

FD-AAU-930
42577

This note was
attached to the
Supplementary
Proposal
and the
LOU

Project #. ^{0/58} 298-2018

IMAGES IN CONFLICT - CONFLICT RESOLUTION

An attachment to the "Images in Conflict, Data Management and Analysis, Supplementary Proposal" by Stephen P. Cohen, Principal Investigator, is filed in the classified file in Robert Ashton's office, Room 500-E-SA-14.

cable
was

removed

The attachment is classified "Limited Official Use" and consists of three cables and a covering memo. The State Department cable 103512, April 12, 1982,

is marked "Decontrol 12/31/83."

Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

07680

PAGE 01 STATE 103512

3462 067790 A109876

STATE 103512

3462 067790 A109876

ORIGIN OFFICE WETC-04
INFO HEDP-02 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 PPEA-01 GCFL-01
GCNE-01 FM-02 CMGT-02 CTR-02 TRSY-05 RELO-01 MAST-01
WAB-01 EPD-01 EE-01 EME-01 SV-00 /032 AB

INFO OCT-00 INR-10 EB-00 NEA-06 AMAD-01 /060 0

DRAFTED BY AID/NE/TECH/SARD: GERALD D MILLER: RJJ
APPROVED BY AID/NE/TECH: LEVIE P READE
AID/NE/NE/RA: R BURNS (DRAFT)
AID/NE/I: R MISHELOFF (DRAFT)
AID/NE/E: O MORRISSEY (DRAFT)
AID/NE/TECH/HRST: B HEYMAN (DRAFT)
AID/GC/NE: B JANIGIAN (DRAFT)
AID/NE/OP/PR: S CHERNEKOFF (DRAFT)
STATE/NEA/IAI: L PETERS (DRAFT)
STATE/NEA/EGY: K STAMMERMAN (DRAFT)

000313 172409Z /38

O 170220Z APR 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 103512

AIDAC

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR
PROJECT 298-0168, CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REF: A) CAIRO 07116, B) TEL AVIV 04333

1. PROJECT REVIEW COMMITTEE PRC MET FOR SECOND TIME ON
4/13/82 TO REVIEW COHEN REQUEST FOR SUBJECT PROJECT. FUND-
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OR THE REVISED SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST. AID/W HAS WITHHELD
FURTHER ACTION UPON THIS REQUEST UNTIL IT HAS RECEIVED
SATISFACTORY ANSWERS TO SIX CONCERNS RAISED BY THE PRC.

3. FYI THE FOLLOWING ARE THE SIX CONCERNS:

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APPROVED UNDER THE ORIGINAL GRANT. COHEN ARGUES THAT THIS
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ADDITIONAL BITS OF INFORMATION NOT ORIGINALLY ANTICIPATED.

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IN POSSIBILITY OF PRECLUDING SUPPORT FOR OTHER REGIONAL
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G. DURING JANUARY MEETING IN NEW YORK WITH A NUMBER OF
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I. PLEASE ADVISE RESULTS OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS.

DECONTROL 12/31/83. EAGLEBURGER

Handwritten mark resembling a checkmark or the number 7.

Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 CAIRO 10210 271140Z
ACTION AID-35

3998 074977 A107577

CAIRO 10210 271140Z

3998 074977 A107577

ACTION OFFICE NETA-04
INFO NEDP-04 NEDP-02 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 GCFL-01
GCNE-01 FM-02 NEE-03 IT-06 NEME-03 PELO-01 ~~TELE-01~~
HAST-01 /035 A4 027

INFO OCT-08 INR-10 EM-08 NEA-06 INRE-08 /059 W
-----347550 271143Z /44

O 271133Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5840
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE CAIRO 10210

DEPARTMENT PASS AID

E.O. 12958: NA
TAGS: PEPR EG IS US XF
SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR
- PROJECT 298-0166, CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REFS: (A) STATE 103512, (B) CAIRO-7116, (C) TEL AVIV 4533

1. FOLLOWING PRESENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT TO AMBASSADOR, AID DIRECTOR AND EMBOFFS BY COHEN AND EGYPTIAN PARTICIPANTS, AND SUBSEQUENT DETAILED DISCUSSION BETWEEN COHEN AND POLOFF APRIL 21, EMBASSY RECOMMENDS AID APPROVE COHEN'S REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR SUBJECT PROJECT. WHILE WE REMAIN CONCERNED THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR THIS PROJECT MIGHT PREVENT APPROVAL FOR OTHER WORTHY PROJECTS WHICH SEEK TO DRAW ON LIMITED TRI-LATERAL COOPERATION FUNDS, COHEN'S PROJECT PROMISES TO BE OF SIGNIFICANT VALUE IN PROMOTING CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING AND ENCOURAGING ACADEMIC AND INTELLECTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG EGYPTIANS, ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS.

2. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO PARA 3 OF REF A:

(A) COHEN TOLD US THAT THE SAMPLE SIZE GREW IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SCIENTIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. COHEN SAID THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY WILL ACCORDINGLY BE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND WILL BE DEFENSIBLE ON ACADEMIC AND POLITICAL GROUNDS. HE REMARKED THAT THE SMALLER SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE REFLECTED THE CAUTIOUS INITIAL APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE PROJECT TEAM.

(B) FOLLOWING CONSULTATION AMONG THE INVESTIGATORS, THE LENGTH OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE WAS BUILT UP TO REFLECT THE MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE PARTIES BEING INVESTIGATED AND THE KINDS OF QUESTIONS WHICH EACH SIDE WANTED TO SEE ANSWERED. SOME NEW QUESTIONS WERE ALSO DEVELOPED TO DEFINE MORE PRECISELY THE RESPONSE BEING SOUGHT FROM EXISTING QUESTIONS. FROM THE EXAMPLES COHEN PROVIDED, THE QUESTIONS NOW BEING ASKED SHOULD YIELD INTERESTING RESULTS AND THUS THE LONGER QUESTIONNAIRE APPEARS WORTHWHILE.

(C) IN OUR VIEW THE ONLY APPROPRIATE LOCATIONS FOR THE TEAM TO CONSIDER FOR THE WRITING STAGE WOULD BE EITHER IN THE U.S. OR ONE OF THE PARTICIPATING CAMPUSES IN THE REGION. COHEN SAID, HOWEVER, AND WE AGREE, THAT THERE ARE OBVIOUS POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS ON EACH OF THE PARTIES SEEKING TO ENGAGE IN A PROLONGED STAY IN ISRAEL, EGYPT OR THE WEST BANK. SECOND, COHEN SAID THAT CUHY'S COMPUTER FACILITIES WILL AFFORD THE PARTICIPANTS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR MUCH NEEDED TECHNICAL TRAINING IN QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS.

(D) WITHOUT ADDITIONAL FUNDING, COHEN SAID THAT THE PARTICIPANTS WILL NOT BE ABLE EFFECTIVELY TO TRANSLATE, CODE AND ANALYZE ALL OF THE DATA, FORCING THEM TO DO MORE RANDOM SELECTION. THIS WOULD HAVE AN OBVIOUS IMPACT ON THE QUALITY OF THE RESULTS. COHEN NOTED THAT THE PROJECT IS ALREADY BEING SUPPORTED BY SOME ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS, E.G., A FORD FOUNDATION GRANT OF 125 THOUSAND FOR TRAINING AND CUHY'S ABSORPTION OF SOME ADMINISTRATIVE AND OVERHEAD COSTS. HE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, AT SOME STAGE, TO ELICIT CONTRIBUTIONS FROM EGYPTIAN OR ISRAELI SOURCES, BUT HE ASKED WHERE PALESTINIAN SUPPORT WOULD BE SOLICITED. IT IS IMPORTANT, HE STRESSED, TO MAINTAIN BALANCE IN THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND PARTICIPATION OF ALL OF THE PARTIES.

(E) COHEN SAID HE IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE A BETTER COST BREAKDOWN PER CATEGORY AS REQUESTED BY AID/W.

(F) THIS CONCERN WAS ADDRESSED IN PARA ONE ABOVE. ATHERTON

NETC
ACTION COPY

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INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 TEL AV 06864 071941Z

0419 085002 A108190

TEL AV 06864 071941Z

0419 085002 A108190

ACTION AID-35

THE PROJECT. LEWIS

ACTION OFFICE NEME-03

INFO NEOP-02 NETC-04 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 PPEA-01
GCFL-01 GCNE-01 FM-02 CMGT-02 CTR-02 NEE-03 TRSY-05
RELO-01 MAST-01 00-01 EPO-01 /036 A2 X07

INFO OCT-00 AOS-00 INR-10 EB-00 NEA-06 /059 W

-----033333 071953Z /63

P 071759Z MAY 82

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4996

INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEL AVIV 06864

DEPT PASS AID/NE/ME FOR BURNS

E.O. 12865: N/A

TAGS: EAID, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR
PROJECT 298-0168 CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REF: A) CAIRO 10210, B) STATE 103512, C) TEL AVIV 4533

1. EMBOFFS MET WITH STEPHEN COHEN APRIL 22 TO DISCUSS
ADDITIONAL FUNDING OF HIS CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROPOSAL.
COHEN HAD LITTLE TO ADD TO WHAT HE TOLD EMBOFFS IN CAIRO
(REF A). AS EXPECTED, HE MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR
ADDITIONAL AID SUPPORT SAYING THAT HIS PROJECT DATA WILL
BE LOST IF FUNDS FOR PROCESSING AND ANALYZING IT ARE NOT
MADE AVAILABLE. ACCORDING TO COHEN, THE PROJECT RUNS
OUT OF MONEY IN AUGUST. HE HAS REQUESTED 175,000 DOLLARS
FOR DATA ANALYSIS AND PROCESSING.

2. COHEN AND HIS ISRAELI COUNTERPARTS WERE PERSUASIVE IN
THEIR PRESENTATION OF MOST OF THE POINTS LISTED PARA 2
REF A. ACCORDING TO COHEN, ONE OF THE MOST REWARDING
ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAM IS THE RESEARCHERS' EVOLVING VIEWS
OF THEIR OWN SOCIETIES. COHEN POINTED WITH PRIDE THAT
THIS IS ONE OF THE RARE INSTANCES THAT SPECIALISTS IN
THE FIELDS OF ARAB, ISRAELI, OR PALESTINIAN STUDIES HAVE
BEEN FORCED TO LOOK BEYOND THEIR DISCIPLINES FOR INFOR-
MATION. THE RESULTING EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN THOUGHT
PROVOKING AND PROVIDED ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE OF USEFULNESS
OF THE PROJECT.

