy Jerusalem, and in 1920 they threw rocks at my great grandfather in Jerusalem 120 years ago, when there was no Israel and the city was under Muslim sovereignty. You cannot solve the problems of Israel and Palestine if you think that the conflict started in 1967.

(Changing) education….would need to be extended to Israelis, too.

If there are (Palestinian) schools (saying that Israel should be) driven into the sea they are very rare indeed. I would expect that this would be an insult to most Palestinians. This is an Israeli myth.

(Add to the scenario :) Many Arab students and teachers obtained scholarships at universities in Israel and USA, so that they can learn not only special academic knowledge, but also about the advantages of open society. At the same time lots of Israeli and US specialists were invited as host professors in Arab countries.

This should be woven into the tele-education programs referred to in the previous scenario.

Commissions to monitor the educational materials in each country.

The end of fundamentalism and Arabs rejection of its practices and ideas.

Every half-year summits of governments of middle-east countries with focus on cooperation.

You cannot solve the problems of Israel and Palestine if you think that the conflict started in 1967.

If there was a process to change education - it does not happen by itself - and would need to be extended to Israelis, too!

Consider these ideas a. Expansion of Peace Child programs b. Sports exchanges; e.g., soccer, ping-pong c. Cultural exchanges; music, dance, etc. d. UN inspection and validation of the absence of flagrant anti-Arab or Anti-Jewish from the respective education curricula.

A new reading of the Koran.

This has been the story for centuries...

Education needs time

There needs to be an international Islamic attitudinal change to make this possible

How would the orthodox Jewish schools change?

2.7 On building mutual confidence

With RLP, the UN mission, the diminished teaching of intolerance, the acceptance by many Moslems of the idea of a Jewish presence in the Middle East, the end of suicide bombings, and the retaliation they evoked, and the softening of the teachings that inflamed rather than calmed, it remained to cement the nervous peace that existed.

With violence from both sides ended, a tenuous confidence was built ad hoc from the bottom up through a hundred thousand projects and business ventures that involved both Muslims and Israelis. The projects were large (agricultural cooperatives) and small (jointly owned shops), local (new schools open to all students who could attend) and national (lowering of import and export restrictions between Israel and Arab countries.) And with this improved spirit of confidence, the ventures grew in number and significance, economic development grew, jobs became plentiful, unemployment dropped, and in a marvelous demonstration of social feedback, nascent prosperity bred more confidence and cooperation. Travel into and out of Israel was normalized, controlled only by passports and visas. Outside observers marveled at how the need for employees eradicated the prior need for travel restrictions. It was only possible, they said, when the end to suicide bombings was a credible fact. Some years ago one person had said, "End the suicide bombings and everything is possible." He was right.

Instituting trade agreements (will be important)

Once mutual trust is achieved, … hate is thing of past.

I agree that the suicide bombings are a big problem, but are not convinced that they are the only problem. The settlements are just as big a problem, and are an existential threat to Palestinians.

I don't believe that in the near future, this ancient conflict will be solved, because each terrorist attack is retaliated immediately with a new attack, and so on….. We must … imagine the ways to

stop suicide bombings… and with those solutions in mind, we can develop the scenario.

We may never see the end of violent actions, but we can perhaps see a public outcry – by Palestinians as well as other Arabs — disavowing any isolated acts and labeling them inhuman and counter-religious. This would be the more real, and lasting, solution.

(Saying that ending the suicide bombings makes everything possible) is an oversimplification. The suicide bombings started in 1993. The conflict started in 1920. However, you have hit upon an important "leg" of the solution. End the suicide bombings and other terror, and you have gone a very long way to making peace possible. As long as they continue, there is no hope at all for peace.

"End the suicide bombings and everything is possible." WRONG. End the structural oppression and the institutionalized racism and everything is possible.

(A scenario :) Many Palestinian refugees came back home from Lebanon, Syria, and also European countries thanks to the generous programs of development aid sponsored by Israeli government. The new era of Palestinian-Israeli relations was started. As the expression of changed attitudes, more and more marriages between Israelis and Palestinians occurred, the common schools both for Palestinians and Israelis were opened.

A common fund collected with the support of religious persons (around the world) … was applied during two decade to help refugees.

