

Koselleck's Lens on Peace Education in Contemporary Israel-Palestine



Andersen, Niels Bruun (52560)

Gräs, Jesper Ladekær (51666)

Hvass, Anders Colstrup (52407)

Leth, Aksel Nok (51833)

Supervisor: Jakob Egholm Feldt

Project in History, Bachelor, 4th semester, Roskilde Universitet – CUID.

Characters; 103.135, written in English, examination in English (if possible)

In this project we examine the role of history in peace education in the Israeli-Palestinian context through the lens of the German historian Reinhart Koselleck. We claim that history is a non-redundant part of peace education in intractable regions, and that the contemporary interpretation of Koselleck gives us the opportunity to shed new light on history as peace education in the Israeli-Palestinian context. We present two positions which exemplify history as peace education, namely the two 'new historians' Benny Morris and Ilan Pappé. We analyse the foundation of Morris and Pappé, and criticise them through a combination of the Koselleckian perspective and the critical tradition of the Israeli philosopher Ilan Gur-Ze'ev. Lastly we discuss how the Lens of Koselleck argues for a re-evaluation of history in peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine.

Key-words: History, Peace Education, Contemporary Israel-Palestine, Reinhart Koselleck, Ilan Gur-Ze'ev, Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé, New Historians, Historiography.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	4
Problem	8
PEACE EDUCATION	9
History of peace education	9
Peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine.....	16
Problematic peace education	21
REINHART KOSELLECK.....	23
The temporalization of historical times.....	24
Early modernity - change in historical understanding	24
Prognosis - a tool to understand the future.....	25
Natural and historical time.....	26
Experience and expectation.....	27
Our use of Koselleck in relation to peace education	29
ANALYSIS.....	32
Benny Morris.....	32
How did Morris attack the established history?.....	33
Morris' contribution to peace education	37
Ilan Pappé.....	37
How did Pappé attack the established history?.....	37
The Pappé contribution to peace education.....	41
DISCUSSION.....	43
What is wrong with peace education in Contemporary Israel-Palestine?.....	43
The Koselleck lens on peace education.....	46
CONCLUSION.....	50
GLOSSARY	51
SOURCE LIST	52
Books	52
Academic Articles.....	54
Links.....	56

INTRODUCTION

"History is the reservoir of resentment, the fount of blame. History legitimizes, history thus sanctifies. (...) The gulf of history separates the contenders. Both reach back deeply into the past to legitimize their territorial claims to the lands of the Book"

(Rotberg et. al., 2006)

History is right there at the root of every intractable conflict, it is a non-redundant ingredient and thus it must be investigated, discussed and challenged again and again. In contemporary Israel-Palestine this is as true as it gets; the collective narratives of the Israeli and Palestinian people are at the centre of one of the most complex conflicts of our time (Salomon & Nevo, 2002). Alas, history is destined to be part of the solution as well. Through peace education history is used as a tool in the everlasting quest for peace. Education everywhere plays a major role in the shaping of identities, the creation of experiences, and the construction of our future.

This project will be shaped as a theoretical examination of history, and not a typical history project containing a reconstruction and analysis of historical events. This is in fact exactly what we wish to challenge. A reconstruction of history stresses the need for a definition of what history *is*. What we seek to show in this project is that the concept of history *is under an ongoing negotiation*. One cannot reconstruct the history of Israel-Palestine or history in general for that matter if the definition of history is not clear. We are working with history on a meta-level in the sense that we will question the concept of history and how history is being used. We want to question the very core of it.

When presenting or writing history a historian will create a frame of understanding that influences the recipient, the ecumene. Hence a historical reconstruction of past events will serve as a new normative representation of history in one way or the other. The point is not that history does not contain facts, but that a fact can mean different things to different people. This is the case when working with national histories in nation-states. History has for a long period been rooted in a nationalistic frame. What has emerged is a new and broader frame where past events can be understood differently depending on perspective. This new perspective offers the ability to move from a history based on the nation-state to history in a

global context. History contains much more than a linear presentation of facts put in chronological order - it can be presented in an infinite number of ways. That is why we argue that the concept of history should be examined on a theoretical meta-level.

During the 1990s Israel-Palestine had the whole world's attention. It was a decade of optimism where numerous attempts at solving the crisis were conducted. From the Oslo Accords of 1993 up until the attack on World Trade Center in 2001, the idea of peace was perceived as being a possibility. Within the academic community the optimism showed itself in the way of the new historians and their attempt at rewriting history for the purpose of peace.

*"Peace education is a broad field and can be difficult to define. Very simply, **peace education empowers learners with the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary to end violence and injustice and promote a culture of peace**"*

(Web 1)

From the above quote it is evident that peace education is a vast field. It traces back to backlash of the First World War and the nationalism that helped escalate the greatest conflict the world had ever seen. At first education towards peace spread slowly and was primarily an issue concerning scholars like John Dewey (Harris, 2004). His educational reform ideas surrounding worldwide education toward peace were amongst the first to be published by Dewey in 1920 (Harris, 2004). A shift in the academic world from war education towards peace education had started. It was challenged in its core by Johan Galtung in 1969 when the Cold War was casting its shadow on Europe. Galtung's conceptualisation of *negative* and *positive* peace was a major step for peace educators around the world (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001). During the 1970s and 1980s, in the aftermath of the brutal war in Vietnam, at the height of the Cold War, peace education flourished in academic circles as the call for peace around the world grew ever louder. Peace education the ever elusive entity was researched, supported, and appreciated far and beyond.

The critical aspect of peace education brought about with the emergence of critical theory in the 1970s, and its writers such as Paulo Freire is incredibly important when underlining the

normative tendencies in peace education. In regards to peace education the critical tradition (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001) is fervently used as a base from which thinkers operate. Both the focus on raising the critical consciousness of students in general (Freire, 1970), and the idea that school and education is considered an apparatus that enforces *structural violence* in the form of reproduction of social control by the prevailing class is interesting. In the latter years particularly the idea that the future expectations are essential to critical pedagogy as well as peace education is noteworthy and critical theory, in the form of critical pedagogy should play a big role big role for peace educators to this day (Giroux, 2010). Both Giroux and his thoughts on critical pedagogy, and Gur-Ze'ev with his ideas about the concept of peace in peace education are thinkers that follow this tradition.

Following and adapting critical theory was the postmodern approach to peace education. The focus was differing from author to author and some like Betty Reardon started focusing more on the *oppressed individual* in a *global connection* with their attempts at creating frameworks for future peace educators (Reardon, 1988). The attempt at categorising, organising, and structuring the field of peace education is a feature attempted by many during the last decade (Harris in Salomon & Nevo, 2002).

Another part of postmodernity that must be touched upon is feminism. A tremendous amount of articles has been authored on the subject of feminism in peace education. The emphasis shifted to a *culture of peace* (Web 2) which is an important contribution to peace research (Boulding, 1981). Women were the *oppressed* and they were taught the way of peace in opposition to men who were taught the way of war or violence due to the patriarchal world order. The question of equality rights became central to peace education with her *gender specific socialization* that argues that boys were educated for war, while girls were educated for peace (Takala, 1991). The two major schools of feminism are both considered part of the postmodern and critical approach. However, we are not interested in the investigating the role of women in peace education or how they can or could possibly change the field with their approach. The argument that peace education was hampered by the patriarchal systems (Meyers, 1984) is not one we wish to investigate or bring into our discussion as this part of peace education somewhat deviates from what we will do with this project. It will thus not be elaborated any further.

So what are the issues at hand for peace education? It is such a vast field with so many different thinkers that the debate within peace education is often incredibly complex. The thinkers within the critical tradition are laying siege to the concept of peace, in this project exemplified by Ilan Gur-Ze'ev. This is a challenge to the normative peace education - the ideas and values brought upon the victims/recipient are not necessarily fit to the *cultural world* and *societal conditions* of said victim/recipient (Bar-tal in Salomon & Nevo, 2002). We argue that the problem of peace education is in fact that it becomes normative, and that peace educators in contemporary Israel-Palestine do not use history in a way that makes it a useful entity but rather a constant evil.

This will be exemplified with the 'new historians' of Israel. A group of historians who decided to rewrite Israeli history with peace in mind. They will be used as peace educators as we can argue that their goal is peace¹. We further argue that they are part of the same postmodern tendencies in academia, also called post-Zionist in Israeli media. The tendencies which engulfed the quest for peace and thus peace education in Israel-Palestine during the late 1980s and 1990s (Feldt, 2008b). In contemporary Israel-Palestine we see the biggest clash between history and peace education in existence. Firstly we wish to investigate the positivist contribution to history in peace education. This will be exemplified through the writings of Benny Morris and he will be subject to our investigation as an exemplification of positivistic history as peace education. Ilan Pappé and his relativist historiographical approach to history in peace education and the attempt at bridging the collective narratives of contemporary Israel-Palestine serve as an example of the second part of peace education we wish to investigate; the postmodern relativist approach (Rotberg et. al., 2006).

History is a necessary evil in the quest for good when it comes to peace education. It plays a tremendous antagonising role in conflicts in intractable regions. The conflicting collective narratives function as history that assists in digging the vast cleft that exists between these narratives, but it also serves as a tool which can be used in the journey towards peace (Salomon & Nevo, 2002). We argue that this tool needs to be reworked and we wish to do this by invoking the wisdom of Reinhart Koselleck. His argument that history is ever changing and

¹ Several articles written by Ilan Pappé, Benny Morris, and Avi Shlaim in 1988 and beyond suggest their goal is peace when creating new history.

that it depends on *future expectation, present situation and past experience* fascinates us and we hope to shed light on history in peace education through these concepts (Nevers & Olsen, 2007). Koselleck was a German historian whose historiographical base was built in the German tradition. He was often called a conservative by his peers, mainly due to his pessimism. However he refused to take any ideological political stand, in fact he always refrained from picking sides in his papers and publications, and publicly lamented that scholars always had to be categorised as either radical or conservative (Nevers & Olsen, 2007). It is important to note here that the interpretation of Koselleck we wish to use is a newer and updated version to the regular Anglophone translation. To us Koselleck is much more than a historian of periodization; with his lens on history we see that *experience* and *expectation* are a precondition for humans to understand history (Jordheim, 2012). We believe that the connection between *past, present* and *future* that he develops is essential to history in peace education, and we wish to use that lens and investigate peace education through it.

Problem

How is academic history being theoretically used in peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine?

How will the eyes of Koselleck change the use of history in peace education?