3. EMBASSY TEL AVIV IS IN FAVOR OF EXTENDING A SUPPLE-
MENTARY GRANT TO THE COHEN PROJECT FOR DATA PROCESSING.

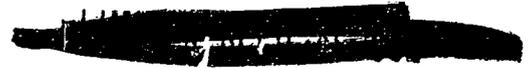
HOWEVER, WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT THE WRITE-UP MUST TAKE
PLACE IN NEW YORK CITY FOR THE LENGTH OF TIME INTENDED.
COHEN CLAIMS THAT CYPRUS, AN ALTERNATE LOCATION, DOES NOT
HAVE DATA PROCESSING EQUIPMENT NECESSARY FOR THE
PROJECT. WORKING AT INSTITUTIONS IN EGYPT, ISRAEL AND THE
WEST BANK, WHILE FEASIBLE, COULD POSE POLITICAL PROBLEMS.
NONETHELESS, A 90,000 DOLLAR BUDGET FOR A WRITING PERIOD
IN NEW YORK STRIKES US AS TOO MUCH. A MORE CONCENTRATED
PERIOD IN NEW YORK WHEN DATA PROCESSING IS NECESSARY
COULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY LESS EXPENSIVE SESSIONS IN THE
REGION. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT REGIONAL COOPERATION
FUNDS SHOULD BE JUDICIOUSLY ALLOCATED AMONG AS MANY
RECIPIENTS AS POSSIBLE. THE COHEN PROPOSAL, WHILE WORTHY,
IS ONLY ONE OF THE PROJECTS WE BELIEVE CAN HAVE A POSITIVE
IMPACT ON NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND
EGYPT. WE OUGHT TO SUPPORT THE EXTRA MONEY FOR DATA
PROCESSING BUT SHOULD TRY TO LOOK MORE CLOSELY AT THE
NEED FOR SUCH A LARGE SUM FOR THE DATA WRITE-UP PHASE OF

Decentral
12/31/83

IMPORTANT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum



See Distribution

DATE: May 10, 1982

NE/TECH/SARD, G. David Miller *GD Miller*

Regional Cooperation: Additional Funding for Project 298-0168 - Conflict Resolution

During the last PRC meeting we agreed to solicit the opinions of Tel Aviv and Cairo plus request Stephen Cohen and team to break out the increase in cost presented in the supplemental request for \$300,000. Attached are the responses from Tel Aviv and Cairo and Cohen's cost break out.

The PRC has been scheduled to meet on Wednesday, 5/12/82 at 3:30 p.m. in Room 6439 NS to review this new information. I am hoping to present the issue before the NEAC on Thursday, 5/20/82.

three LOU cables filed in Bob Goshon's office, 500-E, SA-14

Distribution

- NE/E, G. Gower
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- NE/ME, R. Burns
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- GC/NE, B. Janigian
- NE/DP, S. Chernenkoff
- State/NEA/IAI, L. Peters
- State/NEA/IAI, T. Miller
- State/NEA/EGY, K. Stammerman
- State/P, R. Raphael
- State/INR/GI, J. Montville
- NE/TECH, K. Sherper (Info)
- AA/NE, J. Rashid

General 12/31/82

Department of State

OUTGOING
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PAGE 01 STATE 183512
ORIGIN AID-35

8462 867798 A109876

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ORIGIN OFFICE NETC-94
INFO NEDP-02 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 PPEA-01 GCFL-01
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INFO OCT-88 INR-18 EB-08 NEA-06 AMAD-01 /068 R

DRAFTED BY AID/NE/TECH/SARD: GERALD O MILLER: RJL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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AIDAC

E.O. 12865: N/A

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- PROJECT 293-0166, CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REFS: (A) STATE 193512, (B) CAIRO-7116, (C) TEL AVIV 4533

1. FOLLOWING PRESENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT TO AMBASSADOR, AID DIRECTOR AND EMBOFFS BY COHEN AND EGYPTIAN PARTICIPANTS, AND SUBSEQUENT DETAILED DISCUSSION BETWEEN COHEN AND POLOFF APRIL 21, EMBASSY RECOMMENDS AID APPROVE COHEN'S REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR SUBJECT PROJECT. WHILE WE REMAIN CONCERNED THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR THIS PROJECT MIGHT PREVENT APPROVAL FOR OTHER WORTHY PROJECTS WHICH SEEK TO DRAW ON LIMITED TRI-LATERAL COOPERATION FUNDS, COHEN'S PROJECT PROMISES TO BE OF SIGNIFICANT VALUE IN PROMOTING CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING AND ENCOURAGING ACADEMIC AND INTELLECTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG EGYPTIANS, ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS.

2. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO PARA 3 OF REF A:

(A) COHEN TOLD US THAT THE SAMPLE SIZE GREW IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SCIENTIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. COHEN SAID THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY WILL ACCORDINGLY BE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND WILL BE DEFENSIBLE ON ACADEMIC AND POLITICAL GROUNDS. HE REMARKED THAT THE SMALLER SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE REFLECTED THE CAUTIOUS INITIAL APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE PROJECT TEAM.

(B) FOLLOWING CONSULTATION AMONG THE INVESTIGATORS, THE LENGTH OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE WAS BUILT UP TO REFLECT THE MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE PARTIES BEING INVESTIGATED AND THE KINDS OF QUESTIONS WHICH EACH SIDE WANTED TO SEE ANSWERED. SOME NEW QUESTIONS WERE ALSO DEVELOPED TO DEFINE MORE PRECISELY THE RESPONSE BEING SOUGHT FROM EXISTING QUESTIONS. FROM THE EXAMPLES COHEN PROVIDED, THE QUESTIONS NOW BEING ASKED SHOULD YIELD INTERESTING RESULTS AND THUS THE LONGER QUESTIONNAIRE APPEARS WORTHWHILE.

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(F) THIS CONCERN WAS ADDRESSED IN PARA ONE ABOVE. ATHERTON

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Decentral 12/31/83

Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 TEL AV 06864 071941Z

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ACTION A10-35

THE PROJECT. LEWIS

ACTION OFFICE NEME-03

INFO NEDP-02 NETA-04 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 PPEA-01
GCFL-01 GCNE-01 FM-02 CMGT-02 CTR-02 NEE-03 TRSY-05
RELO-01 MAST-01 OO-01 EPO-01 /036 A2 X07

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EB-00 NEA-06 /059 W

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P 071759Z MAY 82

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4996

INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE. TEL AVIV 06864

DEPT PASS A10/NE/ME FOR BURNS

E.O. 12865: N/A

TAGS: EAID, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR
PROJECT 298-0168 CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REF: A) CAIRO 10210, B) STATE 103512, C) TEL AVIV 4533

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COHEN HAD LITTLE TO ADD TO WHAT HE TOLD EMBOFFS IN CAIRO
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NEED FOR SUCH A LARGE SUM FOR THE DATA WRITE-UP PHASE OF

Accepted 12/31/83

4

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

IMPORTANT

• See Distribution

DATE: May 10, 1982

• NE/TECH/SARD, G. David Miller, *G.D. Miller*

~~EGT~~ Regional Cooperation: Additional Funding for Project 298-0168 -
Conflict Resolution

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The PRC has been scheduled to meet on Wednesday, 5/12/82 at 3:30 p.m. in Room 6439 NS to review this new information. I am hoping to present the issue before the NEAC on Thursday, 5/20/82.

Distribution

*
NE/E, G. Gower
NE/ME, G. Kamens
NE/ME, R. Burns
NE/ME, R. Misheloff
NE/ME, D. Morrissey
NE/TECH/HRST, B. Heyman
GC/NE, B. Janigian
NE/DP, S. Chernenkoff
State/NEA/IAI, L. Peters
State/NEA/IAI, T. Miller
State/NEA/EGY, K. Stammerman
State/P, R. Raphael
State/INR/GI, J. Montville
NE/TECH, K. Sherper (Info)
AA/NE, J. Rashid

Department of State

298 08100/68
OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 STATE 183512

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STATE 183512

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ORIGIN AID-35

ORIGIN OFFICE NETC-94

INFO NEDP-02 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 PPEA-01 GCFL-01
GCNE-01 FM-02 CMGT-02 CTR-02 TRSY-05 RELO-01 MAST-01
WAB-01 EPD-01 EE-01 EME-01 SV-00 /032 AB

INFO OCT-00 INR-19 EB-08 NEA-05 AMAO-01 /068 R

DRAFTED BY AID/NE/TECH/SARD: GERALD O MILLER: RJL

APPROVED BY AID/NE/TECH: LEVIE P READE

AID/NE/ME/RA: R BURNS (DRAFT)

AID/NE/I: R HISELOFF (DRAFT)

AID/NE/E: D MORRISSEY (DRAFT)

AID/NE/TECH/HRST: B HEYMAN (DRAFT)

AID/GC/NE: B JANIGIAN (DRAFT)

AID/NE/DP/PR: S CHERNEKOFF (DRAFT)

STATE/NEA/IAI: L PETERS (DRAFT)

STATE/NEA/EGY: K STAMMERMAN (DRAFT)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 183512

AIDAC

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR
PROJECT 294-0168, CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REF: A) CAIRO 07116, B) TEL AVIV 04533

1. PROJECT REVIEW COMMITTEE PRC MET FOR SECOND TIME ON
4/13/82 TO REVIEW COHEN REQUEST FOR SUBJECT PROJECT. FUND-
ING WOULD BE PROVIDED IN FY 83, BUT A FIRM COMMITMENT IS
NEEDED NOW.

2. AID/W CONTINUES TO FEEL THAT THIS IS A VALUABLE PROJECT
WITH THE POTENTIAL OF MAKING AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO
THE PEACE PROCESS. HOWEVER PRC FEEL COHEN HAS NOT MADE
ADEQUATE CASE FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS IN EITHER THE INITIAL
OR THE REVISED SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST. AID/W HAS WITHHELD
FURTHER ACTION UPON THIS REQUEST UNTIL IT HAS RECEIVED
SATISFACTORY ANSWERS TO SIX CONCERNS RAISED BY THE PRC.