This aspect should be part of the SERESER Process conceived of in Scenario One because of the multi -dimensional character of the problem of visas and passports.

These might help: a. The states involved decide to move towards a NAFTA-like free trade zone that respects sovereignty and differences as a way of 1) Competing in the global economy 2) Decreasing dependency on outside Big Powers 3) Transforming domestic economies. b. The ex-patriot communities of Jews and Arabs establish functional ties aimed at making this new pan-Middle East a reality. Through investment, leadership, and pressure these ex-patriots became a powerful force for more the process forward -- to the benefit of their nations and to the benefit of their -- and others' -- pocketbooks.

Stopping those who finance of promote violence: better living always seeks better perspectives.

The suicide bombings didn’t stop, as we can see through TV News, in real time, showing all over the world what’s going on in the region. I don’t believe that in the near future, this ancient conflict will be solved, because each terrorist attack is retaliated immediately with a new attack, and so on. In that sort of scenario, peace agreements are quite difficult, almost impossible. We must think and/or imagine the ways to stop suicide bombings at all, and with those solutions in mind, we can develop the scenario.

Joint ventures will take much longer to develop. Terror will not stop at once, from either side.

Stop rewarding the suicide bombing.

A different interpretation of the Muslim religion is necessary to stop suicide bombings

There can be no enduring economic relationship between occupiers and the occupied.

2.8 On Palestinian immigration to Israel

In this year of growing economic cooperation, an Israeli-Palestinian commission was appointed to review the status of refugees. They negotiated an agreement specifying a particular number of Palestinians who would have the right to return to Israel, and Israeli people who could remain in the Palestine areas. Israel argued that this limitation in the number of migrants was in fact no different than any country setting immigration limits. Palestinians responded by saying that Israeli limits would keep people from the locations of their birth and their families. The Israelis were clearly concerned about being outvoted by the immigrants in their democratic society. The issue promised to be inimical to the process but compromise was finally reach by accepting a limit based on the census data that recorded ethnicity, and restricting the vote to people who had lived in the country for more than seven years. In addition, should a Palestinian state be established, they said, Israeli settlers in Palestinian areas and Palestinians living in Israel would be given the opportunity for dual citizenship.

(Add) .. an international accord that would allow the dual citizenship.

Create industrial parks for investment in Arabic countries.

(If the scenario requires) a specific number of years living in a country to have the opportunity to vote, or imposing the condition of dual citizenship, I consider that it isn't (fully) …. Democratic…What kind of the democracy are we talking about? We must think about that, to develop the scenario.

Israel will never agree …. Only a solution based on settlement of the refugees outside Israel is practical.

Israel must respect the inalienable right of the refugees to return to their land. It is guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is not up to Israel to decide whether or not this people can return home.

(A scenario:) Thanks to economic boom, successful peace process and growing political culture both Palestine and Israel became the island of democracy and prosperity. The beneficial influences (flowing)… from them contributed to the profound political changes in the Middle East. The situation in Lebanon became much more stable thanks to return of Palestinian refugees back to Palestine and Israel and dismissing militia (such) as Hezbollah. …Moslems and Christians in Lebanon followed the good example of Palestine, confirmed the peace treaty and

Lebanon became the prosperous country as it used to be till the (1970's) … The authoritative regime of Basher Asad in Syria collapsed and process of deep democratization was initiated in the country. The Golan Heights were given back to Syria. Finally a free trade area between Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan was established and all this area became the economic center of Middle East competing with Emirates and other oil countries in Arab Peninsula. The peace and prosperity in the region contributed to the stability of Iraq, where new democratic government was elected, so coalition troops and UN mission started slowly to move from the country.

A UN initiative to work on the concept of the Israeli- Palestine dual citizenship with due restriction to guarantee the security of both states would render the (scenario) more plausible.

…It would be more plausible to move forward with the notion of a Palestinian state ""at some point"" and then have the parties discover that the notion of a separate state did not make economic sense and -- in the improved climate -- did not make much political sense either.
I believe acting recognizing on bona fide in this situation the migratory flow to Israel will greater than to the other for economic reasons. Also is kwon that Israel has not a extend territory, neither a great population Its also indiscriminate immigration, that would demographic growth differential factors between the two peoples- because of the proportion or percentage of Palestine's could mean a real embarrass situation for Israel.

