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CONTEMPORARY
CONFLICT
RESOLUTION



THIRD EDITION

FULLY REVISED AND EXPANDED

Contemporary Conflict Resolution

The prevention, management and
transformation of deadly conflicts

Third Edition

OLIVER RAMSBOTHAM, TOM WOODHOUSE
AND HUGH MIALL



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Contemporary Conflict Resolution

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Preface

We produced the first edition of this book in order to provide a comprehensive account of the way in which conflict resolution emerged as a field of academic enquiry and how it might be utilized in the effort to manage post-Cold War conflict peacefully. Since the book was published, the conflict landscape has continued to change dynamically. Conflict resolution, conflict prevention and postwar peacebuilding techniques and policies have become familiar in the mandates and objectives of a wide range of international organizations and projects in recent years. Indeed, this has been so prevalent that critics have suggested that the effect of this mainstreaming of the conflict resolution agenda has been to reinforce existing global power structures and to stabilize international relations in favour of the powerful. At the same time, new conflict challenges have emerged in the post-11 September 2001 environment, where wars on terror have preoccupied policy-makers and public debate.

In this third edition of the book we have attempted to respond to these issues in two main ways.

First, we have aimed to reclaim terms such as conflict resolution and conflict transformation, or conflict prevention and postwar peacebuilding, from those who, in our view, misuse them by explaining clearly how they are understood within the conflict resolution tradition. As in the case of appeals to freedom and democracy, we argue that those who invoke these concepts should ensure that their purposes and actions are consonant with them – or else stop using such language. There has always been a tension in the conflict resolution field between its ‘settlement’ aspect, which aims to work effectively within existing power structures, and its ‘transformation’ aspect, which aims to change them. In this book we call the latter ‘cosmopolitan conflict resolution’ when it addresses the range of local/global challenges now facing the international community, and suggest that this has from the start been part of an emancipatory discourse and practice that is making a valuable and defining contribution to emerging norms of democratic, just and equitable systems of global governance. We argue that conflict resolution has a role to play in the radical negotiation of these norms, so that international conflict management is grounded in the needs of those who are the victims of conflict and who are frequently marginalized from conventional power structures. Over the long term, conflict settlement cannot manage the most serious conflicts unless conducted within a transformatory setting.

Second, we have sought to clarify the main contemporary debates about conflict resolution in Part II by discussing critiques of conflict resolution from realists, on the one hand, and critical theorists and post-structuralists, on the other – as well as from radical gender perspectives and ‘culture’ critiques that come from outside the western/northern heartland altogether. These latter are becoming ever more prominent in an era of cross-cultural political struggle and challenges to the long 500-year epoch of western expansion. This third edition addresses a period of growing uncertainty, as what appeared until recently to be a unipolar world is fast becoming more multipolar, and an epoch of western/northern global hegemony may be beginning to come to an end. The UK prime minister’s statement of 19 October 2010 on the national Strategic Defence and Security Review, for example, clearly reflects these changed priorities. Recognition of increased uncertainty and complexity in a multipolar world necessitates a move ‘from military intervention to conflict prevention’ (‘when we fail to prevent conflict and have to resort to military intervention, the costs are always far higher’). This implies a fundamental shift of emphasis in national security thinking in a direction long advocated from a conflict resolution perspective (see chapter 5). But what does it entail? We argue that in such circumstances the cosmopolitan conflict resolution approach is the safest way to navigate these dangerous waters. Major conflict formations that create this turbulence will continue to arise as in all periods of transition. But, if these are to be anticipated, contained and managed so that catastrophic outbreaks of violence are prevented, it can only be through a truly cooperative global enterprise that draws on conflict resolution understandings, skills and value sets from all parts of the world. At the end of the book – in chapter 20 – we identify this as the greatest task for the next generation of conflict resolvers.

We want to acknowledge the help of many people in the task of revising this book. The example of those who founded the field continues to provide the inspiration for what we have attempted here. The more we have studied the work of people such as Elise and Kenneth Boulding, Adam Curle, Johan Galtung, John Burton and many other pioneers, the more we realized how wise and prescient they were. We continue to learn from colleagues in the current conflict resolution and transformation field worldwide, whose dynamic responses to a rapidly changing world are another source of inspiration. We hope that this book will help to publicize their work and, above all, to encourage increasing global participation in the conflict resolution enterprise. We are indebted to David Curran for his assistance in checking data in chapter 6 and to Daniel Schaefer for undertaking the Herculean tasks of preparing references and acronyms, as well as for insightful comments on the text. We are also grateful to Irene Santiago for her case study on the conflict in Mindanao in chapter 13. We would like to thank our colleagues, and especially our students, at the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies, at the University of Bradford, and at the Conflict Analysis Research Centre at the

University of Kent. They have brought a wealth of experience from all parts of the world to our universities and we have learnt from them at least as much as we have imparted. We hope that this book will provide some help to them as they return to their communities and proceed with the work of ridding the world of the scourge of war.

