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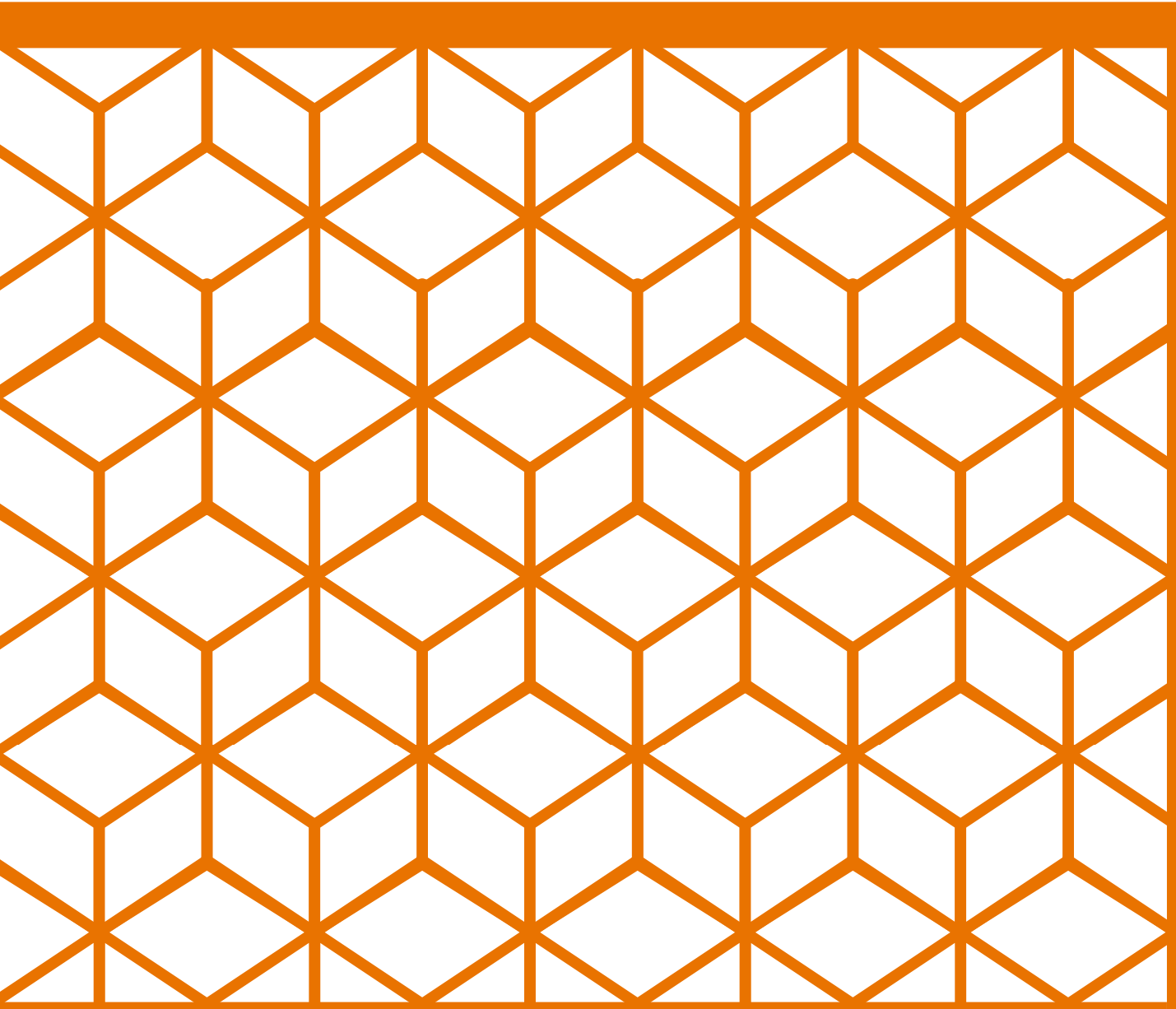
The Conditions for Warm Peace and P2P Initiatives