PEACE EDUCATION

"Peace education is the process of teaching people about the threats of violence and strategies for peace"

(Ian Harris, 2004)

In Europe peace education can be traced as far back as the seventeenth century and the Czech educator John Amos Comenius. However it never took any organisational form until the peace movements of the 20th century where both Americans and Europeans like Bertha von Suttner, an Austrian pacifist who wrote novels in opposition to war started structuring the effort. At first the majority of peace educators were women such as Jane Addams, who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. The list of early peace educators should also include the Italian, Maria Montessori who spread the message of leaving the authoritarian pedagogies and adapt newer, more critical, and less rigid curriculum. She as well as her contemporary ideas was shared by Herbert Read who is known to have argued for the coupling of peace education and art - they both concluded that humans could escape violence by the use of their creative skills (Web 3).

History of peace education

Peace education is in its core a continuously evolving concept as we will show you on the coming pages. From the beginning of the 20th century up until today, peace education theory has been created and developed in somewhat of a retro perspective manner. Peace education has always been theorised in relation to certain new events that have occurred in a context where it has not been seen before.

One of the first theories developed within peace education was formulated by the American educational reformer John Dewey (1859-1952). He began contemplating the idea of reforming the educational system in the ruins of WWI. John Dewey saw the educational system as being a potential platform to avoid future wars. His ideas were based on reforming the educational system towards reconstructing the social and political habits of people, thereby promoting peace. He was concerned that the educational system promoted a very nationalistic and patriotic view upon the world, which he was right to think after the disastrous 19th century. According to Dewey the nationalist ideas of the 19th century would eventually always lead to conflicts since it contained the idea of a clash between us and them. He wished for the

educational system to promote a global understanding of global citizenship and in effect world peace. What is very interesting in terms of the further development of peace education up until today is that Dewey saw the importance of Geography and History as the fundamental building blocks for peace education.

“History is not the story of heroes, but an account of social development; it provides us with knowledge of the past which contributes to the solution of social problems of the present and the future ... before starting with history as such it would be a good idea to identify the important problems of present-day society”

(Dewey, 1920: 277)

After WWII different peace education programmes arose around the world. In Japan the peace education was focused on what was called the “A-Bomb education”, which was an unavoidable focus after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This sort of education was mainly focused on teachings about the consequences of the use of nuclear bombs (Harris, 2004). In other poor parts of the world peace education was rooted in an attempt to address the structural violence which was enforced in some countries by strong governments. In Northern Ireland peace education was working with the concept of “mutual understanding” between conflicting groups of Catholics and Protestants within the Irish society. All these different peace education programmes was defined in relation to the specific region and conflict, and seemed to give way for new ideas and theories on the subject of peace education.

One of the theorists who began contemplating the idea of peace and violence was Johan Galtung (1930 -). He is considered a pioneer for his definition and discussion on what peace and violence really is. In his article from 1969 Galtung dives into an attempt of defining the concept of peace by defining the concept of violence.

Galtung starts with the argument that within the realm of violence one must define different types of violence. Galtung stresses that first and foremost it is important to distinguish between what he calls *personal-* and *structural violence*. These two concepts are important to understand in order to establish what kind of violence is being enforced on people everywhere. Simply put *personal violence* is understood as experienced, somatic violence. It is the type of violence you as an individual experience on your own body and mind. *Structural violence* on the other hand, is to be understood as the type of violence which is being enforced

on a larger scale. It can be enforced in societies where a strong government and leader have created a very rigid and controlled system within the society. These two types of violence are part of a bigger matrix that Galtung outlines in his attempt at investigating peace in peace education or research as he refers to. In addition there are other opposites in the matrix that are working in accordance with structural and personal violence.

Another important factor which Galtung emphasises is the question of whether violence is latent or manifest. These factors can be applied to both types of violence and represent a very important aspect to the concepts of psychological and physical violence. Latent violence is very much at the centre of psychological violence, being the presence of fear for what might happen *eventually*. It is the idea that violence will potentially be inflicted upon you in the near future. Galtung's definition of different types of violence is directly linked to his definition of the concept of *peace*. What he argues is that peace must be the absence of violence. The problem is that when there is an absence of structural violence, and thereby a presence of peace there will in effect be a presence of personal violence, since structural violence although being violence potentially creates stability in a society. With a lack of stability and systems in a society people will exercise violence upon each other, and Galtung ask the question of whether or not a society is then of a peaceful kind?

In relation to this question Galtung defines two kinds of peace, such as the two kinds of violence: *negative-* and *positive peace*. This distinct definition is used by Galtung in the way of saying that the absence of structural violence and social injustice is seen as a positive end result. The absence of personal violence does not necessarily create a peaceful society, and cannot be viewed as a completely positive outcome, hence the concept of negative peace.

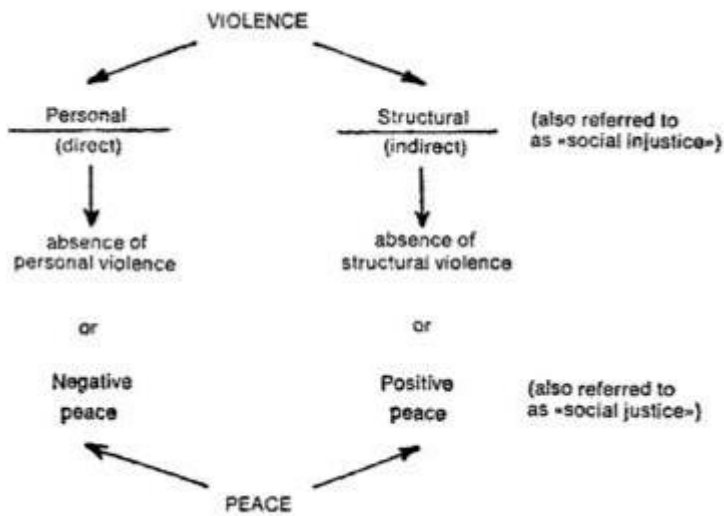


Figure 1 – Galtung’s theory on violence and peace visualised (Galtung, 1969).

Galtung’s attempt of coining both peace and violence was done in a time where academia in the broad sense was all about the natural sciences, and Galtung’s argumentation is highly influenced by the way in which the natural sciences argues. It is obvious in Galtung’s argumentation that he is attempting to provide the reader with a logical explanation as to what the elusive concept of peace is. What he did for peace education was to start a debate that later led to a critical approach to the concept of peace education. Theorists within the field started to ask questions about what peace is and what kind of peace can be obtained in the different conflict areas of the world. His theory of positive and negative peace has been used as a yardstick in the ideas, theories, and thoughts behind peace education since (Galtung, 1969).

Betty Reardon (1929 -) is another of the major thinkers behind the categorisation and organisation of peace education. Her framework is based on the postmodern movement of critical thinking and she acknowledged that peace education needed to be more coherent than it was when she first started writing within the field. Reardon further draws on the concepts created by Galtung, positive and negative peace. She develops these into more coherent and contemporary ideas and always keeps her critical views.

She concludes that “(...) not enough of (peace education) provides experience with structural analysis or with disciplined inquiry into alternative social structures” (Reardon, 1988: 78-79)

and urges her fellow peace educators to dive into the methodology of peace education (Reardon, 1988). She emphasises that peace education must be very specific to the arena in which it is being discussed, practiced, and understood. She was one of the first to turn peace education around and try to understand the experience of the people who are influenced by peace education, and she does this in a structured way.

She is important to peace education, as her call for methodological thinking, structuring, and creating a new perspective while trying to establish some sort of *cohesiveness* was previously missing. In addition she actively urges her colleagues and fellow peace educators to look upon themselves with critical eyes and was one of the first to begin developing the concept of *reconciliation* (Reardon, 1988).

*“The capacity for commitment encompasses the sphere that Leaven refers to as the “structural level” and Washburn and Gribbon speak of as the “global transpersonal”. (...) Commitment calls for an ability to think of people whom we do not know directly - people from other cultures, other parts of the world, **other times of history** - as human beings”*

(Reardon, 1988: 78)

The tradition of Reardon in trying to make sense of it all, categorise or at very least - create a framework for peace education, is continued by Gavriel Salomon (1938 -) and Ian Harris (1947 -). Both of these contemporary thinkers give us further explanations of how peace education can and must be challenged again and again. It must change and evolve with time.

Ian Harris not only attempts to outline the different types of peace education of today and the process of creation of these different types. He also draws heavily on the tradition of critical pedagogy in the form of Paulo Freire when creating these categories. Ian Harris argues that he sees:

“five separate types of peace education: international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education and conflict resolution education”

(Harris, 2004: 7)

As Ian Harris explains the five different types originates from a vast field of different conflicts, and it is his attempt to outline both the differences in peace education on different levels in our society, as well as covering the different theoretical approaches within peace education.

Peace education has been developed in relation to conflicts that have arisen all over the world throughout especially the 20th century. An example is the creation of the UN, UNESCO, and The Human Rights Declaration in the aftermath of World War II.

An important conundrum which we see emerge from the arguments of Ian Harris is what face peace educators today; large shifts in conflict blueprints. Whereas conflicts in the beginning of the 20th century was almost exclusively interstate in nature the conflicts of today are very often intrastate conflicts, wars and conflicts between different ethnic/religious groups within the borders of a given nation-state.

In many ways what we see in Israel-Palestine today is the epitome of peace education operations. It is a conflict containing so many layers and levels from individual to government, that it has been theorised and contemplated by theorists across the globe.

Building on the tradition of Galtung and Reardon, Salomon and Nevo further develops a framework of categorisation within peace education. Peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine should be considered peace education in an intractable region as it has to counter the strong collective historical narratives; since these narratives effect the way the individual interprets and understands the actions of the *Other*. An example of peace education in intractable regions with relations to the collective narratives is the *bridging narrative concept* which was developed in the 1990s. A definition of this concept by Ilan Pappé can be found in *Israeli and Palestinian Narrative of Conflict, History's Double Helix* by Robert I. Rotberg et. al. This is yet another great example of history being non-redundant in peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine.

Peace education in intractable regions is geared towards facing the issue of having one party being superior to the other. Salomon argues that peace education in intractable regions must try to bridge and change the perception of the *Others'* collective narrative.

The goal of peace education in intractable regions, changing the perception of the *Others'* collective narrative, is split into four kinds of very interrelated outcomes. These four outcomes are; legitimisation of *Their* collective narrative, critical examination of *Our contribution* to the conflict, empathy for *Their* suffering and engagement in nonviolent activities (Salomon, 2002).

There are certain conditions which must be taken into account when investigating this form of peace education, and particularly when investigating the role of history in peace education. According to Daniel Bar-Tal (1946 -) these are known as societal conditions. In order for peace education to flourish in intractable regions there is a need for certain conditions in society. Peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine must be considered as relevant to the Israeli as it is to the Palestinian population. It cannot be forced upon one part of the population if they do not consider it relevant and important.

"The nature of peace education is dictated by the issues that preoccupy a specific society, because it has to be perceived as being relevant and functional to the societal needs, goals, and concerns"

(Bar-Tal in Salomon, 2002: 30)

As we have now explained; peace education is incredibly elusive and will always be object to change through political, economic, or societal influences (Bar-Tal in Salmon, 2002). One very important note to make is that the implementation of any peace education program is always dependant on the given society; a significant part of the society must accept the values and objectives of peace education in order for it to be legitimised and thereby have grounds for success.

