



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Simulation on The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

This simulation focuses on a U.S.-led effort to bring together many elements of both Israeli and Palestinian society to hold discussions about the needs and interests of both sides before entering into formal negotiations.

The simulation provides an opportunity to view this longstanding conflict from the perspectives of those immediately impacted by it: in particular, the communities of ordinary Israelis and Palestinians who have yet to see much benefit in their own lives from the peace process.



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Introduction

“Israelis need trust; Palestinians need hope.”

King Hussein of Jordan, 1999

Many involved in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process argue that previous attempts at peace have failed because the interests of ordinary citizens have not been considered. This meeting, therefore, is convened to help the mediators gauge the needs and interests of the people who will ultimately have to make any peace agreement work.

Participants will have the opportunity to role-play ordinary Israelis and Palestinians engaged in discussions about the conflict, the peace process, and the potential impact of real peace in their daily lives.

Participant Tasks

Participants' first task is to read the background documents and their role guides, and begin to understand the position and views of the role each will play. Throughout the simulation, each participant should:

- Try to understand the underlying reasons for the conflict
- Listen to the needs and interests of the parties on the other side of the divide
- Think about recommendations for the future course of the peace process

The simulation promises to be an enriching and rewarding experience. The importance of being prepared cannot be stressed enough. Participants should read all of the enclosed documents and take time to analyze the situation. It is important that participants remember which issues must be addressed, on which points flexibility is possible, and which issues are vital to a particular role's interests. With sufficient preparation, this simulation will provide participants with a firsthand experience of the challenges confronting those who tackle the issue of peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians.



Materials

Each participant should receive the following materials:

- The Introduction, Scenario and Background documents (pages 1 - 11)
- A role guide

Teachers may wish to make available as well the following items for this simulation:

- A classroom or conference room and sufficient breakout rooms or additional space for any needed sub-group meetings or other teamwork exercises
- An overhead projector or multimedia data projector and an overhead screen.
- Flip charts and flip chart paper (or white boards) and markers
- 1 pad and pen per student



Scenario

Ariel Sharon, the Prime Minister of Israel, and his Likud Party were quite successful in the recent elections, strengthening the conservative hold on the government. Mr. Sharon now has 50 days in which to put together a coalition government.

At the same time, the United States Government, in order to secure greater international support and cooperation for its efforts to change or overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq has decided to become more active regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Therefore, the United States, on behalf of what is termed the “Quartet” – i.e. representatives of the United Nations, European Union, Russia, and the United States – wants to begin a process that will lead to negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian leadership.

As a first step, the American representatives plan to convene a workshop that will bring together many elements of both Israeli and Palestinian society in order to begin to assess better the needs and interests of both sides before entering into any formal negotiations where, in the past, Israeli officials and Palestinian officials have usually been locked into rigid and fixed negotiating positions. One of the reasons that many former American officials and other critics of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process (also known as the Oslo process) believe that attempts at peace failed was that neither the average Israeli, nor the average Palestinian, ever saw much benefit in their own lives from the peace process.

Therefore, this meeting has been convened to help the mediators gauge the needs and interests of the people who will ultimately have to make any peace agreement work, who will be critical in creating an environment in which peace can be imbedded.

The meeting is being held at a time when violence is extremely high and there is little trust among both Palestinians and Israelis that either community truly wants peace. Hardliners on both sides who are less interested in compromise have gained in power and stature. The moderates who promoted compromise and peace have lost support and today have little credibility.

The workshop is meant to be an opportunity to hold a facilitated discussion of the needs and interests of Palestinians and Israelis. It is not meant to be a negotiation. Ultimately, it will be up to the representatives of each community to reach a settlement if possible.



Background

Current State of Affairs

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has pitted two peoples – Jews and Palestinian Arabs – against each other within the larger conflicts between Israel and its neighboring Arab states. The conflict is a struggle for land, existence, security, justice and acceptance – by both peoples. How can Israeli sovereignty and security be reconciled with the national aspirations and needs of the Palestinian people?

Most, including most Israelis now, believe that a Palestinian state is inevitable. But how can a stable, democratic and responsible Palestinian state be created that will ensure Israel's security? Although finding a Palestinian homeland will not guarantee Middle East stability, an unresolved Palestinian problem continues to exacerbate regional instability and has been a constant source of anti-Israeli sentiment in the region and increasingly has become a source of anti-Americanism in much of the Middle East.

In July 2000, the Oslo peace process seemed on the verge of success. Palestinian Authority (PA) Chairman Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak met with President Bill Clinton at Camp David. Arafat did not want to attend the meeting but was assured by Clinton that even if no agreement was reached, he would make sure Arafat was not blamed. Barak offered what many Israelis believe was the best offer possible. Israel claims that it was willing to give 97% of the land it occupied after 1967 to the Palestinians for an independent state. Some American analysts (including some who were at Camp David) claim that the amount was closer to 90%. But it was clear that Barak was prepared to go farther than had been expected. But, he also presented the offer more as an ultimatum – take it or leave it.

In addition, it was proposed that a number of Palestinian refugees might be able to return to their homes under a family reunification act; and an independent Palestinian state would be recognized by Israel, albeit one that was essentially demilitarized. Regarding the status of Jerusalem, Israel was less flexible and some outstanding issues remained. Palestinians claim that the offer was less than met the eye. Their major complaint was that Israel wanted to dictate the final settlement to the Palestinians. Israelis complained that Arafat never gave a counter-offer. Both leaders came to the summit from very weak positions at home. Arafat had little room for compromise while Barak felt he needed to make a major dramatic gesture, an all-or-nothing throw of the dice in order to change the dynamics back in Israel, and re-gain his eroding support by delivering a dramatic peace to his people. Because the summit ended without agreement, Barak asked Clinton to help him with the Israeli public. The American president made a few comments that implied the blame lay with Arafat not Barak, making it appear to most Palestinians that Arafat was being punished and that Clinton went back on his promise to protect Arafat from any blame. Most Israelis began to feel that the Palestinians were not interested in peace, no matter how many concessions Israel made.