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List of Abbreviations

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ADR	alternative dispute resolution
AIAI	Al-Ittihad al-Islamiya (Somalia)
AKUF	Arbeitsgruppe Kriegsursachsforschung (work group on war research, Hamburg)
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ANC	African National Congress
API	Arab Peace Initiative
ARK	Anti-Ratna Kampanja (anti-war campaign, Croatia)
ARPANET	Advanced Research Projects Agency Network, predecessor of the World Wide Web
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
ASG	Abu Sayaff Group (Philippines)
AU	African Union
AVU	African Virtual University
BINUB	United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi
CAR	Central African Republic
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIDCM	Center for International Development and Conflict Management (Maryland, USA)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CIVPOL	civilian police
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COW	Correlates of War Project
CPRU	Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit (World Bank)
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CZM	Centar za Mir (Centre for Peace, Croatia)
DARPA	US Defence/Advanced Research Project Agency
DDR	disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation
DDRRR	disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development
DFS	Department of Field Support
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo

ECCP	European Centre for Conflict Prevention
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECP	Escola de Cultura de Pau (School of the Culture of Peace)
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Country and Liberty)
ETIM	Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement
EUJUST LEX	EU Rule-of-Law Mission for Iraq
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut (Algeria)
G8	Group of eight countries
G20	Group of twenty finance ministers and central bank governors
G77	Group of 77 developing nations
GDI	Gender Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armé (Algeria)
GICM	Moroccan Islamic Combat Group
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
GRIT	graduated and reciprocated initiatives in tension reduction
GSPC	Group for the Call and Combat (Algeria)
GWOT	global war on terror
HUJI	Harakat ul-Jihad-Islami (Pakistan)
HUM	Harakat ul-Mujahidin (Pakistan)
IAA	Islamic Army of Aden
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT	information communications technology
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IDP	internally displaced person
IFI	international financial institution
IFOR	Implementation Force (Bosnia)
IG	Al-Gamaa al-Islamiya (Egypt)
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (East Africa)
IGO	Inter-governmental Organization
IMAT	International Military Advisory Team (Sierra Leone)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
INCORE	Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity

INTERFET	International Force in East Timor
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPRA	International Peace Research Association
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRW	Intervention–reconstruction–withdrawal (operation)
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan)
JCC	Joint Control Commission
JCR	Journal of Conflict Resolution
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
JI	Jemaah Islamiya (South-East Asia)
JIACG	Joint Inter-Agency Cooperation Group (US)
JM	Jaish-e-Mohammed (Pakistan)
JPKF	Joint Peacekeeping Forces
KFOR	The NATO-led Kosovo Force
KMM	Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia
LAS	League of Arab States
LICUS	Low Income Countries Under Stress
LT	Lashkar-e-Yayyiba (Pakistan)
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka)
MINURCAT	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSTAH	UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MNF-I	Multinational Force in Iraq
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front (Philippines)
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MONUC	UN Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo
MRTA	Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (Peru)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NIWC	Northern Ireland Womens' Coalition
NP	National Party (South Africa)
NSSR	National Security Strategy Report (US)
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
ONUC	UN Peacekeeping Force in Congo
ONUMOZ	UN Operation in Mozambique
ONUSAL	UN Observer Mission in El Salvador
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
ORG	Oxford Research Group

ORHA	Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (US/Iraq)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OTC	Olympic Truce Centre
OTF	Olympic Truce Foundation
PBC	UN Peace Building Commission
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund
PCF	Post-Conflict Fund (World Bank)
PCIA	peace and conflict impact assessment
PCRUI	Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit (UK)
PDD	Presidential Decision Directive (US)
PIOOM	Interdisciplinary Research Programme on Causes of Human Rights Violations (Dutch NGO)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Army
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PSC	protracted social conflict
PTSD	post-traumatic stress disorder
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (Iraq)
R2P	responsibility to protect
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SADC	South African Development Council
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party
SED	strategic engagement of discourses
SFOR	Stabilization Force (Bosnia)
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLM/A	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
SPF	State and Peacebuilding Fund
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SSTR	stability, security, transition and reconstruction
SWAPO	South-West Africa People's Organization (Namibia)
TCG	Tunisian Combat Group
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Project
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq
UNAMID	United Nations/African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCTC	United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee (of the Security Council)
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