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For thousands of years, the Land of Israel was part of a contiguous expanse of empires, trade routes and civil migrations. With its independence, the State of Israel became physically and conceptually isolated within the confines of its borders. Israel self-perception was of a "small country surrounded by enemies," and the peace agreements with Jordan and Egypt did not significantly alter this conception. The gates to most Arab countries were closed or limited, thus limiting Israel's ability to develop physical infrastructure and undertake significant collaborative projects with other regional players. Although Israel maintained cordial relations with Egypt and Jordan at various levels for certain periods of history, and despite the establishment of Israeli diplomatic missions in several peripheral countries in the 1990s, these ties remained at the government level, and people-to-people connections remained absent or hostile.

The Abraham Accords, however, led to a shift in Israel's cognitive map. From a closed country for which physical borders demarcated the edge of its network of relationships, Israel has become a country that perceives itself as part of the Middle East. Israel's citizens embraced this revolutionary shift, and many began to take interest in connecting with the surrounding areas and their inhabitants.

The most prominent manifestation of this newly found intrigue is the stream of tourists and businesspeople flocking to the United Arab Emirates. Another expression is the founding and growth of youth initiatives, bringing together Israelis, Emiratis and Bahrainis. Simultaneously, a broader trend of online connection through social media and positive discourse has flourished around these new ties.

Many people describe the development of relations between Israel and the Gulf States as a "warm peace," citing the swift establishment of social partnership initiatives between the new allies as evidence. To understand the process of forging these people-to-people ties, this paper will analyze how peace between states trickles down to the "street" and develops into warm peace between individuals. It will examine the necessary political and social conditions for building warm peace in the case of Israel and the UAE. In addition, this paper will address the most important strategies for social entrepreneurs who wish to build ties between peoples, and finally, it will determine how to measure success or failure when it comes to warm peace.

THE POLITICAL FOUNDATION FOR WARM PEACE

Warm peace is predicated, first and foremost, on a social infrastructure. Yet, it is important to consider the political environment in which warm peace efforts are taking place, beginning with the status of the nations party to the peace agreement. The initial political conditions and state of affairs in Israel and the UAE are crucial for understanding the essence, character and sustainability of their partnership. Israel's formidable stature, and the rising status of the Gulf States within the Arab world and the international community, create unique conditions for the self-perception of the states and their peoples. The UAE entered into the Abraham Accords from a place of strength, posing internal and external influence. Consistently throughout the past decade, the UAE has been ranked the most stable country in the Middle East. The UAE's leadership enjoys robust legitimacy from its citizens and international political prestige. Thus, the UAE entered its partnership with Israel on firm and equal ground. In recent years, the UAE has been considered a leading state in the region due to its proactive foreign policy, modernization and progress. It frequently hosts international events, in which Israeli delegations participated even before the establishment of official ties between the two countries. Business relations formed naturally and media attention followed suit. The many collaborations led to an increased interest among Israelis and wide media coverage.

Social media offered another domain that enabled the warming of ties, providing a platform for informal relationships between Israelis and Emiratis.

At the public discussion between the Israeli, Emirati and Bahraini foreign ministers at the annual conference of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), there was a discernible difference between the strategic view of the UAE and the emphasis on peace between individuals on the part of the Israelis. Whereas the Israeli minister of foreign affairs stressed the importance of establishing ties on the basis of warm peace, his Emirati counterpart declared that ties with Israel are important for their long-term strategic needs. This implies that the social objectives, while welcome, are peripheral to the main agenda of the Emirati leadership. Nevertheless, the UAE's desire to promote economic initiatives, tourism and technological development through partnerships with Israel includes a significant element of warm peace. Both the stated and understated interests of the states can serve as important indicators of the potential success of future joint projects. In addition, the UAE is, for the most part, removed from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the history of Israel's wars.