A few months after the breakdown of the Camp David meetings, violence was sparked by a visit to the sacred religious site of the Temple Mount (known as al-Haram al-Sharif to Muslims) by Ariel Sharon. Palestinians demonstrated against the visit, which many thought was an attempt by Sharon and right-wing Israelis to stake a claim to this holy site. The demonstrators and police clashed and four Palestinians were killed. Since then, waves of violence, including the use of terror and suicide bombings by Palestinians and Israeli military incursions into Palestinian cities and homes have greatly escalated. There have been more Israeli victims of terror in the past two years than during any other point in the history of Israel. At the same time, far more Palestinians have lost their lives. And, the vast majority of victims remain the young and the defenseless. While some Israeli soldiers have lost their lives and many Palestinian bombers or members of radical and terror groups have been killed, most of those killed have been innocent civilians, on both sides of the conflict.



History of the Conflict

In many ways, the conflict existed before Israel's existence and before the establishment of most Arab states. At the end of the 19th century, Arabs and Jews coexisted in the lands of Palestine under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. By the end of the century, however, as a result of pogroms in Russian and Eastern Europe and some forms of persecution in Western Europe, Jews began to emigrate in increasing numbers. While the majority of migrant Jews went to America, increasing numbers came to Palestine with the hope of creating a Jewish homeland. This movement, known as Zionism, gained increasing support from Jews around the world. Still, by 1917, the number of Jews in Palestine was less than 10% of the overall population.

British policy, in particular, during World War I helped create the conditions for conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine and in most of the Middle East. During the war, Great Britain pursued a policy of urging open revolt by the Arabs against the Ottomans (allied with Germany and Austria) who ruled most of the Middle East, in return for British support of Arab independence. At the same time, to gain greater Jewish support for the allied war effort as well as leverage American Jewish pressure to get the United States to enter the war, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration which was a pledge to support a national homeland for Jews in Palestine.

After the war, the newly formed League of Nations determined that the peoples of the former lands of the Ottoman Empire were not ready yet for independence so the League gave Britain and France mandates to govern these territories until such time as independence was possible. During the time of the British mandate over Palestine, Jewish immigration increased dramatically, particularly after Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany. As more Jews came, often desperate to escape the Nazi killing machine and unwelcome in most other countries of the world, including, by this time, the United States, Arab discontent erupted into violence and open revolt.

After World War II, Britain decided to relinquish its mandate and turned Palestine over to the newly-formed United Nations. The United Nations, after studying the situation in Palestine, decided to establish an independent Arab state and an independent Jewish state. Jews accepted the plan but the Arabs did not. They argued that the Jews were a minority in Palestine and that the plan left many Arabs within the Jewish state but almost no Jews in the Arab state, which was inequitable. Fighting broke out immediately, and escalated into the first war between Israel and Arab states. After the fighting ended, the new state of Israel held 30 percent more territory than designated by the UN plan. More than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs had fled or were driven from the land Israel now controlled. Most ended up in Lebanon, Jordan, the Gaza Strip (controlled by Egypt) or the West Bank (controlled by Jordan).

In 1967, the ongoing tension between Israel and its Arab neighbors broke out into full-scale war. As a result of swift and stunning military victories, Israel occupied the Sinai Peninsula (Egyptian), the Golan Heights (Syrian), Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Each of these territories came under military occupation. The occupation led to over 200,000 Palestinians fleeing to Jordan. War broke out once again in 1973, when Egypt and Syria surprised Israel with a daring military attack. Ultimately, the Arab armies were pushed back, but it became clear to Israel that occupying land and military superiority did not insure security from attack. The 1973 war also brought about a much more engaged American foreign policy in working to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. In 1977, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin sought to secure the occupied territories permanently by launching a campaign to establish large numbers of Israeli settlements in the Arab lands occupied by Israel. He also responded to a peace overture from Egyptian President Anwar Sadat that led to the U.S.-brokered Camp David Accords which established peace between Israel and Egypt and returned the Sinai to Egypt.

As the occupation hardened and more Israeli settlements were established in the West Bank, and some in Gaza, Palestinians became increasingly defiant. Direct clashes between Jews and Palestinians escalated. In late 1987, Palestinian demonstrations increased dramatically and came to be called the "intifada" (Arabic for "resistance" or "shaking off"). Most of the West Bank and Gaza were in open rebellion, although mostly through demonstrations and stone-throwing;



Israeli military efforts to repress the demonstrations made the situation worse and turned international public opinion against Israel. Even Israeli domestic public opinion began to react negatively to the military response that often seemed to aim at children throwing rocks.

The cost of military occupation over the Palestinians was increasing, in terms of lives, financial resources, and damage to the Israeli psyche. Among the Palestinians, the fighting left hundreds dead. Thus, the continued military occupation of Gaza and the West Bank had become too costly for both Israelis and Palestinians. After the Gulf War, the Palestine Liberation Organization had been greatly weakened in international opinion because of its support for Iraq. On the other hand, Israel felt somewhat beholden to the United States for leading the coalition forces that expelled Iraq from Kuwait and also greatly weakened Saddam Hussein, considered by many in Israel as the greatest threat to the country's security.

In 1991, talks convened by the United States and the Soviet Union began in Madrid. An ongoing series of bilateral talks between Israel and its neighbors was initiated as well as a regional series of multilateral negotiations that included Israel and many states in the Middle East. Eventually, as it became clear that the talks between Israel and a Palestinian delegation were producing little result, Israeli authorities began meeting in secret with PLO officials in Norway. Eventually in 1993, the Oslo Accords, based on mutual recognition, were signed by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. In this peace agreement, Israel promised to withdraw from Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho as the first step of a process that could lead to Palestinian control and autonomy over the occupied territories. Additionally, Israel pledged to recognize the PLO, heretofore considered a terrorist organization, and negotiate with its leader as the representative of the Palestinian people. In return, the PLO recognized Israel.

