

# Deradicalization and Israeli-Palestinian Reconciliation: Lessons and Recommendations Based on Past Conflicts

## Policy Paper

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### Abstract

The events of October 7 and the ensuing war prompt the question of the "day after" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Both sides of Israel's political spectrum recognize that achieving calm and Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation necessitate a process of deradicalization<sup>1</sup>, the essence of which is a broad conceptual change in Palestinian educational, economic, legal and political institutions. However, Israeli peace agreements and past efforts to eradicate public extremism in the Arab world and the Palestinian Authority have failed, mainly because they have set a high bar disconnected from any political process, geopolitical reality, and the desires and needs of Palestinian society. The necessary conditions for deradicalization include a range of symbolic and institutional changes, among them construction of a new Palestinian narrative oriented toward peace and coexistence, alongside economic recovery and profound changes in the Palestinian education and legal systems. The changes must be achieved with Palestinian agreement and cooperation, but under significant international external supervision and involvement, including the contribution of moderate Arab states. In other words, deradicalization must be part of a comprehensive political process that establishes and promotes the conditions for its success. This document proposes steps toward a process of deradicalization in the Israeli-Palestinian case based on a comparative study of three historical cases: Nazi Germany after World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Yugoslav Wars, and Iraq after the Second Gulf War. A discussion of the successes and failures of these cases in promoting deradicalization and achieving sustainable peace is the basis of recommendations for initiating a similar process in Palestinian (and Israeli) society on the "day after" the end of the fighting in Gaza.

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<sup>1</sup>See Netanyahu's plan for the day after: Jonathan Lees, "[Netanyahu presents his plan for the 'day after' in the Gaza Strip: demilitarization of the Gaza Strip and replacement of UNRWA](#)," *Haaretz*, February 23, 2024. and Lapid's plan for the day after: "[Rebuilding the Gaza Strip and Striving for a Political Agreement: Lapid's Plan for the Day After in Gaza](#)," *Maariv*, December 2, 2023.

## Introduction

The events of October 7, 2023 brought the need for a long-term solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict back to center stage, a solution that would provide all parties involved with security, stability and prosperity. The prevailing perception in Israel today is that eradicating radicalization and promoting dialogue with moderate elements are necessary preconditions for a stable peace. This could be achieved via a Palestinian narrative oriented toward reconciliation, and the building of moderate and functioning Palestinian state institutions; namely, through a process of deradicalization.

Scholars agree that the term **radicalization** describes the adoption and rooting of extremist attitudes, perceptions and beliefs that may, under certain circumstances, lead to the involvement in and execution of violence and terrorism. This process usually develops on both individual and group levels. The efforts and programs (national and multinational) for confronting radicalization fall into several categories. While the term **deradicalization** describes a limited program that seeks to create behavioral and perceptual change among targeted groups on one or both sides of the conflict, **anti-radicalization** is a comprehensive structural change program for institutions that facilitate extremism, focused on economic enhancement, strengthening governance, bolstering state institutions, and building community leadership.<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we will relate to the **deradicalization process** as a transformation of beliefs and perceptions, the essence of which is to abandon the belief in violence and terrorism as the right way to achieve political goals, while promoting the understanding that moderation, reconciliation, and negotiations are far more effective.

Over time, and especially in recent years, Israeli policy has achieved the opposite effect. Instead of advancing the needs and political aspirations of the Palestinians, strengthening the moderates, and forging cooperation based on shared interests, both sides have entrenched themselves in their positions while exacerbating the imbalance between them, taking unilateral steps,<sup>3</sup> strengthening those who oppose compromise and denying the right of the other side to exist. Despite the bloody ongoing conflict, plans for a deradicalization process of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have been