Geographical distance and the absence of territorial disputes and direct clashes between the states create conditions that ease the development of strong and even warm ties, as there is no heavy historical and emotional baggage beneath the surface. The most significant emotionally charged concerns from the Emirati perspective are normalization and the Palestinian issue. The UAE's decision to remove the obstacle of normalization demonstrates just how important a role this element plays in influencing relations between states and peoples in the region. Despite what may appear to some as an abandonment of the Palestinians in the Abraham Accords, the UAE's stated commitment to solving the Palestinian issue is critical for understanding the basic political conditions. In this political space, the UAE leadership dictates the central tone of the character of its ties to Israel.

THE SOCIAL FOUNDATION FOR WARM PEACE

To determine the potential for social relations between Israel and the UAE, we must first understand the basic internal social conditions within each state. The UAE has an international character. Its common language is English and most of its population is composed of expatriates from all over the world, with diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds. The country is an important international business and tourism hub, and it hosts many international institutions of diplomacy, higher education, culture and more. In contrast, Israel is considered a relatively closed country, where the language is Hebrew and the population and culture are mostly Israeli-Jewish.

Demographic disparities are also manifested in the nations' respective population sizes. Israel has about nine million citizens, seven million of whom are Jewish. The UAE, in contrast, has only about 1.5 million Emirati citizens and another approximately eight million foreign residents, including about a million Arabs from other Middle Eastern countries. Both internal and external socioeconomic and generational gaps can be found due, in part, to the rapid development of Israel and the UAE, adding another layer of depth to the demographic data. Yet, the accelerated development process, and resulting generational gap, is more evident in the UAE. The younger, university-educated Emiratis comprise a significant part of the workforce. Many Emiratis, same as Israelis, travel to Western countries to complete their higher education, likely absorbing the values of liberty, openness and tolerance. These values, in turn, are found in the political principles and decision-making processes of the UAE.

In recent years, the UAE has invested in a nationwide campaign of tolerance and acceptance of others. Beginning as a government initiative, this campaign has spread across all sectors of Emirati society. It can be found in the education system, the media, legislation, the public square and through national symbolism. In 2016, the UAE government established a Ministry of Tolerance, responsible for promoting the values of coexistence and multiculturalism. The UAE declared 2019 the Year of Tolerance, launching large scale projects to advance cultural, social and religious acceptance, marked notably by the Pope's historic visit to Abu Dhabi.

By taking this approach, the UAE addresses two challenges:

1. The demographic minority of the Emirati nationals has the internal challenge of forging a patriotic Emirati identity and the external challenge of creating a social solidarity that includes the 85% of residents who not only are not Emirati but belong to approximately 200 different nationalities. The value of tolerance bridges provides infrastructure for social security for all which is designed to create a sense of belonging among these residents and inspire the citizens to embrace non-Emirati communities.

2. As a country that strives to position itself as an international hub, the UAE devotes significant attention to its global image. The country's economic activity has successfully liberated it from dependence on petroleum, thanks to increased foreign investment on its soil, its transformation into a leading tourist destination, and the strengthening of its status in the arena of global diplomacy. None of this would have been possible if the UAE had been perceived as closed and conservative – the image from which many Arab states suffer. The UAE also works to differentiate itself from the other Gulf States with regard to the state and rights of foreign workers, and so it invests a lot in echoing messages of pluralism, openness and inclusivity.

The UAE's commitment to tolerance provides a strong basis for creating warm peace with Israel. Its public education has a significant impact on the preconditions for forming initial bonds. During the Year of Tolerance, the UAE recognized the Jews living within its borders, in part by its publication of a brochure acknowledging and describing its diverse cultures. The UAE is in the process of building an interfaith center, complete with a synagogue, a mosque and a church in Abu Dhabi, also contributing to the acceptance of the Jewish community of the Emirates. As such, Judaism was an initial point of connection between Israel and the Emirates. Since the ties are on a religious and cultural basis, they can rise above questions of national identity, which can be a source of friction. The name chosen for the Abraham Accords illustrates this point more than anything else. Thus, both the social and political conditions for a warm peace were met simultaneously.