Israel would retain control over external security and would be responsible for the protection of Jewish settlers in Jericho and the rest of the West Bank. Palestinians would acquire authority over education, health, social services, taxation, and tourism in the rest of the West Bank. Eventually Palestinians would elect a Self-Government Authority and establish a police force to provide security throughout the West Bank and Gaza. Permanent status negotiations during a five-year transitional period would begin and cover issues such as Jerusalem, refugees, security arrangements, borders, settlements, and the continued withdrawal of Israeli military troops.

One of the immediate consequences of the Oslo Agreement was a peace agreement between Israel and Jordan. Thus, Israel had treaties of peace and recognition with two of its neighbors, Jordan and Egypt, which made it more secure in the region. And, in fact, Israel did withdraw from Gaza, Jericho and eventually a few other areas of the West Bank. A Palestinian Authority was established under Arafat's leadership and it began to assume full responsibility for internal security, public order and civil affairs in most major cities. But the long-term issues were never resolved and over time each side failed to live up to some of the agreements. Israel never withdrew from many of the agreed areas. Despite responsibility for internal security, attacks on Israeli settlers in the occupied territories increased and, over time, attacks on Israeli civilians inside Israel escalated. The peace process had stalemated because of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the election of Benyamin Netanyahu, who believed that many of Israel's commitments under the Oslo Agreement were mistakes. Ultimately, the lack of progress by the Netanyahu government towards full peace led to his ouster and the election of Ehud Barak, who pledged to revive and continue the commitments made by Yitzhak Rabin in the Oslo Agreement.

By the time Barak and Arafat came together at Camp David in the summer of 2000, however, there was mutual distrust, and neither leader was sure that he had much public support at home. Arafat felt that if he compromised too much then the little support he maintained could wane and he might even be killed. Barak believed he no longer had the luxury of a long and drawn-out peace process that progressed in incremental steps. He felt that he needed to make peace as soon as possible. Arafat believed he needed to move gradually to prepare his public for any compromises regarding the Palestinian position. In addition, some analysts have argued that Israel was negotiating as though the conflict had begun in 1967 while the Palestinians were negotiating as though the conflict had begun in 1948. Thus, for Israel, refugees were not major



issues, and believed that its offer to cede over 90% of the land it seized in 1967 was extremely generous. For the Palestinians, the refugee issue was central and concern for the security of the state of Israel was not. The attempt by Israel to hold onto 10% of the West Bank without dealing with the refugee issue - a central concern of Palestinians - was viewed as greedy and in violation of UN resolutions. In addition, it appeared that Israel wanted to hold on to a number of the settlements in the West Bank. Part of the reason for the Palestinian mistrust of Israeli motives lay in the fact that in the previous year under the Barak government, settlements continued to be built at an alarming rate. Barak would later claim that he supported the settlement building to prevent conservative elements in Israel from derailing the peace process; after peace he claimed that he was prepared to dismantle these new settlements, and most others. Most Palestinians did not believe this and felt that the continued settlement policy along with the "take it or leave it" posture of the Barak government was meant to get the Palestinians to simply accept a state dictated by Israel, one that would be a patchwork, apartheid-like configuration.

Key Issues

Territory - Gaza is a small enclave that abuts the Mediterranean Ocean and Egypt to the southwest. It is one of the most densely populated areas in the world, with close to 1 million people. Poverty and unemployment are rampant. The Islamic Palestinian party, Hamas, is very strong in Gaza. There are only a few Jewish settlements in Gaza and they are guarded by thousands of Israeli soldiers.

The West Bank is situated west of the Jordan River and Dead Sea, and east of most of Israel. Israel has occupied the land since its victory in 1967. It is now home to 2.1 million people, over 200,000 of whom are Jewish settlers. Of the 1.9 million Palestinians, over 500,000 are refugees, many still living in refugee camps. The economy is largely agricultural. Until the past two years, both Palestinian and Jewish residents who live in the West Bank crossed the border into Israel each day to work. Now only Jews can do so.

Israel's population is about 6.6 million. 5.3 million are Jews and 1.3 million are Arabs and others (such as Druze). If Israel were to absorb the territories it currently occupies, its population would be about 9.7 million, with 4.2 million non-Jews.

Security - Israel says that it cannot accept Palestinian authority over the occupied territories if the security of Israeli citizens is not guaranteed. Thus, the Israeli government continues to hold Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority responsible for the attacks on civilians in Israel. In addition, even if the borders of Israel were more secure, Israel does not trust the Palestinians to ensure the security of Jewish settlements. On the other hand, Palestinians do not believe that Israel will ever allow true self-determination. Even as Israel withdrew troops from some major cities in the West Bank, soldiers continued to protect Jewish settlements. In fact, most Palestinians claim that there was never any Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, merely redeployment. For the past two years, to ensure security, the occupied territories have been under a near total "lock-down." Palestinians, who depend on work in Israel, cannot travel there any more. Often, Palestinians cannot travel from town to town. Israeli military checkpoints are omnipresent. Military curfews are often imposed and schools shut down frequently. The economic consequences for Palestinians have been devastating. The average income of a Palestinian in the occupied territories is now 10% of that of an Israeli.

More Israeli citizens have been killed by terrorist attacks under Prime Minister Sharon's term than under any other period of an Israeli prime minister. And, the retaliation for such attacks has usually been very strong, including the use of tanks and airpower in the West Bank and Gaza. While some of the major figures in radical Palestinian groups have been killed or captured, most of the victims have been Palestinian civilians. Israel continues to demand that the Palestinian



Authority be responsible for preventing terrorist attacks, yet the Israeli military has destroyed most of the infrastructure and capacity for Palestinians to act as a functioning government authority.

