



*Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution*

# **TRANSFORMING THE ISRAELI–PALESTINIAN CONFLICT**

**FROM MUTUAL NEGATION TO RECONCILIATION**

Herbert C. Kelman

Edited by Philip Mattar and Neil Caplan



# Transforming the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict

This book is a collection of essential essays on resolving the Israeli–Palestinian conflict by eminent social psychologist Herbert C. Kelman.

Few experts or practitioners know the Israeli–Palestinian conflict as well as Kelman, and for over forty years he has conducted interactive problem-solving workshops at Harvard University and elsewhere, engaging more than one hundred Israeli, Arab and Palestinian political activists, journalists and intellectuals in constructive dialogue. Spanning the years 1978 to 2017, the essays gathered here are still relevant today, and attest to the author's broad empathy for Palestinians and Israelis and his passionate pursuit of a resolution of their conflict based on consistent principles that satisfy the essential psychological needs and minimum political interests of both. The selected essays are not only insightful academic papers, but also serve as snapshots-in-time of the ebb and flow of conflict and peace efforts as well as guideposts for future would-be negotiators and facilitators.

This volume will be of much interest to students of Middle Eastern politics, peace and conflict studies, and international relations, and will help would-be negotiators and mediators in practice.

**Herbert C. Kelman** is Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics, Emeritus, at Harvard University, USA. His major publications include *International Behavior* (editor; 1965), *A Time to Speak* (1968), and *Crimes of Obedience* (with V. Lee Hamilton; 1989). He is Honorary President of the Herbert C. Kelman Institute for Interactive Conflict Transformation, based in Austria.

**Philip Mattar** is the editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians* and of the *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*. He is author of *The Mufti of Jerusalem*. He has been a Fulbright Scholar, a Fellow at The Woodrow Wilson Center, and a Senior Fellow at the US Institute for Peace. He was a founder of the Palestinian American Research Center (PARC) and director of the Institute for Palestine Studies in Washington, D.C.

**Neil Caplan** taught at Vanier College and at McGill, Concordia and Queens Universities in Canada until his retirement in 2008. His publications include *Palestine Jewry and the Arab Question, 1917–1925*, *Futile Diplomacy, 1913–1956* (4 vols.), *The Israel–Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*, and (with Laura Eisenberg) *Negotiating Arab–Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities*.

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From Mutual Negation to Reconciliation

**Herbert C. Kelman**  
**Edited by Philip Mattar and Neil Caplan**

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**To the memory of Esther and Max Ticktin, my sister and  
brother-in-law, who shared my lifelong commitment to peace  
and justice for Israel and Palestine**



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# Acknowledgments

The idea of a collection of some of my articles on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict was proposed by Philip Mattar—an old friend, who co-facilitated about half a dozen Israeli–Palestinian workshops with me during the 1980s. Philip very generously offered to edit the volume and he, in turn, invited Neil Caplan to join the endeavor. Between them, they brought an enormous amount of knowledge, skill, and experience to the endeavor—as historians of the conflict, as writers, and as editors. I also appreciate their patience with the delays we experienced in the endeavor—for many of which I bear the primary responsibility.

My assistant, Cassandra de Alba, has played a central role in all phases of the production of this volume. Her skill, initiative, persistence, and attention to detail (not to speak of her ability to decipher my handwriting) have been indispensable to this endeavor.

Chapters 1–13 in this volume were previously published. I am grateful to the original publishers for their permission to reprint these pieces in the present collection.

Much of what I have learned about the Israeli–Palestinian conflict derives from my unique opportunity to listen to and interact with the participants in our Israeli–Palestinian workshops, working groups, and other meetings over the years. I owe them a great debt for giving me that opportunity—often at personal cost or risk. The editors of this volume suggested including a list of these participants in an appendix. Since the meetings were confidential, this required getting their permission—or permission of the next of kin of those who have passed away. Cassandra succeeded in locating 120 of the 160 participants on our list. Of these, over 90% agreed to have their names listed.

I am also grateful to the colleagues and students who co-facilitated workshops with me over the years. Their names are included in a separate list in the appendix.

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, with which I have been fruitfully associated since 1976, has provided the institutional base for my work on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. I greatly appreciate the support of many members of the Center’s faculty and staff; I especially want to single out the encouragement and support from Steve Bloomfield and the late Benjamin Brown.