3. FYI THE FOLLOWING ARE THE SIX CONCERNS:

A. THE SAMPLE SIZE HAS ALMOST TREBLED FROM THAT WHICH WAS
APPROVED UNDER THE ORIGINAL GRANT. COHEN ARGUES THAT THIS
IS A RESULT OF A PROCESS IN WHICH PARTICIPANTS FROM ALL

THREE TEAMS AGREED THAT INCREASED SAMPLE SIZE IS
IMPORTANT. IN THE PROPOSAL THERE IS NO EXPLANATION HOW-
EVER AS TO THE RATIONALE FOR INCREASED SAMPLE SIZE OTHER
THAN THAT THE PARTICIPANTS WANTED IT AND THEREFORE SUPPORT-
ING IT ENCOURAGES INTERGROUP PARTICIPATION. THE PRC FEELS
THAT THERE MUST BE A STRONG SCIENTIFIC OR POLITICAL BASIS
TO WARRANT INCREASED SUPPORT. SUCH A BASIS HAS NOT BEEN
PROVIDED IN THE SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST.

B. THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR THE INCREASE IN LENGTH OF THE
QUESTIONNAIRE. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US WHAT IS GAINED BY
INCREASING THE SIZE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, OR WHAT ARE THE
ADDITIONAL BITS OF INFORMATION NOT ORIGINALLY ANTICIPATED.

C. THE PRC ALSO QUESTIONS IF NEW YORK IS THE ONLY OF MOST
APPROPRIATE LOCATION FOR THE THREE TEAMS TO GATHER FOR THE
WRITING PERIOD. TEN PEOPLE FOR FOUR MONTHS IN NEW YORK IS
EXPENSIVE, COMPARED TO, SAY, CYPRUS. IS WORKING ON THE
PARTICIPATING CAMPUSES IN THE MIDDLE EAST REALLY OUT OF
THE QUESTION?

D. IF IN FACT AID DOES NOT FUND THIS PROJECT FURTHER WHAT
WILL BE THE EFFECT ON THE PROJECT AND REPERCUSSIONS ON
THE PARTICIPANTS? ARE THERE ALTERNATIVES TO THE EXTENSIVE
DATA ANALYSIS TO THAT WHICH HAS BEEN PROPOSED? ARE THERE
ALTERNATIVE FUNDING SOURCES WHICH MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO THIS
PROJECT NOW THAT THE DATA HAS ALMOST BEEN COLLECTED?

E. PROPOSAL ALSO LACKS A COST BREAKDOWN PER CATEGORY
(SAMPLE SIZE, QUESTIONNAIRE LENGTH, INCREASED PALESTINIAN
PARTICIPATION) WHICH WOULD GIVE US A CLEARER PICTURE AS
TO THE REASONS BEHIND THE INCREASED COSTS. HOW MUCH OF
EACH LINE ITEM IN THE SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST CAN BE ATTRI-
BUTED TO WHICH PIECES OF THE INCREASED LEVEL OF EFFORT?

F. AID/W MAJOR CONCERN IS THE COST OF THE SUPPLEMENT.
ALTHOUGH WE ARE HOPING FOR AN INCREASE IN REGIONAL FUNDING
LEVEL, THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THIS MAY NOT MATERIALIZE.
GIVEN THE LEVEL OF FUNDING WE CAN REALISTICALLY EXPECT NEXT
YEAR AND OUR CURRENT COMMITMENTS, PROVIDING THE SUPPLEMENT
WOULD CUT HEAVILY INTO OUR DISCRETIONARY FUNDS RESULTING
IN POSSIBILITY OF PRECLUDING SUPPORT FOR OTHER REGIONAL
ACTIVITIES.

4. DURING JANUARY MEETING IN NEW YORK WITH A NUMBER OF
AID AND STATE REPRESENTATIVES COHEN BRIEFLY BROACHED NEED
FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS. OUR UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THESE
WERE NEEDED FOR COST OVERRUNS IN SUCH AREAS AS TRANSLATION
AND DATA PROCESSING; THE INCREASED SAMPLE SIZE AND

INSTRUMENT COMPLEXITY WAS NOT GIVEN AS REASON. COHEN HAS
STATED HE BELIEVED WE GAVE POSITIVE RESPONSE TO HIS
REQUEST AND FOR THAT REASON HE DID NOT RAISE THIS ISSUE
DURING HIS LAST VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST. WE DO NOT FEEL
THAT AID HAS MADE ANY COMMITMENT TO HIM BUT WE DID INVITE
HIM TO SUBMIT A SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST. BECAUSE OF OPINIONS
STATED IN REFTELS AND CONCERNS RAISED IN PARA. 3 ABOVE
COHEN WAS INFORMED THAT, BASED UPON INFORMATION IN THE
PROPOSAL, PRC COULD NOT RECOMMEND APPROVING REQUEST. COHEN
SUBSEQUENTLY SUBMITTED REVISED PROPOSAL (POUCHED TO POSTS
ON 4/9). PRC REVIEWED REVISED PROPOSAL AND STILL FEELS
CONCERNS NOT YET ADDRESSED SATISFACTORILY.

5. AID/W UNDERSTANDS COHEN WILL BE MEETING WITH EMBASSIES
CAIRO AND TEL AVIV DURING WEEK OF 4/16. ALTHOUGH WE SHALL
BE SHARING WITH HIM DIRECTLY OUR CONCERNS IN PARA. 3, IT
MAY BE USEFUL IF YOU HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE THEM WITH
HIM AS WELL. COHEN MAINTAINS THAT LACK OF ADDITIONAL
FUNDING WILL RESULT IN MOST OF THE DATA BEING WASTED. WE
BELIEVE THAT HE WILL MAKE THIS ARGUMENT WITH YOU. YOU MAY
WISH TO DRAW HIM OUT ON THE EXACT MEANING OF THIS ASSERTION.

6. PLEASE ADVISE RESULTS OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS.

DECONTROL 12/31/33. EAGLEBURGER

Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 CAIRO 10210 271140Z
ACTION AID-35

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ACTION OFFICE NETA-04
INFO NEPD-04 NEDP-02 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 GCFL-01
GCNE-01 FM-02 NEE-03 IT-06 NEME-03 RELO-01
MAST-01 /035 A4 327

INFO OCT-08 IHR-10 EB-08 NEA-06 INRE-08 /059 W
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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5840
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE CAIRO 10210

DEPARTMENT PASS AID

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PEPR EG IS US XF
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PAGE 01 TEL AV 06864 071941Z
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Personal 12/31/83

IMPORTANT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT~~

See Distribution

DATE: May 10, 1982

NE/TECH/SARD, G. David Miller, *GD Miller*

Regional Cooperation: Additional Funding for Project 298-0168 -
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State/NEA/EGY, K. Stammerman
State/P, R. Raphael
State/INR/GI, J. Montville
NE/TECH, K. Sherper (Info)
AA/NE, J. Rashid

298-0018
0/68

NEAR EAST ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

DATE: May 27, 1982
TIME: 9:30 a.m.
PLACE: Room 6439 N.S.

SUBJECT: Images in Conflict - Conflict Resolution, Project 298-018 - ISSUES PAPER

The Near East Advisory Committee will meet as scheduled above to discuss the subject Issues Paper and Proposal.

Please refer all questions to the Chairperson.

Attachments:

Issues Paper
Proposal

Distribution

A/NE, Ms. W. A. Ford, 6724 NS	<u>Project Review Committee</u>
AA/NE, Mr. B. Langmaid, 6724 NS	NE/TECH/SARD, G.D. Miller, Chairperson
AA/NE, Ms. J. Rashid, 6728 NS	NE/ME, G. Kamens
AA/NE, Mr. E. Vinson, 6732, NS	NE/ME, R. Misheloff
NE/DP, Mr. C. Johnson, 6723 NS	NE/DP, S. Chernenkoff
NE/PD, Mr. S. Taubenblatt, 4720 NS	State/NEA/IAI, L. Peters
NE/PD, Mr. R. Bell, 4720 NS	State/NEA/EGY, K. Stammerman
NE/TECH, Mr. K. Sherper, 4443 NS	State/P, R. Raphael
NE/TECH/SARD, Mr. W. Miner, 3316 NS	State/INR/GI, J. Montville
NE/PD, Mr. L. Rosenberg, 4712 NS	
NE/PD, Mr. S. Lintner, 4709 NS	
NE/PD, Mr. J. Habron, 4712 NS	
GC/NE, Mr. J. Kessler, 2638 NS	
NE/PD, Ms. G. Shivers, 4709A NS (1)	
A/AID, Mr. M. P. McPherson (Deliver to G. Shivers) (1)	
AAA/PPC/PDPR, (Deliver to G. Shivers) (1)	
PPC/PB, (Deliver to G. Shivers) (2)	
NE/E, Mr. G. Gower, 5316 NS	
NE/ME, Mr. G. Kamens, 5318 NS	
PPC/WID, Ms. P. Goddard, 3245 NS	
CM/ROD/NE, Ms. K. Cunningham, 731, SA-14	
AA/PRE, Mr. D. Levintow, 5883 NS	
SER/COM/NE, Mr. R. Looper, 725 SA-14	
AA/ST, Mr. C. Farrar, 4942 NS	
SAA/ST, Dr. N.C. Brady, 4942 NS	
ST/DIU/DI, Mr. B. Ashton, 570, SA-14 (4)	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Near East Advisory Committee

DATE: May 25, 1982

THRU : NE/TECH, Kenneth Sherper *KX*

FROM : NE/TECH/SARD, Gerald David Miller *GDM*

SUBJECT: Images in Conflict - Project 298-018, Amendment - ISSUES PAPER

Background: Project 298-0168 is a \$770,000 grant to City University of New York which provides the administrative support to a group of Israeli, Palestinian and Egyptian social scientists. This activity is an applied research effort to analyze the perceptions and images that each side of the Middle East conflict has of itself, its neighbors, the conflict and the Peace Process. The three teams came together in September and January to design the data collection effort. They then proceeded to collect the data in the field--close to 2,000 interviews. In August they shall get together once again to begin the analysis and write-up of the study.