Settlements - The first settlements in the occupied territories sprang up shortly after the 1967 war, and were intended essentially as security outposts. A few religious groups set up Jewish settlements to stake a claim to what they thought were ancient biblical lands. By 1980, there were 12,000 settlers, most of whom were religious Jews who saw the land of the West Bank as the sacred biblical lands of Judea and Samaria. These settlers were encouraged to settle in the Palestinian territories by the Likud government in the late 1970s. In the 1980s, economic incentives were utilized by the government to entice new settlers to the land and the government itself was building many of the new Jewish communities in the West Bank. The number of settlers by 1990 was 76,000 and by 1995 was 146,000. Today, the figure is close to 210,000 settlers, almost all of whom are in the West Bank. Most of the settlements close to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv house Israelis who moved there because the housing was cheaper and the commutes to jobs easier. Many of those who live in more remote settlements strongly believe that Israel has a right to this land and have worked very hard to undermine any peace agreement that would cede territory to Palestinians.

Refugees and the right of return - Nearly three million Palestinians are refugees. Half a million live in the West Bank; the rest are mostly in refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan or are spread elsewhere in the Middle East and the west as part of a large Palestinian Diaspora. Most of the refugees either lost their homes in 1948 or are the descendants of those who lived within the borders of the state of Israel. Some became refugees after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967.

Jerusalem - In the original UN partition plan, Jerusalem was to remain under international authority because of its prime status for the religions of Judaism, Islam and Christianity. In 1948 the state of Israel controlled the western part of Jerusalem while Jordan controlled the eastern part, including the old city, home to the most important holy sites of the three religions. Israel wants to maintain sovereignty and control over all of Jerusalem while the Palestinians want sovereignty over East Jerusalem and to establish it as the capital of a Palestinian state. East Jerusalem is majority Arab but new Jewish settlements have been built to help solidify the Israeli claim to the whole city.

Incitement - Hateful language, propaganda, and images emanating from school books, the media, and from religious authorities on both sides have led to violence that has rapidly increased in the past two years. True peace and reconciliation are impossible in such an environment. A major part of the problem is that when the Oslo peace process was underway, many people in both communities saw little benefit from peace. From 1992-2000, the standard of living for the average Palestinian declined in half while Israelis saw a rise in violence during that same period.



Roles

The simulation is planned for approximately 27 - 30 participants including 13 Israeli roles, 13 Palestinian roles, and 1 to 4 American mediator roles.



Marwan

Note to Participant - You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.

You are a 24-year old who lives in Ramallah. Seven years ago you came to the United States and participated in a program called "Seeds of Peace." It brought Israeli and Arab young people together to learn about each other and explore how they could leave in peace together. You found the program to be very positive. You were seen as an equal and you could talk to Israelis as equals. You lived together, worked together, competed together, and shared your hopes and fears together. You believed in the prospects for peace. Yet, today, you have not been able to finish your studies in college as the Israeli authorities constantly shut it down. You have no job and some of your friends have been killed in clashes with the Israeli military or by Israeli shelling. Most of the time you cannot leave Ramallah and have to be off the street by nightfall. Some weeks the people of Ramallah cannot be outside at all.

You are increasingly incensed by the calls by the United States and Israel that the Palestinian people remove Yasser Arafat as leader of the Palestinian Authority. You have never particularly liked Arafat, because he is neither democratic nor an efficient administrator. However, for Israel and America to insist upon Arafat's departure as a precondition for reviving the peace talks is more evidence that they simply want to dictate terms to the Palestinians. America does not demand that Israel replace Ariel Sharon, even though he was responsible in part for the massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Lebanese refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. This was the conclusion of an Israeli commission. Calling on Arafat to resign or be replaced only strengthens his support among Palestinians.

In fact, the Israelis make no distinction between Palestinians who advocate violence and those who support peace efforts. Members of Seeds of Peace as well as moderate voices in the Palestinian community have been harassed or locked up along with those the Israelis suspect of terrorism. It is harder to retain friendships with Israelis these days – often they want moral equivalency. Your Israeli friends see both Jews and Arabs as victims who suffer equally now, despite the fact that far more Palestinians have been killed. And while you grieve for innocent Israelis, the Israelis could easily stop this escalating violence and make peace by withdrawing the military, dismantling the settlements and giving Palestinians all of their land in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, as called for by United Nations resolutions.



Rabab

Note to Participant - You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.

You are a teacher in secondary school in Bethlehem. You have long been an advocate for and organizer of Palestinian-Israeli exchanges. But you are now disillusioned. You now believe that Israelis participated in exchanges and peace groups only to feel good about themselves. They claimed to be open-minded and liberal but when any challenge to their easy lives occurred they retreated away from peace and demanded revenge and a strong military response to Palestinian unrest.

When you met with Israelis you were always expected to speak Hebrew or English. Most Israelis never bother to learn Arabic. It reinforces the inequities and imbalance of power between Israelis and Palestinians. It is particularly galling for you to go through Israeli checkpoints manned by Russian or Ethiopian Jewish émigrés who can barely speak Hebrew while you are fluent. Yet they are the ones with the guns.



Noha

Note to Participant - You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.

You are a doctor who has long been an advocate of non-violent demonstrations against the Israeli military occupation. You believe that the suicide attacks play into the hands of Ariel Sharon and the Israeli hard-liners. Palestinian violence gives Israel a pretext to keep its military in Palestinian territories and expand settlements. Soon these “facts on the ground” will become permanent so that Sharon can say that any Palestinian state will be nothing but a few cities linked together in order to ensure Israeli security.

You also feel that it is critical for the United States to realize that actively supporting a peace process is also important for moderate forces throughout the Middle East. Arabs will be much more likely to support action against an egregious human rights violator like Saddam Hussein if they see that the United States is also working for peace and human rights for Palestinians. In addition, the killing of Israeli civilians simply gives Israel the moral high ground and erodes international support for the Palestinian cause. One of the reasons for the success of the intifada in the 1980s was that the world saw defenseless boys being killed by Israeli tanks. The boys don't seem defenseless any more and they use tactics that repel most people.