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<sup>2</sup> Lindsay Clutterbuck, "[Deradicalization Programs and Counterterrorism: A Perspective on the Challenges and Benefits](#)," *Middle East Institute*, 2015; Daniel Koehler, "Deradicalization and Disengagement Programs as Counter-Terrorism and Prevention Tools. Insights from Field Experiences regarding German Right-Wing Extremism and Jihadism," in M. Lombardi et al (Eds.), *Countering Radicalization and Violent Extremism Among Youth to Prevent Terrorism*, IOS Press, 2015, 120-150.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Udi Dekel and Lia Moran-Gilad, "The Annapolis Process 2007-2008: Missed Opportunity for a Two-State Settlement?" *The Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)*, Memorandum No. 210, February 2021, pp. 89-99.

conspicuous by their absence. Although the issue has repeatedly come up in the political discourse between the sides, it has never received proper input in official plans.<sup>4</sup> Israel's past efforts to mitigate Palestinians radicalization have focused on conditioning the progress of talks with the PLO on demands that the organization fight terrorism, round up illegal weapons, and fight incitement. However, Israeli demands, usually with American support, were unrealistic and did not provide the proper conditions and mechanisms for promoting a process of deradicalization on the Palestinian side. For example, during the second intifada (2000-2005), under the leadership of Ariel Sharon and Yasser Arafat, Israel set a series of "tests" for the Palestinians to determine their attitude toward incitement to violence and terrorism which measured Palestinian "intent," "effort" and "result". These demands were detached from the reality of a bloody conflict, from Palestinian aspirations and needs, and from any political horizon, and failed to promote shared interests. Rather, they increased suspicion and mistrust between the sides, led to an escalation of incitement and terrorism, and even gradually strengthened the power and status of Hamas over the more moderate PLO and the Palestinian Authority. This experience highlights the futility of a deradicalization process divorced of efforts to advance a political settlement and of the expectations, and the desires and needs of the Palestinian side. This dynamic led both sides to the tragedy of October 7, since which Israel has rightly demanded that the Palestinians promote a deradicalization process. However, Israel has not specified what it means by deradicalization and seems unwilling to provide the required political and strategic conditions for implementing such a process.

Despite the complexities, it is important to remember that ending the violence and establishing reconciliation is still within reach. As past conflicts demonstrate, processes of deradicalization are essential for ending aggression and achieving lasting peace, and must be led gradually through well planned programs for the construction and rehabilitation of moderate state and social institutions under multinational management or supervision. Accordingly, a Palestinian state with which a long-term political process could be achieved requires a similar plan. Ending violence and promoting political settlements require dealing with radicalization and aggression on both sides of the conflict. This paper focuses on a process of deradicalization on the Palestinian side, and attempts to translate the current Israeli call for deradicalization of Palestinian society, (which is general and lacks focus), into a description of policies, practical steps and principles of action.

It is based on a comparative review examining three historical cases of multinational supervision and programs for the rehabilitation of state institutions undertaken to

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Moher and Shoshan, "Combating Radicalization as a Means of Preventing Terrorism: Israel vs. the World," *Strategic Assessment*, No. 26, No. 1, 2023, 78-84.

promote deradicalization, reconciliation and peace. Evaluating the successes and failures of each historical process serves as a basis for outlining guiding principles of a similar plan for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the end of the hostilities in Gaza, and demonstrates the importance of a comprehensive political process to promote significant social transformation.

## **Past deradicalization processes**

Since the end of the Second World War, the United Nations and various multinational teams have implemented numerous programs to deradicalize conflicts and promote peace around the world. A similar plan for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must draw on the causes for success and failure to achieve deradicalization and sustainable peace in past experiences.

### **Democratization and Denazification in West Germany (1945–1958)**

Upon its unconditional surrender, the Allies divided Germany into an American, British, and French occupation zones which were merged, shortly thereafter, into a jointly Allied controlled “Trizonia” (alongside a fourth Soviet zone). The German fighting to the last moment and popularity of the Nazi regime prompted fears of German terrorism against the occupation forces and the resurgence of the Nazi party. To promote deradicalization and prevent future German aggression, the Allies waged a campaign to delegitimize the Nazi party and ideology, established the rule of law and human and civil rights in a newly constituted West Germany, rehabilitated its economy, and rebuilt it as a liberal democracy.