This project is an unusual one which came into existence under an equally unusual set of circumstances. Following initial contacts between Israeli and Egyptian social scientists at the Watergate Hotel in January 1980, it became clearer to them that the resolution of the Middle East conflict calls for more than a negotiation of boundaries. The dispute goes beyond the incompatible territorial claims of two peoples. Centuries of fears, suspicions, hatreds, misunderstandings, disparate value systems all stand in the way of genuine regional understanding.

The activities funded under project 298-018 have served to stimulate communication about the conflict in a manner unparalleled thus far. These activities have aimed at addressing the stereotypes, self images and conventional wisdom in a number of ways. This process has brought together leading Israeli, Palestinian and Egyptian social scientists and political leaders (along with their constituencies) as equal partners to negotiate as an initial step the terms of reference, size and scope of their study. Each side regarded this project as the first opportunity to gather firsthand data about the other side. The participants have been assured that the data acquired under this project are not solely for American purposes and interests. The participants entered into this activity with the understanding that the project and its output were theirs and for the purposes of enhancing their mutual understanding.

As the Egyptians, Israelis and Palestinians assumed ownership of the project it began to change shape, expand in ways initially unpredictable and address issues and involve people heretofore thought unapproachable. Here are several examples of unanticipated results that have cost implications:

1. It soon became evident that an entire vocabulary needed to be agreed upon and a lexicon established in order to assure correct interpretation of the responses of the different groups of respondents. This increased translation cost considerably. One small example is the word "aggression." Palestinians and Egyptians use two different Arabic words. All three groups held heated discussions over what aggression meant in their own cultures. Each team wanted to take responsibility for the translations of what the respondents on the other side were saying. Thorough translations needed in this project require considerable time and money.

2. Originally it was not expected that there would be full Palestinian participation. Palestinians have asked to participate fully and indeed are doing so. This increased the sample size and cost.

3. Each side debated about how "Israeli Arabs" (or Arab Israelis) should be classified. The Palestinians claimed them as theirs; the Israelis made the same claim. They agreed to increase the sample size sufficiently to permit inferences about the views of this group. And, in fact, they have found in early examination of the data that this group has different views from the others. Other sub-population groups were also identified for separate consideration, e.g. Copts, rural Egyptians, etc. This increased the sample size and hence the cost.

4. Originally there was doubt that total cooperation was possible. April 25th (the deadline for Israeli withdrawal from Sinai) was looming on the horizon. In fact, one Egyptian participant threatened to hold on to the data until the Israelis withdrew from Sinai. However, official support from all three communities caused the project to move faster than anyone anticipated. In fact, the two Foreign Ministers, Boutros Ghali and Yitzhak Shamir, have agreed to discuss the results in a televised open forum.

5. The social scientists selected from all three communities were chosen not for their political beliefs but because of their professional reputations. It is important to have the study stand on its own merit. The results should not be discredited for scientific reasons. The participants strongly feel that they are neither compromising their political beliefs nor their professional positions by participating. In fact, the members working together have been able to evolve a distinction between professional respect for each other and personal feelings. Each side realizes that this is the first time any one of them has ever attempted to understand the full extent of the impact of the conflict within its own community. The differences among intellectuals,

nouveau-riches, fundamentalists, urban dwellers, rural residents, males, females, entrepreneurs, farmers, politicians and community leaders were viewed as important for a good study. In order to obtain agreement on what constitutes a good sample and to assure its scientific validity, the total sample size needed to be increased. This raised the cost.

6. The amount of data to be transcribed and translated increased as a result of the increased samples and complexity of the questions that each side wanted to ask of the other. Use of a computer became necessary, even unto separate and complete data sets for each side. This too was originally unanticipated.

ISSUES

The following issues were raised by the PRC, USAID/Cairo and the Posts:

1. Is this the best use of available regional cooperation funds? Currently there are a number of other possibilities for the regional cooperation funds for FY 82 and FY 83. Using up \$300,000 will limit the number and size of new activities that we will be able to support under this program at a time when increasing the number of projects appears to be feasible. This will be especially critical if we continue at the same funding level next fiscal year. FYI: \$3.53 million of the \$4.0 million for FY 82 is already committed to ongoing activities; \$2.9 million of FY 83 funding is committed to these activities. In addition, we have agreed in principle to support the USDA ecosystems project.

Recommendation: Compared to those other activities currently in line for funding this project merits priority consideration (NE/E does not concur). However, simply as a funding expedient it may be possible to fund \$150,000 for FY 82 and the same in FY 83.

2. Are there reasonable possibilities for reducing the \$100,000 plus cost of the write-up of investigation results? Embassy Tel Aviv has suggested that a place such as Cyprus may be less expensive than New York to house the meeting of the three teams this Summer. This could save up to \$50,000. The difficulty is that the project analysts will not have access to the computer capability and the technical support the participants will require. Perhaps a shorter write up time could also be possible.

Recommendation: It is worth the extra \$50,000 to gain the full benefit of the three teams working together in New York.

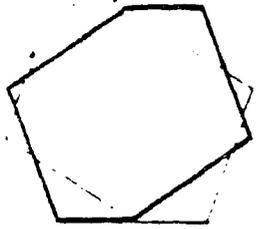
3. Do we have a basis for evaluating the justification for the funding add-on (Issue drafted and submitted by NE/E)?

Professor Cohen has submitted a budget for the use of the requested \$300,000. However, this budget simply represents presently unfinanced costs, including some that were included in the original budget, but the funds from which were "borrowed" to cover unbudgeted items or cost overruns on others. There is no comparative budget clearly indicating what the additional items are that AID is being asked to finance. It has been estimated that 60 percent is attributable to an increase in the number of interviews and 40 percent is due to underestimation of original budget costs, but the basis for this estimate is not demonstrated.

4. Does AID have an implied commitment to provide some or all of the requested funds?

The expanded scope of the investigation has already been implemented without waiting for formal AID approval of either the scope of work or additional funding. Some members of the PRC feel that AID was consulted at a decision point in the project where the grantee could have decided not to proceed with the larger effort, but that Professor Cohen was encouraged to submit a supplemental request for \$300,000, which he may have interpreted as a signal to proceed with the likelihood of obtaining additional funds.

Recommendation: A.I.D. does not have an implied commitment to provide additional funds.



0/68
The Graduate School and University Center
of The City University of New York

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IMAGES IN CONFLICT

DATA MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS

SUPPLEMENTARY PROPOSAL

Stephen P. Cohen, Principal Investigator

"Images in Conflict" is a social science study whose data will enhance regional cooperation and dialogue for both development and political ends. In any study with such a purpose there is a fundamental question: Why do we need good social science when our aims are political ones? The question is a serious one with answers at several different levels.

(1) Those working toward solutions to conflict make assumptions about people's attitudes. Despite the fact that this information is central to the solution-seeking process it is not always valid or reliable. Often they rely on journalistic analysis or on informal accounts of elite opinion. For example, remarkably, no depth analysis yet exists of Israeli attitudes toward the conflict, despite a widespread tradition of social research in that country. And there is no systematic research at all on conflict-related attitudes of Palestinians or Egyptians. This study will provide

data of high quality about such matters. It will begin the process of investigating the range of attitudes about the conflict in the three societies. Indications of openness and variability of opinion present opportunities for conflict resolution.

(2) Expertise about the conflict is, at present, nationally-based. There are Israeli experts, Egyptian experts, Palestinian experts. Not only do these experts differ in the way they interpret issues, but they all take different facts to be the basic ones.

Social science provides a common focus. It becomes possible, by using its methods, for a common basis of understanding to emerge. Because the same methods of analysis are used to deal with the same kind of material in the different societies, perceptions of the conflict become shared ones, not perceptions of "my side" versus "your side."

(3) Social science research can show which issues unify a group's opinion and which do not. In this way, it has a leavening effect on the notion that each party is united against the other. By identifying those points on which difference of opinion exists within groups it can point the way toward political progress between groups.

(4) Particularly in the Middle East conflict there tends to be an assumption that rulers manipulate public opinion within their society. No one really knows what people think. In Israel, for instance, there is argument about whether Egyptians support peace, whether Israelis are agreed against a Palestinian state or, for that matter, are skeptical about the value of the treaty with Egypt. Among Palestinians there is question whether most West Bank residents really would like accomodation with Israel or whether they support a view of continued confrontation. Indeed, the question is the basis of major confrontation at present between

the Israeli civilian administration and the urban leadership of the Palestinians. It is fair to say that in the present circumstances Israeli political leadership acts as if most West Bank and Gaza residents do not see the PLO as their leadership. Palestinian leadership in Beirut and the National Guidance Committee of Palestinians on the West Bank assume, to the contrary, that the vast majority of Palestinians identify with the PLO. Although this study cannot be definitive, it can help to sort out on what evidence each such view stands.

(5) To be credible, data from the study will have to specify the areas where there is agreement and those where differences in interpretation exist among the groups. But having shared in a cooperative study of this kind acts as a constraint to wild assumptions about the desires and intentions of the other parties. For those wishing to find a resolution to the conflict, this material will provide innumerable clues as to alternative approaches. But in some ways the process is as critical as the product. Conflict resolution is not just a matter of coming to the right answer. Rather, it is finding a means which can be trusted and participated in by extremely suspicious and threatened groups. With social science, there are norms for evaluating methods as well as data, giving it a potentially pivotal role in resolving conflict.

(6) An extremely important characteristic of social science is its accessibility and openness (opposite to being proprietary and hidden.) Although this property makes it very difficult to conduct social science during a period of conflict, it makes it all the more valuable when it is accomplished. Even those opposed to this study will be able to look at the data and assess them. The study is not conceived as part of the hidden agenda of any political force. By analyzing the data in a cooperative manner it

is hoped that the conflict resolution directions to which the data point will emerge as most prominent. Though it can probably never be eliminated, the point scoring for one side or another should be minimized. In short, in a situation where knowledge and expertise itself is a part of the conflict polarization a cooperative research study on the conflict can be a limited but significant force for unification and cooperation.