Loay

Note to Participant - You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.

You are the leader of a mosque in Gaza. You feel that this struggle is all about power. Palestinians must find a way to counter the strength of Israel. The power asymmetry between Israel and Palestinians continues to grow. Palestinians have no recourse other than a kind of guerilla violence and they have no other means to challenge the mighty Israeli military machine.

In addition, the Jewish state was forced upon the Arab people, which you feel is a historical injustice. While you may not be able to make the state of Israel disappear, it is critical for Palestinians, not Israel, to determine the nature of a Palestinian state. It is also important, in your view, to show the Palestinian people that the Israelis can be scared, that Palestinians do not have to kow-tow before Israel as Yasser Arafat so often does. There is a strong alternative to his weak leadership: one that is rooted in religious faith and strength, not corruption and weakness.



Mohammed

Note to Participant - You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.

You are a professor of sociology at Bir Zeit University. As you see the problem, violence is fueled mostly by unemployed young men. This is true throughout the Arab world. It's also true in Pakistan; true in Indonesia; true in the Philippines; true in Sierra Leone or Colombia or Northern Ireland. Who is responsible for their plight? What can they do about it? Most live at home, have no visible means and thus often have no prospects for marriage. They are frustrated and angry, and easily exploitable and manipulated. It is easy to talk them into blowing themselves up for a cause. They make a name for themselves. Someone who had nothing can become somebody. Otherwise, there are so few opportunities to make a difference for one's people, for one's community, even for oneself.

The road to peace begins with economic development. You blame both the corrupt Palestinian government officials for enriching themselves off the suffering of the Palestinian people and the Israelis and international community for not helping to develop economically these lands while talking so much about peace. As poverty and unemployment have grown dramatically and with no end of the Israeli occupation in sight, most Palestinians have increasingly developed an attitude of: "if this is peace, I may be better off with war."

You find it laughable that the Israelis hold Yasser Arafat responsible for stopping the violence. Arafat is a prisoner in his own compound in Ramallah. He has no police force to issue an order to stop anything and he can do little to influence the people.



Dalia

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You are a writer from Nablus who asserts that women and children have suffered disproportionately from the violence in the occupied territories. You have no faith in the Palestinian leadership. Most Palestinians have become much poorer in the past few years, while Arafat and his cronies have greatly enriched themselves. If they won't look out for the people's interests, who will? The suicide bombers? The Islamic parties? The United States won't help. Most Israelis seem to support the military occupation and the daily humiliation of the Palestinian people.

Your father was a farmer who grew olives and grazed sheep on his land. That land was confiscated in 1984 for a Jewish settlement on a hill above Nablus. Your father had no recourse because some of his papers were missing as a result of the change of laws between the Ottoman Empire and the British Mandate and the subsequent wars. Your father lost everything and died soon thereafter.

You insist that the Israelis must withdraw from all the lands they occupied in 1967 – the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights – as called for in United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, and constantly reaffirmed by the United Nations to this day.



Khalil

Note to Participant - You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.

You were a young member of Arafat's Fatah party. You strongly supported the peace process at first. But you feel that Palestinians cannot be supplicants any more. It is better to have no peace than an unjust peace. If there is no hope, if peace does not have any payoff for common people, what good is it? So, perhaps an alternative path must be pursued – Islamic fundamentalists offer paradise after death and confrontation with those who are responsible for your plight, and will provide you with the socio-economic benefits you can't get any other way.

The Hezbollah fighters in Lebanon continued to attack Israeli troops in southern Lebanon and bomb Israel's northern border areas throughout the 1990s. Finally, in 2000, the Israeli military withdrew unilaterally with no Arab concessions. Ultimately, as was demonstrated in Lebanon, Israel has a breaking point and will not continue to see its soldiers and civilians killed. Continued violence seems to be the only thing to which Israel does respond.

You and other young people increasingly feel that Palestinians have lost their land, their ability to move about freely, and their dignity – they have nothing left to lose or give other than their lives.



Randa

Note to Participant - You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.

You work with refugees in a United Nations camp outside Jericho. Your concern is that peace is not possible without dealing with the needs of the refugees. When asked where they live, many older refugees will state that they live in Jaffa or Ramla, places in Israel, places they haven't seen in over half a century. Yet they will show you the key to their house that hangs on a chain around their neck. Even a young boy or girl will talk as if they are from a street in a town in Israel. The right of return for the refugees to their homes is acknowledged throughout the world in other conflicts by the international community and is critical for Jews in their relationship to Israel. Yet Palestinians are denied these rights.

Obviously after all these years, most Palestinians have no homes to return to, but an acknowledgement of that right is critical and just. And, if they cannot return home in actuality, then some form of compensation must be made. The international community must decide how to help the stateless refugees in places like Lebanon or elsewhere in the Middle East. When a Palestinian state is established, can the millions of refugees come there? The strain on poor resources and an overpopulated society will be enormous. But the refugees must be given some sense that they will be included in a future peace. Otherwise, they will have nothing to lose.

You have seen your niece killed in front of you by an Israeli missile. Your cousin was shot by Israeli soldiers. You see your own teenage children increasingly radicalized. They hate the Jews and hate their American sponsors.



Soha

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What bothers you most about many Israelis is that as they continue to persecute, humiliate and kill Palestinians, they constantly claim to be the victims. To you and your family, you feel that they have used this sense of victim-hood for 100 years. First, they were persecuted by the Europeans, then they were killed off by the Nazis. That is all true and very tragic, but what does this have to do with the Palestinian people? Why should Palestinians or Arabs be punished for the sins of the West? As tragic as the holocaust was, it is long over and now Israel and the Jewish people are very powerful. They continually cry “never again” and suffocate Palestinians with their great military might as if the impoverished, de-militarized Palestinians are any great threat to them.