Democratic governments in the area.

Interesting.

Unlimited Jewish immigration and citizenship, while Pal. citizenship is limited? Not very likely!

A decrease in the difference of the level of standard of living.

Good way.

The problem is with minorities Most Jews and Palestinians live normal lives. Know the leaders and stop them. Educate the next leaders.

The details of refugees come after the occupation ends.

2.9 On Israel and Palestine as separate secure states.

Post-Arafat, post-Sharon politicians followed their vocal populations. An historic proposal came to the UN from Israel, based on the discussions and the contributions of their Israeli and Palestinian constituents. It rested on the tradeoff between the need for Israeli security and the need for the establishment of a permanent Palestinian state. In this tradeoff, Israel agreed to withdraw from all areas it occupied since the 1967 war and to cede these areas to the new state of Palestine. Israeli settlers in the areas would be given dual citizenship. It called for the free

and open recognition of an independent Israel by all Arab states, with a sovereign right to exist in perpetuity. From the Palestinian point of view the recommendation clearly defined the borders of the newly proposed state. Since the Palestinians had participated in the definition of the resolution it was a forgone conclusion that the recommended borders would be acceptable. The resolution also called for enforcement by the UN and defined sanctions and penalties should the provisions of the resolution be violated. In a move never seen before, but perhaps reflecting a pattern for the future, the resolution was ratified by a plebiscite helping to assure that when the agreement was accepted by the UN it would be supported by people in these countries.

The (section of this scenario) is almost plausible with the following changes:

- Border corrections as per Geneva accords.
- No return of refugees.
- No UN supervision. Israelis will not trust the UN. Some other group will need to be established.

I am not sure that a two state solution is best. Many people yearn for a singular democratic and secular state. A Palestinian State would never work if the West Bank and Gaza are not connected and if Palestinian citizens had to go through Israeli check points to get from one part of their land to another.

All of the Israeli settlers cannot realistically be allowed to stay….Israelis now use some 80% of Palestinian water and much of this for agriculture. How could they be allowed to stay and accept something less? Also, many of the settlers are very right wing and would not accept being part of Palestine. Not sure what the answer will be but I am sure it will not come from a bunch of outsiders such as myself and probably most who will read this.

(Add to the scenario :) A joint project sponsored…by international Christian aid agencies, Arab oil-sheiks and American Jews contributed not only to the elimination of poverty in the region, but also to growing religious and cultural understanding. There was also founded a special Israeli-Palestinian Fund for Reconciliation (on the similar basis as Czech-German Fund for Future). Thanks to this fund victims of torture, arrests and the families of people killed by army and terrorists of both parts obtained compensation.

Roman Catholics, Jews, Muslim and others Churches give a 1% of their incomes for ten years to develop a strong program to restore Jerusalem holy places and others historic building and public places.

This ending seems "too easy." Consider the following: a. these "end game" actions would need the involvement and/or endorsement of the religious leaders. (We haven't heard much about them since the beginning of the scenario.) b. It might be realistic and helpful to include the notion that extremists on both sides attempted to de-rail the agreement through various atrocities. However, these atrocities caused the general population to revile extremism even more and the vote was approved overwhelmingly.

Nothing.

To arrive at this point in this initiative is necessary a political decision of both governments. Evidently the years passed and the blood spread along the discussion of this matter; it would be convenient to look first into the objectives described in later points.

Two democratic governments really caring about their people and not their individual race.

I believe that we must think in scenarios supported by the reality of the present, and it doesn't seem to be so optimistic. On the other hand, all the solutions proposed go around the initiative and/or intervention of some of the organizations of the UN, with an occidental way of thinking, instead of thinking in the way the Israelis and Palestinian think. It has to do with the culture, traditions, behaviors, interests of both sides of this ancient conflict. If we think in this way, we can develop the scenario.

I don't think such a proposal would be accepted by the international community considering that the Golan Heights are among the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, which since then had been claimed by Syria.

The idea of plebiscites seems an extremely important one!

Managing extreme minorities is the key

Plebiscites are a two edged sword. That's why this section should contain details of this plebiscite, like the foregoing education, teacher, or- PR activities.