Furthermore the society as a unified entity must embrace the goals and objectives of peace education on a broader horizon than merely in the schools. These goals and objectives, which are already very dependent on society, must be promoted through other channels of communication and societal institutions. A societal peace education is needed if any hope of achieving success is to remain and the peace values and culture specific to any society must be promoted through mass media, films, literature etc. The relevance of the education as well as the message conveyed through societal peace education is of utmost importance to the cause.

Peace education must be tailored to and address relevant themes within the society in which the peace education programmes are launched.

“Peace education in schools without a wider social campaign is fruitless and disconnected from social reality”

(Bar-Tal in Salomon, 2002: 31)

This indicates that peace education and its elusive nature needs to be very specific and tailored for the conflict in question. One cannot hope for peace education to have any form of success if the societal conditions are not taken into consideration beforehand. When history is such an integral part of the conflict in contemporary Israel-Palestine, we can then conclude that history is a part of peace education, and the solution as well.

We have now established that the use of history is very much intertwined in peace education in intractable regions and particularly in contemporary Israel-Palestine. It is simply not possible to avoid the collective narratives which are based so heavily on history in this conflict. We have further established that certain societal conditions must be apparent for peace education in the intractable regions to work. This begs the question whether peace education in this form is valid and whether there are any grounds for success in contemporary Israel-Palestine? It also raises questions about the role of history in peace education in intractable regions, which is what we want to challenge. What if these collective narratives need not or cannot be bridged but instead needs a complete overhaul? Could it be possible to create one, or possibly several completely new narrative(s), which in the eyes of Koselleck would help build sustainable peace education programs in intractable regions?

Peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine

We have now established that no singular theory or concept exist - peace education is a highly elusive entity which both Salomon *“It is obvious that peace education is not a single entity”* (Salomon, 2002: 19), and Gur-Ze’ev *“(…) it is quite misleading to speak about “peace education” as a monolithic entity”* (Gur-Ze’ev, 2001: 315) agrees on and further argues that it would be foolish to consider peace education a concept under a single banner.

Peace education programmes in various forms have existed in Israel-Palestine for years. From NGO, and INGOs, to smaller governmental programmes, Israeli as well as Palestinian, have

been launched through the years and many have failed to achieve any measurable effect. With postmodernity peace education in Israel-Palestine, as well as everywhere else changed dramatically. Ideas such as the *bridging narrative concept* spread like wildfire in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which in Israel-Palestine were dominated by thoughts of peace in academic circles. New ways of looking critically at history, as well as other academic fields, changed several perspectives of peace education in Israel-Palestine. This academic movement burst out and was largely considered a breath of fresh air in an otherwise stale environment (Pappe, 2014).

“The ‘new history’ of the 1948 war had a twofold effect on Israeli historiography: it legitimatised the historical narrative of the Palestinians, and it offered a potential for normalising the national collective memory”

(Pappe, 2014: 123)

The Oslo Accords are an excellent example of the larger overall movement towards peace in the early 1990s. The legitimisation and creation of the new Palestinian state and council through the Oslo Accords and the negotiations between the PLO and the Israeli Government in 1993 can be seen as the epitome of the peace movement of the era, and new perspectives of the history in Israel-Palestine lead the charge. The result of the negotiations lead to an agreement where Palestine would stop their attacks on Israel at the same time as Israel would acknowledge PLO as the legitimate representative of Palestine. Furthermore the accord was designed to transfer the control of the Palestinian cities to a new “Palestinian Authority” (PA). Although an agreement was reached between the two parties, peace did not last long. Many Palestinians felt that the power relation between Israel and Palestine was still tilted in favour of the “suppressor” (Shapira, 2012).

The unavoidable happened in 1994 when attacks from both sides arose and escalated throughout the following years. What is important to remember is that most of Pappe’s work has been done later than Benny Morris. Pappe published his central works in the aftermath of the 1990s. Whereas Morris work was published following the events of the first intifada in 1987. Pappe on the other hand wrote his works after a period of hope in Israel, where slight optimism towards reaching an agreement between Palestine and Israel was felt. Since the first Intifada, and especially after the election of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1992, attempts

were made on both sides towards finding a solution. Especially the Oslo Accord proved that further negotiation and the possibility of reaching an agreement between the two parties was not a fool's errand. The emphasis of the Oslo Accord was gradual implementation of programs and actions towards peace; this was due to the realisation that it would be impossible to force enormous compromises in the region instantly. In September 1993 Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin signed the Declaration of Principles that eventually would lead to an agreement which included the withdrawal of Israeli soldiers over a period of 5 years. It further entailed security cooperation between the two countries, construction of a Palestinian airport and seaport in Gaza, and economic cooperation. The incentive of this agreement and the implementation of it were seen as positive and universal signs of peace in a region that had been at almost constant war in over 40 years. The important issues of the city of Jerusalem, refugees, and the borders were not dealt with during the Oslo Accords and because of this the region was left in continued terrors, occupation, and the continuation of settlements. The optimism died completely with the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in November 1995. This became a symbol of all the positive intentions and optimism toward peace being shattered, and the wall of hate between the two people grew ever taller. The following years with Benjamin Netanyahu as Prime Minister were somewhat turbulent. He attempted to follow through on the promises made by Rabin, but he had a very unstable foundation in Knesset, and had probably promised too much to the two opposing wings in the parliament. In 1999 he lost the election to the right wing leader Ehud Barak whose government, in opposition to Netanyahu, had a very strong foundation in Knesset. Ehud Barak's approach to the conflict between Israel and Palestine was completely different from his predecessors in the sense that he saw the solution to the problem as something that should be resolved in somewhat of a hurry. In 2000 preparatory talks between Israel and Palestine began in Washington in another attempt to solve the conflict altogether. Though the talks were positive no solution were to be found and the last hope of a solution was diminished in October 2000 with the outbreak of the 2nd Intifada leading to one of the bloodiest decades of the Israel-Palestine conflict that today is still raging on (Shapira, 2012).

One colossal change in academic circles that this movement towards peace brought about was the emergence of the 'new historians' and what was later dubbed the post-Zionist movement in Israel-Palestine. The three major 'new historians', Benny Morris, Avi Shlaim and Ilan Pappé

all focused on the pursuit of peace when they created their 'new history'. According to them this 'new history' and its aim for accomplishing peace in Israel-Palestine, was superior to their opponent history, what they call the Zionist historiography (Feldt, 2008b). The new historians rewrote histories and claimed to present the Arab and Palestinian narratives and histories, which according to them was the missing piece in the quest for peace within the region. Morris' histories of the region was positivistic and sociological, he claimed to have understood the facts of these histories better than the Zionists and thus conceived his 'new history' as a better truth (Feldt, 2007).

"The 'new historians' thus presented, in a purely positivist way, what they believed was the true nature of Israeli behaviour - or rather, misbehaviour - towards the Arab world and the Palestinians in 1948"

(Pappe, 2014: 123)

Whereas Pappe's position to the 'new histories' was relativistic. His approach and ideas emphasises a narrativistic history and to this day he still argues for the use and bridging of collective narratives (Feldt, 2007).

The overall movement towards peace did not stop at the changes within academic history; it spread with tremendous speed through other fields of the humanities and social sciences, such as philosophy, political sciences and arts. This sudden, huge, and influential academic movement was quickly dubbed as the post-Zionist movement. However this self-proclaimed quest for peace was not a unified one. Several discussions took place within the new field of post-Zionism, where several different perspectives and approaches were evident, and where the only common goal was a settlement with the truisms of Zionism (Pappe, 2014). Benny Morris and Avi Shlaim, two of the forefathers of the new historians, are both considered to have the same position in the discussion - the positivist position. They were both arguing that their new histories was the new *truth*, that it was based on new facts and evidence, and that it had to be accepted by everyone (Morris, 1988). Pappe on the other hand is more of a relativist position. He argues continually for the use of narratives in his histories; that everyone have different narratives and that these individual narratives can be gathered in collective narratives and memories (Rotberg et. al., 2006). The new historians were at the forefront of

this movement, they were not only a small part of the academic debate, but rather became the focus of this intellectual tendency (Feldt, 2007).

This movement was not unchallenged. In fact the reprisal in Israel was significant and the first outbursts against post-Zionism were packed with hatred and fury.

"They denounced the new works as a purely ideological attempt to de-Zionise Israel or as a typical intellectual manoeuvre by self-hating Jews in the service of the enemy"

(Pappe, 2014: 253)

The critique was tremendously harsh and the post-Zionists, and especially the new historians, were likened to collaborators with the Nazis and anti-Semites by prominent Zionists like Yoav Gelber and Amnon Rubinstein. However the mainstream attitude in the state of Israel had changed to an acceptance of the questioning, critique, and examination of Zionism and the old histories. This acceptance lasted for as long as the Oslo Accords seemed to bear fruit (Pappe, 2014). The biggest blow was not an academic counter movement, but rather the second Intifada in October 2000, and a general shift in attitude towards the Arab world after the terror attacks of September 11th 2001. Suddenly the Palestinian population became the enemy once more. A discourse of consensus against this enemy rose amongst the Israeli population, and a decade of what the new historians called a *movement towards peace* had come to an abrupt end. The post-Zionist critique of Zionism evaporated within scholarly circles of Israel.

"But by the time the decade had come to an end, the academic as well as the educational system had shed all post-Zionist inclinations and resumed knowledge production in a classical Zionist way, with a growing tendency to paint history in neo-Zionist colours"

(Pappe, 2014: 267)

A new era began in the writings of Israeli history. The scholars and writers who were writing Israeli history did it in a way of once more hailing Israel as being the strong and only true state of the region. The discourse was turned towards labelling Palestine as the enemy once more. This new era of neo-Zionists put the new historians and all of their grand ideas back in the ground, and only a few scholars are still fighting for what they believe to be the right cause; rewriting Israeli and Palestinian history.

Problematic peace education

According to Ilan Gur-Ze'ev peace education needs work. He argues that there are still fundamental problems rooted in peace education, and more importantly that these problems are not being discussed by the leading theorists, practitioners, and thinkers of peace education.

One particular concept within peace education that is not being discussed is the concept of *peace*. Gur-Ze'ev argues that the concept of peace, as well as the concept of violence must be challenged as the current conceptualisation is based on western essentialist ideas about Human Rights (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001). He further argues that even though theorists such as Gavriel Salomon continues the tradition of Galtung and differs between positive and negative peace, he still *"(...) treats peace as an unproblematic concept and does not invest much effort in conceptualising his own project"* (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001: 321). He goes on to argue that even though peace is conceptualised as the absence of violence, it is in fact its own form of violence as it forces certain values and essentialist ideas of Human Rights, down the throat of its *victims*.