All Palestinians want is their own land, their own homeland; surely, the Israelis, of all people, can understand that. Yet, Israel continues to build more settlements and take more Palestinian land to do so. Palestinian communities are increasingly cut off from each other, surrounded by rich, militarized Jewish settlements.



Mustafa

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You and your family live in East Jerusalem and run a hotel. Since September 2000, income has fallen nearly 75% as tourists avoid Jerusalem out of fear of violence. You are angry that the Jerusalem city government granted tax rebates to Israeli - but not Palestinian - hotel owners even though you are bound by Israeli laws and regulations. All of your children have lost hope and moved to Brazil or Canada. Everywhere you turn, you are humiliated by the Israeli authorities. You have to wait hours at any checkpoint and whether you are allowed to continue on your way seems to be a random decision. You are treated worse than a dog and made to humble yourself before young Israeli soldiers who assume that all Palestinians are terrorists.

You have just learned that a religious group of Jews wants to petition the government to condemn your hotel so they can ultimately move into it and set up a religious community in the center of Jerusalem. The old city of Jerusalem must be internationalized. The United Nations has called for this since 1948. In addition, East Jerusalem should be given to the Palestinian people as their capital. East Jerusalem has always been predominantly Arab. You like the old idea of a single shared city government for the municipality of Jerusalem with two separate capitals, the Israeli one in the west, the Palestinian one in the east. Jerusalem is special and so it should have the most unique status in the world.



Yusef

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You are a young man from Gaza. You are not a member of any of the Palestinian parties and represent an organization of sports teams in Gaza. You, and most of the young men you deal with, support the bombings inside Israel. You believe that this is a struggle for the future of Palestine, even if it is just one part of what used to be all the land of your people. You and your friends cheered on September 11th because it seemed to you that Osama bin Laden's actions are the only channel through which a young Arab can strike at the United States, disrupt its economy and symbols, and see it weep.

Going back to World War I, Palestinians and Arabs have simply been the victims of the politics and policies of the great powers. Americans want Middle Eastern oil so they oppress the Arab people, and Israel is their agent in doing so. Terrorism is the revenge of the weak. This is also why Saddam Hussein is strongly supported by many of your friends. He stands up to the West, unlike other, sycophantic Arab regimes. It is the weak against the strong and appeals to one's sense of martyrdom.



Aisha

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You are head of a Palestinian Human Rights organization. You know more families that have seen their children killed or lost relatives than you can count. You have strongly campaigned against what you feel are wholesale violations of human rights throughout the Palestinian territories. You are increasingly angry at the United States because you find it hypocritical when you constantly hear American rhetoric on human rights yet the United States turns its back on Israeli violations of human rights. Human rights and human dignity are insured not just in preventing killing, but rather by how people are treated. A Palestinian woman dies in childbirth inside an ambulance because Israeli soldiers will not let it pass; human life has become cheap.

Israelis humiliate Palestinians in almost every aspect of their daily lives. Schools are closed; buildings razed; land bulldozed – all in the name of security. There is almost nothing left for Palestinians to preserve – and Israeli policies strip Palestinians of almost all dignity. Young men are rounded up and held without charges or trials for months. Some are beaten. Most are innocent, but become scarred and resentful. Eventually they may become real terrorists and a real threat to Israelis. You feel increasingly that Israel has over the years brought much of the violence on itself through its treatment of the Palestinian people; Israeli policies have forged many of the bombers.



Ghassan

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You are an Israeli Arab from Haifa. You had never been politically active, but the violence of the past few years has scarred you. You have relatives who live in the West Bank but you had never really thought of their cause as your cause. But today, you are treated differently. Israeli Jews now think of you as the enemy. Some of the suicide bombers have been Israeli citizens; some of those killed by Israeli bullets have also been Israeli Arabs. You are increasingly torn. The Knesset tried to keep two Israeli Arab legislators from running for election, trying to brand them as traitors. No Arab legislator in the Knesset has ever been asked to join a government coalition even when they supported the government's policies.

You and most other non-Jewish citizens are not welcome to join the Israeli Defence Forces, your villages are provided second-rate services and your schools are inferior. You essentially feel like a second-class citizen in a self-described Jewish state. Yet, you have a much better life than your cousins in the Palestinian Authority. You have a job; your standard of living is five times what they have. Often in the past your cousins suspect you are soft and not a true Palestinian. In many ways, you are suspect in the eyes of all sides of the conflict.



Yossi

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You are a professor of history at Hebrew University. You are increasingly reminded of what former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir once said: "I don't hate the Arabs for what they do to us, but for what they make us do to them." That is how you feel now. Israel has no choice but to answer the Palestinian violence with strong military retaliation. This hurts Israel but you feel that there is no choice because the Palestinians still seem to want to destroy Israel. The destruction of Israel remains written in the PLO Charter to this day. Even if Israel gave back all of the territory from 1967, the Palestinians would simply want the rest of the land until all the Jews had been pushed back into the sea.

You were more tolerant and opposed to the policies of the government until the bombing of the cafeteria at Hebrew University, one of the few places Arab and Jew could come together without fear or prejudice. There is no safe haven any more. It seems that the only way Israelis can ever be safe again is to separate themselves completely from the Palestinians. There can be no return of Palestinian refugees. To absorb more Arabs into Israel would destroy the character and essence of the Jewish state. To let more refugees into the Palestinian territories would further radicalize them. They would be that much closer to the places they left in 1948, and would covet them and the destruction of Israel that much more.



David

Note to Participant - *You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.*

You are an American Jewish emigrant who came to Israel over 20 years ago. You wanted to live in a country that was built by Jews, for Jews. You wanted to help in building it and strengthening it even more. You moved into a settlement on the West Bank in order to help Israel lay claim to land that had been Jewish as far back as 3000 years ago. You and your fellow settlers vow never to give up land that rightfully belongs to the Jews – given to them by God.

