

# ANNA LINDH- SEMINAR

Peace Initiatives in the Middle East  
25–26 of March 2010



PALE

Peace b  
not b



STILL

נאדם

BREAK

THROUGH

Walls  
built by bridges





Anna Lindh, former Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs. PHOTO: OLA TORKESSON/SCANPIX

## Anna Lindh seminars

Anna Lindh, former Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, was a brave and devoted politician and internationalist, deeply engaged in international matters and human rights, and a whole world mourned her unexpected death at the hand of an assassin on 11th of September 2003.

To commemorate Anna Lindh, the Swedish Social Democratic Party together with the Olof Palme International Center, organise an annual seminar on international issues of concern.

Among the issues that have been discussed are global north-south cooperation, the UN trade and development policy, and various aspects of the conflict in the Middle East.

### **PREVIOUS ANNA LINDH SEMINARS**

**2004:** *Strengthening democracy in a new global order*

**2005:** *Next step after Gaza*

**2006:** *A Labour Movement perspective on globalization*

**2007:** *Religion and Globalization*

**2008:** *Women Power in the Middle East*

**2009:** *EU and its global neighbourhood*

*Read more about Anna Lindh and her work on the website of Anna Lindhs Memorial Fund: [www.annalindhsminnesfond.se](http://www.annalindhsminnesfond.se)*

# Foreword

Often when we speak about peace in the Middle East we meet scepticism and doubt. There have been so many attempts to reach a peace agreement between Israel and Palestine. So far none have been successful. So many dreams of peace have been crushed. We know that peace in the Middle East is not only a dream of ours – and many others – but also a real possibility.

This is why we organized the Anna Lindh seminar 2010 on the topic Peace Initiatives in the Middle East. The seminar focused on concrete ideas for achieving peace. More than 35 young social democratic leaders from all over the world participated in the seminar and its discussions. The many and interesting speakers, coming from different backgrounds and expertise, provided plenty of food for thought. And action!

Anna Lindh was a firm believer in peace in the Middle East. In her speech at the Olof Palme Prize Ceremony 2003, that was rewarded to Hanan Ashrawi for her consistent and brave struggle for human rights and democracy in the Middle East, Anna Lindh said:

**“Both Israelis and Palestinians must realize that either they win the peace together – or they both will lose it.”**

During the 2010 Anna Lindh seminar we were strengthened in our conviction that peace in the Middle East is feasible. Particularly when listening to the young generations of Israelis and Palestinians who participated. This booklet is a documentation of the seminar. Read it, become inspired and use it in your studies and activities for peace in the Middle East. We will do so. Because we know that this dream of peace is a possible dream!



PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE

Ann Linde, *International Secretary of the Social Democratic Party*

Jens Orback, *Secretary General of the Olof Palme International Center*



PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE

## PASSION, RESPECT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

There is no peace without development. There is no development without peace. And there is no lasting peace or sustainable development without respect for human rights.

With these words, Mr Jan Eliasson opened the 2010 seminar in memory of his former colleague and friend Anna Lindh.

“These three pillars are absolutely fundamental for solving international conflicts”, he concluded. “If one of them is weak, the others are also weak. As I worked close to Anna Lindh, I know that she certainly shared this view.”

Mr Eliasson, a very experienced Swedish top-level politician and a former colleague of Anna Lindh, is the President of the Anna Lindh Foundation. He is also a very experienced mediator in international conflicts, such as the conflicts in Iran and Iraq and in Sudan and Darfur.

In his speech, Mr Eliasson gave some good advice on how to succeed as a mediator in international conflicts.

Issues to consider when planning for a mediation mission:

### **Analyse the political will to negotiate**

“A political will to negotiate is fundamental. If a mediation mission does not succeed, the problem is often a lack of political will – even if the parties say the reverse.”

## **Confidence building measures**

“Building confidence is crucial for successful mediation. Hatred, suspicion etc. among the parties involved in the conflict must be lowered, and the road for politically necessary decisions prepared.”

## **National and international strategy**

“There need to be strategies for both national and international stakeholders. For example which international actors can influence the situation and how can they be reached? Which national actors need to be involved? Is there a need for training and education in order to get the national public onboard?”

