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Contact and Cooperation: The Israeli-Palestinian People-to-People Program

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Abstract

In the *Interim Agreement* of 1995, Israel and the PLO agreed to cooperate on a People-to-People Program in accordance with concepts developed together with Norway. This paper describes the Program that thus was established. The People-to-People Program, which constitutes a unique peace building effort, was governmentally initiated, and represents a blurring of the lines between peace making and peace building. It was established to supplement the peace process by involving the two populations in this process. One of its primary objectives was to facilitate cooperation, based on equality and reciprocity. However, structural and social factors challenged this goal. The paper analyzes three dimensions: 1) impact and evaluation; 2) the relationship between the peace process at large and the People-to-People Program; and 3) the influence of the asymmetrical relationship between the two parties in the Program. Finally, the third-party role of the Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science is described. The paper covers the period from September 1995 to mid-2000.

Introduction

The century-long Israeli-Palestinian conflict contains most of the traditional dimensions of conflict: territorial, economical, ethnic, and religious. It is a struggle over history and the future, as well as over resources and symbols. The conflict reached an historic breakthrough with the *Declaration of Principles*, also known as the *Oslo I Agreement* in 1993, which is based on mutual recognition by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The *Oslo I* and the subsequent *Interim or Oslo II Agreement* (1995) essentially changed the stalemate between the parties and provided a timetable for resolving the conflict.

In the period between the *Oslo I* and *Oslo II Agreements*, the Palestinian and Israeli negotiators and the Norwegian facilitators¹ were concerned about the hostile relationship between the two populations and about gaining support and legitimacy for the peace process. To facilitate contact and cooperation, they envisaged a People-to-People Program, based on the *Oslo II Agreement*².

The People-to-People Program is referred to in a separate article in the Annex on cooperation (Annex VI). In that article, Israel and the PLO agree to develop a People-to-People Program together with Norway. In response, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs allocated funds for a People-to-People Program and, with assistance from the Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science³, set up an organizational structure. The preparatory phase lasted until May 1996. Since that time, the People-to-People Program Secretariat has been located at Fafo's East Jerusalem office⁴.

The *Interim Agreement* Annex VI and Article II "Scope" both refer to the People-to-People Program, as does a separate article, VIII, which reads as follows:

"Article VIII: The People-to-People Program

1. The two sides shall cooperate in enhancing the dialogue and relations between their peoples in accordance with the concepts developed in cooperation with the Kingdom of Norway.

¹ Uri Savir, Abu Ala, Jan Egeland and Mona Juul, in particular.

² The *Oslo I Agreement* also includes articles on cooperation, notably in Annex III: *Protocol on Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation in Economic and Development Programs*, and Annex IV: *Protocol on Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation Concerning Regional Development Programs*.

³ The Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science is a Norwegian foundation conducting research and studies in the fields of living conditions. The institute was informally asked by the architects of the People-to-People Program to design and operate the Program. Fafo's Director at the time, Terje Rød Larsen, played a key role in the secret negotiations that led to the Oslo Agreement.

⁴ The author served as People-to-People Program Coordinator in the Secretariat from May 1996 to July 1997.

2. The two sides shall cooperate in enhancing dialogue and relations between their peoples, as well as in gaining a wider exposure of the two societies to the peace process, its current situation, and predicted results.
3. The two sides shall take steps to foster public debate and involvement, to remove barriers to interaction, and to increase the people-to-people exchange and interaction within all areas of cooperation described in this Annex and in accordance with the overall objectives and principles set out in this Annex⁵.”

Since the establishment of the People-to-People Program in 1995, and the onset of its operations in 1996, several other countries in the donor community have allocated funds for people-to-people activities⁶. By 2000, a number of international donors and foundations were supporting various peace building initiatives related to the advancement of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians.⁷ The People-to-People Program differs from these other foreign donor efforts in the way in which it involves the parties and emphasizes local ownership. It is formally a part of the accords between the parties, which direct it. Both authorities are represented on its steering committee. It gives a voice to the two non-governmental sectors through consultations with local NGOs. Thus, the parties themselves both assume responsibility for the Program and determine its contents.

It is worth mentioning that the term “people-to-people” was not used to describe dialogue efforts between Israelis and Palestinians prior to the *Interim Agreement*. The term has gained prominence since the Program was established and now all the players involved use it⁸. Thus, the people-to-people activities are broader than those conducted under the People-to-People Program. This paper focuses on the People-to-People Program and its activities but considers the whole area of people-to-people activities where relevant. The first section describes how the Program was designed and set up, and the kinds of activities that have been conducted under its auspices. The second section deals with challenges that the Program has met. The period covered is from September 1995 to mid-2000.

⁵ The areas of cooperation that are described in Annex VI are: Economic Cooperation (articles IV and V), which comprises Industrial- Agricultural-, Environment-, Energy-, Transport- and Tourism Cooperation) Scientific and Technological Cooperation (article VI), Cultural and Educational Cooperation (article VII), The People-to-People Program (article VIII), and Drugs (article IX) (Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Washington DC, September 28, 1995).

⁶ One significant exception is Canada, which started the regional *Canadian Fund for Dialogue and Development* as early as 1992, under which a number of Israeli-Palestinian cooperative projects had already received support before the start of the peace process. The *Canadian Fund for Dialogue and Development* changed its focus in 1997 and began directing its funds towards projects that directly relate to advancing the Middle East peace process and support issues of importance and interest to Canada, such as refugee affairs, environmental issues, democratic development and good governance, economic cooperation and integration, and regional security (Canadian Fund for Dialogue and Development, *Mid-Term Performance Review of the Canadian Fund for Dialogue and Development* March 1997.)

⁷ Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the European Union, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Swedish Agency for International Development (SIDA), and Belgium Aid, among others.

⁸ Thus, people have tended to identify the term “people-to-people” with *all* such activities, not only with the People-to-People Program.

The People-to-People Program: Rationale and Assumptions

Following the *Interim Agreement* article on a People-to-People Program, the main challenge was translating the idea of such a program into an operational entity. Fafo, in collaboration with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, drafted a two-tiered organizational structure that would combine governmental control and popular civic activities. One tier consisted of the governmental steering committee, made up of representatives from the Palestinian, Israeli, and Norwegian authorities. On the other was the non-governmental body, which consisted of planning groups from the two parties, and a Norwegian Program Secretariat.

In early 1996, this organizational map was filled with institutions and individuals from the two parties and Norway. The three authorities were represented by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its Middle East Desk, and Embassy to Israel and Representative Office to the Palestinian Authority; the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its Palestinian Autonomy Desk; and the Palestinian Authority Representative, who was head of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics and had participated in the negotiations.

The architects of the *Interim Agreement* had informally asked the Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science to design and operate the People-to-People Program and assume the role of Norwegian Program Secretariat. The Israeli and Palestinian authorities were each to appoint their own non-governmental planning group. The Palestinian Authority selected an individual who was to work from a Palestinian People-to-People Office, located on the premises of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. In 1997, this office moved to its own location. Later the same year, the Palestinian People-to-People planning group moved again, this time to the Palestinian Center for Peace, a new NGO Norway had assisted in setting up. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs managed to gather support from and participation by the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropist Foundation (*Keren Karev*, known at the time as the CRB Foundation). This foundation committed funds for People-to-People projects, and thus entered the Program as a donor as well as a planning group.⁹ Norway would fund fifty percent of People-to-People activities and the foundation the other fifty percent.

The main emphasis was to be on contact and cooperation between the two peoples, under the assumption that such contact would have the potential to build bridges and support the authorities' efforts to reach a peace agreement. A primary concern was the ability to change the existing pattern, in which Israelis and Palestinians, in broad terms, had never met in friendly or cooperative situations. Uri Savir, Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the time and one of the Oslo agreement architects, expressed the guiding principle behind the People-to-People Program this way: "While political leaders can *make* peace, only people can *build* peace." This process was to be accomplished at different levels.

⁹ A Canadian citizen heads the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropist Foundation, but involvement of the Jewish Diaspora was not an issue when the foundation was appointed.

At one level, state institutions would be activated for the purpose of increasing contact and understanding between people in both nations. The media would be mobilized to improve the images of, and increase knowledge about, the other party through unbiased reporting. Media, together with opinion polls, were also thought to be a means of connecting the populace with governmental institutions. Government ministries would be mobilized in order to initiate institutional changes and bring people together under the auspices of both authorities. NGOs would cooperate to ensure civilian engagement in the peace process.

In addition to the main challenge of translating the *Interim Agreement* article into an organizational structure and establishing Program activities, the Program faced many other challenges as well. While the Oslo agreements provided a timeframe and an agenda for reaching a final status settlement between the parties, it was not a peace agreement. Israel still occupied large areas of the West Bank and Gaza¹⁰. Areas under Palestinian authority were not under Palestinian sovereignty, and further negotiations towards a final status would be between a state on the one hand and the PLO, from its base in a recently established Palestinian Authority, on the other. The relationship between the two NGO sectors also reflected the asymmetrical relationship between Israel and the Palestinians. For its part, Fafo had to decide what its third-party role would be and create local ownership within that particular context.

Israeli and Palestinian perceptions differ on a number of issues, including conflict, solutions, and policies, just as these perceptions differ *within* the two communities. The different Israeli and Palestinian perceptions of people-to-people contact and the unclear outcome of the peace process posed major challenges. While many Israelis had already longed for co-existence prior to the Oslo Agreements, the issue of sovereignty has been the top political objective of the Palestinians.¹¹ Whether there should be two states for two people is a main question in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The absence of a shared and clear vision of the final status settlement was a major challenge.

Several of these challenges have remained in the course of the Program. The peace process proved to be a protracted one, and the interim period one of uncertainty and slow progress. This uncertainty encouraged an environment in which popular support for people-to-people activities, as well as for the peace process at large, has been fragile. After an ambitious and optimistic planning period in 1995, the change of Israeli government in May 1996 shifted the delicate balance in the Program organization. The election put different players at the “controls” of the People-to-People Program, steering it so that the NGO level became the one level where the Program could be most active. While Norway had thought

¹⁰ The *Interim Agreement* differentiates between “A”, “B”, and “C” Areas. In A Areas the Palestinian Authority has full civil jurisdiction and responsibilities for internal security. B Areas are under Palestinian civil jurisdiction, but under a joint Israeli-Palestinian security regime. C Areas remain under full Israeli civil and military control. In the spring of 1996, when the P2P Program started operating, Area A covered 4 percent of the West Bank and Gaza, and a large proportion of the Palestinian population (including the following cities and towns: Jericho, Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarem, Qalqiliya, Ramallah and Bethlehem). Area B covered 27 percent of the territory and mainly included some 470 villages. Area C covered the remaining 69 percent of the territory. Since 1996 additional parts of the territory have been included in Area A and B.

¹¹ To put it simply, for many Israelis the peace process created hopes about security, acceptance and international relations. For many Palestinians, the peace process created hopes about an end to the Israeli occupation, and a way to achieve sovereignty and independence.

it would also support cooperation at the state institution level, it had to focus on NGO cooperation. At this level the Program has supported a wide variety of cooperative projects between NGOs from the two societies.