The Allies’ denazification program dismantled all organizations affiliated with Nazism, imprisoned hundreds of Nazi criminals, and purged state institutions of officials affiliated with the Party. However, the difficulty in determining the degree of individual involvement in the Nazi regime, and the impaired functioning of state systems, generated public opposition to the plan and resulted in its eventual abandonment. At the same time, the occupation forces decentralized the Nazi system of government while encouraging diversity and local political initiatives, and managed educational and media institutions while promoting a new, liberal-democratic German narrative aimed at reconciliation. The United States deployed the Marshall Plan to rehabilitate the German economy by flooding the market with loans, providing incentives for consumer goods’ production and encouraging initiative and competition. It also promoted trade and diplomatic ties across Western Europe, all under an American security umbrella which protected Germany and its neighbors from the threat of a communist takeover. The reconstruction of state systems contributed to the process of deradicalization of

the German population, turning Germany into a moderate liberal democracy and a superpower in less than a generation.<sup>5</sup>

### **The Dayton Agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995–2002)**

At the end of the Yugoslav wars, Bosnian Muslims, Christian Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats remained disputed over the newly founded territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Dayton agreement, which ended the hostilities, included an international intervention program to regulate territorial and political discord, and promote deradicalization and reconciliation. The initial steps marked the formation of a multinational council (with Turkey as a representative of the Islamic countries) to ensure all parties adhered to the ceasefire and disarmed militant organizations.

The second stage saw the establishment of the Office of the High Representative, which led the construction of state systems, including joint legal institutions, safeguarded human and civil rights, and established a foreign professionally managed central bank to rebuild the economy and cities. An international team oversaw the establishment of a parliament which represented the three ethnic groups and ousted extremists. The professional supervision founded a presidency which rotates between three leaders of the three groups, and put in place a proper election procedure.

The program also promoted the creation of a new national narrative and uniform state symbols that preserved group identities, alongside educational and media initiatives to encourage reconciliation, which involved moderates from the three groups. Despite a slow start and public opposition, the plan is considered successful in stabilizing the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina by enforcing a peace agreement among its warring constituents and leading state-building processes that resulted in deradicalization and peace throughout the region.<sup>6</sup>

### **Democratization and De-Baathification in Iraq (2003-2008)**

The United States and its allies embarked on the Iraq War in response to the devastating World Trade Center terrorist attack of September 11, 2001. The US administration insisted that the war's objectives were to prevent the proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction, overthrow Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party, and promote security and stability in the region. Despite American efforts to introduce

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<sup>5</sup> Konrad Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006; Perry Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany: A History 1945-1950*, Stroud: Tempus Stroud, 2007; Ian Kershaw, *To Hell and Back: Europe, 1914-1949*.

<sup>6</sup> Roland Kostic, *Ambivalent Peace: External Peacebuilding, Threatened Identity, and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, PhD dissertation submitted to the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Upsala University Sweden, 2007.



democratization and deradicalization, the plans widened the rifts between the Sunnis, Shi'ites, and Kurds who make up Iraq's population.

While occupying Iraq, the Americans led a de-Baathification program whose goal, like that of the German process, was to purge Iraqi state institutions of party members. Under the plan, the Ba'ath Party was disbanded, its senior officials were arrested and their association banned. The rest of the security and military organizations in the country were dispersed, as well. Efforts were also undertaken to develop a moderate Iraqi education system through curricula promoting tolerance, diversity and critical thinking, teacher training and writing new textbooks. These efforts also established informal youth education programs, which offered sports clubs and other activities. Media campaigns on radio and television promoted values of peace and coexistence, and American forces ran programs of social involvement to promote dialogue among different population groups.