The national and international strategies must convey the same message. Sometimes there is a gap – and then the mediation will not work.”

## **Cultural sensitivity**

“You have to get to know the conflicting parties in terms of history, traditions, religion etc., all these aspects of life that form the base for a solution. There also has to be respect for the motives that brought the parties into this appalling situation; even if you yourself find them irrelevant or disgusting. The more you know about the parties driving forces, the better the mediation will work.”

**“The more you know about the parties driving forces, the better the meditation will work.”**

## **Personal relations**

“Develop personal relations with those who can influence the situation. Trust and confidence on a personal level is tremendously important for coming forward and solving problems. Key factors to consider when the parties actually are negotiating.”

## **Use of words**

“Talking is the main tool in mediation. Using words in an innovative way can make the conflicting parties move on and untie difficult knots. In one situation we could come to an agreement about distributing aid to civilians by creating what we called a “humanitarian corridor”. Using this concept instead of “cease fire” turned the whole situation.”

## **Timing**

“In order to keep the dialogue going, start with the less difficult issues and move gradually to the more complex ones. Use one or two main arguments at a time – not all at once! Save some arguments for really crucial moments, when you have to land on the right side of the fence. And be extremely careful with your final position. It has to be a well analyzed position and presented at the exact moment.”

## **Personal relations and cultural sensitivity**

“Also when actually negotiating, personal relations and cultural sensitivity are absolutely crucial. For personal relations I would go so far as to say that it is the most important issue of all. It can sometimes be hard to mobilize sympathy for the conflicting parties, but trust is essential. One bit of doubt that you are telling the truth and you are in trouble.”

Mr Eliasson concluded that “Without passion, nothing will happen, and without compassion, the wrong things will happen.”

# PEACE IS POSSIBLE – IF WE ARE READY

Peace negotiations between Israel and Palestine need not start from zero. The Arab Peace Initiative and the Geneva Initiative are two full scale peace proposals already at hand, addressing all issues of concern. Peace is possible – if we are ready, was the message when representatives for the two initiatives Arab Peace Initiative and Geneva Initiative presented their peace plans at the Anna Lindh seminar.

## THE ARAB PEACE INITIATIVE

“The proposal from the Arab states is very simple: If Israel is willing and able to go through this comprehensive peace settlement, the Arab states are willing to establish full and normal relations with Israel. It is a historical step to offer such a concrete political commitment from all our countries combined”, said Mr Mohammed Osama Taha Elmagdoub, Ambassador at the Embassy of Egypt in Stockholm, in his presentation of the Arab Peace Initiative.

The Arab Peace Initiative, announced in 2002 and reconfirmed in 2007, states that if Israel withdraws to the borders of the 4th of June 1967 and facilitates the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, then the Arab

countries are committed to signing a peace agreement and establishing normal relations with Israel.

“There is no lack of peace initiatives,” continued the Ambassador. “There seem to be a lack of political will. Every time the parties get close to a solution, something occurs that spoils the possibility of actually taking the final step”.

His conclusion was that “there is no lack of ideas, solutions or initiatives for peace but a lack of political will from some Palestinian fractions, some Israeli fractions and significant parts of the international community.”

Dr Samih El Abed is also engaged in the Geneva Initiative and stated that “these two peace initiatives are very close”.

He recommended looking at the problem from three dimensions: the fact that both Palestinians and Israelis have internalized the conflict, that it also affects the already instable region and, thirdly, that the conflict also has global implications. “All these dimensions are related and a solution must address them all”, he concluded, and underlined the need for international support. “So far, the US has been the major player, and the rest of the international community has stepped aside. But we do need you all to be part of the process.”



Nidal Foqaha and  
Michal Radoshitzky  
PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE



# FACTS ON THE ARAB PEACE INITIATIVE

Adopted by the Arab Summit in Beirut 2002

## **Main components**

Requests Israel to reconsider its policies and declare that a just peace is its strategic option as well.

Full Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967 as well as the remaining occupied territories in the south of Lebanon.

A just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem in accordance with UN Resolution 194.

The acceptance of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories occupied since June 1967, with East Jerusalem as its capital.