People-to-People Program Activities

NGO Cooperative Projects

In 1996, a set of categories was defined for NGO cooperative projects. These categories, formulated broadly, can contain almost any possible area of NGO cooperation: 1) youth; 2) adult dialogue and seminars; 3) culture; 4) environment; and 5) media and communication¹². The NGO project categories have been supplemented with so-called “larger” projects, defined as being those that are broader in scope and require more funding. By mid-2000¹³, three such projects had been funded.

The People-to-People Program has supported approximately 130 NGO cooperative projects¹⁴ during the period. The Program requires that both an Israeli organization and a Palestinian one implement the projects. It funds the average project with 20,000 USD, of which the *Keren Karev* Foundation provides half and Norway the other half. Most cooperative projects have been presented as proposals to any of the three Program offices (the Norwegian Secretariat, and the Israeli and the Palestinian planning groups) after a public call for proposals in Palestinian and Israeli newspapers. By mid-2000, there had been four such calls¹⁵. While these calls are published in Arabic, Hebrew, and Russian (in a Russian-language newspaper published in Israel)¹⁶, potential applicants must submit proposals in English. The public calls give the Program a transparency that most other donor-led, people-to-people grants lack. The text used for the 1996 call is reproduced in the following box (overleaf).

After each call, the People-to-People Program offices have received 120 to 170 project proposals. The approval of the proposals has been a cooperative effort between the Norwegian Secretariat and the Israeli and Palestinian planning groups, which together form the

¹² The school twinning and education category was established after a number of youth projects failed. It was difficult to recruit and keep the commitment of young people in these projects. Through the school twinning and education category the People-to-People Program sought to work with more stable institutions and to gain support from municipalities, principles, teachers, pupils and parents. The “school-to-school” projects take place in the schools during teaching time. The projects are “formal” and “informal” at the same time as students usually come on a voluntary basis.

¹³ *Peace Index; The Palestinian-Israeli Business Forum; and Cross-border Classrooms: A School-to-School Program*. A fourth large project, approved in 1999, was cancelled before it started. See annex 1.

¹⁴ The number by spring of 2000. For a description of the various projects, see annex 1 or www.people-to-people.org

¹⁵ The dates for the public calls for proposals to date are as follows: Dec.1, 1996, Dec.8, 1997, Jan. 28, 1999, and Jan.12, 2000.

¹⁶ The rationale for this decision is the large proportion of Russian-speaking immigrants in Israeli society, and the relatively large number of Russian-speaking Palestinians. The latter are mainly individuals who received their higher education in former USSR countries.

In the spirit of the peace process, and in keeping with the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement of September 1995, the two sides have invited the Norwegian Government to facilitate a joint People-to-People Program. Through this program the two sides wish to cooperate by improving the dialogue and relations, based on equality and reciprocity, between their peoples, and give the two populations wider exposure to the peace process.

Main areas of interest are:

- Youth
- Adult Dialogue and Seminars
- Culture
- Environment
- Media and Communication

Projects should be presented and implemented jointly by Palestinian and Israeli NGOs, and should take place in the region. Preferably, the proposed budget will not exceed 20,000USD. Proposals must be submitted in English.

joint planning group. The selection process consists of two stages. In the first, all three offices read and screen the proposals, and, in joint meetings, select and recommend a number of projects for funding. In the second stage, the joint planning group presents the selected projects to the governmental steering committee, in a so-called Hub meeting¹⁷, for its comments and approval. This method ensures local ownership and responsibility for the Program. One advantage to this method of assessment and selection has been that the political red lines between the two sides have already been considered and challenged. As an example of a red line, the Program has not included cooperative projects in which the Israeli organization is based in a so-called settlement in Israeli-occupied territory. The Palestinian side has referred to the political and legal conflicts connected to the settlements, and since the decisions require consensus, such projects have not been supported.

A set of guidelines has steered the selection of projects by the planning groups. One important approach has dealt with the distribution of funds and a concern for both geographical diversity (in the first two years of operation this meant approving more projects from Gaza and the North and South periphery of the West Bank), and diversity in the types of activities presented in the proposals. The second call for proposals favored organizations that had not received Program funds previously.

The planning groups made a conscious decision not to judge proposals by their language or design; rather they tried to look behind each NGO's proposal to find out more about the organization applying. Countless meetings have been held with applying organizations, in which the planning groups have required more information about the NGOs and the project plans, and offered assistance in designing the project.

¹⁷ In the period, Hub meetings have been held on the following dates: May 9, 1996, Feb.11, 1997, May 6, 1998, May 19, 1999, Nov. 16, 1999, and May 1, 2000.

Project activities must take place locally, that is, in the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel. This requirement builds on the notion that although Israelis and Palestinians who have attended conflict resolution meetings or studied together abroad may have appreciated these efforts, the relevance of their learning has not been sufficiently effective after their return to the realities of a conflict-ridden life¹⁸. This practice of conducting Israeli-Palestinian dialogue abroad was a popular strategy in the pre-Oslo agreements era. However, implementing dialogue and cooperation locally has not been problem-free, due to the formal and psychological restrictions on movement by Palestinians and Israelis. Many projects have combined the use of venues deemed neutral with alternating unilateral activities on both sides¹⁹.

From 1996 to 1999, more than 500 project proposals were submitted to the Program. Table 1 shows that the majority of the applications received and approved were in the “Adult dialogue and seminars” category. “Youth” was the second largest category of projects approved until the “School twinning and education” category was established in 1998. The number of “school-to-school” applications and approvals increased and constituted almost 25 percent of the projects approved in 1999.

Table 1 Applications and approved NGO cooperative projects, 1996-1999

	1996-1997		1998		1999	
	Applications	Approved projects	Applications	Approved projects	Applications	Approved projects
Media (until 1998)	29	8	13			
Youth	47	13	36	7	39	6
Culture	31	3	21	4	17	6
Adult dialogue and seminars	53	14	53	11	66	12
Environment	20	4	16	4	12	3
School twinning and education (from 1998)			14	7	25	10
Larger projects					8	4
Total	190	48	153	41	173	47

Appendix 1 lists the NGO Cooperative projects that have received funding in the period, including those that were approved in 2000.

Building structures for peace

The People-to-People Program has also worked to build structures for People-to-People activists through seminars for organizations involved with cooperative projects funded by the Program. “Building structures” has been understood to mean the establishment of networks between the organizations and individuals from the two societies, as well as between organizations within the same society.

¹⁸ In some exceptional cases, the People-to-People Program has funded People-to-People activities abroad, in Jordan and Norway.

¹⁹ Some of the more established Israeli peace organizations have their own campuses (for example, *Givat Haviva* and the Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace) and have preferred to conduct activities there.

In 1996 and 1997, the joint planning group discussed the possibility of arranging a People-to-People conference. The idea arose from the desire to launch the Program in a public setting and to gather people-to-people forces from the two societies. The original plan was to arrange a large conference with people-to-people players, donors, and representatives from various embassies, as well as the media, in Gaza. The objectives of the conference were three-fold: to allow the representatives from the three authorities to give the Program their blessing; to give Norway an opportunity to hold an orientation session about the Program; and to give the potential participants, NGOs as well as donors, a chance to meet one another. Various dates for the conference were suggested, the majority of which coincided with the visit of a Norwegian high official to the region. Ultimately, the conference did not take place. However, the joint planning group continued to look into the possibility of conducting a People-to-People seminar. After checking the interest among the potential participant organizations, and assessing political and practical problems in arranging such a seminar, the joint planning group decided that the best way to conduct a seminar would be to arrange it in two stages: two uni-national seminars followed by a bi-national seminar. The planning group also decided on a relatively modest seminar, primarily for those organizations that received Program funding. The Palestinian seminar was held in June 1997 and the Israeli one in September 1997.

The bi-national seminar was held in Gaza City in December 1997 from the afternoon of the first day through lunch on the second. The People-to-People Program applied for all required travel permits centrally through the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and organized transportation to Gaza. The seminar consisted of plenary sessions and group discussions that Israeli and Palestinian professionals facilitated. Representatives for the Palestinian Authority, Israel and Norway²⁰ opened the seminar. A total of more than 100 persons attended the seminar, which was deemed a success by the participants.²¹ Both Israelis and Palestinians commended the Program for providing an opportunity to visit Gaza.

The seminar in Gaza triggered a discussion in the People-to-People planning groups about the need to create arenas for meeting across projects and for improving inter-project learning opportunities. In 1999, the joint planning group began to arrange seminars by project category, so that organizations involved in the same category of cooperation could meet for one-day seminars and share experiences.

The joint seminars created support structures for the NGOs involved in cooperative projects. By bringing activists together, the seminars gave people a sense that their project was part of a bigger picture, and provided them with the opportunity to discuss operating procedures and “best practices”. They also facilitated the flow of information between the authorities and grassroots activities, and provided invaluable Program management feedback.

²⁰ Mr. Hassan Asfour on behalf of the Palestinian Authority, Mr. Pinchas Avivi on behalf of the Israeli government, and Ambassador Svein Sæther on behalf of the Norwegian government.

²¹ More than 60 representatives from 33 P2P projects and 47 implementing organizations attended the seminar. The P2P staff consisted of eight persons, and two lecturers and eight facilitators from both sides assisted in the undertaking. Twenty-five special guests representing the Palestinian Authority, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian Embassy in Tel Aviv, and the Norwegian Representative Office in Gaza took part, as well as representatives from other organizations.

Representatives from the governmental levels were invited to these seminars, and therefore were informed of the different initiatives taking place at the grassroots level. The seminars also offered opportunities for these representatives to express their support for NGO dialogue and advocacy²². The People-to-People Program developed the seminars in coordination with representatives from the organizations implementing the project. Representatives were chosen from both societies and developed the workshop agenda together with members of the planning groups. Fafo has concluded that this process strengthens ties between the implementing organizations and the Program. Local ownership has been emphasized, as it has become obvious that the Program is an Israeli-Palestinian one and that it is the people from those two communities who need to identify their needs and take action in order to build a better relationship. Table 1 in Appendix 2 shows the seminars that has taken place during the period.

²² The respective authorities expressed support for the People-to-People Program at these seminars. At the same time, the authorities have not always been able to grant travel permits for the Palestinians to attend these seminars.

Main Challenges

In the study of conflict resolution, peace making and peace building represent one major division. The former is associated with efforts of diplomats and others to halt violent activity by ensuring cease-fires and peace agreements, while the latter represents efforts designed to transform the nature of relations between conflicting parties and, in so doing, to prevent conflict from erupting again²³. Peace building, then, is a long-term effort to effect social change. Some scholars stress the relationship between peace building and socio-economic development;²⁴ others have discussed the concept under the heading, *A Public Peace Process*, to describe sustained action by citizens outside government to change the fundamental relationship between groups in conflict.²⁵ While only governments can conduct formal peace making, peace building gives a large role to NGOs and other non-governmental players.