However, sectoral strife and various challenges impeded the deradicalization process in Iraq. The de-Baathification program pushed Sunnis out of state institutions, and the resulting power vacuum encouraged the rise of extremist elements such as ISIS and weakened Iraq vis-à-vis its neighbor, Shiite Iran. Despite the establishment of a parliament and state institutions, the American occupation did not succeed in rehabilitating and building a moderate Iraqi state, and even led to a deeper rift between the different sectors. In contrast to the successful programs implemented in Germany and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United States failed to reconstruct the Iraqi state, impairing its society's ability to undergo conceptual change and deradicalization.<sup>7</sup>

### **Deradicalization and peacebuilding in the West Bank and Gaza**

The success and failure of past plans, and the seemingly intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict, serve as the basis for recommendations for a process of deradicalization in Palestinian society. The success of such a plan hinges on providing the Palestinians with a clear political future and consistently advancing toward realizing their national goals, providing viable substitutes for the path of terror that has characterized the period of Palestinian occupation and resistance until now. The plan should also include the rebuilding and rehabilitation of Palestinian state institutions with international involvement or supervision, and the promotion of moderation through the Palestinian media and its political, economic, legal, and educational systems. This could be achieved via controlled measures carried out in agreement and cooperation with Palestinian leadership, rather than imposing bi-lateral steps.

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<sup>7</sup> Aysegul Keskin Zeren, "From Denazification of Germany to De-Baathification of Iraq," *Political Science Quarterly*, 132:2, 2017, 259-290.

The following recommendations for promoting a deradicalization process in Palestinian society should be implemented with reference to the fighting situation in Gaza, while seizing any opportunity for appeasement which unfolds before the war ends. The end of hostilities will undoubtedly allow for a more effective and comprehensive promotion of deradicalization within the framework of a larger political settlement and without any involvement of terror organizations in any of the following suggestions.

### **Narrative and symbolic steps**

Along the conflict, Palestinian identity has been characterized by a weakened self-image of an oppressed group, exploited by Israel and the West who seek to disintegrate or destroy it. Standing firm against these forces is perceived as strength, while cooperation with external forces is tantamount to defeat and surrender, even at the cost of individual progress and welfare.<sup>8</sup> The building of a renewed Palestinian narrative must address these anxieties and eliminate them by presenting consistent Israeli and international willingness to dialogue and to find a mutually agreeable solution. Also, a deradicalization process should promote Palestinian realization that violent resistance does not produce desirable outcomes, while a peaceful settlement and cooperation with Israel hold out significant benefits for them.

A similar process took place in postwar Germany. The leader of the newly founded Christian Democratic party Konrad Adenauer, led a campaign for German reconciliation based on the messages of Christian conservatism oriented toward progress, unity, and pride in the German endurance through suffering during the war. Adenauer promoted the recognition that German militancy was a fertile ground for the rise of Nazism and encouraged his people to conduct a process of soul-searching. Using Christian ideas of revival and mercy, Adenauer cultivated a compassionate German consciousness while promoting Christian values that sanctify equality and liberalism as the basis for a new relationship between the German Federal Republic (West Germany) and its citizens.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, a Palestinian leadership that would promote a narrative addressing Palestinian suffering under occupation and during rounds of fighting with Israel, and present Palestinian resilience and endurance as a source of pride, could replace the image of the weakened victim, and may contribute to social change. Promoting such a

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<sup>8</sup> Yohanan Soref, "Barriers in Resolving the Conflict with Israel – The Palestinian Perspective," in Yaakov Bar Siman Tov, ed., *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Research, 2010, 76-110.