## **Consequently, the Arab countries affirm the following**

Consider the Arab-Israeli conflict ended, enter into a peace agreement with Israel, and provide security for all the states of the region;

Establish normal relations with Israel in the context of this comprehensive peace;

Assures the rejection of all forms of Palestinian patriation which conflict with the special circumstances of the Arab host countries;

Calls upon the government of Israel and all Israelis to accept this initiative in order to safeguard the prospects for peace and stop the further shedding of blood, enabling the Arab countries and Israel to live in peace and good neighbourliness and provide future generations with security, stability and prosperity;

Invites the international community and all countries and organisations to support this initiative;

The forming of a committee composed of some of its concerned member states and the secretary general of the League of Arab States, to gain support for this initiative particularly from the United Nations, the Security Council, the United States of America, the Russian Federation, the Muslim states and the European Union.

*Source/read more: [www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/league/peace02.htm](http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/league/peace02.htm)*



## GENEVA INITIATIVE

”The Geneva Initiative builds on the facts that there is a solution, and that there is no other way to peace than negotiations”.

Four representatives for the Geneva Initiative were present at the seminar, Mr Nidal Foqaha, head of the Palestinian Peace Coalition, Geneva Initiative, Ramallah, Ms Michal Radoshitzky, Director of Foreign Relations, Geneva Initiative, Israel, Mr Samih El Abed, former Palestinian Minister of Construction, Sweden and Ms Israela Oron, former Deputy to the National Security Advisor, Israel. They underlined that peace is possible and that a majority of both Palestinians and Israelis support a two state solution.

“The Geneva Initiative builds on the fact that there is a solution, and that there is no other way to peace than negotiations.”

NIDAL FOQAHA, HEAD OF THE PALESTINIAN PEACE COALITION

“Still, most people have doubts as to whether or not an agreement can be reached and implemented,” commented Mr Nidal. “The Geneva Initiative provides a positive example for politicians as well as peace organisations, NGOs and the general public”.

“We say – here is a model that is the result of negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. It is possible to come to an agreement – and you do not need to start from zero.”



Dr Samih El Abed and Ambassador for Egypt H.E. Mr Osama Elmagdoub

PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE

When the Geneva Initiative was launched in 2003, some issues were left unresolved. The Geneva group, therefore, presented some annexes last year, with detailed plans on, for example Jerusalem, security, water and environment. “Now there are possible agreements on all issues of concern”, said Mr Nidal.

Ms Radoshitzky pointed out the asymmetry of the two sides when it comes to process and results.

“On the Israeli side we want the process because then we get hugged by the international society - but not necessarily the results as there are a lot of concessions to be made. For Palestinians it is the reverse – they feel they have been there, have done that – now we want results!

This gap has to be taken into account.”

There is no alternative to peace, she said.

“We can be Jewish and democratic in parts of the country, or have a great Israel, but then we will not be Jewish and certainly not democratic anymore. This is what the conflict boils down to.”

Both stressed that international support is crucial for a solution, with EU and US as strong parts. “Otherwise, it is extremely difficult to reach an agreement.”

Mr Nidal turned directly to the young audience with his final words: “We focus on youth with our message that peace is possible. Meeting you, the political leaders of tomorrow, is especially important. Take the hope of peace with you, into the future.”

# FACTS ON THE GENEVA INITIATIVE

A model permanent status agreement between the states of Israel and Palestine presented in 2003, annexes 2007.

## **Main components**

Mutual recognition of Israeli and Palestinian right to two separate states.

### **BORDERS AND SETTLEMENTS**

Large Jewish settlement blocks currently behind the Green Line and most of the settlers are annexed to Israel. In return to the annexation of land beyond the 1967 border, Israel will hand over alternative land of equal quality and quantity to the Palestinian, based on a 1:1 ratio.

### **JERUSALEM**

Recognition of the Jewish neighbourhoods in Jerusalem as the Israeli capital and recognition of the Arab neighbourhoods of Jerusalem as the Palestinian capital. The parties will commit to safeguarding the character, holiness, and freedom of worship in the city and view the Old City as one whole enjoying a unique character. Movement within the Old City shall be free.