"The aim of peace education is revealed as the fortification of the existing order and the preservation of the invisibility of hegemonic violence, even when it claims to give voice to the silenced and challenges the injustices inflicted on the marginalized or the oppressed"

(Gur-Ze'ev, 2001: 331)

The critique of peace education is that the theoretical and philosophical premise is not sufficient. The practitioners, theorists, and thinkers are not taking a step back and reviewing their own conceptualisation. Particularly in the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict we witness the problem of peace education programs not being critical of themselves. Both sides of the conflict refuse to accept the *Other's* claims and narratives and this is widely accepted by peace educators in the area. This specific arena is;

"(...) an arena that hosts many competing camps contesting for hegemony over presenting "reality" as it really is, reality as it actually should be interpreted, or as it should be best deconstructed/reconstructed"

(Gur-Ze'ev, 2001: 334).

What we call the Gur-Ze'evian perspective in this project is the critical perspective on peace education and particularly the critical approach to the concept of *peace*. The perspective that begs for a critical approach not only to the future of peace education but to the origin and premise as well. In order to understand and investigate peace education in Israel-Palestine we have now presented an outline of peace education and its problems. We find that instead of analysing what are being done actively and on a practical level in contemporary Israel-Palestine, there is a need to understand the origin of thought that gives way for contemporary peace education programs in Israel-Palestine. We believe that there is a need to look at history in peace education through a new lens; the lens of Koselleck.

REINHART KOSELLECK

This chapter will be the foundation of our theoretical and methodological approach to peace education. We will be creating a theoretical framework from Reinhart Koselleck (1923 - 2006) and use it as an analytic tool in our further investigation of examples of peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine.

When understanding Koselleck's ideas of historiography it is important to note that there have been multiple interpretations of his works. We will be delving into the works through the Norwegian professor of cultural history Helge Jordheim's (1971-) and his interpretation of Koselleck's writings. Mainly the essay *Against periodization: Koselleck's theory of multiple temporalities*. This will be used as a heuristic approach for this investigation to fully grasp the complexity of the concept of historical times. The basis for using the approach of Jordheim, lies in the realisation that this understanding of his works is in accordance with our own understanding of his works and approach to historiography.

One of the main parts of Koselleck's works deals with concept development, in term of how they change and evolve through time. But within our scope and appliance of Koselleck, concept development has little relevance and will not be at the centre of our analysis.

Koselleck's theory on historical times has extensively been debated in academic circles. Koselleck developed a set of concepts, used by Jordheim to reach the theory of multiple temporalities that we see fit in our work. Due to Koselleck's classification of temporal periods a wide discussion has emerged around his work. We find parts of this theory interesting in the case of peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine. Different historical theorists could be used to shed light on how history is used in peace education. But the Koselleckian view in combination with the Gur-Ze'evian perspective, offers a thorough understanding which we deem relevant in the discussion surrounding peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine.

In the last part of this chapter we will present how we are going to use Koselleck's theory and Koselleck's analysis of Albrecht Altdorfer's painting; Alexanderschlacht as an example to

create our own methodological approach to the two examples of peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine.

The temporalization of historical times

In a collection of Koselleck's essays called *Futures Past: on the semantics of historical time* the opening essay is an analysis of the painting *Alexanderschlacht* (1529) by Albrecht Altdorfer (1480-1538). In Helge Jordheim's article *Against periodization: Koselleck's theory of multiple temporalities* he uses this analysis of Altdorfer's painting to exemplify and explain the theories of Koselleck (Jordheim, 2012).

Altdorfer's painting was an ordered piece of work, intended to show the historical event of the battle of Issus in 333 B.C.E. In spite of the fact that the painting appears to be a moment frozen in time, it should not be considered a time capsule. Even though it is supposed to portray a battle, in the year 333 B.C.E. It contains imagery and facts that was not known at the time of the actual battle. A clear example of this is that the number of casualties of the battle is shown on the banners in the painting. But more importantly it contains an extensive use of anachronisms. The scene set in the picture resembles the 16th century. Altdorfer painted the Persians fighting Alexander the Great's armies, looking like the Turks laying siege to Vienna in his own time. This anachronism exemplifies historical understanding as an amalgamation of past experiences, present situation, and future expectations (Koselleck, 2004). As Koselleck puts it; "(...) *the event that Altdorfer captured was for him at once historical and contemporary*" (Koselleck, 2004: 10). This amalgamation is the essence of Koselleck's theory which we intent to use in context with peace education. Even though appearing simple, the theory contains a selection of concepts which will be illuminated in the following in order to give a more complete comprehension.

Early modernity - change in historical understanding

Koselleck describes how Friedrich Schlegel saw the painting three hundred years after Altdorfer painted it. Contrary to Altdorfer, "*Schlegel was able to distinguish the painting from his own time, as well as from that of the Antiquity it strove to represent*" (Koselleck, 2004: 10). This is used as an example to present his thesis on early modernity [frühe Neuzeit]: "(...) *in*

these centuries there occurs a temporalization [Verzeitlichung] of history, at the end of which there is the peculiar form of acceleration which characterizes modernity” (Koselleck, 2004: 11). The distinction between the understanding of time before approximately the year 1500 and after lies in an expectation of the *End* in a biblical understanding. The End was not a term that was to be understood in a linear sense but it stressed the need for salvation. Slowly changing this perception the Reformation rejected the need for salvation in relation to an expected future containing the biblical End of the World. With religion becoming less influential the state gained ground. The Thirty Years’ War contributed to this idea since religion could not solve the war:

“Rather, peace became possible only when religious potential was used up or exhausted; that is, at the point where it was possible to restrict or neutralize it politically. And disclosed a new and unorthodox future”

(Koselleck, 2004: 14-15)

A change was seen in the consciousness. Historical time as an exponential developing concept was the case in both the 16th century and during the time of the French revolution. Koselleck uses the French revolution as a step towards modernity since it marked a new aim for the future. In the 16th century the future was seen as leading towards the inevitable End, whereas it in the latter predicted a more positive future of new structures of society etc. (Koselleck, 2004). This new view on the future marked a change in historical awareness. It is hence important to note that these changes happened gradually and not as instantaneous responses to societal events.

Prognosis - a tool to understand the future

Koselleck writes; *“Political calculation and humanist reservations marked out a new plane for the future”* (Koselleck, 2004: 17). This indicates that together with the early modernity came a new understanding of the future, which leads to Koselleck’s notion of *prognosis*.

Prophecies explain the future beyond what rationally can be calculated from previously events. *Prognosis* on the other hand is a rational prediction of the future as a result to what has happened. It *“(…) produces the time within which and out of which it weaves (...)”* (Koselleck, 2004: 19). In this way the prognosis combines past and future. When trying to understand future developments in terms of politics, prognosis becomes of utmost

importance. Although politics in general creates limitations and can be understood as structural violence, there are an unlimited number of possibilities within the boundaries of the sphere. Prognosis is, as described, an interpretation of past events combined with present understanding to create future expectation (Koselleck, 2004).

“Når begreber begynder at gribe ud i fremtiden, bliver kampen om at definere fremtiden nemlig også en kamp om at definere begreberne” [“When concepts relate to the future, the struggle to define the future becomes a struggle of defining concepts as well”]

(Nevers & Olsen, 2007: 13)

Natural and historical time

The concept of *progress* which is rooted in expectations of and hope for a different future, was invented in the age of enlightenment (Nevers & Olsen, 2007). With the future now being progressive and with a widening distance between past and future evolving, the old interpretation of the natural connection between past and future is diminishing. In other words; the frame where the concept of history was determined by an externally given natural, theological, and mythological order was breached. A new understanding appeared. The realization of history started to discover *the history in itself* which meant that history started to turn into a transcendental category that brought together the requirements of possible history and the requirements of the realisation of history (Nevers & Olsen, 2007). Now it was the *categories* that were obtained from history itself that defined history. This new approach placed the human experience in the centre of understanding history.

With this new view on experience [Erfahrungshaushalt] and horizon of expectation [Erwartungshorizont] history turned away from a singular historical *time* to plural historical *times* which leads us to the temporalization [Verzeitlichung] we see in Koselleck’s view on history. Koselleck describes this transition:

“(…) with increasing reflection on progress the natural metaphor of time is forced back, it no longer carries enough strength to describe the experiences of modern history. Thus per negationem a genuine historical time is uncovered, a historical time which is aware of an open future, which takes the determinations of aims into the execution of acting”

(Web 4)

Experience and expectation

To fully grasp the idea of temporalities that tear down the walls of periodization - which Jordheim claims Koselleck in fact does - it is important to notice that Koselleck mentions a metaphysical precondition that consists of the terms *experience* and *expectation* as a result of the transition mentioned above. These terms cannot exist without one another. Koselleck puts history in a position that has been, still are, and always will be ever changing. With this perspective we now *acknowledge history as a present being in the tension between the past - the experience - and the future - the expectation.*

When Koselleck organises history with the terms *experience* and *expectation* it is with the intention of outlining and establishing the conditions of possible histories. It is not to establish the histories themselves. Therefore it can be said that experience and expectation is categories of realization which can help to substantiate possible history. In that case it means that no history exists without these terms of *experience* and *expectation* with the two terms being intertwined - the one cannot exist without the other and vice versa (Nevers & Olsen, 2007). This is what makes the temporalities an integrated part of the work of any historian. As Jordheim points out this is where the Anglophone interpretations of Koselleck as a historian of periodization fail (Jordheim, 2012). Instead we see that he is showing how experience and expectation are part of all history moving forward and a precondition for humans to realise history. This is his thesis on a meta-level (Nevers & Olsen, 2007). For humans these two terms create our knowing of time and therefore also historical time. This makes the terms able to thematise and organise historical time. Koselleck does that in two ways: On a metahistorical level he wants to show that experience and expectation is an anthropological precondition for possible history as explained above. Secondly the change in the constellation of these terms is giving history its character of moving forward in accordance to the change of the constellation.

Experience is the contemporary experiences which have been conveyed by institutions and generations to found a platform in ones memory to draw on. The expectation is - just as we see with experience - also a term created on personal and interpersonal levels as contemporary expectations which aims at the not yet experienced. This gives the two terms two different kinds of beings. On one hand the experience is a room for us to enter. As such it

is a whole without chronological order and therefore one draws on aspects of experience by picking elements from different times. Furthermore it is a place where one cannot be aware of all elements at the same time. Past expectations are comparable with “(...) *glaslågen i en vaskemaskine, som kun tillader et stykke tøj at passere ad gangen, skønt alt tøjet befinder sig i maskinen*” [“(…) *the glass door in a washing machine, which only allow one piece of fabric at a time to pass even though all the fabric is in the machine*”] (Nevers & Olsen, 2007: 35).

