

- (1) While many of the programs funded by CFDD have been successful, particularly in the area of education, media, journalism and governance, one of the major issues raised by participants of dialogue is that many projects funded by the CFDD have been limited largely to intellectuals, professionals, elites, and people in positions of political power. For example, of the four projects funded by CFDD in Jordan, one was conducted by the Jordanian Institute of Diplomacy (an institution established by royal decree with Prince Hassan acting as Chairman of the Board of Trustees). This type of quasi-governmental organisation under the patronage of the royal family (Hashemite monarchy) obviously does not represent the grassroots in Jordan.<sup>9</sup> In the Israeli/Palestinian context, CFDD funded a Young Women's Leadership Seminar conducted by the Jerusalem Link, a relatively successful Israeli-Palestinian women's joint venture, that nevertheless has admitted to problems of elitism both in its membership and Board of Directors.<sup>10</sup> Another example of an Israeli-Palestinian project is the Israeli-Palestinian Chemical Accident Prevention and Response Program organised by the Israeli Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI), a public policy think tank that "concentrates on the professional context" of environmental issues.<sup>11</sup> While these groups do important work, they grapple with difficulties in reaching a larger, not-elitist and/or non-professional, constituency. For this reason, their programs have a limited downstream impact. The objective of the CFDD to fund projects with ripple effects is problematized by such cases where the activity together, i.e., the dialogue, becomes an end in itself and funding is limited to high-level meetings, salaries, travel and incidentals.<sup>12</sup>
- (2) A second major obstacle to CFDD projects is the exclusive focus on Israeli-Arab dialogue. There is a tremendous social and political pressure on activists not to engage in such inter-ethnic dialogue. In Israel, the pressure against dialogue is relatively negligent since the state provides a range of democratic freedoms, at least for its Jewish citizens. However, in the Jordanian and Palestinian contexts, dialogue often runs a fundamental risk for the individual or organisation involved. For example, a growing anti-normalization tendency in Jordan is represented by powerful professional associations and unions to which all professionals (lawyers, doctors, journalists, etc.) must belong in order to work in their field. This movement has constituted a major disincentive for Jordanians to engage in dialogue with Israelis. In fact, individuals have been blacklisted for such activities in the past, resulting in their inability to work in their professions in Jordan thereafter. For this reason, not a single project proposal has been funded by CFDD in Jordan since 1994, despite the availability of funds. As well, Islamist fundamentalist movements in Palestine, such as *Hamas* and Islamic Jihad, and other rejectionist groups, have

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<sup>9</sup> Dr. Kamel Abu Jaber argues that the Jordanian Institute of Diplomacy is a non-governmental organisation despite the fact that it is partly funded by government and has "exceedingly limited" grassroots outreach, in interview with Jacoby, July 25, 2000, in Amman, Jordan, in English.

<sup>10</sup> Terry Greenblatt, Director of *Bat Shalom* of the Jerusalem Link, in interview with Jacoby, July 30, 2000 in West Jerusalem, Israel, in English.

<sup>11</sup> Robin Twite, Director, Environmental Programs, IPCRI, in interview with Jacoby, July 28, 2000, in West Jerusalem, in English.

<sup>12</sup> Robin Twite, IPCRI, in interview with Jacoby, July 28, 2000, West Jerusalem, Israel, in English.