I have chaired or co-chaired the Middle East Seminar at the Center since 1977. For many years now, the seminar has been co-sponsored by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies—another affiliation that I have valued. For the past two decades, I have co-chaired the Seminar with Lenore Martin and Sara Roy, whose wide contacts and broad interests have made this seminar one of the most respected venues in the field. I also want to thank Lenore for agreeing to include in this volume the chapter on Palestinian refugees that we co-authored.

From 1993–2003 I directed the Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PICAR) at the Weatherhead Center, with funds from the Hewlett Foundation. PICAR started at the initiative of my students and it served as a forum for my students and associates working in different conflict arenas to exchange ideas, to plan and discuss their various projects, and to collaborate in research and practice. Eileen Babbitt was the first deputy director and Donna Hicks took over in 1995. Eileen, Donna, and other PICAR members participated in various roles in our Israeli–Palestinian work over the years. When PICAR ended in 2003, Donna agreed to continue chairing the PICAR seminar—now called the Herbert C. Kelman Seminar on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution—at the Weatherhead Center and has been doing so to this day. I am grateful to Donna and the members and associates of PICAR over the years, who have not only contributed to my efforts in many concrete ways, but who have formed a community of colleagues and friends, pursuing closely related goals and sharing common values.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the special and central role that my wife, Rose, has played in my efforts over the years. She was a full and essential partner in the enterprise and was perceived as such by the participants. She was heavily involved in coordinating the workshops and the activities associated with them. She was always there: making arrangements, taking notes, and responding to everyone's needs. The genuine warmth that she exuded in her relationship with the participants greatly helped to break the ice in the interaction among the participants and to ensure their trust in the enterprise.

# Editors' introduction

*Philip Mattar and Neil Caplan*

Few experts or practitioners know the Israeli–Palestinian conflict as well as Herb Kelman, a social-psychologist pioneer in conflict resolution who conducted workshops at Harvard University and elsewhere for more than forty years with engaged members of the Israeli, Arab and Palestinian political and intellectual elite. Although we the editors are both historians of the Arab–Israeli conflict, we have over the years personally learned much from his academic writings and through personal contact with him in workshops and seminars.

This anthology of Kelman's essays provides readers with chronological snapshots of this evolving conflict from the late 1970s to the present, taking them along the ups and downs of the still-unfinished peace process. Readers will find the articles of much more than historical or academic interest; some are eerily prescient, predicting what would happen if negotiations of the day did not lead to a breakthrough—predictions that often proved sadly accurate.

The articles selected for this volume are coherent and consistent in their analysis and style, and offer readers a unique overview of the last four decades of the quest for Israeli–Palestinian peace. Each article presents Kelman's distinctive take on the issues, focusing on the conflicting parties' perceptions, the obstacles to peace, and the political and psychological conditions needed to enable the parties to move towards peace and reconciliation. While progress was made in the 1990s during the Oslo peace process, the process suffered serious setbacks and became deadlocked. Obviously much remains to be done, and Herb's work offers a guide for moving forward.

The readings assembled here will appeal to scholars, practitioners and concerned citizens alike. Would-be negotiators and mediators in search of guidance will find much practical wisdom in this compilation—guidelines that may help them avoid some of the pitfalls and dead-ends of the past. Whatever our positions on the rights and wrongs of the conflict or the best way to resolve it, we can all learn much by emulating Professor Kelman's passionate dedication, evidenced throughout his career, to pursuing a resolution based on principles that satisfy the essential psychological needs and minimum political interests of both Palestinians and Israelis.

There are several reasons why we find Professor Kelman's work especially valuable. Anyone who has met him will attest that he has the rare ability to

## 2 *Philip Mattar and Neil Caplan*

empathize with both Israelis and Palestinians. His first-hand experience and intimate acquaintance with many leading Israelis and Palestinians have enabled him to understand—and explain to others—what each side needs from the other, and what each needs to do in order to make progress—what negotiators call “getting to yes.”