On the other hand Koselleck uses the term horizon to picture that expectation is beyond the line of horizon where a door to a new room of experience will show. This shows that experience and expectation acts differently from human to human when present. In this presentness the past and the future do have a cleft between one another. As mentioned before this is one of the main characteristics of modernity [*Neuzeit*] (Nevers & Olsen, 2007).

Furthermore the terms have an impact on one another which makes history move forward (Nevers & Olsen, 2007). History can therefore be seen as a temporal structure where the existing situation is influenced by both the past and the future. This can be understood from Koselleck's description of the terms *temporal structures*.

Experiences are not unchangeable. We can get wiser and change our experience. We can get new experience changing the old ones. New expectations can come to mind and change our perspective on experiences. The same goes for expectation. It is ever changing. It relies on changing experience which it itself creates when the horizon of expectation is breached. We live with connection to earlier times through learned experience. We live with the expectation of progressing towards a better and improved world. That is why history is relevant and present at any given time. Due to the exponential progress seen in modernity the quality of reading the future has changed. The progress is accelerating thus it shortens our horizon of experience and continually brings in unknown factors (Koselleck, 2004).

In this section we have outlined a number of ideas and concepts by Koselleck which we find relevant when working with peace education. We intend to use these concepts and ideas in the following sections. Next we will examine how this theory can be used in relation to peace education. The ideas of Koselleck have lead us to certain concepts we wish to use further on; *past experience, present situation, future expectation, and prognosis*. These concepts will be used to shed light on history in peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine.

Our use of Koselleck in relation to peace education

Koselleck's theory of historical times includes various concepts that are relevant when working with history in peace education. Earlier in the project an investigation of peace education has shown the role of history as one of numerous factors in peace education. In this investigation of Koselleck's theory on historical times, we have seen that history itself as a discipline is subject to various understandings.

When moving from natural to historical time, we saw that the notion of history went from being connected to the natural movement of time, with a mythological explanation to what went beyond the limits of one's understanding. The notion of history moved to a transcendent understanding which combines experience and expectation. Time is thus no longer to be understood as one truth or one linear development. We claim that this turn from a singular concept of time to multiple temporalities, is important and somewhat neglected by the new historians in their work with history in peace education.

Looking at the historical plane that Koselleck's theory operates on it relies on numerous experiences. The conflict in contemporary Israel-Palestine has created but is also the result of a vast amount of narratives. In this manner the theory on historical times becomes relevant. Each party in the conflict draws on a certain representation of the past narratives in a collective manner, in turn creating two collective and representative narratives of the differing populations. However each individual narrative has its own points of references being religion, culture, or past violence. Taken from a macro to a micro-level each individual is likewise affected in a unique manner by previous events since ones understanding of history is always affected by experience.

Our claim is that history as a part of peace education has to consider both *experience* and *expectations* in a balanced manner. When trying to solve or facilitate the conflict future anticipation has to be kept in mind. The goal in such a case should be explicit and must be acknowledged by both collective narratives (Bar-Tal in Salomon, 2002). This is a principle of Koselleck's theory that the understanding of history is created from the link between *past*, *present* and *future*.

In contemporary Israel-Palestine, histories and narratives are actively used as an argument for legitimising conflict and violence as well as a tool in peace educators' quest for peace. Through the lens of Koselleck we argue that it is not given that individuals have to rely on the collective narrative. History as Koselleck has shown it is a narrative that can be shaped in numerous ways. The relevant narrative is therefore the ones, which are chosen with a certain goal in mind. In the coming chapter, we want to analyse peace education within the frame of Koselleck's theory on *expectations* and *experience* in relation to the *present*. We want to investigate whether or not peace educators have taken into account the importance of the individual's own narrative and experience.

The questions we raise regarding peace education within contemporary Israel-Palestine all focus on the use of history and the creation of the 'new history'. The new historians decided to rewrite history and present the Arab/Palestinian narrative in their attempt to find and tell the truth (Morris, 1988), or in their attempt to put new emphasis on the collective narrative of the Arab/Palestinian population. We challenge whether the *experiences* of Israeli as well as Palestinian individuals were considered in balance with the *expectations* when the new historians created their 'new history'. The history which they created seems to be nothing more than a new truism (Morris, 1988) and the latter attempts at bridging narratives, or at least the contemporary discussion of doing this, are the two targets of this project. We want to investigate how the new historians', as well as contemporary attempts at peace education, fail at combining realistic *expectations* with the *experiences* of the people in contemporary Israel-Palestine. In this project the analysis will be conducted on the two exemplifications of peace education, namely the new historians. Pappé and Morris will be thoroughly investigated and through our analysis we want to understand what their contributions to history, and thereby peace education, has been. We want to raise the historiography of Pappé and Morris to the abstraction level of Koselleck, and then discuss what is wrong with peace education in combination with the ideas of Gur-Ze'ev.

Our approach will be to analyse the *expectations* of Morris and Pappé as well as what *experiences* they use. We will do this by analysing examples of several Benny Morris writings as well as Ilan Pappé's publications. This will be done in order to show what their contributions to Israeli history are. These different texts will be used as our examples of peace

education. We have already argued that what both Pappe and Morris have done, and in the case of Pappe is still doing is peace education (Feldt, 2007 & Morris, 1988 & Pappe, 2007).

ANALYSIS

This analysis will contain an introduction to two new historians and their contribution to history as peace education; firstly Benny Morris as stating history as positivistic truth.

Secondly we will analyse Ilan Pappé as the relativist historical position. We have chosen these two to represent what we believe is the two main positions in the new historian movement; the positivist and the relativist. There are other important figures but here we will only include Morris and Pappé.

Secondly we will present one major problem with the past two exemplifications, namely that several thinkers are challenging which sort of peace they are seeking with their use of history. Here we will use Gur-Ze'ev (in the tradition of Galtung) and his argument that the *peace* of peace educators must be challenged in its core.

We will present the two different forms of history by the new historians as well as their arguments and ways of writing history. With this in mind we are searching for answers regarding the new historians' historical theoretical positions. This will be the conclusive aspect of the analysis to answer; *how is academic history being theoretically used in peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine?*

Through this we are able to bring the theoretical position of the new historians into a discussion with the position of Koselleck. We will make an attempt at showing how Koselleck would perceive their use of history through his concepts of *past experience*, and *future expectations*. With the addition of Gur-Ze'ev and his critical thinking we hope to lastly be able to show if and how they go wrong. The combination of Koselleck's view on history with Gur-Ze'ev's challenge of the concept of peace could prove to be of great value to peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine. This will bring us towards the conclusion of the question; *how will the eyes of Koselleck change the use of history in peace education?*

Benny Morris

Benny Morris (1948 -) was one of the first new historians. He is currently Professor of Middle East History at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. He is known for his critical approach towards Israel's actions against the Palestinians during the 1948 war in his book; *The birth of*

the Palestinian refugee problem, 1947-1949 published in 1988. Furthermore he is known for his later volte-face resulting in what some would call a neo-Zionist position and for himself a realistic position. This volte-face contains a critical view on the Arabs and Islam and also a concern regarding the survival of the Israeli state:

"There is a deep problem in Islam. It's a world whose values are different. A world in which human life doesn't have the same value as it does in the West, in which freedom, democracy, openness and creativity are alien" and later "We [the Jews] are the greater victims in the course of history and we are also the greater potential victim. Even though we are oppressing the Palestinians, we are the weaker side here. We are a small minority in a large sea of hostile Arabs who want to eliminate us"

(Web 5)

How did Morris attack the established history?

The first text we want to approach is Benny Morris' *The New Historiography: Israel Confronts Its Past* as an example of peace education. This text is an exemplification of the point of view of the new historians in the break-through years. It exemplifies well how the new historians saw the old historians. The old historians were raised in a time when the nation of Israel was trying to establish itself in the region as well as the international community. The identity as an *Israeli Jew* was beginning to form and history was being written patriotically and with the purpose of forming a strong independent consciousness in the common Israeli Jew. The new historians on the other hand, since they were born in the aftermath of the war of 1948 and were not directly a part of the war had an inherently critical view on its own history. One of the main reasons was that the world of academia had changed radically and the wave of postmodernity was washing over the entire academic world. This wave was not excluding Israel, quite the opposite in fact. The setting in which historians as well as other academics worked in became more nuanced, multi-cultural, and questioned the classic way of working with academics. This academic movement can be argued to be the focal point of Benny Morris and the other new historians, as they exemplify this movement in Israel (Shapira, 2012).

"The old historians offered a simplistic and consciously pro-israeli interpretation of the past, and they deliberately avoided mentioning anything that would reflect badly on Israel"

(Morris, 1988: 20)

This point is reiterated when Avi Shlaim - one of the first new historians - uses the following quote by French philosopher Ernest Renan to characterize the danger of the old historian's mistaken nationalistic point of view:

"A nation is a group of people united by a mistaken view about the past and a hatred of their neighbors"

(Renan in Rogan & Shlaim, 2001: 79)

Benny Morris clearly states in the above quote that the 'old' historians of Israel are wrong. He establishes the premise to challenge these 'old' historians and present a new truth. His approach is very aggressive towards the Zionist historians - he argues that the goal of these histories are to change the attitude of Jews as well as both Americans and Europeans and that he seeks to prove them wrong (Morris, 1988). He further argues that he is able to do so *"(...)* on the basis of a large collection of contemporary source material" (Morris, 1988: 21) declassified by the Israeli government and because of the *nature of the new historians* being a more critical and open minded generation than the one before. This is his basis for legitimising the work of the new historians as the new truth. The setting in which Benny Morris publishes his works is important to understand. Many of these works of the new historians are published in the year following the first Intifada. Israel was under pressure economically in the 1980s and had trouble supporting Palestine and supplying the population of the area with jobs. This led to an uprising in 1987 which in turn led to mass rioting on an unseen scale (Shapiro: 2012). These new historians saw that the world that surrounded them was on fire and that actions were needed. The importance of the *Other's Narrative* and the *critical approach to one's own narrative* became apparent and undeniably important to the new historians.