<sup>9</sup> Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997, 201-218.

placated Palestinian narrative, without bolstering the belief in violent resistance and terrorism as the path to achieving national interests, might pose a challenge yet it is a possible and necessary step. A process of deradicalization thus requires a clear message that the choice of extremist ideologies and actions is wrong and has so far led to the destruction of Palestine, while cooperation with Israel is a source of strength. This message could be well served through references to Arab and Islamic values of compassion, moderation and forgiveness, as was the case with reconciliation attempts between India and Bangladesh in the 1970s and in Tunisia after the Arab Spring.<sup>10</sup>

Linking these symbolic steps to relevant regional efforts could reinforce them. For example, King Abdullah's warning against the radical Sunni and Shi'ite rift that divides the Arab world, and his call to oppose sectarian violence between Islamic streams.<sup>11</sup> Constructing the narrative by labeling sectorial and political rifts as weakness, and emphasizing that a better future requires unity and cooperation between them, could also bolster such a narrative. Moderate Arab states, including Jordan, Morocco, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt, could play a significant and even critical role in an international intervention plan, particularly in efforts to construct a conciliatory Palestinian narrative, strengthen moderate voices in Palestinian society, and help bring Palestinians closer to the moderate Sunni axis in the Middle East.

### **Institutional measures**

Social transformation, which includes changes in beliefs, identification, narratives, symbols, and more, requires complementary structural and institutional steps to support and validate them. Following are examples of relevant institutional measures.

#### *Establishing a multinational oversight mechanism*

Drawing on the lessons of past deradicalization processes, multinational supervision appears essential, at least in the immediate post-war phase, to build Palestinian state institutions that will foster the abandonment of terrorism and violence. The Dayton Agreement Peace Implementation Council, which included representatives from the United States, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, the European Commission and Turkey,<sup>12</sup> could serve as a model for such a mechanism and include

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<sup>10</sup> Yasmin Saika, "Insaniyat for Peace: Survivors' Narrative for the 1971 War of Bangladesh," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 14:4, November 2011, 475-501; Roea Nahmani, "Tunisia: One Day a Nation Arises and Decides it Has Had Enough," *Ynet*, Jan. 16, 2011 (in Hebrew).

<sup>11</sup> Joshua Krasna, "The Moderate Sunni Camp - Is There Such a Thing?" *Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security* 2018; "[Abdullah: Sunnis and Shiites will destroy Islam](#)," *AP*, August 20, 2018.

<sup>12</sup> David Chandler, *Faking Democracy after Dayton*, London&Sterling Virginia: Pluto Press, 2000; Elizabeth Cousens and Charles Cater, *Towards Peace in Bosnia: Implementing the Dayton Accords*, London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2001.



Arab representatives from countries such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan, and Egypt.

#### *Purging institutions of terrorist elements*

The results of past cleansing efforts point to steps that should be avoided in the process of rebuilding the Palestinian administration and bureaucracy. In the denazification program in Germany and the de-Baathification in Iraq, the occupying forces ousted senior and key officials of the defeated regime from the economic, judicial, and administrative systems. The remaining officials were ranked according to their level of party influence to determine whether they would be dismissed. In both cases, the purge resulted in a shortage of skilled personnel which weakened the system. While most of those ousted in Germany gradually returned, the process in Iraq became a tool in the hands of Shiites against Sunnis, exacerbating distrust of the system and pushing certain groups into violent resistance.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, to promote deradicalization in Palestinian society, a deep purge of governing mechanisms is best avoided and replaced instead by distancing senior figures affiliated with Hamas from state systems. This process should also avoid undermining Palestinian ability to self-govern, while preventing any exploitation of positions of power for personal or belligerent purposes, division, or personal gain. The construction of the new institutions will thus enable and facilitate political, economic and legal change.

#### *Restoration of parliament and general elections*

External US pressure on the 2005 Palestinian election campaign contributed to the rise of Hamas, yet lessons learned from other countries provide valuable guidelines for the rebuilding of a renewed Palestinian legislative council. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and Iraq, multinational committees oversaw political associations, vetted candidates, led the drafting of a new constitution, and conducted the first elections. Similarly, in order to promote deradicalization in the Palestinian case, regional and international forces should be given a role in reconstituting the political system. This would include multinational oversight to help the Palestinian leadership control the legislature's makeup and protect it from a takeover by extremist elements until such time as a functioning independent Palestinian parliament is established and fair and free general elections are held.