### **INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION**

An Implementation and Verification Group (IVG) shall be established to assist in, monitor, and resolve disputes relating to the implementation of the agreement. As a part, a Multinational Force (MF) shall provide security guarantees to the parties.

### **REFUGEES**

Refugees will be entitled to compensation for their refugee status and loss of property, and will have the right to return to the State of Palestine. The refugees could also elect to remain in their present host countries, or relocate to third countries, among them Israel.

### **SECURITY**

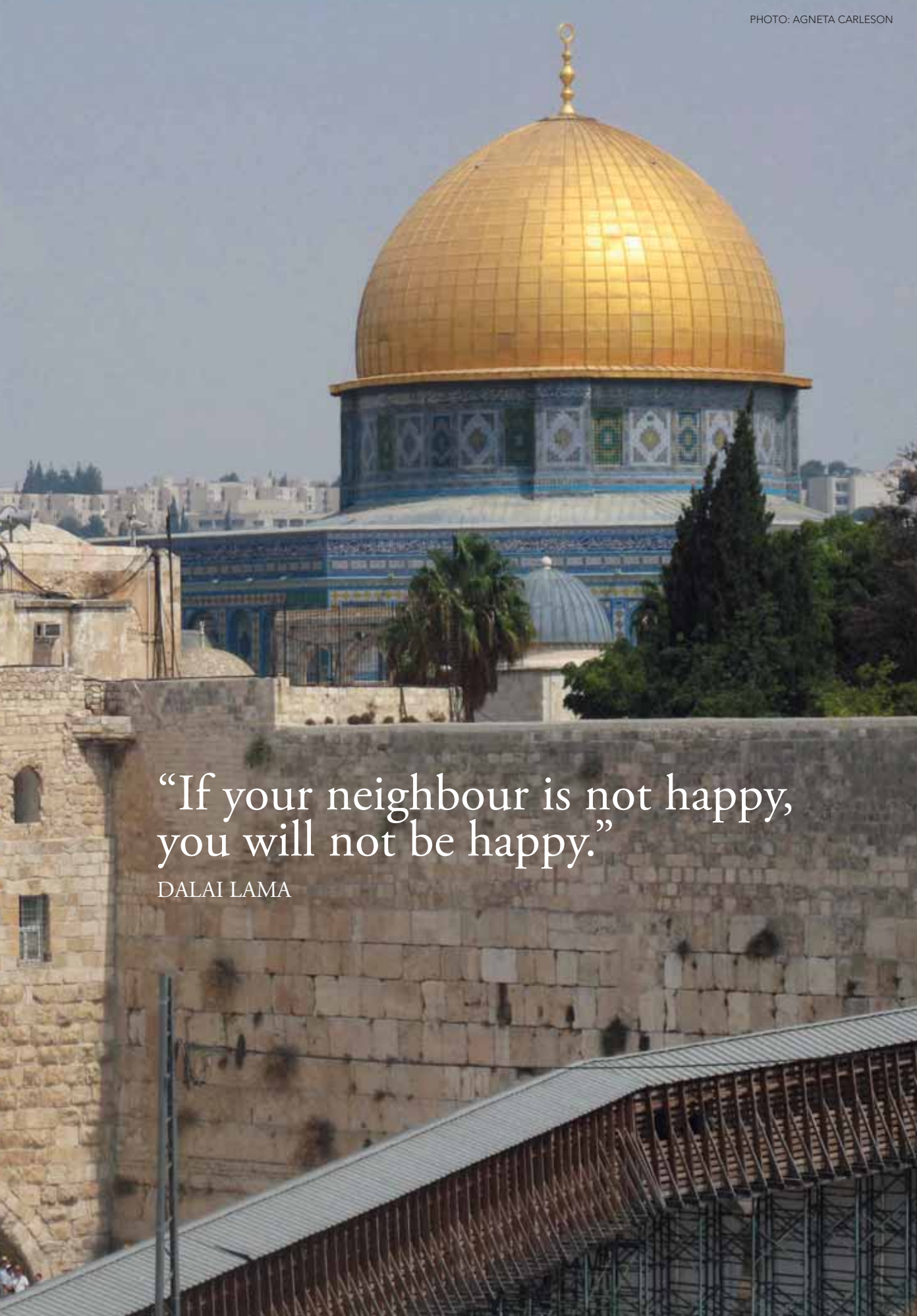
Palestine and Israel shall each recognize and respect the other's right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. Both sides shall prevent the formation of irregular forces or armed bands, and combat terrorism and incitement. Palestine shall be a non-militarized state, with a strong security force.