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When looking at the evolution of the UAE's education towards peace, it becomes clear that the Israeli process is quite different. Israel signed the Abraham Accords after many years of diplomatic and social stagnation with the Palestinians and following a downturn in relations with Jordan and Egypt. Internal Israeli politics of recent years diverted public debate from the peace process to internal issues and limited engagement in foreign affairs primarily to matters of security.

The news of the intention to establish formal relations with the UAE was a surprise for the Israeli public, and yet, once it became known that the ties were official, many Israelis were drawn to visit the UAE and start lively virtual discussions with people from the Gulf. Online and free from international borders, these conversations led to new connections, also with other Arab states that are not part of the Abraham Accords. Israel's political establishment fully supported and encouraged these people-to-people ties, making its desire for warm peace abundantly clear to Israeli citizens. In the private sector as well, businesspeople and social entrepreneurs expressed their strong desire to start projects together with new potential partners in the Gulf. Israel quickly got on board with the notion of warm peace, and even though it emerged spontaneously, it laid an important foundation for its success.

Still, the initial contacts between Emirati and Israeli civil society demonstrate significant structural and ideological gaps. While the Israeli side has expressed great interest in joining hands with their Emirati counterparts, Emiratis remain hesitant to take the first step toward building relations with Israelis, particularly in the realm of social initiatives. This caution stems in part from the societal differences, with Emirati society deeply intertwined with and strongly influenced by the government, versus Israeli society, which is deemed more independent. Israel's civil society apparatus, including Jewish organizations with ties to Israel, is more established and experienced than that of the Emirates, which is just beginning to develop. Therefore, examining warm peace in light of the political and social conditions confirms that we still face a significant challenge.

The main concept of person-to-person (P2P) initiatives is to connect and bring together communities or peoples through the leadership and participation of civil society. Social projects of this type can include discussion groups, relationship-building activities, teamwork on projects, sharing communal life, promoting common interests and more. The Abraham Accords opened a window to many initiatives in this realm, especially from the Israeli-Jewish side. For the most part, these projects began spontaneously through the efforts of civil society organizations and individuals from the ground up. Only later did Israeli government ministries begin investing in these initiatives on the institutional level. In the UAE and other Arab states, partners have joined these initiatives, but mainly in response to Israeli or Jewish initiatives, and in smaller numbers.

In assessing the existing P2P initiatives, it appears that there are mismatches between the sides in several domains: first, the degree of experience in the field of peace-building, and by extension a shared language; second, the structure of civil society, particularly in the number and autonomy of nonprofits; third, the respective scope of civil society; fourth, the level of interest in the development of civic projects; and fifth, the respective starting points of the target audiences. When Jewish and Israeli social entrepreneurs were asked about the resource they lack, 76% answered "partners," 52% listed finding participants and identifying target audiences.

By comparison, only 45% said they were in need of media exposure or funding sources.

Of course, in many ways, these initiatives have not yet been put to the real test of whether they can operate successfully under normal circumstances. Israel and the UAE experienced limitations in the first six months following the signing of the Abraham Accords, including restrictions on mobility due to COVID-19, inevitable bureaucratic slowdowns typical of the initial stages of establishing diplomatic relations between states, and insufficient time for the new allies to get to know each other. In time, once these limitations subside, we will be able to truly assess the ability of these initiatives to bring about warm peace.

The following chart lists the main organizations that, as of 2021, have developed social projects aimed at facilitating interpersonal encounters and cultural accessibility. It stands to reason that there are other initiatives of which we are unaware. The list includes existing organizations that build or are interested in building social partnerships on the regional level, as well as new organizations and initiatives that were created specifically for this goal. The partnerships include different variations of leadership elements and target audiences, including Israelis, Emiratis, Bahrainis, American Jews, Palestinians, Muslims from around the world, and more. (This list is representative, but not comprehensive.)