#### *Economic development*

Multinational, professional and neutral supervision has also been shown to play an important role in economic recovery and the establishment of a central bank as an

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<sup>13</sup> Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012, 278-281; Ibrahim Al-Marashi and Ayesgul Keskin, "Reconciliation Dilemmas in Post-Ba'athist Iraq: Truth, Commissions, Media, and Ethno-Sectarian Conflicts," *Mediterranean Politics*, 13, July 2008, 243-259.

essential component for the development of a peace supporting economy. A similar process took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where a foreign commissioner was appointed to run the central bank. The commissioner's task was to ensure that salaries were paid, public funds were channeled to aid victims' families and rebuild the country, and to protect savings and ensure transparency in budget allocations. Similarly, the Allies controlled the price of basic goods in the initial period after the Second World War, dismantling the large cartels that ran the war industry. Through the Marshall Plan, Americans encouraged a free-market economy that included imports and production of consumer goods and foreign investment alongside domestic initiatives.<sup>14</sup>

In the Palestinian case, as well, there is room to consider forming an international team that will assist in gradually replacing the Palestinian Authority's economic power centers, building a just and accessible economy, and establishing a central bank headed by a foreign professional body. This bank will manage taxation activities, maintain transparent conduct, act to secure citizens' savings, and ensure the legitimacy of state income sources (banning funding from Iran or terrorist organizations). Countries in the Middle East could help develop the Palestinian economy by opening their markets to trade with the Palestinians. Such a move would also help in shaping positive Palestinian perceptions of Arab countries, showing that adopting Western economic codes lead to prosperity, without turning away from Arab and Islamic principles and culture.

#### *Re-establishing a judiciary and drafting a constitution*

Past experience shows that a strong judicial system, based on clear principles and a constitution, is essential for establishing a stable state which upholds the rule of law, and for achieving peace. For example, Nazi Germany's centralized and corrupt judicial system was tainted by racist and prerogative laws. At the end of the Second World War, the Allies purged the system of judges and officials affiliated with the Nazi Party. A close Allied supervision repealed Nazi laws and guided West German representatives in drafting a constitution based on the 1871 German penal code, emphasizing human and civil rights. The Allies invested heavily in the independence and training of the German judiciary, and established a system of appointments based on skills and qualifications, instead of loyalty to the regime.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, the Multinational Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina was responsible for the establishment of a constitutional court, which led legislative reforms to promote reconciliation and end aggression. It repealed the two existing constitutions, of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Republika Srpska, declaring them contradictory to the principles of the Dayton Agreement. Together with representatives of parliament, the international

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<sup>14</sup> Kostic, *Ambivalent Peace*, 86-88; Jarausch, *After Hitler*, 80-95.

<sup>15</sup> Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler*, 248-276.

team drafted a new constitution, ousted certain officials, and tabled some 250 resolutions for legislative change.

Similar principles can guide the construction of a Palestinian legal system. Under international supervision, judges affiliated with Hamas and other militant groups will be ousted, as those involved in nepotism or corruption. A multinational team will unify the Palestinian judiciary leadership, support and promote moderate Palestinian judges, and train new jurists. At the same time, efforts should be made to change the legal code, abolish anti-democratic laws, and draft a new constitution that meets international standards. The legislative systems of moderate Islamic countries can serve as models, all under the careful supervision of a multinational committee.