The People-to-People Program can be classified as a peace building effort, but its organization, which links the two levels, makes it unique. Since the Israeli, Palestinian, and Norwegian governments are involved in the People-to-People Program, and it is designed to spur popular actions and effect change, its structure represents a blurring of the lines between the state and civil society. While its organization could be classified formally as “top-down”, peace building is essentially a “bottom-up” effort; thus, it would be more appropriate to describe the Program’s organizational structure as “top-down-bottom-up”.

Peace building methods should strive for joint solutions and mutual understanding more than for negotiations of interests. It is assumed that civil society is equipped to carry out such a process, as it is free from the constraints of official peace making. Peace building methods take the form of a number of different social initiatives and practices. In the People-to-People Program approach, there has been more emphasis on bring about contact and cooperation between the two societies than on economic development. However, strengthening and developing Palestinian civil society has been seen as a desired side effect of the Program under the assumption that development of Palestinian (civil) society would benefit the peace process at large.

The People-to-People Program came into being after a peace process was initiated but *before* a peace agreement between the parties was reached. It was intended to work *alongside* negotiations between the political leaders and provide support for the peace process. The Program is not one of reconciliation, which is a process normally requiring a peace

²³ Ryan 1995, Boutros-Ghali 1992, Galtung 1996. Ryan writes: “[...] peace-building attempts to build bridges between the parties to allow for positive and creative interaction; and whereas peace making is concerned with intervention at the elite, decision-making level, peace building is focused on the social, economic and psychological environments of ordinary people at the grassroots level. As such peace building is the conflict resolution strategy most likely to result in conflict transformation.” (Ryan 1995; 224)

²⁴ Galtung 1996; Pugh 1995; OECD-DAC, 1998.

²⁵ Chufirin and Saunders, 1993.

agreement.²⁶ It originated from the wishes of the political leadership to include the two populations in the peace process and in its start-up phase was seen as an integral part of this process. Thus, the way in which the People-to-People Program and activities relate to the peace process at large is very important.

The assumption that the Program would supplement governmental negotiations changed somewhat during the fall of 1996. In May of that year a right-wing coalition government was formed in Israel under the leadership of Benjamin Netanyahu, who was elected on an “Oslo-sceptic” platform. After the new Israeli government took office, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, still manned by civil servants dedicated to an Oslo agreement-based development, stated that they recognized the importance of shielding the People-to-People Program from the peace process at large. The Palestinian Authority made a similar commitment. As the peace process went off its anticipated track, the People-to-People Program, to some extent, took on a life of its own. Consequently, the perceptions of the People-to-People Program and its activities held by Israeli and Palestinian stakeholders were at two extremes. One view held that the “P2P track” is a process that can be pursued independently of the peace process at large. Thus, the People-to-People activities have their own strategic and human values and must continue regardless of the development of the peace process. At the other extreme is the view that the People-to-People track is dependent on the peace process. Accordingly, any attempt to enhance the dialogue and relations between the two peoples is futile if the issues of land, resources, and political rights are not addressed through negotiations between the authorities on both sides. In the almost five years of Program operation since September 1995, there has been no unified view on these relations by the various Palestinian and Israeli stakeholders.

In the following section three of the major challenges posed to the Program will be discussed under the following headings: 1) impact and evaluation; 2) the impact of the peace process on the People-to-People Program; and 3) the asymmetry between the parties.

Impact and Evaluation

There are no tools to measure and evaluate the People-to-People Program. While the success of individual cooperative projects may be evaluated in terms of their project goals, the overall effects of the People-to-People Program’s existence and activities are more difficult to calculate. Perhaps success could be measured by the increased public acceptance of the peace process, as evidenced in public opinion polls, but it would be difficult to relate these results to Program activities. The mandate for the People-to-People Program defined in the *Interim Agreement* was broad and ambitious, and presupposed a political leadership on both sides that would negotiate a final peace status within the parameters of the Oslo Agreements. The directives given in the *Interim Agreement* Annex VI, namely, *to take steps to foster public debate and involvement, to remove barriers to interaction, and to increase people-to-people exchange and interaction within all areas of cooperation described in this Annex and in accordance*

²⁶ Sommerfelt, 1996.

with the overall objectives and principles set out in this Annex, have been impossible politically and therefore, the objectives have only been partially fulfilled.

The successes of individual cooperative projects are also difficult to evaluate, as relationships and understanding are not easily measured in a reliable way. Perhaps success could be claimed in the longevity and sustained dynamism of the NGOs involved and in their ability to recruit people for people-to-people activities, but the issue of foreign funding targeted at peace building efforts would have to be counted as an important determinant. Projects for professional cooperation have been considered to have great potential for conflict resolution and the building of cooperative, peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians.²⁷ A study of a cooperative project between Palestinian and Israeli health professionals on the problems of drugs concludes that the project provided an infrastructure for peace (meaning the creation of personal and institutional relations that contribute to new and positive relations between two people embroiled in a conflict) that made it easier for Palestinian and Israelis to resume the peace process in mid-1999, relatively close to the point at which it left off in the middle of 1996.²⁸

The People-to-People Program Secretariat surveyed all the projects that were approved in 1998. This survey included an investigation of project output in terms of participants and feedback from the organizations, problems encountered, and financial matters, such as the proportion of salaries to expenses for project activities. Forty-one projects were approved by the steering committee that year, but as many as five of these were cancelled before they started. An evaluation of the 36 completed projects indicated that 78 percent concluded all the planned activities or did more than was in the original plan. In addition, the “school twinning and education” projects affected many individuals, not just pupils, from the school environment, including teachers and pupils in other classes. Some of the “adult dialogue” projects involved as few as 20 participants. Altogether the projects involved 1930 regular participants, while another 3195 people participated in or were exposed to a People-to-People activity at least once. In all likelihood, the number of indirect participants is an underestimate. For example, the project reports do not indicate how many people visited exhibits arranged by People-to-People projects.²⁹ A closer look at the applications and approvals in 1998 is provided in Appendix 2, Table 2.

²⁷ The Palestine Council of Health and the Economic Cooperation Foundation, 1998 and 1999.

²⁸ Sussman, 2000.

²⁹ The number of participants is difficult to estimate. Before 1998, the P2P Program did not survey the number of participants in a manner systematic enough to produce a valid estimate. A larger estimate is found in a study of Perlman and Schwartz (1999), who approximate that 8,350 individuals took part in P2P projects conducted by twelve Israeli organizations and their Palestinian partners during 1998. (These projects were funded by the People-to-People Program, as well as by other donors.)

The Impact of the Peace Process on People-to-People Activities

The periodic setbacks and standstills in the peace process at large have impacted on the perceptions of the People-to-People Program and its activities. Political violence has been one major impediment to progress in the negotiations and the transaction of a peace agreement. The violence has taken different forms, including acts directed at certain targets by extremist groups, and as the continuous building of Israeli settlements on occupied Palestinian land. The Israelis used the policy of closures of the West Bank and Gaza more and more frequently after 1994. Incidents such as suicide bombings in Israel by Islamic *Hamas* supporters in the spring of 1996, which deviated and stalled the process until mid-1999 (when an Israeli coalition government with a pro-Oslo platform was formed) are directly related to the peace process. The assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Rabin in November 1994, supported by Jewish groups opposed to the transfer of land to the Palestinians, shook the whole world. After Israel and the Palestinian Authority reached another agreement in September 1999 (the *Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum*), car bombs exploded in Tiberias and Haifa. The list of incidents could be made much longer. The Israeli settlement policy, in which Israeli settlements and so-called by-pass roads in the West Bank and Gaza are being built and expanded in direct defiance of the Oslo Accords, has continuously aggravated the Palestinians.

Israeli demands for security and stability in the course of the peace process have been a prerequisite of successive Israeli governments for progress in this process, and as a result have restricted movement by Palestinians. The West Bank and Gaza have been completely sealed off from Israel for a number of days, and each Palestinian who wants to travel to or through Israel must apply for a travel permit from the Israeli authorities. The issue of movement and entry permits for Palestinians has proven to be a constant, constraining factor for People-to-People activities. Each passage of each Palestinian, with the exception of so-called VIPs, requires applying for and receiving a permit from the Israeli authorities. In addition to permit refusals, permits have often been granted at the last minute, making planning difficult and activities unpredictable. Often, not all the Palestinian applicants in a group have been granted permits, creating tension within the group. As a result, the others, as an act of loyalty and protest, frequently decide not to participate in the activity.

At times, the Israeli authorities declare full closure, which means that no travel permits are issued. Table 2 indicates the number of days of full closure.

Table 2. Days of full closure of the West Bank and Gaza 1995-1999*

1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
102	118	77	26	16

* Report on the Palestinian Economy, United Nations Office of the Special Coordinator in the Occupied Territories (UNSCO), Gaza: Spring 2000.

Although this table show a steady decline in the number of days with full closure, the system of travel permits has developed and it poses practical as well as psychological and principal challenges for the Program. Most Palestinians see the system as part of a strategy of Israeli control in which privileges are granted as part of a policy of dominance.

There are several NGO networks and associations on the West Bank and in Gaza. The *Palestinian Non-Governmental Organization Network* (PNGO), established in the wake of the *Declaration of Principles*, works for the interests of the NGO sector under the Palestinian authorities. Member organizations provide various social services; pure “peace organizations” are not included. In the early summer of 2000, the PNGO rendered a decision that barred its member organizations from engaging in people-to-people activities as a protest against the lack of implementation of the peace process.

As an overall observation, most NGO activities funded by the People-to-People Program have continued even when the environment for cooperation and dialogue has worsened because of deadlocks or crises in the peace process. However, many projects have suffered, and the parties have reacted differently in such situations. In particular, when the peace process at large has halted, Palestinian engagement has become more cautious. The stalemates have led to pressure from the public, and at times from the Palestinian Authority itself, to desist from people-to-people activities. While the People-to-People Program has been operating relatively independent of the peace process at large, it has not functioned in a vacuum.

Equality as an Ambition: The Two NGO Sectors

Relations between Israel and the Palestinians are marked by the power differential that exists between them. Directly relevant to People-to-People activities, this asymmetry expresses itself in the cases of Israeli-imposed travel permits to the Palestinians and in closures of the West Bank and Gaza, among other things. In addition, the Israeli and Palestinian NGO sectors differ from each other in several important ways. The vulnerable state of Palestinian NGOs and Palestinian society constituted both an important risk to and a possible benefit for the People-to-People Program. The Palestinian NGO sector is diversified when it comes to political connections, history, objectives, and management.³⁰ Israeli NGOs are part of a well-developed political economy in an established state. Their Palestinian counterparts face the threats of the Palestinian Authority’s centralization and economic difficulties. Israeli NGOs have access to Jewish Diaspora, other non-governmental resources, and political influence, as well as more freedom to act independently of the state. Cultural and subjective differences that influence the ways in which Israelis and Palestinians may see people-to-people activities also set the two sectors apart. As each party has different needs in the peace process, the aims and purposes of the NGOs that have participated in the Program have varied.