*Source/read more: [www.geneva-accord.org](http://www.geneva-accord.org)*









“If your neighbour is not happy,  
you will not be happy.”

DALAI LAMA

# "BRAVE LEADERS CAN ACHIEVE PEACE"

How can political leaders of today and tomorrow contribute to a sustainable peace? And what can leaders do for making people understand that peace is possible?

These issues were the topic for one of the seminar sessions. We need brave and fair leaders who dare to grasp the historical possibility of ending the conflict, was one answer. Below follow more views presented by the five participants in the panel.

## PANEL

*Ms Hanin Khoury, Fatah Youth, Palestine, Mr Uri Zaki, Israel, Director of B'tselem office in Washington, Ms Cordula Drautz, IUSY Vice President, Germany, Ms Israela Oron, Former Deputy to the National Security Advisor, Israel and Mr Salah Abdel Shafi, Palestinian General Delegate, Sweden.*



Dror Morag and Hanin Khoury  
PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE

## Your freedom and mine cannot be separated

"Most important for us is to support the building of efficient and democratic institutions in our country on all levels, from Human Rights organisations to government ministries. We also want to develop vibrant youth organisations, in order to encourage a culture for development and tolerance. Strengthening the role of women is also important. These seeds can grow into lasting and sustainable peace, but need to be nourished by the international community. As an immediate action, Israel must stop the settlements. These illegal housing areas are the biggest obstacles to peace."

Nelson Mandela once said: "Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts." And I say to the Israelis, your freedom and mine cannot be separated!"

*Ms Hanin Khoury, Fatah Youth, Palestine*

## Ending the occupation a moral interest for Israel

"The fact that we now live in the era of Obama has changed the global discourse. Human rights is no longer an issue for the radicals, it has become a part of the mainstream issues for political leadership."

"When young leaders from Israel and Palestine meet, we are always expected to start picking at each other and say that you are the occupier, you are the terrorist etc. I don't want to get into that game!"

“I think that ending the occupation is a moral and a national interest, not only for Palestine but also for the state of Israel.

And I think that the Israeli political arena is changing. Last year we formed a group that brings together young leaders from Kadima, Labour and Meretz. My vision is a new centre-left party in Israel that can become a dominant party and bring back this discourse in the centre of the Israel political arena.”

*Mr Uri Zaki, Israel, Director of B'tselem office in Washington DC fm chair of Young Meretz*

### **Leaders must dare to take risks**

“The most popular saying in both Israel and Palestine is that there is no partner for peace. But this is not true, there are legitimate partners on both sides. And with Dalai Lama’s words: If your neighbour is not happy, you will not be happy.”

“As young leaders, you have to understand that even when the situation is very dark you can still do something. Also, in order to make peace you must dare to take risks. Some leaders have taken very big steps in order to achieve something that is greater than themselves and the option to be re-elected – because it has served the interest of their country. Winston Churchill is one such example.”

“Most leaders rather identify obstacles than opportunities when moving to a new situation, and peace means moving to an unknown zone. I also have a feeling that it is sometimes easier for leaders in a crucial situation to decide on war than on peace.”

“For being a good leader, a bit of luck is always useful.”



Israela Oron and Uri Zaki  
PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE

*Ms Israela Oron, Former Deputy to the National Security Advisor and board member GI, Israel*

### **All ingredients for peace are at hand**

“There is no lack of initiatives or international resolutions surrounding Israel and Palestine, and the international law is clear, so why no action? I think it is about the quality of the leadership. Leaders who are not able to serve the great political, social and economic needs of their time are delaying the process and leading us to misery.”