Insofar as the next few years in the Middle East will involve a joint US, Israeli, Egyptian and Palestinian struggle about directions of resolution of the relationships among these groups, this study can be an important marker to common understanding of what the problems are that must be solved and what a process might be that could be acceptable to the parties. In some ways, social science is to conflict resolution as international law is to the process of agreement. People who wish to disregard either cannot be stopped from doing so. However, when there is pressure for conflict resolution or a general desire to reach agreement, having a framework of shared data about what people really want and hope can be of as great assistance as having a framework of law.

No study of this kind could be undertaken without approval within the intellectual and political communities in the different societies. Although it is not characteristic of most social science research, one of the tacit responsibilities of the Principal Investigator in this project has been the achievement of acceptability for the study by the political leadership of the groups involved. In all cases, political leaders are not only aware of the study but are monitoring its progress.

While this has been a source of tension and sometimes of serious difficulty, it has assured that the study has a significance and an influence far beyond the scientific community. The Principal Investigator has discussed the work with top leaders who have, each in their own way, indicated strong interest in both the process and the outcome. It is a fine line -- but one extremely important to maintain -- that the scientific independence of the study and its scientific integrity be preserved at the same time these political channels of communication are kept open.

As the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians has intensified the balancing act becomes more difficult. Its continued success is due both to the norms of the scientific method and the remarkable commitments of the Project Directors in the field. For me, the symbol of this is a recent incident in which one of the Project Directors had the windows of his car stoned and shattered on the way to a meeting with his counterparts in the project. He continued to the meeting.

How this study is integrated into each society is not merely a question of the political leadership. There is a ripple effect being felt through the intellectual elite. In Egypt, for example, certain intellectuals are deeply opposed to it, precisely because they feel it is not a fact of isolated social science. Rather, they see it as the first significant event of normalization within the intellectual community. It is fair to say that the controversy around this study has contributed to its significance in Egypt and that its adversaries as well as its advocates are eagerly awaiting its results and are anxious for access to the primary data. In Israel,

many intellectuals have been drawn into the process of the study -- as experts, as curious onlookers, and as people who are involved in both analysis of the data and the assessment of its significance.

We know that in all societies the mass media have requested interviews and stories about the study. We have agreed not to do that until the first report is written. We are certain, however, that this interest will remain great.

The study subjects, too, feel part of a cooperative project. All know that the work is going on in the three societies and their feelings about the importance of giving responses of high quality are enhanced. Many address remarks to an imagined audience in the other societies. An Israeli group interview exemplifies this sense of participation. Subjects agreed to spend 1½ hours and stayed for more than 3½; the videotape operator from Hebrew University cancelled all other appointments to enable the interview to continue. The next day one of the participants came to thank the Project Director for a unique opportunity (just as he was about to apologize for taking so much time from a busy professional). She answered that all her life she thought she had discussed the Arab-Israeli problem: in her home, at the university, at her work. But for her, this discussion stood out in teaching her about the complexity of her own feelings and views and those of other Israelis. It went beyond any discussion in her experience.

The process of conflict resolution requires the creation of networks of people in each society who make positive relationships the central part of their life activity. Out of this project have come such nodes of institutionalized peace commitment. In Israel, the Tel

Aviv University peace project is almost in a state of collapse. Only this project maintains its operations. In Egypt, the Shalaan-Hefny group has now attracted other intellectuals curious about cooperation and gingerly approaching it. We have already seen the fruits of this network:

Dr. Shalaan considers building a peace institute in Egypt. Dr. Bahrawi proposes joint research in Israeli and Egyptian literature with Israeli scholars. Dr. Al-Mashat helped to concretize an Interns for Peace proposal for teenage exchange as a result of contacts created in this project. Dr. Yaar begins to create an institution in Israel for doing ongoing cooperative research. Dr. Kannana organizes a group from several universities on the West Bank to engage in common social science training with Israelis, Egyptians and Jordanians under the aegis of Dr. Azar, contacts made in the study.

The controversial and much-criticized act of cooperating while conflict still rages can proceed only through a strong network of trusted individuals. The very intensive interaction required by this study has forged such bonds and moreover strengthened the links within these groups of people willing to take the risk. There should be no mistake. There are elements who wish to prevent this project from proceeding precisely because of its cooperative impact. And these elements in Egypt, Israel and the West Bank are determined to succeed. Our best defense will be the quality of what has been accomplished as a scientific endeavor. It is in this paradoxical way that scientific excellence and political value are mutually reinforcing.

Brief Report of Progress

In the face of the great tensions of March and April 1982, the social scientists of the Images in Conflict project are proceeding to implement the data-gathering phase of the study. In Egypt, the sample already represents the most substantial systematic study of Egyptian views and images of the conflict

ever conducted. The Israeli samples have evoked intense interest among the most experienced pollsters and political analysts in the country. The Palestinian data could well provide the first reliable report on the policy preferences and images of the most controversial population in the Middle East today.

At the inception of the study we did not anticipate so strong a level of involvement on the part of each of these regional teams. The reticence of the Egyptians and Palestinians arose out of the environment of scepticism and criticism for participation in an American sponsored and financed project, which involved Israelis in direct cooperation. We set our goals modestly, not wishing to be among those in regional peace and cooperation who promise more than can reasonably be delivered.

We estimated the difficulties of Egyptian implementation of the study on the basis of discussion in the field to permit not more than a total of 300 interviews. This was already a larger sample than in any comparable Egyptian study. We set the goal for Israel at a similar level. Most of all, we recognized the enormous difficulties of any study involving Palestinians. We know that the American sponsorship would create distrust and suspicion; that the Egyptian-Israeli element would create doubts about whether this project was part of Camp David, even when no such intention was implied. We anticipated problems from within the West Bank, from Israeli authorities, and from outside. Thus we estimated the Palestinian sample at half the size of the others.

When the teams met for two weeks in August and September in New York, the participants began to involve themselves more deeply in the study. They became determined to do an unassailable first-rate study that would silence its critics by its excellence and compensate the project directors for the heavy toll of involvement. To accomplish this end, they urged changes in the quantity of data to be collected and more improvements in the study design.

The re-design process was an instructive lesson in the conduct of cooperative projects: each group wished to include the method in which it was most expert. A multi-method study of unusual complexity and excellence was the result.

It has always been the case that this study had a purpose beyond the production of social science: the design and conduct of a cooperative endeavor. I believed that this second purpose would enhance the first, because scientists from the different societies would contribute the best insights and methods of their groups. The scientific results would become meaningful to all parties and credible to any audience. When the teams met, the hoped-for enrichment actually began to happen. The scientists on the teams began to see themselves not as data-gatherers for my project but as collaborators on an emergent joint one. As Principal Investigator I might have insisted that we adhere to the specifications of the original proposal. However, in my view, preventing the teams from contributing their excellent ideas would have undermined both of the study's purposes. It would have resulted in social research of less scientific merit and would have reduced the project's value as a cooperative effort.

The process by which this cooperative orientation was achieved is interesting in itself. The two-week design seminars held in August and September and again in January were intense, profound, and difficult because the teams knew that the study was in their hands as well as in mine. At a moment of extreme tension, Ibrahim Bahrawi suggested that I should have told everyone what to do and let them take it or leave it - a course which might have produced a

more elegant - certainly an easier research project. It would, however, have been almost worthless as an effort in cooperation.

Naturally, allowing this process to take place had budgetary implications, and for this I take full responsibility. The sample size was increased and the interview lengthened to reflect each team's concerns. By approving these modifications the costs of this study were increased in proportion to the increase in the amount of data gathered. In compensation, the project has become one in which all teams feel proud to be participating. It will be both a landmark study and an event in regional cooperation.

Specific Improvements in Design, Methods, and Procedures

The early budget, based on consultations in the field, could not anticipate the changes which would result when the various project directors began to commit themselves to the study and work collaboratively together. Specifically, the interview instruments and sample design originally proposed were smaller and less complex than those finally agreed upon; so project costs of translation, transcription and data analysis became serious underestimates.

Perhaps the most important underestimate in the original budget was the fact that it did not include the costs of a complete Palestinian team. To our advantage, the Palestinians are now fully involved. Indeed the team's sampling of Israeli Arabs and Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza alone accounts for a 25% increase in the study's size. In part, these increased costs were compensated for in the operating budget, but only at the expense of data management allotments.

Lastly, the teams feel the necessity for more intensive interaction during data analysis and write-up than anyone had hoped for. Indeed, the desire to work together at these times is one of the study's major achievements. It will ensure that all teams have equal access to data analysis and help guarantee that the product is not only joint, but in significant ways cooperative and even consensual.

Sampling. Most critical to the project are two sampling principles: (1) that the best possible representation of the population in question be drawn (guaranteeing the accuracy with which study data reflects the group's opinion) and (2) that the samples be directly comparable across national groups. These two principles were enormously complicated to apply at the same time and deep arguments developed about sampling. Over time, we reached an agreement to draw quota samples in all three societies, and additional random samples for Palestinians and Israelis. As a result, we have highly credible studies in each society. The enormous benefit of these increased sample sizes is an assurance that the results will be seen as strongly representative, even if never definitive. The alternative (that is, retaining the originally small number of interviews) would have raised doubts about the study's scientific validity in the societies - and even within the project itself.

Interview methods. The interview now consists of a structured questionnaire and a story-narrative segment administered to individuals and to groups of individuals. It lasts about 2 hours. The diversity

of approaches represents differing scientific assessments of the best way to plumb sensitive socio-political and psycho-political attitudes. Our study is staffed by social psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, social anthropologists, and psychiatrists; it will be read by intellectuals from those and other groups. It was very important for the process of cooperation and for the power and the impact of the results that these different views be represented in the kind of data gathered. In the last analysis, this multi-method approach enriches the study enormously and provides a point of entry for many disciplines and intellectual perspectives. Were this only a study, this complexity might be deemed the luxury of an interdisciplinary approach; since it is a regional cooperation project as well, the diversity of methods is and was a necessity. Not only does it satisfy the different points of expertise in the teams; it also assures the credibility of the study in each of the three societies (not to speak of the United States).

Budgetary implications. Most of the supplementary budget (\$147 132) represents the essentials of data preparation - coding, keypunching, translation and word-processing. (Word-processing is the most efficient and economical approach handling textual data such as the story narratives.) There is a small addition for data analysis itself - though most computer time will be donated. These costs are identical to those in the budget submitted in the first week of February, round which the discussion at the site visit centered. The numbers reflect the sample sizes discussed during the site visit and no other sample changes. (In the February supplementary budget request we included equipment requests, which we have now eliminated

in the hope that they can be borrowed locally by the teams.) These estimates are very carefully drawn and represent no exaggeration whatsoever.