And the mullahs, mashaikh, and rabbis, reflecting on the events since the RLP conference, said it was God's destiny. The rest was details. Inshallah.

2.10 What would make the open city scenario, as-a-whole, more plausible for the achievement of peace?

It's an appealing scenario. In combination with political leadership from the US and the Quartet, there might be a chance.

Less emphasis on the power role of religious leaders and more on democratic processes.

The path would be far more complicated and much longer than described. Nothing will happen overnight, and confidence building measures would need to be implemented on both sides for much longer. The scenario seems based on assumptions of the obstacles to peace lying entirely in the Palestinian camp, which is highly unrealistic, given settler claims to biblical land beyond the borders of 1967.

(Introducing) many inter cultural activities (such as) …symphonic orchestra, ballet dance,

theatre, and an International University of Jerusalem, with active participation of members from all over the world.

Combine it with the SERESER initiative of the first scenario.

This scenario is sensible --- Jerusalem is the most sensitive topic. It was the big failure of the Barak-plan that it avoided this topic.

Steering the religious leaders to conciliation.

I’m sure that both communities are willing the peace from decades, not only the politicians are in debt with the true with his peoples. I believe that all the authorities are identified with the need of true peace in the region. They will pressure politically at the belligerents, ¨somebody has to give up.

Democratic governments.

Jerusalem has to be international open city under governance of U.N. with surveillance of international community and strong support of international security and army forces.

The happy end will no doubt be approved and lauded by all when it comes... If it comes... Even fanatics adjust themselves to reality ultimately.

Something involving the religious leaders has potential. The rest is speculation. People ask me, 'what's the solution'. I think to myself, this is the wrong question as it does not say they will do it. Also, the solution of paper is probably relatively easy, but it there is not some sort of transformation or shared experience that gives people a hope and real change in culture then the perfect solution, it would still not work. If you have ever had some busy body try to tell you what you ought to be doing you will know how I think most of this is a bit patronizing.

A new reading of the Bible and the Koran.

Excellent work! Very informative, to the point and with a very clear sequence of events.

This scenario is sensible--- Jerusalem is the most sensitive topic. It was the big failure of the Barak-plan that it avoided this topic.

Change bad religious interpretations

This is perhaps the more attractive alternative, based on addressing hardcore security issues them “water.” Actually a number of approaches have to be adopted simultaneously rather than piecemeal. Though this single strand approach appears attractive overall

This scenario seems to me most plausible.

But that could Kashmir or Tibet be handled in similar ways.

Scenario 3: Dove
Selected Comments

3.1 On an Israeli peace movement:

In Israel it started with a simple idea: end the retaliatory violence. The plan was code named Dove. Israeli leaders debated the possibility in secret; the debate occasionally became public for a short while in the Knesset but by and large it was a secret debate. The idea of Dove was to turn world opinion, possibly even the preponderance of Palestinian and Arab opinion against the idea of suicide bombings. The hawks of the argument said," There are only two responses to the violence of bombings: 'turn the other cheek until they tire of killing us,' or 'an eye for an eye.'" The Talmud teaches the "eye for an eye" approach; our public and the world will think us weak if we abandon it; the enemy will see our turning the other cheek as a sign of capitulation. We must continue to respond even though it is a dark tunnel we go down." Their opponents in the argument said, "We have tried the club and as you say it has only led us down the dark tunnel where our only alternative is stronger force. If we were to just stop - unilaterally announce it - the world would see the Palestinians in a new light. Now they are seen by many people as freedom fighters simply because we respond. If we stopped they would soon be seen for the terrorists they are."

Israelis are so traumatized that I can only see them making these statements in the context of a renewed mediation process.

Dove-hood is ever popular, but ever-mistrusted. Gandhi died for it, so did Rabin.

It is very strange that you do not posit a peace group among Palestinians. It is the main thing missing in order to make the Israeli peace movement viable.

Resolution of conflict through…. non-violence is an old idea whose time has come. Mahatma Gandhi, Mandela, and Martin Luther King have all proved its efficacy. The solution propounded here will find more acceptability if both the Israel and Palestinian youth had greater access to the life and work of these great men.