Conflict resolution, dialogue, and cooperation with Israeli partners are primarily “post-Oslo” issues on the Palestinian NGOs’ agenda. Some Israeli NGOs have been working to enhance Arab-Jewish dialogue within Israel for decades. A small number also conducted projects to reach out to Palestinian individuals and organizations on the West Bank and Gaza prior to the peace process. At that time, dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis carried social and physical risks, but a small number of Palestinian and Israeli individuals considered that their participation in dialogue activities could be beneficial. Palestinian and Israeli *or-*

³⁰Endresen, 1997.

ganizations, however, did as a rule not participate in dialogue. The few dialogue efforts between Palestinians and Israelis that were conducted prior to the peace process have been studied from different angles and theoretical positions.³¹ There are also studies and accounts of the post-Oslo agreement's dialogue and cooperative projects,³² and there is reason to believe that the cooperation differ significantly. While Israeli peace organizations in the pre-Oslo era were set up and directed *against* a condition (the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza), the post-Oslo organizations have not been oriented toward protesting an undesirable condition a priori, but rather toward exploring possibilities for cooperation within a new and somewhat diffuse framework. Therefore, the *Declaration of Principles* and the beginning of the peace process marked a watershed in which Israeli-Palestinian cooperation acquired a new framework, content, and legitimacy. The number of people involved in dialogue activities increased substantially after the Oslo agreement.

Palestinian NGOs faced a funding crisis after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, and many turned to People-to-People activities to supplement their funds. In response to the availability of funding for people-to-people activities, a number of NGOs in both societies have also been established to engage in people-to-people activities and other forms of cooperation. Critics may argue that they are an opportunist response to a foreign definition of Palestinian and Israeli needs. In the Palestinian society, these discussions have taken place as part of the larger debate on the working relationship between the NGOs, the political parties, and the Palestinian Authority. Whether an NGO is effective in peace building may be determined not so much by whether it is set up as contracting agency for specific, time-bound and donor-led projects, as by whether it has a constituency or not.

When the People-to-People Program began, Israelis dominated the dialogue in terms of the number of organizations involved, organizational efficiency, donor access, proposal writing, and willingness to dialogue. To some extent, matters have remained this way, although the picture has been balanced by five years of people-to-people activities. Many Palestinian organizations that apply for a cooperative project with an Israeli partner are more professional in their proposal writing than they were prior to the People-to-People Program. This however, is no guarantee that cooperation can happen "based on equality and reciprocity".

In a study of Israeli NGOs engaged in people-to-people activities³³, researchers surveyed twelve organizations and classified them into three categories: policy development organizations, service provider organizations; and classic peace groups. The organizations were studied in terms of their overarching goal, target population, source of legitimacy, and typical people-to-people cooperative projects. The study isolated three major themes in the Israeli

³¹Bilu 1994, Green 1996, Kelman 1997, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung 1995, Lønning 1995, Maroshek-Klarman 1995, Rosenwasser 1992, Yahav 1999, among others.

³²Adwan and Bar-On 2000, Palestine Council of Health (PCH) and Economic Cooperation Foundation (ECF) 1998, 1999, Perlman and Schwartz 1999, Sussman, 2000, Yahav 1999.

³³Perlman and Schwartz, 1999.

perspectives on people-to-people activities: 1) people-to-people activities have the ability to shape or reframe perceptions of the relationship between people; 2) people-to-people taps into a myriad of motivations or needs — political, professional, and economical — of the populations and individuals who take part; and 3) people-to-people is flexible, both conceptually and in the field, and can serve a wide array of objectives for a given organization and within a given project.

Another study reviews nine Israeli and six Palestinian “Peace/Conflict Resolution Organisations”³⁴ with regard to structure, funding, membership, ideology, activities and risk.³⁵ Among the preliminary findings are a process of institutionalisation and “professionalization” of the organizations, so that while they relied on volunteer labour in the 1970s and 1980s, they were run solely or primarily by paid staff in the 1990ies. The organizations also had seen a significant growth in volume of funding in the 1990s. Most organizations reported international sources as their primary funding sources, the People-to-People Program being among these. One conclusion of the study is that in Israel, the greatest impact of the organizations was in changing the discourse on peace and security and in transforming the former zero-sum interpretation of the Israel-Palestinian relations. Regarding the Palestinian organizations it was not possible, however, to generalize along the parameters used to evaluate the other organizations.

While the stated goal of the People-to-People Program is to strengthen and increase “people-to-people relationships based on equality and reciprocity”, the inequality of power has proven to be a determining factor in conducting the Program. Peace building is widely assumed to be a legitimate activity because it represents a humanitarian effort by the international community, but peace building is not a neutral one. The view that “peace and dialogue” is an ideology of oppression, which is introduced to consolidate Israeli gains and domination, is held by some segments of Palestinian society. In this view, the international support to people-to-people cooperative projects and the celebration of peace and dialogue as preferable to disputes amount to trading justice for peace. The People-to-People Program strives to address this dilemma within its framework through allocation of funds to both cooperating partners in each project, the demand for joint reports, and capacity-building training courses for Palestinian NGOs. By strengthening the Palestinian NGO sector, it is assumed the Program will contribute to the ability of the Palestinians to interact with Israelis on equal footing. However, improving the professional skills of the Palestinian NGO sector cannot rectify the asymmetrical relationship between the two parties.

³⁴The authors define peace/conflict resolution organizations (P/CROs) as “non-governmental, citizen-initiated organizations advocating peace, reconciliation, and coexistenceon the basis of mutual recognition and/or the use of dispute resolution strategies as a means of addressing [the] conflict.” (Adwan and Bar-On 2000;10)

³⁵Adwan and Bar-On 2000.

Norway and the Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science as a Third Party

The role of a third party player in peace building has been discussed as one of facilitation. Conflict resolution over power-related issues is reached and achieved by means of third-party pressure and persuasion, and is guaranteed by the third party's power. In peace building approaches, the parties must build a new mutual relationship, and a third party role should be one of facilitation, without coercion or the advocacy of specific outcomes.³⁶

Fafo is not a conflict resolution NGO, but a research institute that earned itself a place in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Fafo has built strategic alliances with key players in the peace process, and has acquired substantive knowledge about the issues central to the conflict. In the People-to-People Program, Fafo aimed to coordinate the efforts of the authorities to foster direct people-to-people interaction, and to prepare the societies for the peace process. During this period, the main Program activity has been the support of cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian NGOs, and Fafo has facilitated and coordinated this effort. Fafo has contributed to the cooperative problem-solving attitude and group decision making that was established between the Palestinian and Israeli planning groups. The Norwegian Secretariat has been an "engine" in the Program work by consulting frequently with the Norwegian, Israel, and Palestinian authorities and by seeking their continued support for the Program. On the non-governmental level, the joint planning groups have met several times a month to discuss project proposals and other initiatives, and to follow up on the implementation of funded projects, always with the Norwegian Secretariat as an "engine".³⁷

The inequality of power that characterizes the Israeli-Palestinian conflict leads to the troublesome question of what constitutes cooperative relations in peace building and what does not. Conflict resolution theory suggests that interventions that legitimize a different power structure create the potential for more conflict.³⁸ There is a lively Palestinian debate on normalization with Israel, that is, accepting the status quo, and on whether People-to-People activities lead to this normalization. Fafo has attempted to address this issue by seeking institutionalized equality and reciprocity on all levels of the People-to-People Program. The institute has also continuously emphasized that the ownership of the Program and its decisions belong to the two parties. With regard to the processes of calling for, selecting, and monitoring cooperative projects, the decision-making mechanisms of the Program have been built on premises of consensus and reflect Fafo's wish to maintain local ownership.

The Israeli, Palestinian, and Norwegian authorities remain the main players behind the Program. The top-down dimension has, however, become less evident as the Program has evolved. This may point to satisfaction on the part of the authorities on how Norway, through Fafo, has implemented the Program and its activities, or to a loss of the political significance the parties attribute to the Program. It could also be seen in light of a relaxation in the dynamics between the authorities and the non-governmental levels in the Program organization. While both authorities, the Israeli one in particular, mobilized to steer and oversee

³⁶ Bloomfield, 1995.

³⁷ Endresen and Gilen, 2000.

³⁸ Voutira and Brown, 1992.

Program activities when the Program started up, their involvement has become less engaged. The “brochure case” serves to illustrate this point. In 1996, when it was decided to produce an information brochure about the new Program, intensive Norwegian shuttling between the Israeli and Palestinian governmental representatives and countless changes of words and phrases were required to reach agreement on a brochure, which in the end consisted of a very limited text (in Arabic, Hebrew, and English) largely taken from the *Interim Agreement*. In 1999, the Norwegian Secretariat decided to create a new brochure. This initiative was confirmed after consultations with the non-governmental planning groups, which read and approved a draft of the brochure’s text. Neither Israeli nor Palestinian authorities had any issues with the final version of the brochure.

Conclusion

I have described the origin, organization, and NGO cooperative activities of the People-to-People Program and emphasized three dimensions in particular: impact and evaluation; the relationship between the peace process at large and the Program; and the asymmetrical relationship between the two parties in the Program. The asymmetrical relationship contributes to a situation in which the peace process at large has had a greater influence on the implementation of the Program by the Palestinians than by the Israelis. Because it is the part concerned primarily with nation building and sovereignty, the Palestinians have tended to see less strategic value in people-to-people activities when developments in the peace process have not fulfilled their ambitions.

The People-to-People Program differs from other people-to-people initiatives taking place in the Palestinian-Israeli context because it is the “official” program that came about as an agreement between the governments of Norway, Israel, and the Palestinians. It has had their blessing, and Israeli and Palestinian support to the Program has been repeated regularly in “Hub meetings” and diplomatic meetings with Norwegian representatives. However, their commitment has not been adequately expressed to their own populations. When the peace process came to a halt after the May 1996 Israeli elections, the authorities were unable to launch the grand-scale People-to-People Program that the architects of the Oslo agreements envisaged. Israeli authorities have not been able to grant travel permits to Palestinian NGO project participants, and at times both authorities have seemed unsure as to the importance of the Program.

The parties’ original aim in creating the People-to-People Program was to involve ordinary people in the peace process. “Political leaders can make peace, but only people can *build* peace” was the guiding statement. Five years later, experiences from the People-to-People Program suggest that this notion may be valid in cases where people build peace as a *supplement* to a peace that political leaders make. In the recent history of conflict and peace in the Middle East, it is the political leaders who have shaped policy.³⁹ In the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, however, scant progress in the implementation of the agreements and in the negotiations has been accompanied by a lack of gestures at the political leader level.⁴⁰ It is my belief that gestures and confidence-building measures at this level are crucial in the diplomatic process, and that the lack thereof has impacted negatively on the People-to-People Program. Whenever the peace process has been in crisis or reached a standstill, cooperative projects have felt the reverberations.

³⁹ The visit of Anwar Sadat to Israel in 1977, ten months before a peace agreement was forged between Israel and Egypt, is one example.

⁴⁰ Palestinian President Yasir Arafat has never been invited on an official visit to Israel. A visit of the Israeli Prime Minister to the Palestinian Territory has not taken place either, although such visits would probably impress both nations. When successive Israeli prime ministers have met with Arafat, the encounters have been held near a military check post, without Middle Eastern host-guest rituals.