As a scholar-practitioner, Professor Kelman has gone beyond writing and lecturing to inviting dozens of politically and intellectually influential Israelis, Arabs and Palestinians together in “interactive problem-solving” workshops.<sup>1</sup> Especially unusual during decades of official or quasi-official avoidance of contact and mutual boycott, these encounters allowed individual Israelis and Palestinians to begin to understand each other and to grapple more realistically with the obstacles to resolving their conflict. Though it is impossible to prove cause-and-effect, there is little doubt in our minds that, by quietly bringing together dozens of leading Israelis and Palestinians informally at Harvard and elsewhere, Herb Kelman helped set the stage for direct Israel–PLO political negotiations that would begin in the 1990s.<sup>2</sup>

Both editors have had the opportunity of working personally with Herb Kelman, although Neil Caplan’s contacts with him were less frequent and less sustained than Philip Mattar’s. Neil spent time with Herb and Rose Kelman during two international workshops dealing with different aspects of the conflict. One, convened by the Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue in Vienna in the autumn of 1999, focused on the writing of history and the prospects for conflict resolution; the other, at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 2003, explored the role of myths and competing narratives in perpetuating the conflict. During formal presentations, round-table discussions and the all-important hours of stimulating informal conversations, Neil was inspired by Herb’s sharp insights, intellectual integrity, broad empathy and inherent optimism.

Philip Mattar became directly involved in Professor Kelman’s interactive problem-solving method when Herb asked him to co-chair several of his workshops in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Then in the final stages of his Ph.D. degree in history at Columbia University, Philip served as Herb’s junior partner in the task of keeping Israeli and Palestinian participants from slipping into discussions of history and ideology and staying focused on resolution of the conflict.

Steering participants away from the past and towards discussing the present and the future helped to ensure that the time spent behind closed doors afforded rare opportunities for revealing their real intentions, feelings and aspirations. Philip recalls that these confidential encounters had the result of helping Israelis and Palestinians (in some cases people who lived only a few miles from each other in Israel and Palestine) to discover for the first time the humanity of the other. And, as they opened up about their fears and hopes, they became eager to learn more about each other.

These meetings might seem, to contemporary readers, to be nothing out of the ordinary. But during the 1970s and 1980s many of the participants—including carefully-selected, tough-minded, committed nationalists—approached dialoguing

workshops with some degree of skepticism. In many cases they were also taking a risk to their professional or political careers. For Palestinians, meeting with Israelis, especially officials, was taboo, in two cases actually resulting in assassinations (Sa'id Hamami in 1978, Issam Sartawi in 1983) by the anti-PLO "Abu Nidal" faction. And in 1986 the Knesset enacted a law prohibiting contacts with anyone affiliated with the PLO, forcing Israeli citizens to find clever pretexts to attend Herb's "academic" seminars.

Once workshop participants were facing each other on neutral ground—away from their domestic-political environments and media spotlights with all their inherent biases, distortions and grievances—they were freer to encounter, and in some cases to warm up to, each other, especially at evening parties at the home of Herb and his actively-involved and gracious wife, Rose. By allowing themselves to empathize with each other, they began to understand each other.

We recognize that these were only small first steps. Of course, decades of misperception, prejudice and antipathy are not going to vanish simply by sitting together over a weekend. But without such opportunities for direct interaction, there is no chance that Israelis and Palestinians will be able to creatively confront the reality of each other. Tomorrow's Israeli and Palestinian peacemakers need opportunities like these to discover that they may indeed have some common ground to end their century-old struggle for Palestine/Israel and find a formula to share the land.

The narratives of the rival peoples are indeed different, often conflicting, but neither side needs to adopt the other's narrative or ideology in order to reach a negotiated settlement to their conflict. One key lesson from Herb's interactive problem-solving workshops that Philip and others came away with was the need for a new mindset. Empathy is an essential prerequisite for understanding the other and for opening the door to finding ways to accommodate the needs of each other.

In assembling this selection of essays from Professor Kelman's extensive list of publications, we are struck by the fact that, even though the various chapters were written over a period of several decades, their contents are as relevant and powerful today as they were when the pieces were originally written.

Why is Herb's work still so relevant? As historians of this unresolved conflict—whose roots date back at least to the 1880s—we have seen many periods of hope and an even larger frequency of periods of hopelessness. The last decade, in particular, has witnessed growing and deepening despair in both communities. Some have declared that the two-state solution—in our opinion the only viable solution since partition was first proposed in 1937—is dead, even though slim majorities in Israel and Palestine still support it and even though critics offer no viable alternative to replace it.

Unfortunately, too many leaders revert to an old form of wishful thinking—denying the reality of the other while militantly advancing their just cause as though it were a self-evident prescription for success. Such "true believers," who unfortunately still hold sway in both communities, have been responsible for decades of death, destruction, and missed opportunities.