(In the case of) Gandhi and King….the notion of the oppressed was clear and unambiguous. It is neither clear nor unambiguous about who is the oppressed in the current situation, so it is less clear as to how these tactics would work.

Stop rewarding the suicide bombing (monetary rewards, paradise with 104 virgins...)

This scenario as comprehensive idea doesn't seem plausible. (But) a part of it can be implemented.

The Israelis should realize that that the Palestinians have no other weapons.

Retaliation strategy has not been successful because suicide is a religious question.

The number of moderates in Israeli society is shrinking – a fundamental change in Israeli policy may lead to a more balanced debate

Can this be debated in Israel?

I would like to think that nuclear weapons would not be used to; this would be the root of calamity in the future of human beings.

The idea is very simple but hard to be accepted in Israel where intelligent but hawkish right wing people are strong and dominant. They still have an approach of an eye for an eye.

3.2 On the possibility that Islamic extremists are debating escalation of violence:

While that secret debate was ongoing, the Islamist extremists had their own secret debate. Their hawks argued for increasing the scale of their activities, moving from high explosive missions to other lethal forms that would involve more people and thus become even more visible, frightening, and persuasive to the Israelis. The forms that might be used were obvious enough and easily available: from chemical and radioactive toxins to small nuclear weapons. They said: "Scale is important to our cause. Just consider how effective the operation in New York was in disrupting the West and changing the nature of the conflict. We brought it home to them. Our cause is now on the minds of all."

They don't (escalate the violence) only because Israel has made it impossible. Several such schemes have been thwarted. These included use of chemical weapons and a plot to blow up the Azrieli building (like the WTC attack).

This debate among the extremists about the usefulness of higher or higher scales of violence

It would be more plausible (to represent the debate of Islamic extremists) to be: "Yes, 9/11 brought attention to our cause, but not the kind of attention we wanted. In fact, it mobilized the West -- and others --, led to the invasion of Afghanistan, the invasion of Iraq, talk of invasion of Syria, (arguably) the capitulation of Libya, a global War on Terrorism, UN inspections of Iranian nuclear facilities, etc., etc.

Stop rewarding the suicide bombing (monetary rewards, paradise with 104 virgins...)

Plausibility would be improved with an explanation of the time coincidence – both sides becoming exhausted simultaneously

Use of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists is not only plausible but probable.

Israeli refusal to end the occupation.

It is very clear that we cannot stop attacks from terrorists or suicide bombings unless we give them hope to live together. How can we find a way to compromise without driving them into a desperate corner?

3.3 On the possibility of Islamic extremists reversing course:

Their opponents in this argument were radical in the opposite sense. They said: "Consider what we are after: acceptance by the world of the need to establish our own safe homeland and the condemnation of Israel for its misdeeds."

The response: "How you have changed, brother. We used to say it was our mission to eliminate Israel and take back our homeland, now you're willing to settle for condemnation."

"Yes, perhaps this argument is a bit different from before, but it recognizes a reality—Israel will not be eradicated. The West will not permit it. Do you not see how our present course works to the disadvantage of establishing our own homeland? It is costing us the best and brightest young people who could be the leaders of that country. If we desist, if we change tactics, then who will be seen as the aggressors? Who will fare better in any negotiations? What excuse will their Prime Minister then have for breaking our homes and killing our people."

"But can we stop the suicide bombing even if we wished? Would we have to gun down our own people?" The question hung in the air.

So each side had its reasons for wanting to stop and turn down a new path but, like the sorcerer's apprentice, the momentum carried the bombings and escalating retaliations on and on.

There are definitely moderates among the Palestinians. Whether they can be empowered is the issue – but this is not as great an issue as the one for Israel. Keeping the moderates alive (politically and physically) and functioning is the central issue.

(Another scenario) United Nations General Assembly ….approves a resolution to give an annual….. award to the people who work for the peace … and give them the opportunity … address at General Assembly about their thinking …

Given the hold of violence on the minds of people on both sides of the fence, the soldiers of non-violence will have to be ready for a long and sustained battle but with faith in their eventual triumph.

Stop rewarding the suicide bombing (monetary rewards, paradise with 104 virgins...)