### *The School System*

Despite international condemnation, the Palestinian school system continues to incite hatred of Israel and the West and encourages violence and terrorism.<sup>16</sup> A new education system and updated curricula are therefore required to promote a Palestinian deradicalization process. As in the economic and judicial system, a multinational commission or international and regional cooperation should play a significant role in this important task. Foreign teams should accompany and supervise the process, which would involve, inter alia, the expulsion of teachers and educators affiliated with extremist movements, the recruitment and training of teachers identified with the values of moderate Islam or the Arab national-secular stream. International teams should also formulate new curricula and guide the writing of textbooks in the spirit of a new and conciliatory narrative. As with the reforms carried out in the occupation zones of Germany, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, incorporating English and sciences into the curriculum is important, yet in a manner consistent with Palestinian religion and culture. Professional teachers should be trained and hired to provide school children with technological grounding and enrichment.

### *Informal education*

Past deradicalization processes illuminate the importance of informal education. For example, Nazi Germany conducted all informal education activities within the framework of the Hitler Youth training camps, leaving German youth after the war in a spiritual vacuum and identity confusion. To tackle this problem, the Allies established sports clubs that kept youths off the streets, and encouraged them to dedicate free time to recreational activities and to socializing with their peers. Club activities promoted socialization in accordance with a narrative based on, and identification with democratic values such as teamwork and cooperation, fair play and reliability, health

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<sup>16</sup>Itamar Eichner, "[European Condemnation of Textbooks - and Criticism of Palestinian Education Minister: 'Total Scandal'](#)," *Ynet*, May 7, 2022.

and hygiene, friendly play as opposed to rigid competitiveness, diversity, and equality. The sports clubs were a huge success in the American and British occupation zones, initially bringing to Germany foreign experts in various sports professions, followed by meetings (first in Germany and then abroad) and friendly tournaments between German and foreign youth teams.<sup>17</sup>

Palestinian youth could also benefit from similar sports programs and activities. It is possible to promote the establishment of diverse sports clubs, provide training for Palestinian sports instructors, recruit foreign athletes and coaches from around the world to train the youths, and subsequently arrange meetings between Palestinian youths and athletes around the world. Acquainting Palestinian youth with foreign teams will also help break stigmas and promote renewed trust between Palestinian and Israeli youth.

## **Conclusion**

The paper discusses three historical cases which included steps to end conflicts and promote deradicalization. Historical events demonstrate that establishing stable and functioning state institutions, and the reconstruction of a narrative that encourages unity and reconciliation, are essential for a lasting peace. The prolonged stalemate in the Israeli-Palestinian case also shows that an independent, effective and peace-committed Palestinian government is crucial for leading a process of deradicalization, eradicating violence, and preventing the resurgence of extremist ideologies and movements. Measures taken in past conflicts, and their results, demonstrate the vital necessity (and lack thereof in the Israeli-Palestinian case) of a plan designed to synchronize the processes of rehabilitation and change, and promote peace through the development of the economy, law, education, and the political system..

The success of a deradicalization process in Palestinian society also requires a change in perception on the Israeli side – both in accepting the Palestinians as a people and curbing incitement against them, and in ceasing the domination and violence against them. An altered Israeli approach will encourage the Palestinians to advance a new narrative, abandon armed resistance, and adopt a moderate approach supporting moderation and a political settlement.

Based on these conclusions, the paper suggests several important directions for a plan to promote deradicalization in Palestinian society. Alongside defining a political horizon with clear goals and timetables, multinational teams, in cooperation with moderate Arab states, should advance the formulation of a new peaceful Palestinian

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<sup>17</sup> Heather Dichter, "Game Plan for Democracy: Sport and Youth in Occupied West Germany," in Camilio Erlichman and Christopher Knowels (Eds.) *Transforming Occupation in the Western Zoned of Germany: Politics, Everyday Lives, and Social Interactions 1945-55*, London: Bloomsbury Academics, 2018, 133-150.

narrative and the construction of effective Palestinian state institutions. Foreign support should continue until the Palestinians demonstrate their ability to govern independently, and the new narrative gains widespread acceptance. These steps will form the basis for rebuilding trust and moderation on both sides, and are thus essential for achieving Israeli-Palestinian peace and for the acceptance of a Palestinian state as a legitimate member of the international community.