The details of the write-up period were not discussed as carefully during the site visit. Though the intention to work together for several months was mentioned in February, the budgetary implications were not spelled out. Since that time we have decided to reduce the duration of the write-up period from six months to four and to increase slightly the number of participants - emphasizing the size of the network of cooperation. The figure given in the budget are the bare minimum costs to maintain foreign visitors in New York.

The research assistants mentioned in the budget include one Israeli student, one Egyptian student, one Palestinian student and one American student to work with the teams on analysis and stay on in the write-up period. In the process they will themselves become trained in this kind of cooperative research, enlarging our network to include the younger generation of scholars in these societies. (Because of their participation in both analysis and write-up their presence is necessary whether or not a lengthy write-up period is achieved.)

Our project directors have in the last two months requested permission from their universities to come to New York for several months to do this work, a tremendous opportunity for cooperation and deepening of inter-group communication. Indeed, to me it is the essence of success of a project such as this that after all the

struggle involved, the participants still wish to work together with this intensity.

Indirect costs. The level of indirect costs is set at exactly the rate of the original proposal as negotiated in July and August 1981.

Conclusion

Increasing the budget in a program of this kind is obviously difficult. Yet it would be tragic were we unable to process the data from this study in the appropriate scientific manner. Tragic because the successful cooperative efforts achieved thus far would come to nothing; and tragic because the study data are timely and in failing to make them available now the historical moment will pass.

The example of one successful and meaningful project of cooperation will inspire - indeed has inspired - others to come forward. Evidence of success should also increase funding possibilities. (For example, we have already received a \$25,000 grant from the Ford Foundation for training of the teams in the field and have raised approximately \$35,000 from private sources to cover conference expenses during the project's first year.) It is critical to regional cooperation that there be a major visible success - especially one involving these three groups and focussing on the most difficult area of that relationship - conflict resolution itself.

BUDGET TO BE SUBMITTED TO AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

for Data Preparation and Analysis Phase of "Images in Conflict" project

4/5/82

I. Data Preparation

A. Questionnaire

1. Closed ended questions

Six keypunch cards X \$.50 X 2300 questionnaires \$ 6,900

2. Open ended questions

a. Arabic translation: 1024 questionnaires X 1 hour see below

b. Hebrew translation: 512 questionnaires X 1 hour see below

c. Coding -- 2300 questionnaires X 1 hour X \$7 16,100

d. Two keypunch cards X \$.50 X 2300 2,300

B. Photo Interviews

1. Transcription of taped interviews

a. Arabic - West Bank: (6 months X \$1,000/month X 2) 12,000

b. Hebrew - Israel: (½ year X \$1,000/month X 2) 12,000

c. Arabic - Egypt: 10 E pounds X 512 (1E£ = \$1) 5,120

2. Translation of transcribed photo interviews

a. Arabic translation: 1024 interviews X 3 hours see below

b. Hebrew translation: 512 interviews X 3 hours see below

3. Word processing after translation

2,300 interviews X 1 hour X \$6 13,800

C. Group Interviews

1. Transcription - already budgeted

2. Translation

a. Hebrew: 16 interviews X 4 hours see below

b. Arabic: 48 interviews X 4 hours see below

3. Word processing: 80 interviews (Hebrew + Arabic) X 2 hrs. X \$6 960

Subtotal 69,180

33

Data Preparation (continued) subtotal from p.1 \$ 69,180

D. Translation

Total of A.2. - 1536 hours
Total of B.2. - 4608 hours
Total of C.2. - 216 hours
6360 hours = 182 weeks

9 Translators X 5 months X \$20,000/year \$ 75,000
(3 Hebrew and 6 Arabic)

E. Word processors - Fringe

B.3. + C.3. = \$14,760 X 20% fringe 2,952

TOTAL DATA PREPARATION 147,132 147,132

II. Data Analysis

A. Full-time programmer for 6 months (\$25,000/year) 12,500
B. 20% fringe on above 2,500

C. Computer Data Analysis 11,500
(\$20,000 -\$8,500 already in Maryland subcontract)

D. Consultants 2,500

TOTAL DATA ANALYSIS 29,000 29,000

subtotal from page 2 176,132

III. Write Up Period

A. Housing allowance for 4 months X 10 principals	\$40,000	
B. Round trip for 9 Middle East participants 9 X \$1,000	9,000	
C. Host expenses for 4 months: 4 X \$750/month	3,000	
D. Secretary (2) to principals (\$10,500/year X 1/3 year X 2)	7,000	
E. Fringe on above (D)--20%	1,400	
F. Research Assistants - 4 X \$6,000	24,000	
G. Fringe on above (F) -- 20%	<u>4,800</u>	
TOTAL WRITE UP PERIOD	89,200	<u>89,200</u>

TOTAL DIRECT COSTS \$ 265,332

INDIRECT COSTS - 13.07% 34,668

TOTAL COSTS OF DATA PREPARATION/ANALYSIS/WRITE UP \$300,000

4/5/82

May 6, 1982

REQUEST FOR SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDS FOR DATA MANAGEMENT

Coding and Keypunching	\$25,300
Translation	75,000
Transcription	29,120
Word Processing	17,712
Data Analysis	29,000
Write Up Period	89,200
	<u>265,332</u>
13.07% indirect costs	<u>34,668</u>
TOTAL	300,000

The request for \$300,000 more to cover expenses on the Images in Conflict project represents a 39% increase over the costs of the project estimated in July, 1981 -- \$770,000 -- and approved by A.I.D.

It must be noted at this point that for a 39% increase in costs we will get a 500%* increase in data collected and analyzed under a research design far superior to the original.

The reasons for the 39% increase in estimated costs of the project are outlined below (in percentages):

Increased participation of Palestinians	35%
Underestimation of transcription and translation and coding costs	25%
Increased sample size (Egypt + Israel)	20%
Group interviews	5%
Budget underestimation in Phase I of the project, e.g. sample pre-test, conference costs, xerox & communication	15%

* See Appendix A.

In the following pages the reader must keep in mind that the research design went through several stages of development and will be referred to as: (1) Original design of 7/81

- (2) Design after August/September conference
 - Interim Design
- (3) Design after pre-tests and January conference
 - Final design

There are three basic differences between the original design and the final design.

1. The sample size for individual and photo interviews has grown from 750 to 3,500. The Palestinian team itself decided to increase their sample from 150 to 1,200.

2. The estimated time for the individual interviews has expanded slightly, from between one and two hours to between two and three hours.

3. Group interviews (32 in each area) were not included in the original design. They now comprise 288 hours total of unusually intense discussion about the conflict that need to be transcribed, translated, entered on the word processor and subsequently analyzed. This particular data has excited all of the esteemed social scientists working on the project as well as many of the interviewees themselves.

* * * * *

In the first budget that was approved by A.I.J. on 7/28/81, the following were the allocations to data management:

	<u>Transcription</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>Coding</u>
Year 1: Israeli	15,000*	15,000**	-
Palestinian	6,000	7,000	-
Egyptian	6,000	7,000	-
U.S. Central Team	-	-	10,000
Year 2: Israeli	1,875	1,875	-
Palestinian	5,000	3,000	-
Egyptian	5,000	3,000	-
U.S. Central Team	-	-	10,000
	<u>40,750</u>	<u>35,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>

*Expected to cover interview expenses, transportation and per diem as well.

**Expected to cover salaries of interviewers and assistants as well.

Transcription

In the reorganization of the budget after consulting with the Middle East teams at the August/September conference it was decided that the Central Team would be responsible for translation and related costs of data management. It can be seen from the Independent Contractor Agreements with the Middle East teams that they were still held responsible for transcription costs. Approximately \$7,500 was allocated to each team. Both individual and group interviews were expected to be one to two hours in length. This was before the pre-test using the instruments developed at the August/September conference.

It was subsequently discovered through the pre-tests that group interviews last three hours and take 20 hours to transcribe. With 32 groups being taped in each area the total time needed for transcription is 1,920 hours, or 640 hours each. Thus the \$7,500 allocated to each team for transcription is considered adequate for the transcription of group interviews only. No supplemental funds are being requested for transcription of group interviews. However, funds will be needed for transcription of individual interviews.

Translation

As reported to A.I.D. in the revised budget of 3/2/82, in the reorganization of the budget in August/September \$62,150 was taken from the Middle East teams. It was hoped that most of these monies would be able to go towards translation. However, it became necessary to use these funds for

1. Costs of sample pre-tests and development of computer analysis methods at the University of Maryland (\$36,000 for two years)
2. Costs of transcribing tapes from the conferences, which tapes are considered a primary source of data on the conflict
3. Underestimated costs of telephone, duplication and mail

The result has been that the project is left with a bare minimum of funds (\$5,000 total) for translation of an expanded sample of individual questionnaires and photo interviews and for translation of the group interviews.

Word Processing

Since group interviews were not part of the original design, we did not budget for them in July, 1981 data management.

Word processing of the individual photo interviews was not budgeted for in the original design and will take one hour per interview.

We are able to get word processors for \$6 per hour, as outlined in the supplemental budget already submitted, because half of the salaries will be contributed by the University.

Coding & Keypunching

In preparing the individual questionnaires for data analysis they have to be coded and the codes then entered on the computer.

1. Coding for the closed ended questions is relatively simple. Each interviewer in the Middle East was required to enter the codes for the closed ended questions on the side of each questionnaire to make it easier for the keypuncher in the United States to enter those codes on the computer. Key punching closed ended questions is estimated at \$6,900 (\$.50 per key punch card).

2. Coding for the open ended questions is a lengthier process since the coder has to determine in what category the answers fall. The coding of the open ended questions will be done in the United States, and is estimated to take one hour per questionnaire. Here again, we are able to get coders at \$7 per hour since part of the salaries are covered by the University. Total - \$16,100.

After the open ended questions have been coded they then have to be keypunched onto the computer -- two keypunch cards per questionnaire at \$.50 per card. Total - \$2,300.

No fringe has been added to the salaries of any of the coders and keypunchers in the supplemental budget. It is assumed that this will be covered by the University.

