

14 Coalitions Across Conflict Lines: The Interplay of Conflicts Within and Between the Israeli and Palestinian Communities

Herbert C. Kelman

For some years now, my colleagues and I have been evolving an unofficial third-party approach to the resolution of intransigent, protracted conflicts between identity groups at the international and intercommunal levels. Within that category, I have worked extensively on the Arab-Israeli conflict, with primary emphasis on the Israeli-Palestinian component of that conflict. I have also done work over the years on the conflict between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus and have followed other protracted identity conflicts around the world.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP CONFLICT

A typical feature of the conflicts that we have explored is that the intergroup conflict tends to be exacerbated and perpetuated by intragroup conflicts: by internal conflicts within each of the two contending parties. Even when there is growing interest on both sides in finding a way out of the conflict, movement toward negotiations is hampered by conflicts between the "doves" and the "hawks"—or the "moderates" and "extremists"—within each community. These terms are imprecise, but I use them as shorthand to refer to the elements favoring and the elements opposing a negotiated solution on each side. The distinction between pre-negotiation and anti-negotiation elements itself must be qualified by the observation that we are not dealing entirely with fixed groups. The composition of the pre-negotiation and anti-negotiation forces in each community fluctuates and shifts over time.

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Both the doves on the two sides and the hawks on the two sides have common interests. The two sets of doves share a fundamental interest in promoting negotiations, whereas the two sets of hawks share an interest in blocking negotiations. Doves and hawks differ, however, in the ways in which they can pursue their respective common interests.

The hawks require no coordination. They help each other by simply doing what comes naturally. Thus, by engaging in provocative actions or making threatening statements, the hawks on each side support the argument of their opposite numbers that the enemy is implacable, that negotiations are dangerous and bound to be fruitless, and that the only option is to be tough and uncompromising. As a result, for example, Israeli associations are strengthened whenever an extremist Palestinian group commits an act of terrorism; Palestinian rejectionists, in turn, are strengthened whenever Israeli settlers appropriate more land or intimidate the local population in the occupied territories. In short, the opponents of negotiation on the two sides form what can be described as an "implicit coalition."

On the other hand, the pre-negotiation elements on the two sides find it much more difficult to pursue their common interests. Because of the psychological and political constraints under which they labor, they are likely to undermine each other's efforts to promote negotiations. They are often unhappy in their statements of readiness to negotiate, mostly out of domestic concerns—out of fear of alienating some of their compatriots, who might consider them too soft toward the enemy and too willing to abandon the national cause. Even when they advocate negotiation, they may do so in language that the other side finds offensive or threatening. Thus, for example, Israeli doves often stress the need for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories because of the "demographic threat" to the Jewish state—the concern that annexation of the territories would eventually give Israel a Palestinian-Arab majority. Moderate Palestinians, on their part, make it clear that they are prepared to recognize Israel because its military superiority leaves them no other option—not because they concede the legitimacy of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. Statements of this kind reflect the ambivalence that even the pre-negotiation elements on the two sides often feel toward the adversary. Many favor compromise out of pragmatic considerations, rather than out of acceptance of the other's national identity and

domestic constituencies than to the reactions of the other side. They tend to be preoccupied with how their words will sound, and how their actions will look, at home, and with the immediate political consequences of what they say and do. But these words and actions, chosen primarily for domestic consumption, may cause resentment and reinforce distrust on the other side. Thus, in contrast to the hawks, when the doves on the two sides do what comes naturally, they work at cross-purposes. They tend to communicate to the other side less coordination and willingness to negotiate than they actually represent, and thus to undermine each other's argument that there is someone to talk to on the other side and something to talk about. If the two sets of doves are to be effective, therefore, in pursuing their common interest in promoting negotiations, their efforts need to be coordinated. Our approach to conflict resolution is in part designed to contribute to such coordination.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AS COALITION BUILDING

The unofficial third-party approach to conflict resolution that my colleagues and I have been developing and applying derives from the pioneering efforts of John Burton (1969, 1979, 1984). I have used the term *interactive problem solving* to describe the approach, which finds its fullest expression in problem-solving workshops (Kelman, 1972, 1979, 1986, 1991, 1992; Kelman & Cohen, 1986).

Problem-solving workshops are intensive meetings between politically involved but entirely unofficial representatives of conflicting parties—for example, Israelis and Palestinians, or Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Workshop participants are often politically influential members of their communities. Thus, in my Israeli-Palestinian work, they have included parliamentarians, leading figures in political parties or movements, former military officers or government officials, journalists or editors specializing in the Middle East, and academic scholars who are major analysts of the conflict for their societies and some of whom have served in advisory, official, or diplomatic positions. The workshops take place under academic auspices and are facilitated by a panel of social scientists knowledgeable about international conflict, group

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