“Great leaders can grasp the moment. And time is here for decisions. All ingredients for a just and sustainable peace are at hand.”

“In 1989, I lived in East Berlin. In the evening we put on the TV at 11 pm – and the Berlin wall was not there anymore. If anyone six months earlier had said that this would happen, I would have thought that person was crazy! The same if someone in 2007 had said that US would get a black president named Barack Hussein Obama.”

“These changes were not miracles but came about because of a certain political climate that courageous politicians of these countries were able to utilise.”

*Mr Salah Abdel Shafi, Palestinian General Delegate, Sweden*



## Peace is an attitude

“I think that the issue of leadership is closely connected to change. And I think that we have to focus more on the level of consciousness. Peace involves creating an atmosphere that helps to overcome hinders and makes changes possible.”



Cordula Drautz  
PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE

“Jan Eliasson talked yesterday about the conflict as an infected wound, and that the infection had to be cured before the wound can heal. I really think he is right, we have to start with the infection.”

“Leadership is not only for those elected in the top, it can be executed by everyone. It is about how we speak, behave, act etc., if we contribute to creating an atmosphere that makes peace possible – or not. We must be aware that we are leaders and that peace is an attitude.”

*Ms Cordula Drautz, IUSY Vice President, Germany*

PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE





# THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE ISRAEL – PALESTINE CONFLICT

How can the international community promote a fair and sustainable peace? And what is its role in the conflict? Representatives for the so called Quartet – the foursome of nations and organisations that are involved in facilitating the peace process in the Middle East – gave their view at the seminar. Below are some of their arguments.

## **PANEL:**

*Mr Robert Rydberg, Deputy Director-General, Head of Department for Middle East and North Africa, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden, Ms Tatiana Nosenko, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia, Mr Robert Silverman, Deputy Chief of Missions, US Embassy in Stockholm and Ms May Ann Ramsay, Head of Political Section, European Commission Representation in Sweden.*

## **Fairness and justice basic principles**

“The Oslo process that ended 16 + years ago has left the Israelis confused and the Palestinians disappointed, frustrated and angry. We must provide political reassurance by stating the objective of the negotiations.”

“EU is ready to play an active role. We must also be prepared to give own, strong contributions and show concretely that we are prepared to support the implementation of an agreement.”

“A strong Palestinian partner is needed. EU and Sweden have long provided humanitarian support to Palestine. We also support the institution building and reconciliation between the West Bank and Gaza. We must also look at the broader regional picture. Arab support and involvement is essential.”

“The international community must stand for fairness and justice. Israel’s recent decision to enlarge settlements can delay talks just as they were about to begin. It is time for real leadership and concrete actions now.”

*Mr Robert Rydberg, Deputy Director General, Head of Department for Middle East and North Africa, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden*

## **Balanced approach essential**

“So far, the international community has not achieved much in developing peace processes in the region. The international community even laid ground for the conflict, as the resolutions from 1947 forming the state of Israel were not paralleled with effective international measures and mechanisms to put them into practice. During the Cold War, the conflict was turned into a battlefield between the West and USSR. It is high time for the international community to right these wrongs.”

“One first step as the Russian government sees it is to organise an international

conference aimed at reaching comprehensive peace in the region. It should include not only Israel-Palestine relations, but also other aspects of the regional security and cooperation. All the political forces in the region, even the radical groups, should be invited to take part and also NGOs and other public representatives.”

“It is very difficult to blame only one side for what is happening in the region. A balanced approach is very important.”

*Ms Tatiana Nosenko, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia*

**“It is very difficult to blame only one side for what is happening in the region. A balanced approach is very important.”**

MS TATIANA NOSENKO, INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES OF THE  
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

### **US supports the two-state solution**

“The US position of the conflict is clear: we support the two-state solution. We believe that through negotiations, the parties can mutually agree on an outcome that ends the conflict. The conflict has to be ended by the two parties through an agreed, mutual solution.”

“I see two roles for the international society. One is continued aid to the Palestinians for immediate humanitarian assistance and institution building support. Both US and EU, and especially Sweden, has a long tradition of providing this assistance.