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CHART: A LIST OF SELECT ORGANIZATIONS AND P2P INITIATIVES

Name of Organization/ Initiative	Type of Organization/ Initiative	Target Audience	Substance of the Initiative
ALLMEP: Alliance for Middle East Peace	Existing American-Israeli organization	Young Israelis and Palestinians	Promote peace-building initiatives between Israelis and Palestinians, and fund activities in this area
Unas Cultural Foundation	A new Israeli-Emirati-Palestinian initiative	Artists and cultural creators in the Middle East	Promote partnerships in the arts and culture between people from different backgrounds who are interested in building peace through these fields
DANA: Desert Alliance New-Era Accelerator	A new Israeli-Emirati-Palestinian initiative	Young, enterprising Jewish and Arab women who lead companies	Advance women in the Middle East by building a dedicated tech accelerator for them.
Leaders of Tomorrow (ISRAEL-is)	Existing Israeli organization with new initiative. Led by Israelis in partnership with Khaleejis	Young leaders from Israel and the Gulf States	Build relationships between young leaders from different backgrounds through joint activities: delegations, hackathons, etc.
Sharaka	New organization. Israeli initiative, in mutual leadership of Israelis and Khaleejis	Young people from the Arab Gulf States	An initiative to send Emirati and Bahraini delegations to Israel in order to improve its image in the Gulf
Blickle Institute for Interfaith Dialogue	Existing Jewish organization	Jews and Arabs from around the world	Strengthening ties between Jewish and non-Jewish communities through interfaith dialogue
StandWithUs	Existing American organization	Young Arabs and Jews	Delegations
Ropes	Existing American organization	Young leaders from the Middle East	Collaborations between young leaders on culture, education, and peace dialogue
Student Union of Tel Aviv University	Existing Israeli organization	Students from Israel and the Arab world	Student exchanges and social encounters
Givat Haviva	Existing Israeli organization	Youths in Israel and the Gulf States	An educational initiative for dialogue and joint learning among youths and connecting educational institutions in Israel, Bahrain, and the UAE
The Gulf-Israel Policy Forum	New Israeli organization	Academics and policy researchers in Israel and the Gulf States	A forum for researchers to share ideas, hold intellectual meetings, collaborate on research, and publish jointly

Based on this chart, most P2P programs are educational, and their main target audience is young people. Many of them facilitate cultural and religious accessibility, and some address environmental and technological issues. The sheer number of initiatives that aimed to operate in this domain in such a short period is a striking fact. Despite the limitations mentioned, this large quantity of initiatives together generates a momentum of a trend that sparks a whole movement. Therefore, we need not consider these projects on their own, but instead as a unified undertaking made up of individual efforts to generate warm peace.

MILESTONES FOR THE CREATION OF P2P INITIATIVES

While warm peace is not solely reliant on P2P initiatives, the latter can reinforce the notion of warm peace and give it concrete expression. This chapter proposes a practical pathway to creating P2P initiatives, drawing attention to challenges they face and offering recommendations of best practices. Now that a spontaneous movement of warm peace initiatives has emerged, we must analyze two perspectives – the one of the lone entrepreneur and that of a movement that includes an entrepreneurial network. To transform this network into a concrete foundation, we must create an umbrella forum or incubator to bring together all social initiatives, in various stages of development, as well as sources of support, such as representatives of government ministries, media personalities, potential donors and relevant researchers. This type of forum would serve as the point of contact between constituent organizations and members, facilitating connection-building, sharing information, ironing out questions and problems, and raising suggestions for how to operate. By bringing together initiatives, each with their own networks including executives, supporters and participants, the movement takes on a new dimension: the network-to-network (N2N) dynamic.