Why not cite teachings of the famous piece of researchers or the lessons of the east west confidence building methods.

Problem is fighting terrorism while trying to create peace conditions. It's not easy.

When some Israeli air men to clear they will not participate in bombing attacks moderates on both sides could meet directly, not just on the Internet.

3.4 On the reality of an Israeli refusnik movement:

Then an unexpected event changed the tide. The headline read :

Israeli Refuseniks Say They Will Not Participate in Bombing Attacks
Israeli press, public, and politicians condemn 27 pilots as unfit to serve
JERUSALEM

Twenty-seven Israeli reservist pilots last week joined the "refusenik" movement, saying they would not participate in bombing attacks in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which often injure civilians.
"We refuse to participate in Air Force attacks on civilian populations," the pilots said in a petition delivered to the head of the air force, Maj. Gen. Dan Halutz. "We refuse to continue harming innocent civilians."

Last week's refuseniks are part of a small but vocal movement opposing Israel's policy of "targeted killings," in which helicopters and planes drop bombs or fire missiles to kill terrorists hiding in civilian areas.

This was part of a peace movement - "small but vocal" as Reuters said - not generally known outside of Israel. In fact moderates in both the Palestinian and Israeli camps had been in contact for some time. They talked on an Internet peace site, usually using pseudonyms; they said peace is achievable, a remarkable statement to be made when killing and retribution was all around them. History, they said, will condemn us for not taking a position and acting on our moral convictions. Life as it is, is unacceptable.

(This would be more believable and have more impact with) wide dissemination of the news, in the occupied territories and the rest of the Arab world with positive commentary.

The above happened of course, and is of limited impact. On the Palestinian side, it encouraged fanatics to be more fanatic and moderates to be more moderate.

(Another scenario) The Refuseniks, who were arrested for resistance against army authority,

were adopted as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International. The wide-scale movement for their liberation was initiated, so finally they were released from military prisons. Some of them were nominated for Peace Nobel Prize.

There have been Refusnik actions in the past. Why was this one different? What is needed is some …evidence that the violence must stop. There have been such moves within Israel in the past; cf., Mothers for Peace. What has been the record in Palestine? My sense is that there have been very few, if any. The scenario ignores that fact that there is and will be opposition to such a move -- even by those who are moderate on the final political outcome

A world campaign called: ""Building the peace is our responsibilities to"" starts with the settlement of weblog in every high school of the world with news, ideas, and opinions how students could help to build the peace.

The peaceniks should fill the computers of the violent with their message and try to prove to the latter very persuasively of the correctness of their non-violent methodology for goals that both peaceniks and militants share, of bringing about two independent states thriving in Peaceful coexistence.

Gandhi and King always are quoted. Do their examples can be applied? The circumstances certainly are different. The Jewish and Moslem religions do not favor contemplation.

A new reading of the Bible and the Koran is needed.

The pilots are in a minority a lot of Israelis will concede things to the Palestinians but the suicide attacks increase inflexibility.

Israeli occupation will have to end. A genuine peace movement will then follow

There must be some understanding between top management levels of the military regarding this attempt which is not an action to bring to be linked to the disruption of the military

This section is not plausible. Generally, Air Force persons are not free from their superior officers' order. When they would like to refuse the attacks, they have to leave Air Force. In this sense the section should be improved.

3.5 On the possibility that the Israelis receive a guarantee that the bombing would stop and the Palestinians receive an Israeli promise to withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, end building new settlements and stop the retaliatory raids.

So the refusal movement came at the same time the politicians were searching for a way to change course. These forces came together and steps, at first tenuous, moved the violence toward peace. Following the practices of Gandhi and King, the movement grew and, in echoes of the Viet Nam era when dissent grew in the US and politics followed, dissent in Israel and among Palestinians became mainstream.

Here's what happened next. It was like a chess game. The Israelis got a guarantee that the bombing would stop and the instigators would be arrested and punished. The Palestinians got an ironclad agreement that the Israelis would withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, end building new settlements and stop the retaliatory raids.

Some change of leadership on both sides would need to occur before the last paragraph took place.