The Arabs have demonstrated that they have no interest in living with Jews given the violence they perpetuate even when given areas of autonomy. They were given a chance to be peaceful and they failed. You, like many of your neighbors, wonder why the other Arab states do not accept the Palestinians. And, there already is a Palestinian state – in Jordan, where Palestinians are a majority of the population and where they have citizenship. There were never Palestinians before 1948, just Arabs. Now they claim a right as a people because their Arab brethren did not take most of them in, and have actually treated them worse than the Israelis ever have.



Rachel

Note to Participant - *You have been given this role to play for the simulation. This is meant to give you an identity and a perspective from which to discuss the critical issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians: land, security, refugees, Palestinian autonomy, Jerusalem, and incitement to hate and violence. Please stick to your role, express yourself about what you feel the needs and interests of you and your community are, be creative and have fun.*

You are with the Peace Now movement, which has always advocated an independent state for Palestinians and condemned the Israeli military occupation. You feel that this has become a huge tragedy because in many ways, both sides are right; both have legitimate claims. Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first president, admitted that the Jews were no more morally right than Arabs. Injustice, however, was unavoidable and the decision would be whether to be unjust to Jews or Arabs. Zionists believed they had nothing else left; they couldn't stay in Europe and weren't wanted elsewhere.

So you want to find a way to make this work. If only the Palestinians would stop the terror and the Israelis would leave the settlements and the West Bank. You feel that military occupation has eroded the special nature of Israel. Prior to twenty years ago, Israel was the underdog and there was a sense of morality and right in its military campaigns for survival in the Middle East. Today, Israel seems like a bully too often.



Simona

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You are a child of Jewish parents who were forced out of Iraq in the 1950s. One of your greatest fears is that Yasser Arafat and most Palestinians acknowledge that Israel exists as a fact but not that Israel has a right to exist. Your concern is that Arabs only acknowledge this because they cannot do anything about it – for now. But if they could, they would destroy Israel because in their minds Israel has no right to exist as a Jewish state. Until the Palestinians condemn the terrorist attacks and acknowledge the rights and suffering of Jews instead of focusing only on their own sense of victimization, there can be no discussion of peace.

You don't feel that the Palestinians should be expelled from the land nor should they face discrimination. They must, however, realize they are a minority in a Jewish state. As long as Palestinian Arabs recognize that Israel is a Jewish state and that Jews have a right to a state in their ancestral homeland, as ordained by God, then they are free to live here equitably and are free to share in the prosperity and future of this state, but as a minority. The Palestinians, through their continued terrorism are telling Israelis: "you will never be safe in what you claim to be your home."

You have friends who have been killed by bombs this past year, including the 14-year old daughter of your neighbor. You are incensed that the Palestinians use their own young to kill young Israeli children. Targets such as buses, discos, pool halls, pizza parlors, even schools, show the lack of respect for human life by the Palestinians. No one can be allowed to threaten Israel, because the very existence of the Jewish people is at stake.



Adina

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You are a newspaper reporter who finds it hard not to support the retaliation against the Palestinian Authority because it seems that Arafat supports the terrorism. Yitzhak Rabin, when he was Prime Minister, condemned the attacks of right wing or fanatical Israelis. He said of them that they were not true Israelis and they would not stand in the way of peace when he pronounced, "We spit you out." Why won't Arafat "spit out" the terrorists and the Palestinian extremists?

Until new leadership of the Palestinians emerges, Israel should refuse to negotiate anything. Public opinion surveys by your newspaper reveal that a strong majority of Israelis would support an independent Palestinian state but also support the strong military crackdown on the Palestinians by the Israeli government. Most Israelis despair that the violence has no end. The Palestinians will not stop killing them and they must go on killing Palestinians to show that terrorism does not pay.



Avner

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You are an orthodox rabbi. For many years you constantly heard that the basis of peace between Israel and its neighbors, between Israel and the Palestinians was “land for peace.” That was how Israel made peace with Egypt and Jordan. Ehud Barak was prepared to give back almost all of the West Bank and Gaza, even though that could have made Israel more vulnerable. For the Palestinians, however, the formula seems to be “land for words.” The Palestinians’ only obligation to a peace process seemed to be to show up and receive concessions. Arafat would never acknowledge Israel’s right to exist and he would only say he recognized Israel in English. Whenever he speaks in Arabic it is in very anti-Israeli tones. How can Israel make peace under such conditions?

Israel cannot make itself vulnerable and then see how the Palestinians act. Israel needs guarantees up front. Jews have no other homeland. Israel’s very existence is at stake. For the Palestinians, as Arabs, they can fall back on their Arab cousins as they have in the past. Jordan has a majority of Palestinians. You are also very concerned that Judaism not be displaced from Jerusalem. Israel must retain sovereignty. The prospect of returning to Jerusalem is in the heart of every Jew. It is the center of the Jewish religion. Muslims claim Jerusalem as being equally holy, but in fact Mecca and Medinah are far more important in Islam. Jews allow Muslims to worship on the Temple Mount, yet periodically the Muslims throw rocks down on the Jewish worshippers at the Western (Wailing) Wall. Jews still are not accepted or allowed to live in peace, even in their own state.



Chaim

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You are the owner of a small business. Your parents were Holocaust survivors who emigrated from Europe. They were strong believers in the equality of all people and felt that Jews had a special obligation to seek justice, something denied to them in Europe. But the rise in terror bombings and the loss of innocent civilians have led you to question whether Israel can afford to make any concessions to the Palestinians.

On the other hand, the continuing violence has had a devastating effect on the Israeli economy. Your business is feeling the effects. You live in a country where your family never seems safe and secure; you worry that you may not soon be able to provide for them as well. You are concerned that the Jewish people are being threatened unlike any time since World War II. At the same time, you cringe whenever you see the power of the Israeli military machine arrayed against civilians. Yet the terrorists hide among and behind the Palestinian civilians.