The combined network will empower the private, individual initiatives, and become, as proposed in this chapter, a major part of their formation. A forum of this sort has already come together at the initiative of Rabbi Yehuda Sarna, Executive Director of the Bronfman Center at New York University and Chief Rabbi of the UAE. While this forum is mostly limited to the Israeli-Jewish side at this point, it plans to expand its reach to include social initiatives in Arab states, bringing the incubator to the next level in terms of its ability to advance the movement for warm peace in its totality. Despite the great diversity of P2P initiatives, most of them follow a fairly similar process to maturation and success. Below are the four main milestones on the path to founding a successful P2P initiative:

- Partners: Choosing the right partner is the most important element of building a project on a stable foundation. On one hand, a P2P project can be built based on the initiative and leadership of a single party, as long as there is an audience of participants that includes other communities and peoples. On the other hand, most initiatives strive to establish projects on the basis of partnership, with leaders from all sides for three main reasons. First, the cultural and systemic understanding that leaders from the other country have of their own communities is advantageous. Second, these leaders likely have access to relevant agencies for support and recruiting participants. Third, it is ideologically important to build P2P projects whose fundamental structure is predicated on P2P relationships.

The imbalance between Israel's thriving civil society and its more limited counterpart in the UAE presents a basic difficulty in finding leading partners for P2P initiatives. Many projects started by the Israeli side have not yet found Emirati counterparts, thus it will be hard for them to understand Emirati society and translate their plans and ideas into action on the ground. Beyond this structural difficulty, the quality of the ties between leaders of the initiatives from the two sides is important. The vast experience of Israeli organizations and individuals in developing this sort of project vastly outstrips the experience of Emiratis in this realm. The quality of ties also finds expression in the ability of each side to offer access to decision-makers, resources, audiences and funding. In addition, it is important to examine whether the partnership is based on the same vision, goals and interests among the initiative's leaders on both sides.

Recommendations for Creating and Strengthening Partnerships
- *Join the forum of the warm peace movement, which can help make matches. The accumulated knowledge and existing ties of forum members make it the most relevant address for those who want to take their first steps in this field.*
- *Gain access to a databank of contact information for key people in this domain. The forum can work together to expand the list of experts and administrators in the various fields in which P2P initiatives operate, including education, environmentalism, culture, women's empowerment and more.*

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- Funding: The basis of financial support will dictate the scope and duration of an initiative. Securing a critical mass of preliminary funding will also give the initiative's leaders a secure foundation. To that end, one must gain the trust of investors and determine the possibility of continued or expanded funding by adding more funding sources and creating a stable budgetary ecosystem. The choice of funder will also impact the character of the project. Funding from a Jewish organization differs from that of an Israeli or Emirati government ministry. Each of these funding sources has different expectations vis-à-vis the management, contents and results of the project. Certain funders will even veto other sources of funding. While, on the one hand, expanding the funding to more than one supporter can increase the independence and sphere of activity of the project's leaders, it may, on the other hand, result in possibly competing interests on the part of the investors. Determining the balance of independence in a project is critical for its success. Government funding is most likely to restrict the project's leaders, but it is also the main source for obtaining significant initial capital as well as access to resources and communities.

  For the most part, large institutions and entrepreneurial donors encourage action that revolves around a predetermined idea. Candidates for funding under a foundation's RFP (request for proposal) must apply under a particular category.

While in general, finding funding for social projects is more challenging than for projects with economic potential, social entrepreneurs face even greater obstacles and restrictions when applying for a pioneering project in a field that has never before won significant funding. The main challenge of fundraising for P2P initiatives in the context of the Abraham Accords is that funds are not directed toward this category yet. For example, among the major American Jewish organizations and donors, the traditional funding categories support initiatives relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, strengthening Jewish identity and building robust connections to the State of Israel. P2P initiatives between Jews and Arabs in a broader regional context is considered a new category, and it will take time for donors to develop an interest in and make logistical adjustments for them. At this stage, it seems that the level of enthusiasm within the initiatives does not yet match that of philanthropists or their staffs, and thus, requests for funding may not even come to the attention of decision makers. Increasing the level of interest is the main obstacle social entrepreneurs face in fundraising. It is, therefore, worthwhile to invest in building excitement and raising awareness for this area of activity, so that social impact leaders can take advantage of what is known as "seeds for grassroots."