Israel's current leaders deny that they are in occupation of a nation that is seeking its freedom, and continue to pursue policies of land confiscation, settlement expansion and harsh repression. Given their predominant power in the region and unconditional U.S. military, financial and diplomatic support, they dismiss international law prohibiting the confiscation of occupied land and the transfer of the Occupying Power's "own civilian population into the territory it occupies."<sup>3</sup> Israel's current leaders seem oblivious to warnings from many of their own top generals and intelligence chiefs that their policies will lead to a "binational" state in which Jews will no longer constitute a majority of the population.

Some Palestinians continue to resort to terrorism against Israeli and Jewish civilian targets, even when such violence has proven counterproductive on the ground and is condemned world-wide. They practice denial when they imply or advocate a one-state solution, with its assumption that the Jewish-dominated Israeli national community will concede willingly to become a minority within a Palestinian-dominated state in historic Palestine. Such an unrealistic position may satisfy ideological and emotional needs, but it is strategically bankrupt. Few nations support it, not even the Arab states, which have adopted the Saudi two-state peace plan, while the majority of Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza are struggling to establish their own free and sovereign state in those territories.

Given the stark geo-strategic realities of Middle Eastern and international politics, and the depths of despair shared by many Israelis and Palestinians and their respective supporters, it is not surprising that some people would view participation in Israeli-Palestinian workshops like those organized by Herb Kelman as idealistic and naïve. We argue, on the contrary, that it would be wrong to view Herb simply as a big-hearted, compassionate man trying to generate warm relations between Palestinians and Israelis.

Professor Kelman's contributions are those of a hard-nosed professional political psychologist, a man searching for realistic ways to bring warring parties into discussions about their dispute. Over the decades he has relentlessly pressed the parties to move beyond the sterile exercise of arguing to score points, and to aim instead for an understanding of the underlying problems obstructing peace. In this sense, the real "idealists" are those whose so-called solutions are based on denying the reality of the other's national existence; it is such purity and "idealism" that perpetuate the status quo of violence and repression.

Ultimately, mutual recognition—accepting each other's national existence—is the only realistic solution. Those who advocate this path are the true realists in the unconsummated quest for a resolution of this protracted conflict. And that is what makes Herb Kelman's writings and workshops even more compelling today than when they were written and conducted.

*October 2017*

## Appendix

### ***Partial list of participants in the Israeli–Palestinian workshops, working groups, or one-on-one meetings organized by Herbert Kelman and his associates between 1971 and 2013***

Note: These meetings were all confidential. The list, therefore, includes the names of participants who gave us permission to use their names, or—in the case of participants who have passed away—whose next of kin extended that permission on their behalf.

Of the 160 participants in our Israeli–Palestinian workshops over the years, we succeeded in reaching 120 individuals or their next of kin. Of these, 110 consented to the inclusion of their names. Ten preferred not to have their names listed, which is of course their right.

- 1 Salah Abdel Shafi, Palestinian ambassador to Austria and the permanent observer of Palestine to the UN and international organizations in Vienna
- 2 Adnan T. Abdelrazek, Ph.D., Palestinian scholar and researcher, former Political Affairs Officer at the United Nations
- 3 Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Ph.D., Chairman, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, Jerusalem
- 4 Nehaia M. Abu Nahla, director of the Qattan Center for the Child
- 5 Lama Abu-Odeh, Law Professor, Georgetown Law Center
- 6 Mustafa Abu Sway, Ph.D., First holder of the Integral Chair for the Study of Imam Al-Ghazali's Work at the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque and Al-Quds University (HM King Abdullah II Endowment), Dean of the Islamic Colleges (Da'wah and Usul al-Din, and The Qur'an and Islamic Sciences) at Al-Quds University, Jerusalem
- 7 Ziad AbuZayyad, co-Editor and publisher of Palestine Israel Journal. Former PA Minister and elected Member of Palestine Legislative Council, former negotiator
- 8 Sami Aburoza, Policy Advisor and Lecturer on Leadership, Co-Founder of [www.in-viva.net](http://www.in-viva.net)
- 9 Emanuel Adler, Andrea and Charles Bronfman Chair of Israeli Studies, Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto
- 10 Samih Al Abed, former Minister of Public Works and Housing and member of the Palestinian Negotiation Team
- 11 Yossi Alpher, author, *Periphery: Israel's Search for Middle East Allies* (2015) and *No End of Conflict: Rethinking Israel–Palestine* (2016)
- 12 Suad Amiry, Palestinian writer and architect
- 13 Orli Avi-Yonah, psychologist, Human Trafficking Clinic and Family Assessment Clinic, the University of Michigan
- 14 Colette Avital, ambassador, former member of the Israeli Knesset
- 15 Amichay (Ami) Ayalon, former Commander of the Israeli Navy, former Director of Shin-Bet