The case of the People-to-People Program has implications for theory on conflict resolution as the Program defies a dichotomy between peace making and peace building in its organizational design. In practice, however, room for action has been mired between a peace process and a peace agreement, and the absence of the latter has impacted negatively on the Program. On the other hand, the Program does prove that it is possible to carry out peace building prior to an anticipated peace agreement. The Program linked the governmental and non-governmental levels with its top-down-bottom-up structure, and the non-governmental level achieved a more important role during the period.

Fafo designed and participated in the implementation of the Program at the NGO level, all the while maintaining a working relationship with each party on the government level. The research institute has worked to maintain its position as a credible third party among the stakeholders in the Oslo process by constantly seeking consultations and consensus at all levels of the People-to-People Program.

During the five years of the People-to-People Program, the political landscapes in Israel and the Palestinian Territory have undergone fundamental changes. These changes are not those imagined by the peace process architects, and the peace dividend has not been considered sufficient, at least not by the Palestinian population. A Palestinian state has not been established, and the bumps in the road have been many, destabilizing both Palestinian and Israeli communities along the way. The People-to-People Program has not been able to influence the peace process at large in the way it had envisaged because the People-to-People activities were not a supplement to this process. Nevertheless, the Program provided an arena for popular cooperation and functioned as a bridge for people from the two societies who have wanted to meet each other and learn to know each other.

In conclusion, the difficulties encountered in implementing the People-to-People Program do not imply that the ideas behind the Program were weak. The negotiations leading up to the Oslo agreements were conducted in a secretive manner, and the People-to-People Program provided an invaluable arena for transparency and popular engagement. The Program and the considerable number of other people-to-people activities that have been undertaken since the start of the peace process have served to build peaceful structures for Palestinian-Israeli relations. Through new contacts and the ongoing exposure of these two populations to each other, the peace constituency in the region was enlarged.

Appendix 1 People-to-People NGO Cooperative Projects

This appendix contains a list of NGO cooperative projects that have received funding from the People-to-People Program from 1996 to 2000. The list is organised in the following categories; Adult dialogue and seminars (43 projects); Culture (15 projects); Environment (15 projects); Media (5 projects); School twinning and education (15 projects); Youth (28 projects); and 'Large projects' (3). A smaller number of projects have been approved by and received initial funding from the Program, but have been cancelled before their implementation. These are not included in the list. Projects that have been approved, received initial funding, and started in 2000 are included, although a number of these were not completed by the time of writing.

The text describing each project is taken from the project proposals submitted to the People-to-People Program. Hence, they differ in language and format, and as they are authored prior to the project, they describe plans and not achievements.

Adult Dialogue and Seminars

A-96-002 Publish Lectures from Joint Academic Seminars

Project to publish books on eight lectures given during a seminar in 1996 for an Israeli audience on the Palestinian society. The books will be published in both Hebrew and Arabic and contain the lecture manuscripts and the discussions following the lectures. The publishing of the books will be accompanied by media coverage.

Israeli NGO: The Institute for Israeli Arab Studies-IIAS

A-96-005 Establishing a Forum for Palestinian and Israeli Educators

Approximately 30 Israeli and Palestinian educators will meet on a regular basis (once every three weeks) at Givat Haviva. They will work under the auspices of a joint professional committee on different subject areas, such as joint projects, writing curriculum's information programs, using the broadcasting system, and more.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Academic Center for Peace

A-97-001 Working on Healing in the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict

Develop and plan ways of mobilising mass movements to express condolences when terrorist acts occur and educate 50-60 mobilisers.

Israeli NGO: Harry S. Truman Research Institute

Palestinian NGO: Wi'am Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center

A-97-002 Knowing Your Neighbour

A half-year program for 30 religious Zionists Israelis and 30 Palestinians, learning them about each other's societies and politics and sum up in a joint seminar.

Israeli NGO: Netivot Shalom / Oz VeShalom

Palestinian NGO: The Palestinian Peace Information Center - Al Jiser

A-97-003 Towards a New Environment

A) To bring together ninety Palestinian, Israeli and European students to experience and participate in the new environmental discourse in the Middle East. B) To examine trends in regional development by exchanging insights from different cultural perspectives. C) To develop a multidisciplinary understanding of environmental concerns, shared by Palestinians and Israelis.

Israeli NGO: Middle East Design

Palestinian NGO: Middle East Design

A-97-005 Professional-to-Professional: Joint seminar series for Palestinian and Israeli professionals on health

Series of joint seminars for Palestinian and Israeli professionals on cooperative health projects and topics.

Palestinian NGO: Al-Quds University

Palestinian NGO: Child Health and Comm. Research Assoc.-CHCR.

Israeli NGO: JDC- Brookdale

Israeli NGO: JDC-Special Programs in the Middle East

A-97-006 Training Session for Palestinian and Israeli Counsellors

Providing the victims of domestic violence with the professional support, advice and help they need, and provide professional counsellors with a common forum for the sharing of ideas, experience and knowledge.

Israeli NGO: LO Combat Violence Against Women

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Working Women Society

A-97-007 Through Their Combined Strength

To create the appropriate context for women to come together in a framework based on shared interests and objectives; to address the biases they have towards on another as well as the inner obstacles they face in taking on bold and essential leadership.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Federation for Women's Action

Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

A-97-008 Birthing Together

Course in pregnancy health and natural childbirth methods by Israeli specialists for health professionals in Nablus.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Federation for Women's Action

Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

A-97-010 Face to Face - Transformative Dialogue Workshops

This project is the continuation and expansion of a dialogue workshop program developed by the implementing organisations. The workshop transforms stereotypes held about the other. The workshops take place in the West Bank and the project aims to involve hundreds of Palestinians and Israeli in new and on-going dialogue groups.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Federation for Women's Action

Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

A-97-011 Seminars for Palestinian and Israeli Educators

The project will prepare educational material based on texts from the Bible, the Koran and the New Testament. Two seminars about inter-cultural and inter-religious issues, based on this material, will be conducted.

Palestinian NGO: Education Development Center-EDC

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Association for Cultural Exchange-PACE

A-97-013 Adam - International Center for Education for Democracy

The Norwegian Secretariat supported an issue of the KOL ADAM newsletter that was dedicated to dialogue and co-operation between Jews and Arabs.

Israeli NGO: Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace

A-97-014 Campaigning for Our Environment

The Norwegian Secretariat Supported an EcoPeace /Shatil Environmental workshop in Eilat 28-29 May 1997, for environmental NGO's from the region.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: EcoPeace Middle East Environmental NGO

A-97-015 Future of Palestinian Democracy

The Norwegian Secretariat supported a regional conference for academics on the subject of democracy.

Palestinian NGO: Future of Democratic Palestine Discussion Forum

A-97-016 Health Education for HIV-AIDS Prevention

To train "Aids educators " policy makers and media in the topic of aids to establish an active network of Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians in HIV/AIDS prevention in the Middle East.

Israeli NGO: Jerusalem AIDS Project

A-97-017 Christmas Day Torch Light Procession for Freedom of Worshipping

Light a candle for freedom of workshop in Bethlehem and to march together Palestinian and Israeli on Christmas day with candles to demonstrate hope for a peaceful future.

Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

A-98-002 Family Units Project for Children Aged 0-3 in the Palestinian City of Gaza

Project to assist Gaza education system in establishing family units (nurseries) for children up to 3 years by training 40 nurses to be employed in these units. The training will be related to childhood development etc. and will occur through monthly meetings held at the kibbutz Shoal Educational Center in the Negev.

Palestinian NGO: Association for Children I.P.F.C

Israeli NGO: Eden- Association for Promotion of Education

A-98-007 Training in Democracy Education for Early Childhood

Project to conduct a joint seminar of 30 kindergarten/ 1st grade teachers to participate in a 3-day seminar to learn together how to use concepts of democracy to young children, aged 5-8 years. Israeli NGO: Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace

Palestinian NGO: Center for Applied Research in Education-CARE

A-98-008 Leadership training for Palestinian and Israeli community leaders

Training workshop linked with a series of 1-day seminars focusing on leadership and alternative dispute resolution techniques for community leaders.

Israeli NGO: Galilee College

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Association for Vocational Training

A-98-012 Women and Trade Unions

Project to increase representation of women in trade unions through establishment of a women's forum for female trade unionists during two day seminars, and focusing on leadership skills, increased awareness and increased public interest.

Palestinian NGO: Democracy and Workers Rights Center-DWRC

Israeli NGO: NA'AMAT- Movement of Working Women

A-98-013 HEAL- Healing Early Action Link

Expansion of 1997 project utilizing the Healing Early Action Link - a framework for engaging in activities to provide joint comfort and condolence visits to victims of violence in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Activities include visitations, workshops, training and production of a manual.

Israeli NGO: Harry S. Truman Research Institute

Palestinian NGO: Wi'am Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center

A-98-015 Interfaith Seminars

Project to hold 2 seminars for 80 participants at each in which activities include presentations and smaller working groups, and a concluding plenary session, Participants recruited from groups not typically represented in this kind of dialogue and themes include obstacles for reconciliation, meaning of divine promise in the different traditions, concepts of justice.

Israeli NGO: Israel Interfaith Association

Palestinian NGO: The Equality & Peace Supporters Movement

A-98-021 Face to Face: Transformative Dialogue Workshops

Continuation of 1997 project, and including a two day joint workshop, and a two day training sessions for facilitators covering dialogue on feelings and perceptions surrounding the conflict, and the experience of visiting and staying the night in Palestinian and Israeli home in order to overcome fears and enhancing understanding.

Palestinian NGO: Nablus Center of the Palestinian Federation of Women

Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

A-98-029 Co-operating to Aid those in Crisis

Project to set up a crisis center hot line in the West Bank, promote the legitimacy of reaching out for help among both populations and the exchange of volunteers between 2 organisations a joint workshops for volunteer handing crisis calls. Activities include promoting the idea of reaching out for help through a campaign.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Israeli Association for Emotional First Aid

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Red Crescent Society

A-98-038 Birthing Together: Education for Pregnancy & Childbirth in Nablus Area

Project to implement a second stage of the Birthing Together pilot project completed in 1997. The project aims to complete the training of a cadre of Palestinian childbirth educators in the Nablus area through 10 teaching sessions over a 6-month period.

Palestinian NGO: Nablus Center of the Palestinian Federation of Women

Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

A-98-051 Health Training Project

Project to train the participants in using the CD program and develop health campaigns for various purposes, setting, target populations and health problems. And to communicate across sociocultural borders in order to be able to co-operate with a common structure, methodology to and develop the campaigning.

Israeli NGO: Department of social medicine The Boaum school of public health and community medicine, Hebrew University and Hadassah hospital

A-98-052 Interlink in Rehabilitation Project

Providing opportunity for disabled from both Israel and Palestine, to participate together in a rehabilitation camp focusing on sport.

NGO: International Team on Wheelchairs

A-98-102 Network 2012

Project to bring Israelis and Palestinians together to know each other, making heart connections and sharing resources, challenges and visions. Also to explore ways to work together across national, cultural and ethic boundaries.