New initiatives and organizations founded in the wake of the Abraham Accords face another obstacle: that is, lack of standing, seniority, and proven ability. Thus, existing organizations are positioned at an advantage because they can use their existing budgets to develop new initiatives, or call upon the investors with whom they already have established relationships to assist with new funding.

Finally, new organizations must understand that a budget must cover not only the project itself—e.g. delegations, joint activities and other programming—but also the cost of a whole supporting infrastructure, e.g. setting up physical infrastructure, manpower, preparatory travel, paying experts, retaining a support system that may include a lawyer and/or an accountant, advertising, and miscellaneous expenses.

Recommendations for Obtaining Funding
- *Create a campaign focused on potential funders Warm Peace movement projects. As of now, each organization or initiative independently dedicates significant time, energy and resources to raise capital. One of the potential activities of an umbrella entity could be raising awareness of the initiatives and their importance among funders in a coordinated and strategic way.*
- *Set up meetings with potential investors for several entrepreneurs to present funding pitches, i.e. a "road show."*

- *Connect, and perhaps collaborate with established civil society organizations that enjoy the advantage of access to sources of funding.*

- Government support: Most initiatives that intend to operate in the UAE need governmental support, even though they pertain to the civil sector. Depending on the nature of the initiative and the level of government participation, "support" can mean anything from approval to hold activities, to the bureaucratic mechanisms required to run public activities, or with regard to the allocation of physical and/or financial resources. According to the testimony of P2P entrepreneurs, obtaining that government support from the UAE in these early stages is not an easy task. Some ministries are not accessible to social entrepreneurs, and the ones that are open remain hesitant, due either to lack of interest or based on a realpolitik reading of anticipated public opinion. This approach also represents the political culture and decision-making process within the UAE. For the most part, aside from a few minor successes that managed to hold institutional P2P activities in the Emirates, most government ministries still wish to temper the projects or defer them to sometime in the future. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration that lack of government support can be detrimental to a project's chances for success.

In Israel there is much interest from government ministries in developing civil society initiatives many of them expressed their desire to be part of social initiatives, either for political, ideological or PR reasons. Some of these offices have even promoted such projects voluntarily, despite the broad independence of Israel's civil society ecosystem. The ministries that are already in dialogue with civil society groups on these issues are the Ministry of Strategic Affairs, the Ministry of Regional Cooperation, and the Ministry for Social Equality. Among government ministries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is most relevant, since in the political culture of the UAE and international relations, foreign ministries are the primary channel for bilateral cooperation. The main challenge is that these are also the busiest and most preoccupied ministries.

Recommendations for Obtaining Governmental Support
- *Avoid any civil activities in the Gulf States that have not been approved by their governments.*
- *Seek assistance from Israeli government ministries in contacting their counterparts in the destination countries. Representatives of government ministries are part of the warm peace movement's forum, and they have better access to government officials in Arab states.*

- *Learn the political system and hierarchies of the destination country, and only then select the primary dialogue partner. In the case of the UAE, most social initiatives will need to get approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (even if only indirectly through the Ministry of Youth or the Ministry of Tolerance).*

- Recruiting and molding a community of participants: for the most part, the goal of a P2P project is to make an impact through the involvement of as many people as possible, who will serve as agents of change. Even with good funding and infrastructural conditions, however, there is no guarantee that the initiative will gain traction. This section explains the two main stages of building a community of participants: recruiting and molding. Recruitment means building a marketing plan and running an application process. Molding a community means building a designated organizational DNA, and forming a stable and consistent network of highly motivated participants.