Since it hasn't happened, and the Refusenik movement existed for several years, the whole idea is unlikely. The missing ingredient is a Palestinian peace movement that would allow the Israeli peace movement to say "See, there is a partner"

Young people (could be) brought from the region (and outside) for training in non-violence to camps established for the purpose. A training course….for the purpose by the United Nations and an Academy of Non-Violence should be established as a permanent institution.

United Nations calls for a world conference about Terrorism, politic violence's, and problems used to justify its, in Jerusalem 2005. The first agreement between Israeli, Palestinian Authorities, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon was promoted by ONU General Secretary in personal talks with the leaders of the region. The result was a wider participation of academic experts, ONGS, political, labor, and social leaders, among national representatives and the final declaration paved de way for a discussion of a global strategy for the peace.

More young people are brought from the region (and outside) for training in non-violence to camps established for the purpose. A training course on modern lines should be devised for the purpose by the United Nations and an Academy of Non-Violence should be established as a permanent institution.

Again, the scenario ignores that fact that there is and will be opposition to such a move -- even by those who are moderate on the final political outcome. And the extremists have shown that they are willing to act; c.f., Rabin's assassin and the suicide bombers. Their actions will be very important. What are they? Where are the leaders in all of this? Who are they? There needs to be some charismatic leaders who push for peace.

Gandhi and King acted within a specific historical situation and are not good examples. But cold war is a much better one.

Israeli retaliation ….increases suicide candidates among youths and children.

The process would only be credible if there were also simultaneously a change in the political leadership on both sides. A wider support to this policy is not restricted to the peaceniks. A wider movement is necessary.

Israel should improve the relationship of not only with the Palestinians go with other Middle

East countries, especially Iraq. It is also very important for Israel to have dialogs with the countries without the Palestinians.

This sounds like a good domino theory. It is hardly believable that this process will go ahead smoothly. First we have to expect very drastic changes in politics to make this happen.

3.6 On the jurisdiction of Jerusalem, return of Palestinians, and Israel's agreement to sign the nuclear non proliferation treaty

Within months, the Israelis negotiated a series of treaties and agreements, not only with the PA, but with essentially all Arab states, stating that Israel had a right to exist and that there would henceforth be a state of non-aggression in the area. The Palestinians and neighboring states welcomed Israel's agreement to sign the nuclear non proliferation treaty, in return for their own promise to remain non-nuclear and allow international inspections under the UN. Certainly other problems had to be resolved in this game of give and take. First was the jurisdiction of Jerusalem (eventually it became on open city, with its own democratic government, open to all religions, with responsibility to guard and protect all holy sites). Second was the problem of Palestinians who wanted to return to Israel. Israel perceived that an avalanche of migrants would upset the political structure; as a result, immigration quotas were established.

Participation by Lebanon, Jordan, and to an extent, Egypt and Syria in absorbing some (migrants)

There are too many conditions to be accomplished in order to look for a peace agreement that seems not to be reality in the near future.

As we know, peace doesn't happen that way. It might have been believable in 1993, but it didn't work out that way and now we are all older and wiser.

Israel is not going to agree to any immigration quotas.

(Scenario :) Thanks to generous development aid programs and great water projects new centers of settlements were created in Negev Desert, so Israel was able to accept more Palestinian refugees.

A long enough time will have to be given to Israel after the establishment of peace so that it may feel quite secure without its nuclear arms and agree to shun its nuclear weapon capability and arsenal. Israel would not let itself be rushed into a non nuclear status without the nuclear powers …. themselves moving genuinely towards a non-nuclear status.

"Within months" is not very plausible. Problems are dispensed with too quickly. The idea of "building confidence" is more plausible.

Problem is not between the administrations of Israel and Palestinians; but is the extremists – the extreme Muslim minority.

It is not feasible for a long time to come.

3.7 On the US and EU staying at arms length and a presentation to the UN by Israel and the PA

As this give and take progressed, both the United States and the EU stayed out of the picture. Some politicians wanted to "help" the process along (and reap some political benefit) but wiser heads prevailed and the two parties worked out the agreements themselves.

When it was clear that the chess game was evolving, foreign capital flowed into the area. New businesses were established, and unemployment among the Palestinians dropped sharply. It was a self-fulfilling cycle: the move toward peace sparked the environment for peace.