Morris presents a different perspective on what he calls the Lydda-Ramle affair. This perspective is part of the complex work Morris did to change the picture of the Palestinian refugee problem during the 1948 war. It is different from the aforementioned 'old' historians and their 'false' truth because *"Israeli historians in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were less honest in their treatment of the Lydda-Ramle episode"* (Morris, 1988:19). His argument is that the old historians of Israel told *their* truth. He further understands his version of the history as fact and therefore truth. He argues that the collective work of the 'new historians' *"significantly*

undermine, if not thoroughly demolish, a variety of assumptions that helped form the core of the old history” (Morris, 1988: 21). On several occasions he challenges the *facts* previously used by ‘old’ historians. An example of this is how Benny Morris thoroughly and methodologically argues that the numbers regarding the size of the armies during the 1948 war has always been deceitfully represented in ‘old’ history. These ‘old’ historians used the imagery of David and Goliath to exemplify the imbalance between the two parties. This is an example of their way of writing history. They seek to demolish the national partial history of the Zionists in order to create a new truth build upon a positivistic truth legitimized in true evidence which at the time was the declassified sources. With this new history Morris sees the opportunity to create change toward a peaceful future:

“What is now being written about Israel’s past seems to offer us a more balanced and a more “truthful” view of that country’s history than what has been offered hitherto. It may also in some obscure way serve the purposes of peace and reconciliation between the warring tribes of that land”

(Morris, 1988: 102)

The above quote shows us that the result of creating these new histories, according to Morris, could be the reconciliation and peace between the “warring tribes”. We must then acknowledge that peace is the goal of creating ‘new history’ and that this new history is being perceived as a new historical truth by Benny Morris.

The rise of new conflicts between civilians and the IDF (Israeli Defense Force) changed the narrative in people’s memory from two countries at war, to one country’s army suppressing a minority. Ironically the two groups actually grew further apart in the years leading up to 1990, for instance a “Peace Day” was created by Arabs in Israel where they stopped working for a day in support of their Palestinian brothers (Shapira, 2012).

Morris challenges the structures of society, and clearly shows the movement of new historians as being leftist. This is very evident in *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* where the emphasis is on how the poor people of the region were the ones left behind by the elite, and powerful part of Israel-Palestine when making history: *“The urban masses and the fellahin (peasants), however, had nowhere to go, certainly not in comfort”* (Morris, 1988: 44). This is

also very clear in the surrounding society at the time where, as mentioned, the Palestinians had been denied work in an economically down-period of Israeli and Palestinian history. Palestinians are completely dependent on Israel in terms of getting work. It is not supposed to be understood as Israel completely excluding Palestinians from the workforce, but Israel had to take care of their own first. This challenge of the structures of society is in strong relation to a period in Israeli politics that has been known for lot of friendly favours and corruption, as well as people seeing leaders on both sides acting very hesitant in relation to the conflict and fights that arose in the late 1980s (Shapira, 2012)

The declassification of documents from the 1948 war was a major reason to the rise of the new historian movement. So was the fact that the new historians were a new generation with completely new surroundings and influences on both an academic as well as on a societal level. This was the reason for Morris and the other *first* new historians Shlaim, Pappé and so forth to look into the war of 1948. To see if it was the *war of independence* or the catastrophe and find the truth of what really happened in the time when the state of Israel was created. Morris' view is clear:

"The Palestinian refugee problem was born of war, not by design, Jewish or Arab. It was largely a by-product of Arab and Jewish fears and of the protracted, bitter fighting that characterized the first Israeli-Arab war. In part, it was the creation of deliberate actions by Jewish military commanders and politicians; in smaller part, it was the result of actions by Arab military commanders and politicians."

(Morris, 1988: 42)

Morris is arguing against the normative Zionist history at the time. But the new truth he presents has the same form and the same normative character as the criticized. This is also reflected in the debate between new and old historians:

"The "new historians" are neither new nor true historians (...)"

(Karsh, 1996: 27)

"Israel's old historians, by and large, was not really historians and did not produce any real history (...)"

(Morris, 1990: 6-7)

Morris' contribution to peace education

What our analysis of Benny Morris as a peace educator shows us is essentially how he attempted to write a new narrative of the Israel-Palestinian history in attempt to get closer to the *exact* truth. This was done on the basis of concrete sources, sources that came to light when the Israeli government opened the former classified documents to the public. Although Morris' sources mostly represent the Israeli site - a fact he himself points out in the *The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem, 1947-1949* introduction - he takes a positivistic standpoint in an attempt to reach the truth of what the sources tell us regarding the past in a scientific valid fashion. In this perspective Morris claims himself as a historian who only tells what the sources tell. He does not take the collective narratives of the Israelis or Palestinians into account since this only represent one side and not the truth.

It is interesting to see how Morris has perceived his investigations. No matter how he has interpreted the situation in Israel-Palestine he stands solid on the fact that his history writing is the truth. He does not question that himself, and does not work as a true postmodernist in the sense of criticising one's own standpoint and only indirectly criticises the established structures of society. What is most important is that Morris works from a historical position that claims to have the possibility to find the exact truth of the past.

Ilan Pappé

Ilan Pappé (1954 -) is Professor of history on the University of Exeter. During the beginning of the post-Zionist movement from 1984-2006 he worked as a senior lecturer at the University of Haifa at the Department of Political Science and Middle Eastern Studies (Web 6).

How did Pappé attack the established history?

"Pappé favours a multi-perspectivist history where emphasis and focus in the narrative shift between the different positions inhabiting both the historical and the present field"

(Feldt, 2007: 63)

Challenging the established normative history of Israel, Ilan Pappé had similar goals as Morris, but had a different approach on how this new history was supposed to be approached and

written. He went against the established Zionist representations of the war in 1948 which often focused on military deeds. To him this was history presented on a micro-level, and not relevant when trying to understand the politics of the period. Therefore his aim became the macro-level since this could illuminate the political balance at the time according to himself (Feldt, 2007). In Pappé's histories this creates an understanding of the 1948 war which differed heavily from the normative Zionist history. The 'old' historians focused their history on the Jewish narrative whereas the Pappé sought to work problem-oriented. In doing so his focus was on the political and material aspects since it would explain the outcome of the war which micro history could not (Feldt, 2007). In this sense history to Pappé was examined as power relations but still without taking a stand on either side. His approach was and still is very political and ideological, and he argues that it must be for historians when taking a historiographical approach to creating peace through the *bridging narrative concept*.

"(...) It can be turned "positionality" that is, the conscious effect of one's own politics of identity on historical research"

(Pappé in Rotberg, 2006: 197)

In the introduction to *The Idea of Israel*, Pappé emphasises the fact that the war of 1948 has been the focal point in both the normative Zionist history and the new history. The reason for this being the case is evident in the way it manifests itself as a key point when understanding the conflict, and hence the centre for the historiographic discussion between the two parties (Pappé, 2014).

Pappé is an active historian who has experienced a period of hope and optimism only to see it vanishing in front of his very eyes. The war of 1948 was a result of the establishment of the state of Israel. A decision was made in the UN, which were a result of multiple negotiations between the Western world and the Jewish people. As a result Jewish people immigrated to the newly established homeland. The Arab world on the other hand saw it as an invasion of a territory that belonged to the Arab people. The countries that surround the area joined forces in an attempt to drive out the Jews that has settled in the area. In effect a Jewish army was

formed and Jews from around the world travelled to Israel with the purpose of joining the fight for their new homeland. The Israeli Defense Force was formed and led by Ben-Gurion and the war between the Arab coalition and the newly established IDF raged for 2 years and ended in June 1949.

When Pappe elevates his focus on history from a micro to a macro-level, the centre of attention becomes the collective narratives of the Israeli and Palestinian populations. He presents a new Arab/Palestinian collective narrative, one which he deems necessary to counter the normative Israeli/Zionist narrative. This is a realisation that there is more than one true narrative - also when it comes to the Arab/Palestinian denizens of the area. Throughout his efforts of creating this new narrative and history, we see the evolving concept of the bridging narrative. The creation of the new Arab/Palestinian narrative is an effort to create a bridgeable narrative which the Israeli collective narrative in turn could accept (and vice versa) easier than the zero-sum position of the Arab narrative at the time. Pappe's position emerges as a relativistic one and he continually argues for the use of the relativist approach when using historiography as a tool in peace education:

"The second precondition for a historiographical approach to bridging narratives is the adaption of a soft, relativist method for writing history within the context of national conflicts"

(Pappe, 2007: 197)

The way Pappe does this is to pick a key-point in the 'objective' history of the conflict - the war of 1948 - and present a new perspective and narrative, and thus a new history. In Pappe's *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2007) he takes the normative Israeli history of the 1948 war and examines it from a Palestinian perspective, thus creating a new narrative. He rewrites the independence war of Israel - as the catastrophe of Palestine and proceeds to conceptualise it as the Palestinians do; al-Nakba. *"While the Zionist/Israeli version claims that the local population left 'voluntarily', the Palestinians talk about the 'catastrophe', the Nakba, that befell them (...)"* (Pappe, 2007: XVII). Pappe's intention is to emphasise this angle on the 1948 war, by exposing the war crimes committed by the Jewish forces. His intention is not to write positivistic true history, it is to challenge the Zionist myth of creation (Feldt, 2007).

“More massacres by other brigades would follow, the worst of which was in the autumn of 1948 when the Palestinians finally succeeded in putting up some resistance against the ethnic cleansing in certain places, and in response the Jewish expellers revealed an ever-increasing callousness in the atrocities they perpetrated”

(Pappe, 2007: 138)

In the preface of the book Pappe claims that both the Zionist and the Palestinian narratives fail to tell the story of an ethnic cleansing. The Arab expression al-Nakba, meaning the catastrophe refers to what happened and not the course of it, and in the Zionist narrative the exodus of the Palestinian people was voluntary. In other words the history of the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians had yet to be told.

A point where Pappe in his own words distinguish himself from Morris is in the use of source material. He claims that Morris does not go beyond the Israeli military archives, thus he is not including vital aspects of the war in 1948. *“Thus, he ignored such atrocities as the poisoning of the water supply into Acre with typhoid, numerous cases of rape and the dozens of massacres the Jews perpetrated”* (Pappe, 2007: XV). To Pappe the exposure of another angle of the conflict is essential for the understanding but also a moral matter against negligence of war crimes (Pappe, 2007).

In the first chapter of the book Pappe makes the definition of ethnic cleansing clear to the reader. He defines it as a crime against humanity in relation to international law, and this further enables him to question the legitimacy of the war of 1948. In doing this he wish to change the collective memory surrounding the war: *“This book is written with the deep conviction that the ethnic cleansing of Palestine must become rooted in our memory (...)”* (Pappe, 2007: 5). In the book Pappe shows how the normative Zionist narrative of the war of 1948 contains a different history. According to him former Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion misled the Jewish community into believing the coming of a ‘second Holocaust’ had to be prevented. This was a cover used to justify Haganah’s - the Jewish paramilitary organisation - expulsion of the Arabs on a false foundation (Pappe, 2007). This cover of what really happened during the war becomes the truth for the population, and thus establishes the

memory of it. The war was explained as a protection of the Jewish population of Palestine from exodus and massacres, and this became the truth. A truth that overshadowed the suffering of the Palestinian population. Pappé describes a massacre in the village Tantura where Jewish forces executed men between ten and fifty; *“These were not only men executed. Before the selection and killing process took place on the coast, the occupying unit had gone on a killing spree inside the houses and in the streets”* (Pappé, 2007: 134). This sums up the point of Pappé’s goal; the war contains multiple narratives which need to be told.