“The second role is as mediators and facilitators. All of us have an important role there, and US has a big role. Mediation is largely about confidence and trust building measures in order to make the parties come to an agreement.”

*Mr Robert Silverman, Deputy Chief of Missions, US Embassy in Stockholm*

### **Peace talks must be reassumed**

“EU supports the goal of reassuming peace talks as soon as possible. The aim is a comprehensive peace deal, not just a process. And we really agree on that the international community must speak with one voice.”

“EU is a strong supporter of the Arab Peace Initiative. We share the concern from the Arab Leagues about the serious situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, and we are working to find a good solution.”

“The Geneva Accord is another initiative that we praise, and I am pleased to say that EU has supported this initiative from the very start. It demonstrates that an agreement between Israel and Palestine is possible and that solutions do exist for the tricky issues such as borders, security and Jerusalem. We know that the Geneva Initiative is a civil society agreement and not sanctioned by the respective governments, but still we take it very seriously.”

*Ms May Ann Ramsay, Head of Political Section, European Commission Representation in Sweden*



# “WE CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE”

Why are peace initiatives like the Geneva Initiative and Arab Peace Initiative not implemented? What are the obstacles, difficulties and threats? And what can young social democratic leaders around the world do in order to promote the realization of a fair and sustainable peace agreement?

Below are some of the answers. These quotes are all from the four workshops. Of course not all participants share all views expressed.

You may find some quotes harsh, but the atmosphere was constructive and people felt they could really be open with their views.

## About the role of Israel and Palestine

- Hope is a crucial factor for peace. When there was a sense of hope, Israel voted left, for peace.
- Israel shows a will to negotiate – but is not willing to change on any important issues! Israeli society is not ready for peace yet and needs to be convinced.
- Palestinians have paid a price in terms of always getting to the negotiation table but not getting anything back. They are tired of this lack of results.
- Israel has been able to ignore so many UN resolutions on settlements etc. because very few people know the real background and content of these resolutions. They need to be shared to the general public.
- We must not forget that the current right-wing Israeli government has accepted a two-state solution and that Hamas and Israel have a successful ceasefire in Gaza.
- Israel has a vibrant civil society that can be the basis for a progressive change in politics. The right-wing movements understand that, and therefore the most phobic activists try to undermine civil society with laws and arguments.
- The situation in Gaza is truly shocking. Our sister party Fatah cannot work openly any longer, as Hamas has banned all political activities from their side. If anything like this happened in any other country, we would stand up and scream. We must tackle this without losing focus on the Israeli role in the Gaza situation.
- The Israel public says – the Palestinians cannot accuse us for violating human rights, look at the situation they have created themselves in Gaza. This is hard to deal with. We must have the same standard for human rights for both countries, otherwise we are in great trouble.
- The failure for the peace process brought Hamas to power. The Palestine govern-





PHOTO: JULIA BJÖRNE

ment lost its credibility among people and they voted for Hamas instead. The way to reconciliation is to empower the Palestinian administration and support peace negotiations.

- Hamas liked democracy only once, when it brought them to power. Hamas is part of a regional block with Iran, Syria and Hisbolla. Those are extremist forces, and extremism always comes up in times of crises, violence, war etc.
- The international community should stop the blockade on Gaza. Then Hamas would be weakened. Now they say that the whole world is against them because they won a democratic election.
- The present standstill has provided a lot of space for radicalism. There are fanatic parties and movements in both Israel and Palestine. We must be aware of this.
- There generally are two types of campaigns, either for Israel or for Palestine. Very few campaigns are for peace in the region. Why?

**“There generally are two types of campaigns, either for Israel or for Palestine. Very few campaigns are for peace in the region.”**

## About international support to the peace process

- European Union and the Arab league need to become much more involved, today the US is the only active international partner. The peace process desperately needs international support.
- Palestinians and Israelis live very close to the EU countries. Whatever happens to us affects Europeans as well. EU and all European governments need to support the peace process much more actively.
- Invite Palestine and Israel to join the European Union. EU has been successful in enlarging itself in recent decades. The EU can use its soft power to build peace by stating that as a member of the EU family, you cannot occupy, violate human rights, send rockets etc.