Yoram

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You are a former military commander who served in the West Bank in the 1980s and 1990s. As you wrote to your superior officer recently, "In my 20 years in the West Bank...it became clear to me that no man or woman with a decent job and hope for the future ever agreed to be a suicide bomber." Economic growth is critical to turning Palestinian youth away from terrorism. Israel can never escape the problems of the West Bank and Gaza by simply turning the screws on the Palestinians. Even if Arafat goes, what can any new leadership provide for the Palestinians?

You believe that Israel has to change its policy of occupation in two ways. The first is to find a way to respond without using the military all the time. The military is trained to kill and do battle. Yet Israel faces more of a policing problem. In addition, the young soldiers are not trained to handle rock-throwing youths. You feel that the youth of Israel has been put in a terrible situation – in the midst of a population that hates them and uses unconventional means to challenge Israeli authority. Because they are dealing with a civilian population and because the threats to Israelis come from civilians not uniformed soldiers, the Israeli forces tend to treat all Palestinians as potential enemies or as someone who is a killer. Thus, all Palestinians tend to be humiliated by the occupation and the many checkpoints and border patrols.



Rebekkah

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You teach school in a community near Jerusalem. A suicide bomb was detonated on a bus in your town and a sniper killed two young women near the school. Your main concern is for the tremendous psychological damage that the violence is doing to your students. The children are being traumatized. The learning in the classroom has declined, attention spans are shorter, and children are scared. But you have also noted that for many of the children, they talk about Palestinians or Arabs as the enemy. "Those people" or "them" is often used. All Arabs seem bad or evil to them. For others, there is confusion about why anyone wants to hurt them or their family. As one little girl asked, "if we stop hurting them, will they stop hurting us?"



Leah

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As a leader of the union of transportation workers, including bus drivers, what bothers you most about the Palestinians is that they don't seem to see Israelis as humans who can suffer, who have fears and concerns. When Israelis are killed, or even when Americans were killed on September 11th, they cheer. Some of them deny that the Holocaust even occurred. Israelis need to be acknowledged as a people. That was why Israel could make peace with Anwar Sadat, with Egypt. Sadat came to Jerusalem, the very center, the very symbol of Judaism, and said he was willing to make peace. He broke down the psychological walls between Egypt and Israel, between Arabs and Jews. Shortly after the Jordanian-Israeli peace agreement a Jordanian border guard went berserk and killed some young Israelis on a picnic. King Hussein visited the families of the victims and grieved with them. He made a connection with the Israeli people as human beings. Yasser Arafat will occasionally condemn terror attacks but he never grieves for the victims; he never makes gestures to Israel that acknowledge Israeli needs and fears. How can Israel ultimately make peace with such a man?



Maya

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You come from a large agricultural community in northern Israel. You take great pride in how the Zionist dream of a Jewish homeland bloomed from the desert. The Jewish people have built a wonderful, prosperous, and modern state – something the Arabs throughout the Middle East can only dream of doing. In the territories of the West Bank and Gaza, the Arabs were much better off under Israel than under the Jordanians and Egyptians. And, Arab citizens of Israel have a far better standard of living than in almost any country in the Middle East. Your crops rely on water resources from aquifers that have sources in the higher elevations of the Palestinian territory of the West Bank. You are concerned that a future Palestinian state could threaten your water supply. Any peace must place numerous conditions on the Palestinians, including disarmament and a guaranteed water supply.

On the other hand, you were better off when you could rely on Palestinian laborers for some of the work in your community, particularly construction. They were cheaper and plentiful. In addition, because the image of Israel has suffered greatly in the international community, Israeli agricultural products are less marketable, particularly in Europe and some of the neighboring states in the Middle East. You always got along well with your Arab neighbors and the Arab workers. But those days are over. There is no civility any more and you are now enemies. Perhaps the solution is a wall around the West Bank, with a few open, but well-guarded gates. “Good fences make good neighbors.”



Sasha

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You and your family immigrated to Israel from Russia 15 years ago. A few months ago a suicide bombing in a pool hall ripped through your neighborhood, killing 24 of your neighbors and friends, most of them recent émigrés to Israel. You are a leader in the union movement. On the one hand, you strongly support the tough policy of the Sharon government in its retaliation for Palestinian violence. In your mind, the Palestinians must see that violence does not pay. If Israel were to return to the negotiating table now, the Palestinians would view this as a victory for violence and would use renewed violence any time they wanted to extract a concession from Israel. Therefore, you feel that only after the violence has stopped for a long time, can Israel sit with the Palestinians again.

The lack of any progress has, however, greatly hurt the economy. Half of your union members are unemployed or underemployed. Perhaps Israel and some future Palestinian state should just be walled off. Most of the settlers are mostly religious fanatics anyway, so their communities are not worth saving. You are also concerned for the price tag of any compensation to the refugees. If they have to be paid something, it must be by the international community, and the refugees must stay where they are.



Related Web Links

Related Institute Resources

The Israeli Military and Israel's Palestinian Policy: From Oslo to the Al Aqsa Intifada <http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pwks47.pdf>

The Palestinian Reform Agenda <http://www.usip.org/pubs/PeaceWorks/pwks48.pdf>

Healing the Holy Land: Interreligious Peacebuilding in Israel/Palestine <http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pwks51.html>

The Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum on Implementation Timeline of Outstanding Commitments of Agreements Signed and the Resumption of Permanent Status Negotiations http://www.usip.org/library/pa/israel_plo/sharm_el-sheikh_09041999.html

Other Web Resources

Israel/Palestine Relations and the Middle East Peace Process <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/mideast/cuvm/lsr-Arab.html>

BBC: *In Depth – Israel & the Palestinians* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/middle_east/2001/israel_and_the_palestinians/default.stm

BBC: *History of Middle East conflict* http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in_depth/middle_east/2000/mideast_peace_process/340237.stm

United Nations: Question of Palestine <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/qpal/index.html>

NPR: The Mideast: A Century of Conflict <http://www.npr.org/news/specials/mideast/history/>

The Palestinian Refugee Problem and the Right of Return <http://wcfia.harvard.edu/papers/98-07.pdf>