In the budget of the original design \$20,000 was allocated for coding for the U.S. central team. It was necessary to reallocate most of these funds to cover consultant fees for Azar, Rouhana and Al-Mashat, fringe on research assistants and coders that was not built into the original budget and salaries of translators necessary to the pre-tests. A line of \$3,000 was kept for coding in Year 1 of the project.

Data Analysis

As previously stated, it became obvious after the August/September conference that an independent contractor agreement would have to be signed with the institution responsible for the computer programming and data analysis factors of the project -- in this case, the University of Maryland. The \$36,000 contract covers the development of a codebook for the questionnaire and the frame for data management for the entire study. Also included herein are the costs of part of the analysis of the data, computer programming and computer time. Most of the latter has been donated by the University of Maryland and CUNY Graduate Center but some funds must be used to pay for copying computer tapes and analysis.

The request for a supplement of \$29,000 is needed to cover the salary plus fringe of a full-time programmer, to supplement the \$8,500

already in the Maryland subcontract for computer data analysis, and to pay consultant fees for experts in the field.

Write-Up Period

In the original budget of 7/81, \$10,000 was allocated towards fall 1982 data analysis in New York and \$15,000 towards a late summer 1983 two-week analysis meeting. This total of \$25,000 had to be rebudgeted for underestimated costs of the conferences in August/September and January that were longer and more intense than anticipated, and for emergency travel of the Principal Investigator to the Middle East.

All the project directors will be meeting in New York, beginning August 1, 1982 for a total of 4 months. The reasons for meeting in New York are: (1) the need for a neutral point of work; (2) the need for computer facilities and a support infrastructure of administrative and research staff.

We are also asking for funds to cover secretarial assistance for the principals, who will be drafting parts of the report and publication of the study. The Institute for Middle East Peace and Development does not have sufficient support staff to cover their needs fully.

Four research assistants will be needed to work with the principals on data analysis and related reports and to carry on the research to the next generation of regional social scientists.

Indirect Costs

Indirect costs requested are the same as in the original budget of 7/81.

APPENDIX I

Increase in Scope of Work

Images in Conflict

ORIGINAL DESIGN:

PRESENT DESIGN

Individual Interviews:

Israeli 300
Egyptian 300
Palestinian 150

Israeli 600 quota sample
1200 random sample
Egyptian 600 quota sample
Palestinian 600 quota*
600 random*

* Includes Israeli Arabs and
West Bank and Gaza
Palestinians

Group Interviews

None

32 in each area = 96 total

Total Length of Interview

1 - 2 hours per respondent

Individual interview = 2-3 hours
Group interview = 3 hours

Amount of Material for Transcription
Translation, Coding and Analysis

750 X 2 hours = 1,500 hours TOTAL

Individual = 3,600 X 2 = 7,200 hours
Group = 96 X 3 288 hours

7,488 TOTAL

Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PAGE- 01 STATE 183512
ORIGIN AID-35

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ORIGIN OFFICE NETC-84
INFO HEDP-02 PPCE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 PPEA-01 GCFL-01
GCNE-01 FM-02 CMGT-02 CTR-02 TRSY-05 RELO-01 MAST-01
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APPROVED BY AID/NE/TECH: LEWIS P READE
AID/NE/NE/RA: R BURNS (DRAFT)
AID/NE/I: R MISHELOFF (DRAFT)
AID/NE/E: D MORRISSEY (DRAFT)
AID/NE/TECH/HRST: S HEYMAN (DRAFT)
AID/GC/NE: B JANIGIAN (DRAFT)
AID/NE/OP/PR: S CHERNEKOFF (DRAFT)
STATE/NEA/IAI: L PETERS (DRAFT)
STATE/NEA/EGY: K STAMMERMAN (DRAFT)

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 183512

AIDAC

E.O. 12889: N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR
PROJECT 298-0168, CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REF: A) CAIRO 07116, B) TEL AVIV 04933

1. PROJECT REVIEW COMMITTEE PRC MET FOR SECOND TIME ON
4/13/82 TO REVIEW COHEN REQUEST FOR SUBJECT PROJECT. FUND-
ING WOULD BE PROVIDED IN FY 83, BUT A FIRM COMMITMENT IS
NEEDED NOW.

2. AID/W CONTINUES TO FEEL THAT THIS IS A VALUABLE PROJECT
WITH THE POTENTIAL OF MAKING AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO
THE PEACE PROCESS. HOWEVER PRC FELT COHEN HAS NOT MADE
ADEQUATE CASE FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS IN EITHER THE INITIAL
OR THE REVISED SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST. AID/W HAS WITHHELD
FURTHER ACTION UPON THIS REQUEST UNTIL IT HAS RECEIVED
SATISFACTORY ANSWERS TO SIX CONCERNS RAISED BY THE PRC.

3. FYI THE FOLLOWING ARE THE SIX CONCERNS:

A. THE SAMPLE SIZE HAS ALMOST TREBLED FROM THAT WHICH WAS
APPROVED UNDER THE ORIGINAL GRANT. COHEN ARGUES THAT THIS
IS A RESULT OF A PROCESS IN WHICH PARTICIPANTS FROM ALL

THREE TEAMS AGREED THAT INCREASED SAMPLE SIZE IS
IMPORTANT. IN THE PROPOSAL THERE IS NO EXPLANATION HOW-
EVER AS TO THE RATIONALE FOR INCREASED SAMPLE SIZE OTHER
THAN THAT THE PARTICIPANTS WANTED IT AND THEREFORE SUPPORT-
ING IT ENCOURAGES INTERGROUP PARTICIPATION. THE PRC FEELS
THAT THERE MUST BE A STRONG SCIENTIFIC OR POLITICAL BASIS
TO WARRANT INCREASED SUPPORT. SUCH A BASIS HAS NOT BEEN
PROVIDED IN THE SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST.

B. THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR THE INCREASE IN LENGTH OF THE
QUESTIONNAIRE. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US WHAT IS GAINED BY
INCREASING THE SIZE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, OR WHAT ARE THE
ADDITIONAL BITS OF INFORMATION NOT ORIGINALLY ANTICIPATED.

C. THE PRC ALSO QUESTIONS IF NEW YORK IS THE ONLY OF MOST
APPROPRIATE LOCATION FOR THE THREE TEAMS TO GATHER FOR THE
WRITING PERIOD. TEN PEOPLE FOR FOUR MONTHS IN NEW YORK IS
EXPENSIVE, COMPARED TO, SAY, CYPRUS. IS WORKING ON THE
PARTICIPATING CAMPUSES IN THE MIDDLE EAST REALLY OUT OF
THE QUESTION?

D. IF IN FACT AID DOES NOT FUND THIS PROJECT FURTHER WHAT
WILL BE THE EFFECT ON THE PROJECT AND REPERCUSSIONS ON
THE PARTICIPANTS? ARE THERE ALTERNATIVES TO THE EXTENSIVE
DATA ANALYSIS TO THAT WHICH HAS BEEN PROPOSED? ARE THERE
ALTERNATIVE FUNDING SOURCES WHICH MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO THIS
PROJECT NOW THAT THE DATA HAS ALMOST BEEN COLLECTED?

E. PROPOSAL ALSO LACKS A COST BREAKDOWN PER CATEGORY
(SAMPLE SIZE, QUESTIONNAIRE LENGTH, INCREASED PALESTINIAN
PARTICIPATION) WHICH WOULD GIVE US A CLEARER PICTURE AS
TO THE REASONS BEHIND THE INCREASED COSTS. HOW MUCH OF
EACH LINE ITEM IN THE SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST CAN BE ATTRI-
BUTED TO WHICH PIECES OF THE INCREASED LEVEL OF EFFORT?

F. AID/W MAJOR CONCERN IS THE COST OF THE SUPPLEMENT.
ALTHOUGH WE ARE HOPING FOR AN INCREASE IN REGIONAL FUNDING
LEVEL, THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THIS MAY NOT MATERIALIZE.
GIVEN THE LEVEL OF FUNDING WE CAN REALISTICALLY EXPECT NEXT
YEAR AND OUR CURRENT COMMITMENTS, PROVIDING THE SUPPLEMENT
WOULD CUT HEAVILY INTO OUR DISCRETIONARY FUNDS RESULTING
IN POSSIBILITY OF PRECLUDING SUPPORT FOR OTHER REGIONAL
ACTIVITIES.

4. DURING JANUARY MEETING IN NEW YORK WITH A NUMBER OF
AID AND STATE REPRESENTATIVES COHEN BRIEFLY BROACHED NEED
FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS. OUR UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THESE
WERE NEEDED FOR COST OVERRUNS IN SUCH AREAS AS TRANSLATION
AND DATA PROCESSING; THE INCREASED SAMPLE SIZE AND

INSTRUMENT COMPLEXITY WAS NOT GIVEN AS REASON. COHEN HAS
STATED HE BELIEVED WE GAVE POSITIVE RESPONSE TO HIS
REQUEST AND FOR THAT REASON HE DID NOT RAISE THIS ISSUE
DURING HIS LAST VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST. WE DO NOT FEEL
THAT AID HAS MADE ANY COMMITMENT TO HIM BUT WE DID INVITE
HIM TO SUBMIT A SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST. BECAUSE OF OPINIONS
STATED IN REFTELS AND CONCERNS RAISED IN PARA. 3 ABOVE
COHEN WAS INFORMED THAT, BASED UPON INFORMATION IN THE
PROPOSAL, PRC COULD NOT RECOMMEND APPROVING REQUEST. COHEN
SUBSEQUENTLY SUBMITTED REVISED PROPOSAL (POUCHED TO POSTS
ON 4/9). PRC REVIEWED REVISED PROPOSAL AND STILL FEELS
CONCERNS NOT YET ADDRESSED SATISFACTORILY.

5. AID/W UNDERSTANDS COHEN WILL BE MEETING WITH EMBASSIES
CAIRO AND TEL AVIV DURING WEEK OF 4/16. ALTHOUGH WE SHALL
BE SHARING WITH HIM DIRECTLY OUR CONCERNS IN PARA. 3, IT
MAY BE USEFUL IF YOU HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THEM WITH
HIM AS WELL. COHEN MAINTAINS THAT LACK OF ADDITIONAL
FUNDING WILL RESULT IN MOST OF THE DATA BEING WASTED. WE
BELIEVE THAT HE WILL MAKE THIS ARGUMENT WITH YOU. YOU MAY
WISH TO DRAW HIM OUT ON THE EXACT MEANING OF THIS ASSERTION.