## What to do

- Both Israel and Palestine as well as the rest of the world will benefit from a peace agreement. We all pay a very high price for the current situation. This view must be shared to a wide public in all our respective countries. Generally, people know very little about the conflict and possible solutions.
- IUSY need a concrete plan on how to share the message that peace is possible in our respective countries and push our politicians to act for a peace agreement. As young politicians, we have a special responsibility to engage and inspire local levels, social movements, other organisations and politicians in this issue.
- We must identify the cost of not acting. The price for Palestinians is evident, with the wall, checkpoints, restrictions etc. Also Israelis pay a price in the shape of military expenses and long military service, not using the regions full economic potential, etc.
- A majority in both countries want a two-state solution, but do not believe it will come true. We must help to narrow the gap between what people want and what they think is possible.

**“We must help to narrow the gap between what people want and what they think is possible!”**

- Peace initiatives are often far too complex to attract attention from the general public. We need an international campaign with a simple message like “No settlements – no missiles” in order to energize people and provide an opportunity to get involved without a sophisticated relationship to all these questions.
- You cannot fight fear with fear. Instead, we must make it possible to feel hopeful again. With hope, people are less suspicious and dare to accept changes. Look at Obama, he won with the message of hope – not fear.





PHOTO: NIKLAS PALMKLINT

**Mona Sahlin**

## **“GESTURES OF RESIGNATION ONE OF OUR BIGGEST ENEMIES”**

Mona Sahlin, leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, was the final speaker at the 2010 Anna Lindh Seminar. She underlined that the Swedish Social Democrats are deeply engaged and committed to fair and sustainable peace in the Middle East – and that this issue was of great concern for Anna Lindh.

### **Some quotes from her speech:**

“This seminar is held in the memory of Anna Lindh. I think most of you know that she was my very best friend. It is very special to stand here talking in her name about the issue that we all know really involved Anna. During her whole political career she was devoted to peace in the Middle East, to human rights and democracy.”



“In her speech in January 2003, the same year that she was killed, at the Olof Palme Prize ceremony when Hanan Ashrawi was awarded she said: “Israel must end the occupation, give up settlements, and agree on a pragmatic solution to Jerusalem, in exchange for peace. Israel must follow international law and stop humiliating the people in the occupied territories. The walls, both the one with barbed wire and the one of mistrust, must be torn down. The Palestinians must do everything in their power to stop the terrorist acts, and take legal measures against those responsible”.

“This whole seminar has been about the peace solutions. It has shown that there are possibilities to solve every imaginable problem on the way to a two-state solution. The major problem for a two-state solution today is the lack of political will: leaders who dare to risk their positions to find solutions and a high course.”

**“The major problem for a two-state solution today is the lack of political will: leaders who dare to risk their positions to find solutions and a high course.”**

“To us Social Democrats, it is clear that Jerusalem should be seen as a capital of both Israel and a future independent Palestine. Israel has to stop settlements, house demolitions and evictions in all occupied territories, and that goes of course for East Jerusalem too.”

“A strong centre-left is needed in Israel. I am aware of the difficulties in the Labour Party, but it is my conviction that they can come back and form a strong peace coalition with Meretz once again. We sister parties have a responsibility to not leave our Israeli sister parties alone.”

“It is important that we all stay deeply engaged and involved. Gestures of resignation is one of our biggest enemies. The words are Anna’s. I have promised the Labour Party of Israel to continue to support them and to offer platforms for dialogue and negotiations. I have promised in my talks to president Abbas as well as to local Fatah leaders that our support will continue to be strong and that new projects to build democratic structures will be launched.”

*Read the whole speech on this link: [www.socialdemokraterna.se/Mona-Sahlin/Tal/2010/Tal-under-Anna-Lindh-seminarium/](http://www.socialdemokraterna.se/Mona-Sahlin/Tal/2010/Tal-under-Anna-Lindh-seminarium/)*



*“You can not fight fear with fear,  
instead we must make it possible  
to feel hopeful again.”*

FROM GROUP DISCUSSION





[www.socialdemokraterna.se](http://www.socialdemokraterna.se)  
[www.palmecenter.se](http://www.palmecenter.se)