In this sense *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* exemplifies how the conflict contains alternative narratives to the normative Israeli history of the time. Pappé presents a history and narrative in which the exodus was a deliberate ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people, and not a self-imposed exodus. Hence proving his relativistic position; that different collective narratives exist explaining the same events.

Middle East expert Jakob Egholm Feldt refers to an interview with Ilan Pappé from August 1993. Here Pappé states - under the heading *There is no history, only historians* - the impossibility of historians’ ability to claim any truth regarding the past, because of the historians’ imprisonment in his or her present time. This in fact is not what Pappé himself does in his academic work. In many ways we see the same wish to demolish the old historians, and the Zionist normative narrative surrounding the time of the creation of *Moledet* [Homeland]. It is the replacement of myths instead of facts that drives Pappé towards the problem oriented non-partial historiographical position (Feldt, 2007).

The Pappé contribution to peace education

Ilan Pappé’s short term goal is to illuminate untold narratives of the conflict between Israel and Palestine. He argues that neither of the collective narratives succeeds in presenting the case of the ethnic cleansing sufficiently, as they are not focused on the histories of the reason behind the ethnic cleansing, but rather on the Zionist narrative of the Palestinian leaving voluntarily and the Palestinian narrative of al-Nakba which never focused on the reason. His point is not that a true history is yet to be revealed, but that the conflict contains a broad

amount of narratives which all contain parts of the truth. Thus making his historical representation and position; relativistic.

As a historian Pappe is accepting that “(...) *the conscious effect of one’s own politics of identity on historical research (...)*” (Pappe in Rotberg, 2006: 197) is an active and influential part of making history. Historians become part of the political reality and active contributors in the political process. Pappe sees history as a politically influenced matter. Politics are a foundation that Pappe builds upon and accepts when working with his own historical work. This is also a result of his view on history as a matter of power. When looking at the educational aspect in Israel, Pappe notices that it is built upon an unbalanced power representation. The educational system is influenced by power and therefore the establishment’s view of the world will influence what the young are taught. This was the reality in Israel in the 1990s:

“Throughout the 1990s, the balance of power in academia tilted towards the post-Zionist view, whereas the balance of power in the political field was still in the hand of classical Zionism; given the strong neo-Zionist opposition, the field of education had an unclear balance of power”

(Pappe, 2014: 267)

DISCUSSION

We have now answered the first part of our problem. In the previous chapters we have sought to give a comprehensive exemplification of the new historians and their theoretical use of history represented by Benny Morris and Ilan Pappé. We have achieved this by analysing how history is used as a tool by them in their quest for peace. This gives the investigation the premise which leads us a step further to an answer of the second part of our problem - *how will the eyes of Koselleck change the use of history in peace education?*

In the first section the use of history as peace education will undergo a critical examination in order to investigate its shortcomings. This will involve Ilan Gur-Ze'ev and his critique of peace education. We will discuss rights and wrongs in the way history is being used - and how the lens of Koselleck would change it. How would it be different? How would he criticise the established history? Why does history in their use of it become a problem in peace education?

We have established that two different historical approaches appear in peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine. A relativistic position exemplified in Pappé, and a positivistic position exemplified in Morris. We will discuss that both positions are wrong in their attempt at peace education, and that the theoretical foundation of Koselleck will show that the use of history in peace education in the intractable region of contemporary Israel-Palestine is highly problematic.

What is wrong with peace education in Contemporary Israel-Palestine?

According to Gur-Ze'ev the main issue in peace education is that its values build upon a foundation which - when actively used through education - becomes a totalization of moralizing political order "(...) which have no room for an autonomous subject and free spirit" (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001: 320). In this sense, peace education becomes *structural violence* when it is a normalising entity which presents a normative set of values; "I claim that the work of the "50 million teachers" referred to by UNESCO is in fact one of the main mechanisms of perpetuating violence and injustice" (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001: 322). This is an outcome of the peace educator's idealistic believe in what Gur-Ze'ev see as a wish for an unrealistic utopia on earth, a universalistic idea of peace, and an essentialist conception of Human Rights. He concludes that

“Peace education is but one version of normalizing education (...)” (Gur-Ze’ev, 2001: 329) and thus is considered *structural violence*.

The concept of peace must be challenged and rethought as peace education in all its forms *“(...) avoids questioning the positive, constitutive role violence plays within it”* (Gur-Ze’ev 2001: 331). The violence in peace education is not a physical phenomenon but must be considered *structural violence* in accordance to Galtung (1969). Summed up, Gur-Ze’ev is arguing that peace educators including Morris and Pappé are simply naïve and violent at the same time. Their premise for creating the new history is based in a utopianism - creating a peace which is considered out of context with the experienced individual truths of both the Palestinian and Israeli population.

As stated earlier, Salomon argues that within intractable conflicts like contemporary Israel-Palestine, peace education cannot hope to be a solution but rather must seek to change the perception of the *Other’s* collective narrative (Salomon, 2002). When this is put in relation to the historical position of Morris and Pappé, it becomes evident that their attempt at *solving* the conflict and creating *peace* is nothing but a fool’s errand as long as the conceptualisation of peace is not critically approached beforehand. We can thus determine that the positivist history of Benny Morris from a peace education perspective should be considered flawed. A lot of his critique of the existing normative Zionist history was and still is valid to this day. But his historiographical approach did nothing more than replace one normative history with another, and thus insert one normalising education instead of the other.

Regarding the relativist position to history and historiography held by Pappé, and his approach to peace education through the bridging of narratives. We argue with the Gur-Ze’evian perspective, that he as a peace educator must challenge his own concept of peace critically. Pappé’s emphasis on the macro-level of history is a problem in peace education, as his premise of how peaceful coexistence in contemporary Israel-Palestine can be considered a postmodern structural position. It does not take the individual experience into account as truth to the individual but rather explains the individual’s understanding of history as narratives that can be changed.

The concept of peace and the view on how to end the conflict in contemporary Israel-Palestine has different perceptions. If the two parties' expectations are not in accordance with each other, the common goal is unreachable.

"(...)Israel ikke stærk nok til at nedkæmpe palæstinenserne totalt, palæstinenserne er ikke stærke nok til at nedlægge Israel og oprette Palæstina, og det internationale samfund støtter salomonisk magtballancen og går ind for to-statsløsningen, som ellers var selve årsagen til krigen i 1948" ["(...)Israel is not strong enough to defeat the Palestinians completely, the Palestinians are not strong enough to dismantle Israel and establish Palestine and the international community is supporting the Solomonian balance of power and advocates the two-state solution, which was the very reason for the war in 1948"]

(Feldt, 2008a: 131)

The conflict in contemporary Israel-Palestine has in some ways evolved and progressed from the beginning of the era of the new historians. From the end of the 1980s and through the 1990s the optimism resulted in an attempt at finding a solution on a macro-level. On a political level, the parties of Israel, Palestine, and the international community worked closer to a legitimate and sound solution. Culturally and academically the attempt was made to further establish a new way of thinking and discussing the conflicts and its combatants. The problem that emerged in this context seems to be the lack of a common goal for peace as well as the lack of resonance within the individuals in the region. In spite of the numerous attempts at negotiating peace the latest in Annapolis 2007, the process seems to have stalled and people in general have lost belief in a solution to be found on an international, macro-level. Status quo reigns in contemporary Israel-Palestine though politicians around the world paint a picture of process (Feldt, 2008a).

We have now shown that the new historian's lack of critical reflection upon the concept of peace and their *a priori* understanding should be considered erroneous from the Gur-Ze'evian perspective.

The two opposite hegemonic ideologies and attitudes of the Israeli and Palestinian histories, cannot be reconciled (Reardon, 1988) nor can they be bridged (Rotberg et. al., 2006), before a common goal for both collective memories can be accepted. We argue that these collective memories (or social histories) must be based on the individual *past experiences, present*

situation and *future expectations* rather than vice versa. This leads us directly to Koselleck's view on history.

The Koselleck lens on peace education

It is crucial to understand that Koselleck is a conservative historian in nature and he and his ideas are sceptical towards the postmodern critical approach. Koselleck's focus on the individual is to be understood in the sense that one's individual experiences are the truth for the individual. He or she can choose actively between their vast amount of experiences and the history created thereof will always be true to them. Koselleck's theories emphasises the importance of the individual as opposed to social history that focuses solely on structures and masses. In this sense, before collective memory is accepted one must align the experiences of the individual with the experiences of the collective. The collective and the individuals' memory are dependent on one another in the way that they each have the ability to change and influence the other. Inevitably the multiple sets of the individuals' memories will align with the collective and vice versa. One's history must be understood and acknowledged through social interaction and only then, history becomes a collective entity.

Thus when the focus of Pappe emphasises the macro-level of history in Israel-Palestine, he does not take the individual truth based on its experiences into account. He relies far too heavily on the *future expectation* that is peace to create the collective narratives, which in and of itself is faulty in the Gur-Ze'evian perspective. He does not take into account the truth of the history which the individual understands from both the *present situation* as well as *past experiences*. Therefore the acknowledgement of the individual fade into the background and a macro reality becomes the primary focus. Pappe's narrative relativistic position hinders him in accepting that history to the individual is the truth. His attempt at altering the *past experience* of individuals through the use of collective narratives and the bridging thereof is not possible. The prognosis that we have pointed out in Pappe's history is simply put unrealistic to the individuals of contemporary Israel-Palestine. The *present situation* and *past experiences* of the Palestinians as well as the Israeli does not correlate with this unrealistic *future expectation*.

What this means in relation to the historical position of Pappe as peace education, is that Koselleck would argue that the individual is lost since the collective becomes alpha and omega. Koselleck's view does not mean that the collective narrative is redundant for history, but rather that the individual's experiences are a non-redundant part of creating a collective experience in social history.

Koselleck believes every individual holds his or her own true history. In our interpretation, this is the core of the idea of *multiple temporalities* also emphasised by Jordheim (2012). The point being that in order to understand history as a social phenomenon, it must be an alignment of the true histories of the individuals. Social history does not captivate individual history sufficiently and thus the picture it paints becomes partial, since the reality it presents is based too heavily on a macro-level. In combination with Koselleck's historical position the chances are increased significantly to explain a holistic picture of reality as a combination of the individual and the individual in a social and political reality. When criticising the new historian's attempt at changing the collective narrative either as one truth or several equally valid truths, the idea of *truth* should be examined. The question is not whether the history contains an aspect of truth. Thus history contains truth that differs depending on which memories are chosen, both on an individual and collective level. History is always truth but depending on the point of view, different truths can emerge. Hence *truth* exists within history but is constantly under negotiation. Koselleck approves of the truth of each history, since this is the result of its own past, present and future.