6. PLEASE ADVISE RESULTS OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS.

DECONTROL 12/31/83. EAGLEBURGER

Department of State

INCOMING
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PAGE 01 CAIRO 10210 271140Z
ACTION AID-35

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ACTION OFFICE NETC-04
INFO NEPD-04 NEPD-02 PPOE-01 POPR-01 PPPB-03 GC-01 GCFL-01
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INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE CAIRO 10210

DEPARTMENT PASS AID

E.O. 12065: WA
TAGS: PEPR EG IS US XF
SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR
- PROJECT 298-0166, CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REFS: (A) STATE 103512, (B) CAIRO 7116, (C) TEL AVIV 4533

1. FOLLOWING PRESENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT TO AMBASSADOR, AID DIRECTOR AND EMOFFS BY COHEN AND EGYPTIAN PARTICIPANTS, AND SUBSEQUENT DETAILED DISCUSSION BETWEEN COHEN AND POLOFF APRIL 21, EMBASSY RECOMMENDS AID APPROVE COHEN'S REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR SUBJECT PROJECT. WHILE WE REMAIN CONCERNED THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR THIS PROJECT MIGHT PREVENT APPROVAL FOR OTHER WORTHY PROJECTS WHICH SEEK TO DRAW ON LIMITED BILATERAL COOPERATION FUNDS, COHEN'S PROJECT PROMISES TO BE OF SIGNIFICANT VALUE IN PROMOTING CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING AND ENCOURAGING ACADEMIC AND INTELLECTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG EGYPTIANS, ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS.

2. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO PARA 3 OF REF A:

(A) COHEN TOLD US THAT THE SAMPLE SIZE GREW IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SCIENTIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. COHEN SAID THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY WILL ACCORDINGLY BE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND WILL BE DEFENSIBLE ON ACADEMIC AND POLITICAL GROUNDS. HE REMARKED THAT THE SMALLER SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE REFLECTED THE CAUTIOUS INITIAL APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE PROJECT TEAM.

(B) FOLLOWING CONSULTATION AMONG THE INVESTIGATORS, THE LENGTH OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE WAS BUILT UP TO REFLECT THE MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE PARTIES BEING INVESTIGATED AND THE KINDS OF QUESTIONS WHICH EACH SIDE WANTED TO SEE ANSWERED. SOME NEW QUESTIONS WERE ALSO DEVELOPED TO DEFINE MORE PRECISELY THE RESPONSE BEING SOUGHT FROM EXISTING QUESTIONS. FROM THE EXAMPLES COHEN PROVIDED, THE QUESTIONS NOW BEING ASKED SHOULD YIELD INTERESTING RESULTS AND THUS THE LONGER QUESTIONNAIRE APPEARS WORTHWHILE.

(C) IN OUR VIEW THE ONLY APPROPRIATE LOCATIONS FOR THE TEAM TO CONSIDER FOR THE WRITING STAGE WOULD BE EITHER IN THE U.S. OR ONE OF THE PARTICIPATING CAMPUSES IN THE REGION. COHEN SAID, HOWEVER, AND WE AGREE, THAT THERE ARE OBVIOUS POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS ON EACH OF THE PARTIES SEEKING TO ENGAGE IN A PROLONGED STAY IN ISRAEL, EGYPT OR THE WEST BANK. SECOND, COHEN SAID THAT CUNY'S COMPUTER FACILITIES WILL AFFORD THE PARTICIPANTS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR MUCH NEEDED TECHNICAL TRAINING IN QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS.

(D) WITHOUT ADDITIONAL FUNDING, COHEN SAID THAT THE PARTICIPANTS WILL NOT BE ABLE EFFECTIVELY TO TRANSLATE, CODE AND ANALYZE ALL OF THE DATA, FORCING THEM TO DO MORE RANDOM SELECTION. THIS WOULD HAVE AN OBVIOUS IMPACT ON THE QUALITY OF THE RESULTS. COHEN NOTED THAT THE PROJECT IS ALREADY BEING SUPPORTED BY SOME ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS, E.G., A FORD FOUNDATION GRANT OF 125 THOUSAND FOR TRAINING AND CUNY'S ABSORPTION OF SOME ADMINISTRATIVE AND OVERHEAD COSTS. HE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, AT SOME STAGE, TO ELICIT CONTRIBUTIONS FROM EGYPTIAN OR ISRAELI SOURCES, BUT HE ASKED WHERE PALESTINIAN SUPPORT WOULD BE SOLICITED. IT IS IMPORTANT, HE STRESSED, TO MAINTAIN BALANCE IN THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND PARTICIPATION OF ALL OF THE PARTIES.

(E) COHEN SAID HE IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE A BETTER COST BREAKDOWN PER CATEGORY AS REQUESTED BY AID/W.

(F) THIS CONCERN WAS ADDRESSED IN PARA ONE ABOVE. ATHERTON

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Revised 12/31/83

Department of State

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THE PROJECT. LEWIS

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INFO NEDP-82 NETC-84 PPCE-81 POPR-81 PPPB-83 GC-81 PPEA-81

GCFL-81 GCNE-81 FM-82 CMGT-82 CTR-82 NEE-83 TRSY-85

RELO-81 MAST-81 00-81 LPO-81 /836 A2 X87

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEL AVIV 86864

DEPT PASS AID/NE/ME FOR BURNS

E.O. 12865: N/A

TAGS: EAID, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: REGIONAL COOPERATION: ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR PROJECT 298-8168 CONFLICT RESOLUTION

REF: A) CAIRO 10219, B) STATE 103512, C) TEL AVIV 4533

1. EMBOFFS MET WITH STEPHEN COHEN APRIL 22 TO DISCUSS ADDITIONAL FUNDING OF HIS CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROPOSAL. COHEN HAD LITTLE TO ADD TO WHAT HE TOLD EMBOFFS IN CAIRO (REF A). AS EXPECTED, HE MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR ADDITIONAL AID SUPPORT SAYING THAT HIS PROJECT DATA WILL BE LOST IF FUNDS FOR PROCESSING AND ANALYZING IT ARE NOT MADE AVAILABLE. ACCORDING TO COHEN, THE PROJECT RUNS OUT OF MONEY IN AUGUST. HE HAS REQUESTED 175,000 DOLLARS FOR DATA ANALYSIS AND PROCESSING.

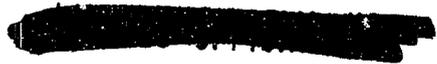
2. COHEN AND HIS ISRAELI COUNTERPARTS WERE PERSUASIVE IN THEIR PRESENTATION OF MOST OF THE POINTS LISTED PARA 2 REF A. ACCORDING TO COHEN, ONE OF THE MOST REWARDING ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAM IS THE RESEARCHERS' EVOLVING VIEWS OF THEIR OWN SOCIETIES. COHEN POINTED WITH PRIDE THAT THIS IS ONE OF THE RARE INSTANCES THAT SPECIALISTS IN THE FIELDS OF ARAB, ISRAELI, OR PALESTINIAN STUDIES HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LOOK BEYOND THEIR DISCIPLINES FOR INFORMATION. THE RESULTING EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN THOUGHT PROVOKING AND PROVIDED ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE OF USEFULNESS OF THE PROJECT.

3. EMBASSY TEL AVIV IS IN FAVOR OF EXTENDING A SUPPLEMENTARY GRANT TO THE COHEN PROJECT FOR DATA PROCESSING.

 HOWEVER, WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT THE WRITE-UP MUST TAKE PLACE IN NEW YORK CITY FOR THE LENGTH OF TIME INTENDED. COHEN CLAIMS THAT CYPRUS, AN ALTERNATE LOCATION, DOES NOT HAVE DATA PROCESSING EQUIPMENT NECESSARY FOR THE PROJECT. WORKING AT INSTITUTIONS IN EGYPT, ISRAEL AND THE WEST BANK, WHILE FEASIBLE, COULD POSE POLITICAL PROBLEMS. NONETHELESS, A 90,000 DOLLAR BUDGET FOR A WRITING PERIOD IN NEW YORK STRIKES US AS TOO MUCH. A MORE CONCENTRATED PERIOD IN NEW YORK WHEN DATA PROCESSING IS NECESSARY COULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY LESS EXPENSIVE SESSIONS IN THE REGION. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT REGIONAL COOPERATION FUNDS SHOULD BE JUDICIOUSLY ALLOCATED AMONG AS MANY RECIPIENTS AS POSSIBLE. THE COHEN PROPOSAL, WHILE WORTHY, IS ONLY ONE OF THE PROJECTS WE BELIEVE CAN HAVE A POSITIVE IMPACT ON NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. WE OUGHT TO SUPPORT THE EXTRA MONEY FOR DATA PROCESSING BUT SHOULD WANT TO LOOK MORE CLOSELY AT THE NEED FOR SUCH A LARGE SUM FOR THE DATA WRITE-UP PHASE OF

Re-central 12/31/85

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

See Distribution

DATE: May 10, 1982

NE/TECH/SARD, G. David Miller *GD Miller*

Regional Cooperation: Additional Funding for Project 298-0168 - Conflict Resolution

During the last PRC meeting we agreed to solicit the opinions of Tel Aviv and Cairo plus request Stephen Cohen and team to break out the increase in cost presented in the supplemental request for \$300,000. Attached are the responses from Tel Aviv and Cairo and Cohen's cost break out.

The PRC has been scheduled to meet on Wednesday, 5/12/82 at 3:30 p.m. in Room 6439 NS to review this new information. I am hoping to present the issue before the NEAC on Thursday, 5/20/82.

Distribution

- * NE/E, G. Gower
- NE/ME, G. Kamens
- NE/ME, R. Burns
- NE/ME, R. Misheloff
- NE/ME, D. Morrissey
- NE/TECH/HRST, B. Heyman
- GC/NE, B. Janigian
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- State/INR/GI, J. Montville
- NE/TECH, K. Sherper (Info)
- AA/NE, J. Rashid

Revised 12/21/83