And the crown jewel: both parties presented a formal joint statement to the UN Security Council, declaring that they considered resolutions 194, 242 and 338 fully realized and asked that the UN monitor for a time the progress and adherence to the agreements. When the UN agreed in 2006, bells of peace which seemed so tentative at first sounded long and deeply.

Foreign capital flows will have to be actively encouraged and orchestrated

The problem here is that the US really is part of the picture -- part of the conflict system even when it's not mediating. The several billion dollars in aid each year have an impact. Similarly, Arab emotional and financial support for Palestinian militants encourages them. I think that for such a constructive Israeli-Palestinian process to unfold, outsiders need to stop feeding the fire.

If the US and EU stay out, there will be no peace.

While it would be wonderful if both parties agreed to make such a declaration to the UN, there is no chance that Israel will ask the UN to monitor a peace agreement.

Unemployment problem - working week short to 35 hours.

Even when it sounds as a "pink story," I hope it will become reality, but I think that 2006 is a very optimistic horizon to solve all the problems in the region.

While it would be wonderful if both parties agreed to make such a declaration to the UN, there is no chance that Israel will ask the UN to monitor a peace agreement.

(Scenario) To strengthen the importance of Middle East Area, the headquarters of some UN agencies were moved from Geneva and Vienna to Jerusalem. The prestige University for

International Relations altogether with Peace Center were established in Jerusalem, where students and politicians from many crisis regions of the world have opportunity to learn, that the peace and freedom are not crazy dreams, but could become a reality also in very hopeless situations.

It is not necessary to mention the year 2006 in this very hypothetical scenario.

More needs to be done. For example:

a. Have things evolve more slowly.
b. Describe the opposition that would arise and what was done to address that opposition.

Teach the Palestinian males to learn how to work with their own hands.

Don't use "immigrants" instead of "repatriates"

It is a plausible scenario but not necessarily probable. It is necessary to work in this direction: combining religious economic and political actions.

Would be more plausible if the U.S. hegemony diminishes and if the Israeli- influence in the U.S. declines

Looks implausible. Hard to see how business and investment will increase creating jobs, so suddenly and effectively. Other approaches will be necessary.

Number of projects related to the infrastructure in this region should have been under way by this process and their progress could be reported.

3.8 What would make the Dove Scenario, as-a-whole, more plausible for the achievement of peace?

There already is such a peace movement in Israel. It is not effective because suicide bombings and IDF actions turn people against each other and against peace. The secret ingredient that is missing is a Palestinian peace movement - conspicuous by its absence both in reality and in these scenarios

Since wars are born in the minds of people, the world bodies should agree to devising curricula for children leading their minds away from violence. Otherwise, violence will continue to spring its head in a million ways and conflict situations will go out of hand.

This scenario seems to be a series of descriptions of conditions followed by "suddenly a miracle occurs." Stating that something happens is the not the same thing as giving tailored background events that make the "something" seem possible, let along plausible.

Not sure but this is the most plausible to me anyway.

Encouraging self respect by the Palestinians and human kindness by the Israelis.

I believe that the ONU has to follow doing a restricted surveillance in the zone for some years, and in the case to be some action that violet pre existent agreements over maintaining the peace the ONU could act to arrange this situation.

Both parties should focus on their needs and problems more than on international pressures, Moral and ethical evaluation of actions.

Monthly summits of religious leaders from all regions.

The Dove scenario is in the making in all sides it should be developed as thing change as all scenarios should.

A change of leadership brought on by the refusnik movement growing to the point that they force a general election.

The one of the key factors of all peace process was the fact, that all parts concerned, including EU, Russia and USA, had not more supported and promoted their special and secret political or economic interests and gave up all attempts to influence the situation for their own selfish benefit, as all of them had done in the period of cold war. All of them do they best to support peace process in Middle East as their main interest in the region, recognizing very well, that their own particular interests are in accordance with this main one.

A new critical reading (interpretation) of the Bible and the Koran (similar to the Christian Renaissance).

Isolation of the extreme minorities – together with the religious agreements and improvement of the Palestinian economy – is the most important action for peace.

We all would like to anticipate the dove scenario but do not know the reality. Maybe some of the dove leaders can be identified, and their activities and responses from Arabs states can be referred to in this scenario.