Institutional initiatives have better basic conditions for recruiting participants from within existing systems, but it is still important to identify motivation on the part of participants in activities, as some of them are likely to be considered a "captive audience." In other words, students enrolled in a school which mandates participation come to the engagement with a different level of interest than students opting in to an extra-curricular activity led by a grassroots organization. Such organizations seeking volunteer participation must invest more in public relations and marketing the project. While volunteering for social organizations and projects is widely accepted in Jewish communities in the US and Israel, it is less common in the UAE, which creates a challenge for projects that recruit from the broader population. Whether the initiative operates within an institutional framework or not, the way that participants are exposed to the project impacts their suitability to the nature of the activities. Another factor in creating a community of participants is its rate of turnover into ongoing projects and its ability to attract consistent communities for the long term. Initiatives of this type are complex, but they have a much greater ability to develop warm peace in comparison with short-term initiatives. After recruiting comes the dialectical process in which the initiative molds its participants as the participants mold the initiative.

This phase is considered very challenging from the educational and managerial perspectives, since sometimes quantity can come at the expense of quality, and an increase in participants can reshape the initiative in a way that deviates from the project's initial intention.

Recommendations for Generating a Consistent Community of Participants
- *Formulate a focused, well-designed marketing strategy to target the appropriate audiences.*
- *Distribute assessment questionnaires before and during the activity to keep track of participants' ongoing motivation and suitability.*
- *Create an alumni network to produce long-term agents of warm peace.*

The warm peace movement is in its earliest stages, and any assessment of its development is premature. Nevertheless, its success should be evaluated based on the following measures:

- Interest and enthusiasm: these two criteria are central to the success of the warm peace movement and are vital to their survival. A decrease in interest and enthusiasm can lead to the breakdown of the movement into isolated initiatives. Warm Peace organizations have enjoyed the tailwind of a swift political rapprochement. The messages from governmental bodies on this issue have a deep impact on the motivation of social entrepreneurs and the community of participants. Therefore, the mood of the leadership and the supporting infrastructure cannot be disconnected from the projects' measure of success, even though they operate in the non-governmental sector.

- Scope: the chart of activities reflects the great interest and offerings of projects that are ambitious both in terms of their goals and scope. Time will tell how much can actually be implemented, in terms of the scope of the partnerships, the number of participants who will respond to the projects, how many initiatives will die out, and how many will expand even further.

- Mutuality: the basic conditions of the P2P initiatives attest to fundamental gaps between the sides, as described in this article. It is possible that, in time, the process of seeking out partners and working together will help bridge these gaps and find the right balance. This outcome, however, is not guaranteed.

- Continuity: establishing a project with a broad scope demands a high and continuous level of commitment of manpower and sponsorship, in addition to faith in the stability of the social and political conditions necessary for the project to endure and succeed.

- Political conditions: the warm peace movement operates currently under the assumption that the relationship between the countries will stabilize eventually. The most prominent example of the change in the nature of the political relations is what happened after the signing of the peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan. Within a few years, the peace turned cold. Beyond the possible change in atmosphere, it is important to remember that the UAE, Bahrain and Morocco operate in an environment that is rife with challenges and pressures, and we should remain prepared for a scenario in which relations break down and the peace agreements are cancelled.

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Warm peace results from the positive discourse that stretches beyond formal diplomatic relations. P2P initiatives reflect this trend more than anything else, reinforcing and giving expression to both the public atmosphere and the interests of the leadership. Though some of them grow from within older, more experienced organizations, they are emerging in different political and social conditions in the participating countries, confronting the many challenges that face pioneering initiatives and the early stages of the relationship between two countries. Of all the challenges mentioned in this document,we find the main challenge in the imbalance that is reflected at present in the levels of interest, participation, governmental support and social structure of the two sides of the initiative. By establishing an institutional movement that will link all activities in this area, it will be possible to overcome the shared challenges together and use our combined resources to achieve our goals, for individual projects and for the warm peace as a whole.

With gratitude to Rabbi Yehuda Sarna for the inspiration, the initiative and the opportunity to take part in the warm peace movement. The writer is a researcher at the University of Haifa and at Mitvim - The Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policy, who has studied and engaged with Israel-Gulf relations for the past several years.