The positivist position of Benny Morris and his idea of creating one true new history is problematic in the sense that the truth which he creates is non-negotiable. Just as Pappe, Morris' position does not make room for the truth of the individual. History to Koselleck is far more than the positivistic rearrangement of facts that Morris makes it out to be. It is a matter of truth negotiation. The attempt of creating one truth or one history from looking at new facts or looking at historical events in a new light is not possible. With our use of Koselleck's theories we once again argue that history cannot be forced upon the population. Koselleck as a conservative historian does not accept the idea that individual past experiences can be altered into *one true* collective narrative or history. Morris challenged the 'old' historians and we see how he set out to create a normative collective history - a new truth.

The new historians' positions are politicised and have a social reality in mind as a basis for their historical work. According to the new historians this social reality can bring peace to contemporary Israel-Palestine. But as we have argued this is the wrong approach. A macro point of view will create a structural violence that will undermine the individual truth. Neglecting the fact that people on both sides have experienced personal losses can result in a personally motivated hatred towards the other party. It is an example of the failed attempt to create a singular historical frame where two populations can coexist and accept each other fully.

What we find is that history contains multiple truths, and not one singular truth. Jordheim (2012) emphasises that Koselleck builds his theory on the idea that history contains multiple temporalities and thus multiple truths. This also means that a new set of expectations cannot be formed without fully integrating the present in the equation. In the case of the intractable region of contemporary Israel-Palestine this becomes highly problematic. The situation in the area has escalated since the 2nd Intifada, and the people are living in constant fear of personal violence. New and positive expectations cannot be formed as long as constant personal violence, and the fear thereof is in the minds and hearts of people. The people see that the attempt at a solution is moved away from them, and their everyday life toward an international level of politics that has little or nothing to do with the individual. When this mind-set is present, the experiences will likewise be chosen to correlate with the present. The result will be that the experiences chosen will be of a negative kind and will be related to earlier experiences of personal violence.

If the prognosis of the new historians is to alter the expectations of the future in Israel-Palestine, the experiences of the individual have to be completely different. Up until now the histories presented by new as well as old historians has been focusing on the wars and conflicts - death and despair. But if the prognosis is to become realistic the histories presented must change. With a new approach to which experiences could be chosen and thereby presented, the possibility of changing the expectation of the future may arise. An alternative truth can be presented if a foundation of love, respect, and understanding is chosen and

emphasised. The idea is that a positive representation of the past with the individual in mind holds the possibility to create a positive expectation for the future.

CONCLUSION

Peace education in intractable regions is an elusive entity. Through this project, it has become clear that history is a non-redundant part of peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine. The way it is being used differs greatly. The positivist and relativist historical positions are two examples of how academic history is used in theoretical peace education. When exemplified through new historians as Benny Morris and Ilan Pappé we have shown that it is flawed. With the Gur-Ze'evian perspective we have further shown that their conceptualisation of *peace* is inherently mistaken. Their premise for creating peace can be considered both naïve and unrealistic. We have further argued that peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine should not try to create a universalistic and essentialist peace but rather work toward a society based on individual truths, a society where structural violence may serve as a necessary evil. The future expectation of peace must be a negotiable concept.

The lens of Koselleck offers a different approach to history in peace education, one where truths are a negotiable term on an individual level. It has given us the opportunity to show that the relativist and positivist positions in peace education are not ideal in the case of contemporary Israel-Palestine. When history is used as a part of peace education it becomes part of the normalising education, enforcing a normative set of values, truths, and experiences according to Gur-Ze'ev and Koselleck. What the combination of these two perspectives offer is a push in the direction of re-evaluating peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine with a focus on the past experience, present situation, and future expectations of the individual. Instead of creating one new truth or bridging the two collective narratives, the attempt at aligning the individual and collective experiences could be the point of departure for peace education in contemporary Israel-Palestine. When writing history as part of peace education, the positive experiences must be emphasised to create a positive prognosis.

GLOSSARY

Contemporary Israel-Palestine: The definition is in no way political or ideological. It is purely alphabetic.

Historiography: The history of history

INGO: International nongovernmental organisation

Interstate: Between two states

Intifada: Uprising by Palestinians Arabs against Israel

Intrastate: Within one state

Knesset: The Israeli Parliament in Jerusalem

NGO: Nongovernmental organisation

Periodization: To categorise history in timely periods

PLO: Palestine Liberation Organisation

Somatic: Physical

Zionism: The tradition of Zion

SOURCE LIST

Books

Feldt, Jakob, 2007: *"The Israeli Memory Struggle, History and Identity in the Age of Globalization"*

University Press of Southern Denmark, 2007

EAN 9788776742188

Feldt, Jakob, 2008a: *"Vejen til fred - betragtninger om vejen til fred gennem Israel-Palæstina konfliktens historie. In, Seeberg, Peter & Valbjørn, Morten, 2008: Et andet nyt Mellemøsten"*

Syddansk Universitetsforlag, Odense, 2008

ISBN 978 87 7674 348 2

Karsh, Efraim, 1997: *"Fabricating Israeli History"*

FRANK CASS & CO, London 2007

ISBN 0-7146-4725-X

Koselleck, Reinhart, 2004: *"Modernity and the Planes of Historicity in Futures Past - On the Semantics of Historical Times"*

Columbia University Press, 2004. English translation by Keith Tribe

ISBN 0-231-12770-7

Morris, Benny, 1988: *"The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem, 1947-1949"*

Cambridge University Press, 1988

ISBN 0-521-33028-9

Nevers & Olsen, 2007: *"Kapitel 1: 'Erfaringsrum' og 'forventningshorisont' - to historiske kategorier"* i *"Begreber, tid og erfaring."*

Dansk oversættelse. Hans Reitzels Forlag, København 2007

ISBN 13: 978-87-412-5019-9

Pappe, Ilan, 1988: *“Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1951”*

St. Martin's Press, 1988

ISBN 0-312-01573-9

Pappe, Ilan, 2007: *“The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine”*

Oneworld Publications

ISBN-13: 978-1-85168-467-0

Pappe, Ilan, 2014: *“The Idea of Israel, a History of Power and Knowledge”*

Verso, Brooklyn 2014

ISBN 13: 978-1-84467-856-3

Reardon, Betty, 1988: *“Comprehensive Peace Education, Educating for Global Responsibility”*

Teachers College Press, New York, 1988

ISBN 0-8077-2886-1

Rogan, Eugene L. and Shlaim, Avi - 2001: *“The War for Palestine - Rewriting the History of 1948”*

Cambridge University Press, 2001

ISBN 0-521-79476-5

Rotberg, Robert I. (editor), 2006: *“Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict, History’s Double Helix”*

Collection of academic articles. Indiana University Press, 2006

ISBN 13: 978-0-253-21857-5

Salomon, Gavriel & Nevo, Baruch, 2002: *“Peace Education, The Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World”*

Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2002

ISBN 0-8058-4193-8

Shapira, Anita, 2012: “Schusterman Series in Israel Studies: Israel - A History”

Brandeis University Press, 2012

eBook ISBN: 9781611683530

Shlaim, Avi, 1988: “Collusion Across the Jordan - King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and”

Oxford University Press, 1988

ISBN 0-19-827831-4

Shlaim, Avi, 2001: “The Iron Wall - Israel and the Arab World”

The Penguin Press, 2001

ISBN 978-0-14-028870-4

Academic Articles

Bar-Tal, Daniel & Rosen, Yigal, 2009: “Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models”

Printed in Review of Educational Research, Volume 79, Issue 2, June 2009

DOI: 10.3102/0034654308330969

Boulding, Elise, 1981: “Perspectives of women researchers on disarmament, national security and world order”

Printed in Women Studies, International Quarterly IV, no. 1, 1981

Brock-Utne, Birgit, 2012: “The centrality of women’s work for peace in the thinking, actions, and writings of Elise Boulding”

Printed in Journal of Peace Education, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2012

Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo

DOI: 10.1080/17400201.2012.700198

Feldt, Jakob, 2008b: “History and peace education in Israel/Palestine: a critical discussion of the use of history in peace education”

Printet in Rethinking History, Volume 12, NO. 2, 2008
Routledge - Taylor and Francis Group

Galtung, Johan, 1969: *"Violence, Peace and Peace Research"*

Printed in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 6, Issue 3, Published in 1969
Sage Publications, Ltd.

Giroux, Henry A.: *"Lessons From Paulo Freire"*

Printet in The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 17, 2010

Gur-Ze'ev, Ilan, 2001: *"Philosophy of peace education in a postmodern era"*

Printed in Educational Theory, Volume 51, Issue 3, 2001
University of Illinois

Harris, Ian M., 2004: *"Peace education theory"*

Printed in Journal of Peace Education Volume 1, Issue 1, 2007
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
DOI: 10.1080/1740020032000178276

Jordheim, Helge, 2012: *"Against periodization: Koselleck's theory of multiple temporalities"*

Printed in History and Theory 51, May 2012
Wesleyan University.
ISSN: 0018-2656

Meyers, Ruth M., 1984: *"Peace Education: Problems and Promise"*

Printed in Women's Studies Quarterly Volume 12, Issue 2, 1984
The Feminist Press at the City University of New York

Morris, Benny, 1988 : *"The New Historiography - Israel Confronts Its Past"*

Printet in Tikkun Magazine, Volume 3, No. 6, november/december 1988

Takala, Annika, 1991: *Review: Feminist Perspectives on Peace Education*

Printet in Journal of Peace Education Volume 28, No. 2, May 1991

Links

Web 1 - Teachers Without Borders:

<http://teacherswithoutborders.org/page/what-peace-education>

Last visited on May 26th 2015

Web 2: Bajaj, Monisha - Critical Peace Education:

http://www.tc.columbia.edu/centers/epe/htm%20articles/Bajaj_ch16_22feb08.doc

Last visited on May 26th 2015

Web 3: Harris, Ian - *History of Peace Education*

https://www.google.dk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CCAQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tc.columbia.edu%2Fcenters%2Fepe%2Fhtm%2520articles%2FHarris_ch2_22feb08.doc&ei=yJpkVan6LafvywP0xoD4Aw&usg=AFQjCNEkqPfMNR5596Vx8PUO5KKsLGRvw&sig2=bEgL6TQP0mVHNskpzWmCXQ&bvm=bv.93990622,d.bGQ

Last visited on May 26th 2015

Web 4 - Koselleck, Reinhart: *The Temporalisation of Concepts* translated by Klaus Sondermann:

<http://www.jyu.fi/yhtfil/redescriptions/Yearbook%201997/Koselleck%201997.pdf>

Last visited on May 26th 2015

Web 5 - Interview with Benny Morris by CounterPunch, 2004

<http://www.counterpunch.org/2004/01/16/an-interview-with-benny-morris/>

Last visited on May 26th 2015

Web 6 - University of Exeter, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, Professor Ilan Pappé:

<http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/iaais/staff/pappe/>

Last visited on May 26th 2015