Israeli NGO: Network 2012

A-98-106 Parents Circle 1998

Project to organize a group of Israeli bereaved parents to prepare for joint meetings with Palestinian bereaved parents. The aim is to work for peace and reconsolidating two preparatory meetings will be held.

Israeli NGO: Parents' Circle Association

A-99-003 Interfaith Women Seminars

Two special seminars for 2x40 women on interfaith dialogue. It is believed that such seminars will open new channels for deeper dialogue. The themes will be the role of Jewish, Muslim and Christian women in reconciliation, gender relation and other interfaith themes in the different traditions and societies.

Palestinian NGO: Al-Liqa Center for Religious Studies

Israeli NGO: Israel Interfaith Association

Palestinian NGO: The Equality & Peace Supporters Movement

A-99-004 Creating Dialogue through Video

To train two parallel groups 10 Israeli and 10 Palestinian women in the use of video technology. Produce two parallel films showing the perceived reality of each group. Use the two films within the groups and to 6 wider audiences to discuss their different political realities.

Israeli NGO: Bat Shalom: The Jerusalem Women's Action Center

Palestinian NGO: The Jerusalem Center for Women

A-99-005 The Final Status Issues-How Shall we Proceed?

Uni-national and bi-national workshops for 20 students of law, political science and international relations, on final status issues (Jerusalem, refugees, and settlements).

Israeli NGO: Sharet Educational Center/Mirkam

Palestinian NGO: Wi'am Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center

A-99-006 Building the MOCT (Bridge)

The project will be composed of two different target groups: 24 Palestinians and Russian-Israeli university students, and 24 young Palestinian and Russian-Israeli professionals in the field of journalism, advertising and politics. There will be both uni-national and bi-national meetings. The aim is to create understanding and dialogue between these two communities.

Israeli NGO: Melitz

Palestinian NGO: The Palestinian Peace Information Center - Al Jiser

A-99-009 Improving Palestinian and Israeli Relations among Social Work Practitioners through Problem Solving

Continuation of 1998 project. 10 Israeli and 10 Palestinian social workers will meet four times (each of two days) to learn about social problems and services in both societies. In the third meeting the participants will plan and organise a community project, one in the West Bank and one in Israel (the Negev), to implement what they have learned. It is assumed that the project will form a stable group that will continue to work together in the future.

Israeli NGO: The Spitzer Department of Social Work, Ben Gurion University

Palestinian NGO: The Syndicate of Psychological & Social Workers

A-99-010 Peace of Mind

Joint training of social workers on treatment and work with the mentally ill. 10 meetings of 30 Israeli and Palestinian social workers, focus on mental health care within the community.

Israeli NGO: Enosh

Palestinian NGO: Palestine Red Crescent Society-PRCS

A-99-011 Training Program for Palestinian Students of Social Work & Psychology

Project to bring together Palestinian Israeli and Palestinian women's organizations to conduct training courses in Ramallah for students, regarding sexual abuse and women issues. Israeli NGO: Assiwar-Arab Feminist Movement in Support of Victims of Domestic Violence

NGO: Palestinian Working Women Society

A-99-068 Network 2012 1999

Project is to meet on Sukkoth Day 24-25 Sep. 99 to plant peace pole in a most central place in Gaza. Israeli NGO: Network 2012

A-99-069 Bereavement without Borders 1999

Project to organize a group of bereaved parents from both societies. The aim is to work for peace and reconsolidating

Palestinian NGO: The Political Prisoners and ex-Prisoners organization

Israeli NGO: Parents' Circle Association

A-00-003 Bereavement without Borders 2000

Develop encounters between 100 Israeli and 70 Palestinian bereaved parents, and recruit a group of parents that are willing to give joint lectures to high school youth on the subject of peace.

Palestinian NGO: National Movement for Change (NMC)

Israeli NGO: Parents' Circle Association

A-00-005 Helping the Helpers

Project to strengthen ties between the two institutions, through professional-to-professional workshops and seminars. The encounters will take place once a month. In three days seminar between 10-15 staff members from Geha and 10 staff members from GCMHP will meet. They will develop a booklet of psychodiagnostic scales in Arabic, as well as focus on experiences both institutions have in treating people suffering from traumatic effects of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Palestinian NGO: Gaza Community Mental Health Program

Israeli NGO: Geha Mental Hospital

A-00-009 Building the MOCT (Bridge) Continuity Encounters

Continuing dialogue meetings between Russian immigrants and Russian-speaking Palestinians for 24 participants: 2x2-day + a one-day meeting for the student group, and 4x ½-day joint meetings + 4x ½-day unilateral meetings for the professional group. 3 unilateral meetings + 3x2-day joint meetings for 16 new participants.

Israeli NGO: Melitz

Palestinian NGO: The Palestinian Peace Information Center - Al Jiser

A-00-011 An Issue and its Related Dialogue Activities: A Roundtable and a Public Event

Publish an issue of the journal on education for peace and democracy, which will explore the Israeli and the Palestinian educational system. The attempt is to analyse the educational landscape in Israel and Palestine in all relevant dimensions. Israeli and Palestinian writers and experts will contribute to the issue, which will be released in December 2000.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Palestine-Israel Journal

A-00-040 Dialogue Between Israeli and Palestinian Women

This project is a continuation of co-operative relation between Israeli and Palestinian women whom met for 2 days in Haifa on October 12-14, 1999 to enhance the women role in both Palestinian and Israeli societies.

Palestinian NGO: Evangelical Lutheran Reformation Church

Israeli NGO: Soroptimist International Israeli Union

Culture Projects

C-97-002 Festival of Friendship: Cooperation between two youth choirs

To bring the St. Joseph girls from Bethlehem and the Efroni choir together in a series of meetings, which took place in Bethlehem and Emek - Hefer. The way the girls got closer to each other and the Swedish Festival was the Highlight of this co-operation.

Israeli NGO: Efroni Choir

Palestinian NGO: Terra Santa St. Joseph College Choir

C-97-003 Art as a Communication Language

A joint one-week workshop will be held for 20 Israelis and Palestinians to explore creative techniques, and to visit artists' studios. The workshop ends with an open day for the public.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Neve Shalom / Wahat Al-Salam

C-97-004 Spring Wind

A joint production of a story telling theatre show to expose stereotypes and to demystify "monsters" in the minds of people on both sides.

Palestinian NGO: Al-Jawal Theatre c/o Arab Studies Society

Israeli NGO: Tel Aviv Tsafta Theatre

C-98-003 "Deaf" as a Primary Name

Documentary about deaf people in Israeli and Palestinian areas. The aim is to aware people about being deaf, and reduce their suffering and isolation. The film project aim to develop future meetings between Israeli and Palestinian deaf.

Israeli NGO: Israfilm Motion Picture Productions LTD.

Palestinian NGO: Samed T.V.P.

C-98-012 Improving Palestinian and Israeli relations among social work practitioners through music

Project to facilitate professional and social dialogue among Palestinian and Israel social practitioners using music appreciation as a tool. Participants develop and implement 2 community projects using music to facilitate interaction and communication.

Israeli NGO: The Spitzer Department of Social Work, Ben Gurion University

Palestinian NGO: The Syndicate of Psychological & Social Workers

C-98-024 Art as a Language of Communication

A week-long intensive art workshop including both bi-national and uni-national sessions and an open-day at conclusion of week for general public.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Neve Shalom / Wahat Al-Salam

C-98-027 Hebrew Version of S. Bitton's film about M. Darwish

Project to translate a film about Mahmoud Darwish's life to Hebrew and to have discussion groups about the film.

Israeli NGO: The Institute for Israeli Arab Studies-IIAS

C-98-028 The Exhibition "Palestinian Women Identity"

Project to exhibit the Arabs art, and to see the works of the artist in a wide context of not only Palestinian art but also Palestinian culture.

Israeli NGO: Association for the Advancement of Culture

C-99-002 Knowing Your Neighbour-Towards Better Neighbourhood

Mideast Peace Society have planned to arrange a large celebration day together with members from Peace Now near Hebron. Including speeches, activities, music and more.

Palestinian NGO: Mideast Peace Society

Israeli NGO: Peace Now / Yael Shevek

C-99-003 The Exhibition "Palestinian Women Identity 99"

Israeli NGO: Association for the Advancement of Culture

C-99-005 P.E.A.C.E Experience

Cultural exchange and dialogue, Bring 200 Palestinian youth age 17-20 to theatre Cameri. They will spend the day with Israeli youth, actors and leading persons from academe and politics. They will have a lecture about the theatre, attend a production and discuss.

Israeli NGO: Cameri Theatre

Palestinian NGO: National Movement for Change (NMC)

C-99-007 Peace Educational Video Film

Project bringing together 2 groups of young Palestinian and Israeli participants for 10 encounters in order to discover each other and create a video film together. Film used in schools to promote better understanding in coexistence and dynamic of peace process.

Israeli NGO: Hoshvim Kolnoa-Lahav

Palestinian NGO: The Arab Studies Society

Israeli NGO: Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

C-99-019 Screening Borders Film

Project to organise a Screening show in Gaza for Borders film, followed by reception and discussion with film producer.

Israeli NGO: Nurit Kedar/ Producer of Borders Film

C-99-020 The Millennium Celebrations Project

This project is part of a bigger project, designed to elicit cooperation among the security apparatus around the main crossing and check points.

Israeli NGO: Search for Common Ground in the Middle East

Environment

E-96-001 Common Ground

A lasting program cooperative for peace and environment will be developed, that a) will promote direct contact and positive interaction between Palestinian and Israeli teachers, students and community members and that b) will provide a framework for joining environmental education, awareness and action projects.

Palestinian NGO: Children for the Protection of Nature in Palestine

Israeli NGO: The Living Weave

E-97-001 Education and Promotion of Environmental Awareness Among Middle - School Students

The project aims at creating and providing a rare opportunity for bringing Israeli and Palestinian children together in a summer camp to work as a team on saving the environment by emphasising it as an issue of common concern.

Israeli NGO: Galilee Society: the Arab National Society for Health

Israeli NGO: Living Water In the Galilee

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Hydrology Group (PHG)

E-97-002 Israeli/Palestinian Environmental Protection Cooperation Project between the Jericho and Emek Hefer

Four seminars for 30 Palestinian and Israeli farmers and agricultural engineers on environmental awareness and agricultural technology, irrigation and use of biodegradable materials and water resources.

Israeli NGO: Arab Youth Movement - Givat Haviva

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees –PARC

E-97-003 Peace and Environment Media Round Table

1) Facilitating information exchange and enhanced dialogue between Palestinian and Israeli media. 2) Educating Israeli and Palestinian media on environmental issues. 3) Fostering greater media coverage on the environment and the relationship between peace and environment 4) Educating the border public about our shared environment 5) Facilitating more balanced reporting our program in directly aimed of the Israeli and Palestinian media. We held around table discussion one per month, each luncheon round table linked to the shared environment of our two people.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: EcoPeace Middle East Environmental NGO

E-98-003 Art and Ecology For Peace and Better Environment

Project to develop an Art and Ecology program for children through meetings of young environmental leaders from both sides, joint activities such as cleaning days, tree planting, wall drawings and school environment clubs, and production of joint documentation on the project.