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- 16 Bishara A. Bahbah, Professor at Al-Quds and Bethlehem Universities, Author and Former Member of the Middle East Peace Talks
- 17 Daniel Bar-Tal, Professor Emeritus School of Education Tel Aviv University
- 18 Israel Bartal, Professor of Jewish History (Emeritus), Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel; Visiting Professor, Harvard University (spring 1991)
- 19 Gabriel Ben-Dor, Rector Emeritus, Director, National Security Studies, School of Political Sciences, University of Haifa, Haifa, Israel
- 20 Ghassan Bishara, correspondent for Al Fajr Newspaper of Jerusalem
- 21 Zaha Bustami, Ph.D.
- 22 Naomi Chazan, Professor and Member of the Knesset from 1992–2003
- 23 Souad Dajani, Ph.D., American of Palestinian descent, independent scholar and consultant
- 24 Ibrahim Dakkak, former member of the Board of Governors of the Palestine Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR) and the former chairman of the Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem (al-Multaqa)
- 25 Alan Dowty, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame
- 26 Abba Eban, Israeli statesman
- 27 Moshe Elad, Ph.D., Western Galilee College and International School of Management (Galilee Institute)
- 28 Sharif Elmusa, poet and environmental scholar
- 29 Daphna Ephrat, Ph.D. A graduate of the Harvard Center of Middle Eastern Studies (1993), Associate Professor of Islamic and Near Eastern Studies in the Department of History, Philosophy, and Jewish Studies at the Open University of Israel
- 30 Oded Eran, Ph.D., Israel, veteran diplomat, Head of the Negotiating Team with the Palestinians 1999–2000
- 31 Yair Evron, Professor (emeritus) Tel Aviv University and Senior Research Fellow, INSS, Tel Aviv
- 32 Munir Fasheh, Arab Education Forum, Palestine
- 33 Celia Wasserstein Fassberg, Faculty of Law, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- 34 Saul Friedlander, Professor of History at UCLA (emeritus)
- 35 Shlomo Gazit, Maj. General (ret), Coordinator of Israeli Government Operations in the Occupied Territories (1967–1974) and former Head of IDF Intelligence Branch (1974–1979)
- 36 Yekutiel Gershoni, Professor Emeritus, Department of Middle Eastern and African History, Tel Aviv University, Israel
- 37 Galia Golan, Darwin Professor emerita, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- 38 Charles W. Greenbaum, James Marshall Emeritus Professor of Social Psychology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
- 39 Aharon Harel, Israeli politician

- 40 Yehoshafat Harkabi, chief of Israeli military intelligence 1955–1959, director of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at Hebrew University
- 41 Jo-Ann S. Harrison, Ph.D., Senior Lecturer (emeritus), Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel
- 42 Mark Heller, Principal Research Associate, Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv University and editor of its quarterly journal, *Strategic Assessment*
- 43 Hanna Herzog, Professor Emerita of Sociology, Tel Aviv University; Co-Director WIPS, The Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute
- 44 Jamil Hilal, Palestinian sociologist and writer
- 45 Annette Hochstein, Humphrey Fellow at MIT
- 46 Yehudit Huebner, former Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Interior and Israeli Ambassador to Norway and Iceland
- 47 Rashed Hussein, Palestinian poet and journalist
- 48 Hiba Hussein, Juris Doctor. Practicing Attorney (1994–Present) and former Legal Advisor and Head of Legal Committee to the Palestinian Negotiations Team (1994–2008)
- 49 Dafna Izraeli, feminist sociologist and peace activist
- 50 Khalil E. Jahshan, Executive Director, Arab Center Washington, DC
- 51 Iyad Joudeh, Managing Director, Solutions for Development Consulting Co.
- 52 Omar M. Kader, Ph.D.
- 53 Maya Kahanoff, Ph.D., Truman Research Institute for Peace and The Conflict Research and Resolution Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University
- 54 Sharif Kanaana
- 55 Yossi Katz, Israel Prize Laureate; Chair for the Study of the History and Activities of the Jewish National Fund, Bar-Ilan University; former Knesset member (1992–2003) and chairman of the State Control Committee
- 56 Muhammad Ali Khalidi, Professor and Chair, Department of Philosophy, York University
- 57 Rashid Khalidi, Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies at Columbia University
- 58 Walid Khalidi, the Institute for Palestine Studies in Washington
- 59 Ghassan Khatib, Ph.D., from Palestine
- 60 Marwan Khawaja
- 61 Najat Arafat Khelil, Ph.D.
- 62 Rami Khouri, Beirut and Amman-based Palestinian syndicated columnist, book author, and university professor
- 63 Yossi Kostiner, Tel Aviv University
- 64 Pnina Lahav, Professor of Law and Law Alumni Scholar; Professor, Elie Wiesel Center for Judaic Studies, Boston University

