

## Confidential

TO: Frank Lowenstein

FROM: John Cullinane

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SUBJECT: Some Suggestions to America's Political Leadership on a New Approach to Ending the Conflict in the Middle East

In Northern Ireland everyone knew what the word peace meant. It meant ending the conflict and with it would come a huge peace dividend of jobs, etc. However, in Israel, and in particular, with the Jewish Diaspora, peace is a threatening word. Thus, my first suggestion is:

### Change the Message:

Change the message from peace to "ending the conflict" because ending the conflict is a non-threatening message to both Israelis and the Jewish Diaspora. However, with it would come a huge dividend that would address their key concerns. This message has already been tested, successfully, by Senator Bill Nelson in the recent election in Florida. On a personal level we know it works because we have used it with very conservative American Jews in Boston with very positive results. As background, it was created by an Israeli pioneer, Dan Singer and Geoffrey Lewis, a well-known member of the American Jewish community, using my message process. It focuses on the real interests and concerns of both Israelis and the Jewish Diaspora. There is much in it for them, personally, by ending the conflict but nobody has ever explained it this way to them before. This is what is critical. It is also non-threatening in that it does not tell Israelis what to do.

The message goes like this:

"Ending the conflict", the only approach that addresses the key concerns of both Israelis and the Jewish Diaspora, and they are:

- Safe and secure Israel
- Guaranteed (United States, Arab Peace Initiative)
- Major economic dividend (world financial center, opens huge new markets, etc.)
- Reduced tensions for Jewish Diaspora

- Increased respect for Israel around the world
- Israel as the “Light unto the World”

#### Communicate the New Message:

The “Ending the Conflict” message would be easy for anyone, including Secretary Kerry or President Obama, to use anywhere, from Israel to AIPAC’s national conference. President Obama will recognize the format as being familiar because he used it in his highly effective closing statement at the third presidential debate. No one can argue with it, even AIPAC members, because it reflects their basic concerns and the related benefits of ending the conflict. Also, the Arab Peace Initiative fits nicely with it, as well, because it is a key component in guaranteeing the survival of Israel.

#### Enlist Surrogates in the Selling Process:

This could include the Israel Policy Forum and J Street. J Street has made remarkable progress in five years as an alternative voice to AIPAC while promoting a two state solution. Ending the conflict is an easier sell and the surest way to a two state solution. In the process, they would be positioning AIPAC on the defensive as yesterday’s organization. Also, they would revitalize the interest in Israel on the part of young American Jews in the process. The fact that J Street has a PAC helps enormously in the political arena. Incidentally, I was an early supporter of J Street and helped it with its messaging. Of note, is that I met with Jeremy Ben-Ami very recently and told him that I was promoting the Arab Peace Initiative and thought it was a natural step toward a two state solution. He agreed. Of interest is that J Street just came out in favor of the Arab Peace Initiative. Of course, in Israel there is Ron Pondak who is a strong supporter of the Arab Peace Initiative, as is Gary Huberman with his Israel Peace Initiative. Sam Bahour is a Palestinian American high tech entrepreneur who moved to the West Bank to help his people.

#### Activate the American Jewish and Palestinian Business Communities:

I would urge President Obama to call for a conference to develop an economic dividend for the Middle East region. This is what President Clinton did as soon as there was a cease fire by the IRA in Northern Ireland. Leading American Jewish CEOs, Palestinian American CEOs and CEOs from the Arab Peace Initiative countries, etc., should be invited. I would suggest Northern Ireland as the location for the conference. It is strategically located half way between the US and the Middle East and is the best model in the world of a peace dividend by ending a conflict. In fact, we could help organize this conference. We held a similar conference in Northern Ireland on how to create 20,000 call center jobs in the Middle East which was hosted by the University of Ulster. It was very well attended with key people from Israel, Palestine, England, Ireland and the United States. There is no substitute for getting a group of individuals with disparate views to a neutral site to reduce tensions and accomplish something

significant. We know many outstanding members of the American Jewish Business community, as well as their counterparts from the American Palestinian community and their peers from Middle East region who would be willing to help with this effort. We are also very familiar with key people and organizations in Northern Ireland who would be an important part of the conference. The goal of the conference would be to develop the blueprint for the economic dividend as follows:

#### Israel:

Prior to Oslo, the Israeli economy grew at 2%, after Oslo it grew at 7%. When Oslo failed, it fell back to 2% - 3%. In an "end the conflict" scenario, the Israeli economy is predicted to grow at 7%, which is \$17 billion in GDP, a real breakout, according to the Jerusalem Post. Of note, Israel has the capability, now, to create the economic dividend because ending the conflict would open up the Arab and Islamic markets. Some specific possibilities regarding the dividend for Israel include:

- Major increase in tourism over the current \$4 million per year.
- Major increase in irrigation and water management exports
- Medical tourism expansion
- Consumer food exports to new markets
- Software development, including mobile device applications
- World financial center along the lines of London, New York, etc.

Of course, then there are the unanticipated results of ending the conflict, some of which could be greater than any of the above. However, in the final analysis all of the above mean jobs, and jobs are the key to long term stability of any region. Of note is that the first glimmer of hope that I had that peace might be secured in Northern Ireland was when a "Group of 6" was formed of leading business organizations to apply its influence on the problem. Heretofore, it had been left to the extremists from both sides.

#### Palestine:

- Dramatic increase in tourism
- A Palestinian BIRD based on the Israeli BIRD\*
- Medical call centers for Gaza and the West Bank\*\*
- Hospital for Gaza\*\*
- IT development with focus on mobile application development
- Major increase in agricultural exports

\* Already suggested by USAID and something I greatly encourage. I proposed one for Northern Ireland, and the six border counties and the Clinton Administration bought into it. It was very successful but, unfortunately, funded by the International Fund for Ireland on a trial basis.

\*\* An agreement was already secured to implement these opportunities, among others, by the Aspen Institute - Middle East Strategy Group, which I was a member. The medical call center idea was my suggestion.

### Recruit Non-Jews:

Non-Jews have just as important stake in ending the conflict in the Middle East as do the Jewish Diaspora, Israelis, Palestinians and their Diasporas, etc. 9/11, Pan Am 103, the Boston Marathon bombers, etc., all have their origins in the Middle East. Personally, I will be promoting the end the conflict message with focus on the Arab Peace Initiative as a keynote speaker at the World Peace Forum hosted by the University of Ulster in Northern Ireland this month.

### Summary:

I think Secretary Kerry and President Obama are deeply committed to securing a peace in the Middle East. Much depends on it. While I don't know much about conflict resolution, I do know a lot about sales. My sense is that peace is doable in the Middle East with a different approach. Why it has eluded other presidents is that the timing wasn't right and they didn't have the right message. I think the timing is right, "ending the conflict" is the right message, and the Arab Peace Initiative is a huge asset in making it all possible. Maybe, you will find this all very interesting, and different, something the Middle East needs.