Palestinian NGO: Green Peace Association

Israeli NGO: Plastic Art Center

E-98-007 Ecological Field Laboratory for Palestinian-Israeli Youth

Project to study the regional ecosystem and problems of nature conservation in semi-desert areas through bringing together Palestinian and Israeli youth groups to study life in the desert. Project documented in a film.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Palestinian-Israeli Environmental Secretariat (PIES)

E-98-011 The world around us

Project to promote better understanding and efforts to improve the environment through joint meetings and activities between Palestinians, Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs, internet site and video filming of project activities.

Israeli NGO: Marj Ibn Amer

Israeli NGO: Tabor High School

Palestinian NGO: Women's Community Center

E-99-001 Training Programme for Waste Recycling Projects for Palestinian & Israeli Municipalities

A training program for the implementation of a community based recycling program. The participants will be 30 Israeli and Palestinian municipal engineers, community educators and environmental administrators who are in policy making positions. The program will focus on solid waste and water usage.

Israeli NGO: Galilee College

Palestinian NGO: Hebron University

E-99-002 Youth Knows No Boundaries

The project will create two youth nature groups, one in the north (Haifa, Galilee, Jenin and Nablus) and one in the south (Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Tel Aviv, Hebron and Beer Sheva), with a 40 core participants. Activities will include field trips, lessons on environmental protection, and strengthening of interpersonal contact. The last meeting will bring all the participants together in a Nature-Festival. Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Palestinian-Israeli Environmental Secretariat (PIES)

E-99-003 Cleaning Campaign of Coastal Shared Beach

The two organizations will design, organize and implement a cleaning and awareness campaign, in order to start cleaning the beach in both areas along the coast.

Palestinian NGO: Green Peace Association

Israeli NGO: Plastic Art Center

E-00-001 The Animal Farm-as a symbol of co-existence

After two years of joint work on environmental awareness, the two organisations aim to engage Israeli and Palestinian children in establishing an animal farm in Gaza. The youth will visit such farms in Israel, receive basics knowledge on how to treat the animals and together collect suitable animals for the farm.

Palestinian NGO: Green Peace Association

Israeli NGO: Plastic Art Center

E-00-003 Youth From Gaza and Tel Aviv - Jaffa Improve Quality of life through Public Safety and the Environment

100 young adults from Gaza and Israel aged 15-16 participate in 5 uni-national meetings on environment, public safety and tolerance among ethnic groups. 2 big joint meetings in Gaza and Tel Aviv.

Palestinian NGO: Bara'em As-Salam / Interns for Peace

Israeli NGO: Nitzanei Shalom

E-00-004 Eco Study Tour for Sustainable Peace 2000

15-20 Palestinian & Israeli Jewish & 10 Israeli Arabs will have a 5-day Eco-study tour to broadening the environmental awareness through visits to dumpsite areas, sewage plots, doing experiments and cleaning up efforts. The Project includes visits to different environmental sites.

Israeli NGO: Arava Institute for Environmental Studies

Israeli NGO: Galilee Society: the Arab National Society for Health

Palestinian NGO: Hebron University

E-00-005 Heritage and the Environment 2000

The Israelis will train the Palestinians in environmental education skills, and jointly plan and initiate an environmental awareness campaign and reach out to 20 high schools in Hebron area, including joint field trips with 100 Israeli high school students. The campaign will also reach out to local village councils.

Israeli NGO: Arava Institute for Environmental Studies

Palestinian NGO: Center for Preservation of Palestinian Heritage

E-00-013 Different Cultures - One World Summer Camp 2000

The Summer Camp 2000 will be held in a camping site in the Galilee region. It will include 60 high school students from Israel, Jordan and Palestine. Along with their training staff, the students will set a model of coexistence for two weeks. They will hold workshops together, attend lectures in different fields, go for fieldtrips and try to learn about the rich cultures represented in the camp. The participant students will be selected on the basis of their achievement, leadership skills and fluency in English. All activities and lectures will be conducted in English.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Central Galilee College

Media

M-95-004 Dissemination of Books on Each Society

Spread basic literature on Palestinian society in 100 institutes for higher education, research and in other libraries in Israel. Further, basic literature on the Israeli society in Arabic will be placed in 100 similar Palestinian libraries. Each such collection will consist of approximately five books that will be acceptable to both parties.

NGO: People-to-People Program Secretariat

M-96-006 Windows Bilingual Magazine for Children

Palestinian writers and artists, both children and adults, serve as correspondents. They are responsible about the content of the magazine. Through the magazine, children from both sides can obtain a mutual awareness and updated information while engaging in creative interaction and the free exchange of opinions.

Israeli NGO: WINDOWS Channels for Communication

M-96-007 Shared Tales Video Films

The outcome of the project will be a video that will follow Israeli and Palestinian children as they travel throughout Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, visiting their elders. The children are searching for the tales that the elders can tell of the past fifty years of relationships between the two peoples. The focus of the film will thus be on personal stories ranging from animosity to individual friendship. Finding traces of co-existence in their forefather's lives will give the young people models and images that can help make peace more familiar.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Shared Tales video film project

M-96-012 Christmas Day Torch Light Procession

Organise a torch light procession for peace at Christmas day for approximately 3000 participants. Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

M-96-013 Network for Israeli and Palestinian Journalists and Public Opinion Moulders

The project will arrange a gathering of 50 Palestinian and Israeli journalists and public opinion moulders that will deal with issues of concern to the public today as well as the possibilities to create a Network that will serve the participants in their work, and that will have a positive influence on the Israeli and the Palestinian public opinion.

Palestinian NGO: Al-Jothur

Israeli NGO: International Center for Peace in the Middle East-ICPME.

School Twinning & Education

T-98-002 Dialogue: School twin project

School twin project including 80 students aged 17 years in which a leadership team of 16 of them will be trained to guide their peers in meetings on dealing with stereotypes and discrimination, and setting conflicts.

Israeli school: Ironi Dalet High School

Palestinian school: Talitha Kumi School

T-98-005 School Twin Project

School twin project among elementary school classes in which a co-existence curriculum is developed and children engage in joint gardening and farming, hiking, painting, dancing and music activities.

Israeli school: Adam Jerusalem Waldorf School

Palestinian school: Freres School

T-98-007 School of Peace: Palestinian-Israeli forum for discussing values of democracy and peace

Project to establish a school of peace through monthly courses on peace and democracy, and the establishment of a joint parliament.

Israeli NGO: Arab Youth Movement - Givat Haviva

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian House of Friendship

T-98-009 Peace Education Through Cultural Wisdom

To introduce a concept of peace education which is culturally familiar to both Palestinian & Israeli. Workshops and community meetings for teachers, social workers and parents on both sides of the national border. At the end they will discuss the results and watch selection of stories presented through drama, story telling and folk singing by Palestinian & Israeli school students.

Palestinian NGO: Freres School

Israeli NGO: The Denmark School

T-98-010 Diversity of Narratives: Meeting Between Principals of Palestinian and Israeli High Schools

Project to bring together the principles from 16 Israeli Schools in order to provide a framework in which they can meet, engage in dialogue and encourage their involvement in eventual twin school projects. Activities include preliminary meetings to arrange a joint workshop and production of a newsletter.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information

T-98-011 Peace Education Forum for Israeli and Palestinian Educators

Project to develop Israeli/Palestinian cooperation the field of education and enable joint education projects that can be implemented in Palestinian and Israeli schools.

Israeli NGO: Arab Youth Movement - Givat Haviva

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Center for Peace and Democracy -PCPD

T-99-002 Research Projects in Lieu of final Exams

Technique in critical reading and writing for Palestinian and Israeli students 30 Israeli and Palestinian teachers will take part in a one year course (1-2 meetings every month) to learn techniques of teaching a course where research papers instead of examinations will be required.

Palestinian NGO: The Panorama Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development.

Israeli NGO: The Uveeler Center, School of Education, Hebrew University

T-99-003 Education on Common Grounds

50 Israeli and Palestinian high school students will cooperate in a joint program, centered on research and agriculture. Meeting every month mixed with Internet communication.

Palestinian NGO: Rosary High School

Israeli NGO: Yoav Association

T-99-005 Peace Education Forum for Palestinian & Israeli Educators

Project to continue the work with the same group of educators from last year, and implement student and parents from both sides. They will also involve a larger target group by approaching local communities. The work will be more action oriented.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Center for Peace and Democracy -PCPD

Israeli NGO: The Jewish-Arab Center for Peace at Givat Haviva

T-99-006 Pictures Talk

Phase one develop an educational game to promote coexistence for school children, phase two train 20 Palestinian and Israeli facilitators to work with the program in elementary schools.

Israeli NGO: Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace

T-99-007 Beyond the Peace Process

Establish and implement a field-tested and validated school-based conflict resolution program, designed to positively influence attitudes and behaviour toward conflicts among Israeli and Palestinian students.

Israeli: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Palestinian: College of education and community training center

T-99-008 Family Unit Project 1999

Providing the basic training for women who will operate nurseries for children 1-3 years old and to assist the last year students in establishing family nursery units.

Palestinian NGO: Association for Children I.P.F.C.

Israeli NGO: Eden- Association for Promotion of Education

T-99-009 Twin Schools 1999

Continue school twin program with the aim to overcome prejudice and foster openness between Israeli / Palestinian students. Add one new age group and start to build a curriculum from the experience gained by the teachers.

Israeli school: Adam Jerusalem Waldorf School

Palestinian school: Freres School

T-99-010 Dialogue an Israeli-Palestinian Project 1999

Project is education towards peace by recognizing the equal right of both sides through joint activities between 100 Israeli and Palestinian youngsters and their parents and teachers.

Israeli school: Ironi Dalet High School

Palestinian school: Talitha Kumi School

T-00-007 Sharing Stories and Tunes

A project for 6 teachers & 40 9th graders to study, analyse and present their surroundings through music, art and making a joint film during 16 joint meetings.

Israeli school: Charles E. Smith High School of the Arts

Palestinian school: Dar Al-Kalima School

Youth

Y-96-004 Youth Leaders' Seminar and Camp in Norway

A camp in Norway for Palestinian, Israeli and Norwegian youth on issues like peace, environment, communication, education and employment. The participants were meant to act as youth leaders on the Youth Network for Peace Summer Camp (a project that was later cancelled).

Norwegian NGO: Landsorganisasjonen i Norge

Y-96-006 Dialogue - An Israeli-Palestinian Project

Project to train Palestinian Youth to become summer camp counsellors, to develop recreational opportunities and improve the morale of Palestinian Youth in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Introduce Palestinian and Israeli-Arab counsellors to one another and establish a basis for future contact and cooperation between them, and to enable Palestinians and Israeli - Arabs to meet each other and learn about each others society.

Palestinian NGO: Arab Youth movement

Y-96-008 Gaza - Tel Aviv Youth Encounters

Series of meetings between young people from Gaza and Tel Aviv. The youth are recruited from different school classes, and each meeting has new participants in addition to a core group of youth from both sides.