- 65 Najwa Makhoul, Founding Director and Chief Scientist, Jerusalem Institute for the Study of Society
- 66 Camille Mansour, Professor (retired) of international relations at Paris University. Advisor of the Palestinian delegation, Madrid-Washington, 1991–1993
- 67 Moshe Ma'oz, Professor emeritus of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies at Hebrew University, Jerusalem; currently writing a book on Muslim–Jewish relations: *From Dialogue to Armageddon*
- 68 M. Rashad Massoud, MD, MPH, FACP; Director, USAID Applying Science to Strengthen and Improve Systems (ASSIST) Project, Chief Medical and Quality Officer/Senior Vice President
- 69 Gil Merom, The Centre for International Security Studies and the Department of GOVT and IR, University of Sydney
- 70 Benjamin Miller, Professor of International Relations, School of Political Sciences, University of Haifa
- 71 Shaul Mishal, Director, Middle East Program, IDC-Hertzeiya, Brian Mulroney Professor of Government, Tel Aviv University
- 72 Rafael Moses, psychologist
- 73 Fouad Moughrabi, Professor Emeritus, and former head, Department of Political Science, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
- 74 Rana Nashashibi
- 75 Issam Nassar, Professor of History at Illinois State University and research fellow at the Institute for Palestine Studies
- 76 Sari Nusseibeh
- 77 Moti Peri, Ph.D. in Educational Administration from the University of Oregon Center of Educational Policy and Management, former director general of Beit-Hagefen in Haifa, instructor at Saknin Teachers College
- 78 Yoram Peri, Abraham S. and Jack Kay Chair in Israel Studies, Director of The Joseph B. and Alma Gildenhorn Institute for Israel Studies, University of Maryland
- 79 Bernard Sabella, Ph.D., Member—Palestinian Legislative Council representing East Jerusalem, Emeritus Associate Professor of Sociology—Bethlehem University—Bethlehem Palestine, Executive Secretary of the Department of Service to Palestinian Refugees of the Middle East Council of Churches
- 80 Afif Safieh, former ambassador to the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the Vatican, the USA and the Russian Federation
- 81 Emile Sahliyah, Director of the International Studies Major Professor International Relations and Middle East Politics at the University of North Texas
- 82 Edward Said, University Professor of Columbia University and Public Intellectual
- 83 Grace Said
- 84 Yossi Sarid, Israeli politician and news commentator
- 85 Eyad Sarraj, Palestinian psychiatrist