UNDPI	United Nations Department for Public Information
UNDPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force (Middle East)
UNEPS	United Nations Emergency Peace Service
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNIF	United Nations Intervention Force
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNITA	Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola
UNITAF	United Task Force (Somalia)
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Eritrea–Ethiopia
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIN	United Nations Mission in Nepal
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNOCI	United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force (former Yugoslavia)
UNPWG	United Nations Policy Working Group on the UN and Terrorism
UNSC(R)	United Nations Security Council (Resolution)
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Namibia)
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UOC	Open University of Catalunya, Barcelona
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDOD	United States Department of Defense
VERCIC	Virtual European Research Centre in Conflictology
VPE	virtual peace education
WIDER	World Institute for Development Economics Research
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WOMP	World Order Models Project
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	xii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of Boxes</i>	xiv
<i>List of Maps</i>	xvi
<i>Preface</i>	xvii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xx
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxii

PART I CONTEMPORARY CONFLICT RESOLUTION

1 Introduction to Conflict Resolution: Concepts and Definitions	3
Why a Third Edition?	3
Conflict Resolution Models	7
Framework Models	10
Classical Ideas	15
New Developments in Conflict Resolution	25
Terminology	30
Structure of the Book	32
<i>Recommended reading</i>	34
2 Conflict Resolution: Origins, Foundations and Development of the Field	35
Precursors: The First Generation, 1918–1945	36
Foundations: The Second Generation, 1945–1965	42
Consolidation: The Third Generation, 1965–1985	49
Reconstruction: The Fourth Generation, 1985–2005	55
Conclusion	61
<i>Recommended reading</i>	62
3 The Statistics of Deadly Quarrels and the Measurement of Peace	63
The Conflict Domain	63
Measuring Peace and Peacefulness	66
Conflict Trends	70
Conflict Distribution	73

Conflict Types	73
Terrorism and Conflict	79
Conflict Costs	85
Conflict Mapping and Conflict Tracking	89
<i>Recommended Reading</i>	93
4 Understanding Contemporary Conflict	94
Theories and Frameworks	94
The Context for an Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Theory	96
Edward Azar's Theory of Protracted Social Conflict (PSC)	99
Have More Recent Theories Confirmed or Discredited PSC?	104
An Interpretative Framework for Conflict Analysis	111
The Analysis and Mapping of Complex Conflict Systems	117
Conclusion	122
<i>Recommended reading</i>	122
5 Preventing Violent Conflict	123
Causes and Prevention of Wars	124
Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change	126
Deep or Structural Prevention	129
Early Warning	132
Light or Operational Prevention	135
The Adoption of Conflict Prevention by International Organizations	138
Kenya: A Case Study	142
Conclusion	143
<i>Recommended Reading</i>	145
6 Containing Violent Conflict: Peacekeeping	147
First- and Second-Generation UN Peacekeeping, 1956–1995	148
War Zones, War Economies and Cultures of Violence	151
Third-Generation Peacekeeping: What Counts As Peace Operations?	154
Redefining Peace Operations	158
Third-Generation Peacekeeping and Human Security	162
Conflict Resolution and the Theoretical Debate about Peace Operations	163
Case Study: Somalia, 1991–2010	167
Conclusion	169
<i>Recommended Reading</i>	170
7 Ending Violent Conflict: Peacemaking	171
The Challenge of Ending Violent Conflict	171
Conflict Resolution and War Ending	175

De-escalation, Ripeness and Conditions for Ending Violent Conflict	177
Mediation and Third-Party Intervention	180
Peace Processes: Turning Points, Sticking Points and Spoilers Negotiations and Settlements	184
Case Studies	187
Conclusion	189
<i>Recommended reading</i>	196
8 Postwar Reconstruction	197
Postwar Peace Operations	200
Intervention, Reconstruction and Withdrawal (IRW) Operations, 1989–2009	201
Filling the Postwar Planning Gap	206
The International Postwar Reconstruction Blueprint: Dilemmas and Trade-offs	209
Current Controversies	223
Conclusion	224
<i>Recommended reading</i>	225
9 Peacebuilding	226
The Mainstreaming of Peacebuilding Models in International Policy	227
Peacebuilding Debates and Discourses: Beyond Blueprints and Towards an Emancipatory Conflict Resolution Ethic	231
Hybrid Peace and Peacebuilding from Below: a Conflict Resolution Perspective	233
Peace Education and Peacebuilding in Conflict Resolution	238
The Question of Evaluation	241
Conclusion	244
<i>Recommended reading</i>	245
10 Reconciliation	246
Four Meanings of Reconciliation	247
Between Separation and a Fusion of Identities	248
Dealing with the Past: Trauma and Atrocity	248
Peace or Justice? Not Exclusive Alternatives	250
Alternative Paths to Reconciliation	252
Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution: Going Down the Escalation Ladder	258
<i>Recommended reading</i>	261