Israeli NGO: Gaza - Tel Aviv Youth Encounters

Palestinian NGO: The Palestinian Movement for Peace

Y-97-001 Pen Pal Project

This project let 500 Israeli and Palestinian teenagers produce postcards they photographed themselves. The postcards will be exchanged with "Pen Pals" from the other community and may start long lasting friendship relations.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Peace Movement

Israeli NGO: Studio Eytan Shouker

Y-97-002 Youth to Youth

A human rights education project involving adolescents in the work of the organisations and creating dialogue between the two groups of youngsters.

Israeli NGO: Defence for Children International (DCI)

Palestinian NGO: LAW - Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights

Y-97-004 Democracy in the Schools

Twin school partnership between two schools and professional cooperation between their teachers.

Palestinian school: Hope Flowers Schools

Israeli school: The Democratic School of Hadera

Y-97-005 Joining Hands in Science

Bring mobile interactive science exhibitions from Israel Museum of Science to Ramallah for an exhibition, and to train Palestinian students on the creative use of exhibits.

Palestinian NGO: Al-Mawrid - Teacher Development Center

Israeli NGO: The Israel National Science Museum

Y-97-006 Palestinian - Israeli Dialogue

School Twin project involving teachers and pupils in joint meetings, 80 volunteers participate.

Israeli school: Ironi Dalet High School

Palestinian school: Talitha Kumi School

Y-97-007 Leadership Training in Dialogue Activity

Training course to prepare a cadre of youth counsellors from both sides capable of implementing dialogue programs between Israeli and Palestinian youth.

Palestinian NGO: Peace Now Youth

Y-97-010 Palestinian-Israeli training in conflict resolution: A seminar for university students

A six months' program to promote tolerance, dialogue and co-operation among Palestinian and Israeli students, gathering 30 participants.

Israeli NGO: Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace

Palestinian NGO: ADEL-Inst. for Democracy and Conflict Resolution

Y-97-012 Creating a Peaceful Future

Palestinian and Israeli high school students to meet through meetings and through the Internet (i.e. e-mail).

Israeli NGO: Ironi Dalet High School

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Youth Exchange Center-PYEC

Y-97-013 Seminar Series for Young Adults

Monthly weekend seminars with 45 participants from Israel, West Bank and Gaza, belonging to - respectively - Judaism, Islam and Christianity to discuss interfaith topics.

Palestinian NGO: Al-Liqa Center for Religious Studies

Israeli NGO: Israel Interfaith Association

Y-97-014 Rotary Network for Youth

The Norwegian Secretariat helped Skøyen Rotary Club to organize meetings between Israeli and Palestinian youth having been in Norway at summer school, with a view to establish a regional Rotary network.

Norwegian NGO: Skøyen Rotary Club

Y-98-003 Leadership training program for Israeli Jews, Israeli Arabs & Palestinian

Project to conduct monthly meetings between leaders of 3 youth movements and meetings among youth group members including 2 weekend retreats.

Palestinian NGO: Arab Youth movement

Israeli NGO: Hashomer Hatzair

Palestinian NGO: The Independence Youth Union (IYU)

Y-98-007 Creating a Peaceful Future - An Israeli-Palestinian Project

Project for meetings between 60 Israeli and Palestinian youth. Combines 4 meetings and seminar with communication through the Internet.

Israeli NGO: Ironi Dalet High School

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Youth Exchange Center-PYEC

Y-98-014 Leadership training program for Palestinian-Israeli youth

Project for youth leadership consisting of monthly courses of 6 hours each for a duration of 6 months. Covering topics such as leadership, theory of leadership, psychological leadership, social studying economics, management and leadership, women leadership.

Israeli NGO: The Histadrut Jewish-Arab Institute

Palestinian NGO: Women Programme Center

Y-98-015 Youth leadership for co-existence

Project for 30 teenage youths consisting of six 1-day seminars and 3 trips. Seminars include lectures, discussion and exercises, and cover topics of getting to know each other, personal identity, culture, nationality, democracy and civil rights. Trips are to northern Israel, West Bank and Gaza.

Palestinian NGO: Nablus Youth Federation

Israeli NGO: The Social Development Committee of Haifa

Y-98-021 Palestinian-Israeli Youth Magazine

Project to establish a youth magazine produced bi-monthly with distribution of 10,000 copies. Editorial board of 10 youths from each side will research, write and edit the magazine, and have editorial meetings once a week.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Peace and Friendship Center

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Peace Movement

Israeli NGO: WINDOWS Channels for Communication

Y-98-025 Youth for Peace - Face to Face

Project to merge seminars and dialogue sessions with activities of interest for teenage participants, including exchange visits, exploring the meaning of peace to each group, and discussing the following themes: the meaning of popular peace, how the youth can have a positive effect on the peace process, entertainment as an index of quality of life, the cleaning campaign and plant and maintain an olive tree.

Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Peace & Friendship Center

Israeli NGO: Rapprochement Dialogue Center

Y-98-034 Pen Pal Project & Pen Pal Exhibition

Project to continue Pen Pal program established in 1997 and hold an exhibition of the program. Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Peace Movement
Israeli NGO: Studio Eytan Shouker

Y-99-001 Pen Pal Project & Pen Pal Exhibition Continuation

To hold different exhibitions in Jerusalem, Ramallah and Gaza.
Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Peace Movement
Israeli NGO: Studio Eytan Shouker

Y-99-002 Peace Guardian Project

To bring 40 politically aware Israeli and Palestinian teenagers from the Gaza region to meet in Gaza and Kerem Shalom near the Egyptian-Israeli-Palestinian border. Visit each others community, culture exchange and support for the peace process.
Israeli NGO: Hashomer Hatzair
Palestinian NGO: National Movement for Change (NMC)

Y-99-003 Development of Student Leadership to Promote the Peace Accords

Recruit 60 Israeli/Palestinian students from the periphery areas, which would promote the peace accord. Two workshops and a conference.
Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Neve Shalom / Wahat Al-Salam
Palestinian NGO: Palestinian Peace Movement

Y-99-016 1999 Youth Leadership Project

A video production focuses on ideas of 20 Israeli and Palestinian students about culture, religion and future dreams for 40. Use the films in a school program to discuss stereotyping and create a better understanding based on facts and reality.
Palestinian NGO: Nablus Youth Federation
Israeli NGO: The Social Development Committee of Haifa

Y-00-001 Community Cooperation

A core group of 12 young adults working as volunteers in the implementing organizations will learn project management, build working relations and develop and implement two sub-projects. One project is to increase the awareness of the Israeli public to the situation for refugees, through a mobile exhibition touring Israeli high schools. The other project will raise awareness of human rights in a historical perspective between Palestinian and Israeli young adults.
Israeli NGO: BINA-Center for Jewish Identity and Israeli Culture
Palestinian NGO: Yaffa Cultural Center

Y-00-002 Training Youth for Civil Society and Democratic Behaviour

30 Israeli and Palestinian young adults will meet for 2 days seminars, one in Gaza and one in Israel.
Palestinian NGO: Community Training Center and Crisis Management
Israeli NGO: Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Y-00-004 A step up to Co-existence Building Palestinian-Israeli Relationships through Wall Climbing

Engage 40 young Palestinians and Israelis in activities that are designed to build personal relationships and where they need to build trust and cooperation between each other. The medium through which this will be done is the sport of wall climbing.

Palestinian NGO: Abna El-Quds/Community Care Institution

Israeli NGO: To the Top Climbing Walls, Ltd.

Y-00-007 Summer Camp 2000 for Co-Existence and Art

Apply funds for one (among several) summer camp for 70 children age 9-14 from Israeli Jewish and Arab communities and from Palestine.

Israeli/Palestinian NGO: Al Abdaa Society

Israeli NGO: Andomela Art and Counselling

Palestinian NGO: El Maqdesieh

“Larger Projects”

L-99-002 Cross-Border Classrooms: A School-to-School Program

‘Cooperation North’ has agreed to build an educational component and school exchanges into their program. This component will bring together staff and student from Israeli and Palestinian governmental schools to work on education issues of mutual concern. As a first objective, it is suggested to focus on environment and technology. The Palestinian Ministry of Education has consented to the participation by government schools to the program.

Palestinian partner: Jenin Governorate

Israeli partners: The Regional Council of Gilboa, Regional Council of Beit Shean, and Municipality of Haifa.

L-99-005 The Palestinian-Israeli Business Exchange

The project consists of organizing meetings between Palestinian and Israeli enterprises within the textile and high-tech/ software industrial sectors, and possibly later within agriculture and tourism. A program for women business leaders will also be developed. They will conduct research to explore the ongoing cooperation within those fields and explore the interest and new possibilities of joint ventures on both sides. The meetings will enhance information sharing among the participating enterprises with a view to increase economic cooperation and development of competence among Palestinian and Israeli business firms.

Israeli NGO: The Center for Jewish Arab Economic Development

Palestinian NGO: WAVE: The Palestinian Media Institute

L-99-007 Peace Index

The People to People Program in cooperation with the Tami Steinmetz Centre for Peace Research and the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC) have conducted two pilot surveys in february1997 and february 1999 addressing people's attitudes toward the peace process. On the experiences from those two pilots we have explored the possibility to develop regular polls. The two institutes would like to conduct three polls a year, beginning in December 1999, April 2000 and October 2000, followed by press conferences and a comprehensive report. The polls will each time be prepared in co-ordination with the People-to-People Program.

Palestinian NGO: Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre-JMCC.

Israeli NGO: Tami Steinmetz Centre for Peace Research –TSC

Appendix 2 Tables

Table 1 shows the seminars that have been held by the People-to-People Program in the period.

Table 1 Joint seminars for People-to-People organizations and activists

Year	NGO projects Approved/completed	Joint Seminars
1996-97	48 / 36	1) June 19, 1997: All Palestinian organizations, Ramallah 2) September 16, 1997: All Israeli organizations, Neve Shalom 3) December 17-18, 1997: All organizations and representatives of the three authorities, Gaza
1998	41 / 36	
1999	47 /	1) February 23: All organizations, Ramallah 2) April 29-30: School twinning and education, Jerusalem (Tantur) 3) September 5-6: Adult dialogue and seminars, Neve Ilan 4) November 6-7: Youth, Gaza

Table 2 shows the steps from project application to a completed project. Initially, the joint planning group recommends a number of proposals, and in a subsequent Hub meeting several receive approval. After Hub approval, projects go into contract negotiations with the planning groups and receive funding if requirements are met. Funded projects in the table are those that received payments from Program funds. Cancelled projects were approved and/or funded but not completed. Two cancelled projects that received payments from the Program before they were cancelled are counted among the funded projects.

Table 2 Applications, approvals and completed projects in 1998.

Project category	Recommended	Approved by Hub	Funded	Cancelled	Completed
Youth	16	6	7	0	7
Culture	5	4	5	2	5
Environment	7	4	3	1	3
Adult	19	10	15	3	14
School twinning/education	7	7	6	1	6
Total	54	31	36	7	34

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