- 86 Yezid Sayigh, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Middle East Center  
87 Ze'ev Schiff, military editor and defense commentator of Ha'aretz, senior research fellow at several major institutes and a member in the board of directors of INSS (Israel) and IISS (London)  
88 Nabeel Shaath, senior Palestinian official  
89 Leila Shahid, ex ambassador (from 1989 to 2015) to Ireland, the Netherlands, Unesco, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the European Union  
90 Leah Shakdiel, educator and social activist, Yeruham Israel; Board member of Oz veShalom, the Jewish Israeli Peace Movement  
91 Itamar Shalit, MD, MPA, Associate Professor of Pediatrics, Sackler School of Medicine, Tel-Aviv University; Former CEO—Carmel Medical Center, Haifa, Israel; Former CEO Schneider Children's Medical Center of Israel  
92 Milette Shamir, Associate Professor, American Studies, Tel Aviv University  
93 Shimon Shamir, Professor Emeritus, Middle Eastern History, Tel Aviv University; former Ambassador in Egypt and Jordan.  
94 Hisham Sharabi, co-founder of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University  
95 Raja Shehadeh, author and lawyer  
96 Khalil Shikaki, director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research  
97 Ben-Ami Shillony, Professor in the Dept. of East Asian Studies, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
98 Varda Shoham, clinical psychologist and Association for Psychological Science board member  
99 Hillel Shuval  
100 Judith T. Shuval, Israel Prize for the Social Sciences, Rose Chair in the Sociology of Health, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
101 Ephraim Sneh, retired General, former MK (1992–2008) and member of four Israeli cabinets  
102 Manal A. Swairjo, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Chemistry and Biochemistry, San Diego State University  
103 Ghada Talhami, D. K. Pearsons Professor of Politics, emerita, Lake Forest College  
104 Yuli (Yael) Tamir, Professor, Shenkar College of Engineering and Design  
105 Hala Taweel, Ph.D.; President, University of the Middle East project  
106 Ilana Treston, Treston Consulting  
107 Chana Ullman, Ph.D., clinical psychologist and training psychoanalyst, Tel-Aviv institute of Contemporary Psychoanalysis; Faculty and supervisor, Tel Aviv University, Psychotherapy program at the Sackler School of Medicine; President, International Association of Relational Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy; Private practice, Rehovot, Israel

10 *Philip Mattar and Neil Caplan*

- 108 Gadi Wolfsfeld, Professor of Communication, IDC, Herzliya Israel; Professor Emeritus, Departments of Political Science and Communication, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- 109 Yossi Yonah, The Zionist Union, Israel Parliament
- 110 Efraim (Ziggy) Zinger, Ph.D., Israel

***Partial list of workshop facilitators***

- 1 Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Ph.D., International Peace and Conflict Resolution, School of International Service, American University
- 2 Samir Anabtawi, Ph.D., political scientist
- 3 Edward Azar, Ph.D., head of the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland, 1981–1990
- 4 Eileen Babbitt, Ph.D., Professor of Practice, Director, Institute for Human Security, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
- 5 Reena Bernards, Family therapist, LCMFT, co-founder of The Dialogue Project between American Jewish and Palestinian Women (1988–2004). MA in Marriage and Family Therapy, University of Maryland in College Park; Masters in Public Administration, Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government; BA in Sociology, Brandeis University
- 6 Cynthia Chataway, professor of psychology at York University
- 7 Stephen P. Cohen, founder of the Institute for Middle East Peace and Development
- 8 Tamra Pearson d'Estrée, Ph.D. Luce Professor of Conflict Resolution, Josef Korbel School of International Studies; Co-Director, Conflict Resolution Institute, University of Denver
- 9 Hermann Fr. Eilts, United States Foreign Service Officer and diplomat
- 10 Donna Hicks, Ph.D., Associate, WCFIA
- 11 Matina Horner, Ph.D., former president of Radcliffe College
- 12 Bethamie Horowitz, Research Asst. Professor at NYU's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Human Development and co-director of the doctoral program in Education and Jewish Studies
- 13 Rose Kelman
- 14 Susan Korper, psychologist
- 15 James Laue, Lynch Professor of Conflict Resolution at George Mason University
- 16 Brian Mandell, Senior Lecturer in Public Policy and Director, Kennedy School Negotiation Project at the Harvard Kennedy School
- 17 Philip Mattar
- 18 Christopher Mitchell, Ph.D., School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, Virginia
- 19 Win O'Toole, Ph.D., Professor at the American University of Ras Al Khaimah
- 20 Gail Pressberg, Senior Fellow, Civil Society Institute

- 21 Tom Princen, professor of natural resource policy at the University of Michigan and author of *Intermediaries in International Conflict* and *The Logic of Sufficiency*.
- 22 Jacob (Jaap) Rabbie, founding member of the European Association of Social Psychology
- 23 Harold Saunders, Assistant Secretary of State under President Carter, Director of International Affairs at the Kettering Foundation
- 24 Pamela Steiner, Ed.D. Senior Fellow, FXB Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard School of Public Health
- 25 A. Hussain Tuma, Professor of Psychology, Emeritus, Department of Psychology, University of Pittsburgh
- 26 Helen R. Weingarten MSW, Ph.D. Associate Professor Emerita, University of Michigan School of Social Work. Co-founder and co-director of the university's interdisciplinary program on conflict management alternatives (PCMA) funded by the Hewlett foundation.
- 27 William Weisberg, Executive Director, Forestdale, Inc.

## Notes

- 1 A partial listing of participants is given in an Appendix to this Introduction. For methodological discussions of the interactive problem-solving workshop and Professor Kelman's contribution to the field, see *Peace and Conflict* 16:4 (November 2010—Special Issue: Pioneers in U.S. Peace Psychology: Herbert C. Kelman).
- 2 Since 1990 most of the workshops and meetings have taken place in Jerusalem, Vienna, Bellagio, Schlaining (Austria), Madrid, Amsterdam, and Washington.
- 3 Fourth Geneva Convention, art.49.



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## Part I

# The road to mutual recognition

In the early and mid-1970s, a two-state solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict was not on the agenda. The Israeli Labor Party and most other peace forces favored withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel during the June 1967 war and returning them to Jordan and Egypt, respectively—but they did not contemplate the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in these territories. The Palestinian national movement, under the leadership of the PLO, called for a Palestinian state in all of Palestine, replacing the State of Israel.

The Sadat initiative in 1977, which led to the Egyptian–Israeli peace agreement in 1979, encouraged new thinking on both the Israeli and the Palestinian sides. Israelis became hopeful about the possibility of peace with their Arab neighbors, but also worried that the process might not fulfill itself in the absence of a solution of the Palestinian issue. Some establishment figures, such as Abba Eban and Yehoshafat Harkabi, began to write about the necessity and possibility of establishing an independent Palestinian state. Some leading members of the Israeli peace camp met secretly with PLO officials to explore the possibility of a two-state solution.

On the Palestinian side, the Egyptian–Israeli peace process created concerns that Egypt—possibly followed by other Arab states—may proceed to make peace with Israel without a settlement of the Palestinian issue. Even before the Sadat initiative, Yasser Arafat made statements to the effect that Palestinians would be willing to establish an independent state in any part of Palestinian territory that was liberated. These statements reflected a readiness for a two-state solution, as evidenced by the fact that they were severely criticized by the rejectionist camp within the PLO. The clearest statement of this readiness appeared in a 1978 article in *Foreign Affairs*, entitled “Thinking the unthinkable: A sovereign Palestinian state,” by Walid Khalidi, a leading Palestinian intellectual, who was intimately familiar with the thinking of Yasser Arafat and other PLO leaders.

Despite the significant political developments of the 1970s and the evidence of change in the parties’ political thinking, it proved extremely difficult to bring them to the negotiating table and to persuade them of the possibility of a negotiated solution to the conflict. Starting with a 1978 article in *International Security*, which appears as Chapter 1 in this volume, I wrote policy papers and



op-ed pieces in which I tried to address the issues of how the parties could be brought to the negotiating table and to forge a peace agreement there. My analysis draws heavily on the unique opportunity that I have had to listen for many hours to the interactions between politically engaged and other influential Israelis and Palestinians in problem-solving workshops and other meetings that my colleagues and I have organized, starting in 1971. These observations are framed by a social-psychological analysis of international conflict, which has been a central focus of my professional work from its beginning.

The central theme of my analysis in Chapters 1, 2, 4, and 5 is that the Israeli–Palestinian conflict has taken the form of a zero-sum conflict over national identity and national existence. To enter into negotiations and come to an agreement, each party needs acceptance and recognition *from* the other—but is afraid to offer acceptance and recognition *to* the other. These chapters offer ideas for overcoming the resulting barriers to the negotiation of an agreement.

Chapter 3 is an article published in *Foreign Policy* late in 1982. At the time of the Lebanon war in 1982, which led to the defeat of the PLO and Yasser Arafat’s departure from Beirut, I became concerned that Arafat might be killed or politically marginalized, because—on the basis of two long and wide-ranging conversations with him in 1980 and 1981—I had concluded that he was prepared to accept a two-state solution and to make peace with Israel. I first wrote an op-ed piece for the *New York Times*, which they entitled “Requirement for peace: Politically intact PLO,” and then published the article in *Foreign Policy*, reprinted as Chapter 3. The article was heavily criticized, but interestingly it enhanced my credibility as a third party—not only among the Palestinians (including some of the rejectionist elements in the PLO), but also among Israelis seeking a peaceful resolution of the conflict.