

George Mason University  
Institute on Conflict Analysis and Resolution

An Introduction to Peacemaking

Fall 2007  
77482 - CONF 695 – 007

Instructor

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Office Hours: Tuesday 2:00 - 3:00pm  
Wednesday 1:00 – 2:00pm

Research Assistant

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Lectures

Monday 7:30 – 10:00pm

Room: Arlington 301

Course Packs and Book

- The course pack is in formation and most of the readings will be made available online.
- You will need to purchase a copy of John Paul Lederach's The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace, Oxford University Press, 2005.

Assignment Due Dates

- Final paper proposal and outline: Due in class, Monday, October 1<sup>st</sup>
- Lederach book review (1-3 pages): Due in class, Monday, November 12<sup>th</sup>
- Final paper (10-12 pages): Due in class, Monday, December 3<sup>rd</sup> (or before)
- Final book review (1-3 pages): Due in class, Monday, December 3<sup>rd</sup> (or before)

Note: Submitting a preliminary draft is encouraged but not required.

## Rationale

Of the four phases identified by United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali in his Agenda for Peace, peacemaking is seldomly studied as such. While numerous recollections based on anecdotal evidence abound, a systematic presentation of the process that led to actual successful peacemaking are not common. One reason for this lack of attention is due to the complexity of the endeavor and the relatively recent development of conflict resolution as a field of study. More over, conflict resolution draws on contributions from several disciplines. While positive – constructive approaches to resolving conflicts have been developed from a social psychology perspective (primarily through the theoretical work of Morton Deutsch) – the application of these theories to the international arena has been intermittent. Political scientists (such as William Zartman) have been exploring international conflicts in their uniqueness, as well as in their comparability, and have developed theories of analysis and interventions that need to be carefully evaluated. Yet their attention to peacemaking has been almost marginal. Of greater importance for peacemaking is the literature developed by John Burton who, with his basic human needs theory invited many to explore the complexity of interactions that were previously thought irrelevant to conflict per se. At the juncture between theory and practice, some scholars have developed original approaches (such as the work of Fisher and Ury) and specific techniques (such as the inter-active problem solving approach of Herb Kelman), while other scholars have focused their studies on the reasons for the success or failure of conflict resolution processes (such as Fen Hampson). Recently, a greater attention has been given to peace-building (see Lederach and the United Nations margining awareness and political action around the peace-building commission).

This course on ‘An Introduction to Peacemaking’ aims to expose students of conflict resolution to the practices, self-understanding and possible generalizable theory that can be identified by examining the work of three kind of actors:

- International Organizations
- Nation states
- Non-governmental organizations

Because of the nature of the Institute on Conflict Analysis and Resolution, emphasis will also be given to policy implications of theory. An effort to enrich the offering of the course through a diverse and inclusive list of authors is planned for this year as well as a more conceptual contribution emerging in conversation with the authors presented in the course.

## Course Description

This course will provide a basic framework for understanding peacemaking as a process that has been observed successfully developed over time and space in different settings. While theoretical in nature, the course will present cases as a way to construct the arguments and the elements of a general theory of peacemaking, which is ‘under construction’. Students are expected to be exposed to established explanatory strategies and challenge them while exploring alternative hypothesis. Each class is built around an actual case and an actual actor presented in different formats (readings; video and audio interviews...). Students will examine emerging trends and

cutting edge issues in peacemaking and will also be encouraged to reflect on the theory-practice nexus. The course will be organized in five parts. After a general introduction session (part one), the following sessions (part two, three and four) will be devoted to the analysis of the peacemaking activities of international organizations (especially the United Nations), nations states (especially Norway) and non-governmental organizations (Community of Sant'Egidio; the Carter Center; Humanitarian Dialogue; Crisis Management Initiative). The fifth part of the course will be a conclusion. Students will be expected to actively participate with the instructor to present all lectures.

The course will focus on:

- Definition and critical examination of central concepts and analytical frameworks for peacemaking;
- Analysis of different peacemaking techniques and approaches; and
- Exploration of emerging trends and the relationship between theory and practice in peacemaking.

### Objectives

- a) To become acquainted with key concepts and analytical paradigms of peacemaking;
- b) To examine emerging trends and cutting edge issues through the experiences of leading practitioners; and
- c) To explore the interaction between theory and practice for peacemaking.

### Format

Discussion-based learning through lectures will be the primary format of the course. Learning activities will occasionally include discussion sessions with guests, including scholars and practitioners.

### Requirements

- Class participation.
- Required readings.
- In-class written reflection: At the start of each class, students will have 15 minutes to individually reflect on the assigned readings and write any questions or comments that come to mind. These reflections are not graded, but are intended to help spur students' thinking on the class topic and readings before the lecture begins.
- Case profile: at the beginning of the semester each student will be assigned to study in depth a particular case and to present with the instructor, as well as other students, the material pertinent to it in class. These presentations will be peer-reviewed. In the case profile the student will be invited to identify within the case a particularly relevant 'peacemaker' and write about her /his work and experiences, possibly using the 'peacemakers protocol' developed by Coleman and others.
- Book review on Lederach's The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Peace Building (1-3 pages) or book review on choice of book (list below; 1-3 pages)
- Research paper (10-12 pages) on an emerging trend, specific intervention model, case or theoretical issue. Again these presentations will be peer-reviewed.

### Reading Assignments & Recommended Readings

Students will be asked to read a conflict resolution text of their choice and prepare a 1-3 pg. book review. Students should choose a book from the following resource list compiled by Beyond Intractability's Knowledge Base Project. Beyond Intractability, an organization at the University of Colorado, is seeking reviews of these books for publication on its website, [www.beyondintractability.org](http://www.beyondintractability.org), which serves as a "Free Knowledge Base on More Constructive Approaches to Destructive Conflict." With students' permission, the reviews will be sent to Beyond Intractability for website publication after they have been graded.

Beyond Intractability's rationale for posting conflict resolution book reviews on-line is as follows:

"Many of the people using Beyond Intractability have little or no access to libraries, nor do they have the money to buy many books. Yet they often have access to the Web. For that reason, we have been providing short summaries of the key ideas from important conflict resolution books for a number of years. But recently, we have fallen way behind."

The following list of books can also be found at [www.beyondintractability.org/call/solicited-books.jsp](http://www.beyondintractability.org/call/solicited-books.jsp), while sample book summaries can be found at [www2.beyondintractability.org/call/sample-books.jsp](http://www2.beyondintractability.org/call/sample-books.jsp). Summaries of edited books (marked with a \*) tend to be longer, as the reviewer should give a brief summary of the key ideas of each article as well as the overall "message" of the book as a whole.

Students may choose from one of the following books. All the books are recommended:

- David Bloomfield, Peacemaking Strategies in Northern Ireland: Building Complementarity in Conflict Management Theory.
- Herman Cohen, Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent.
- Donald Daniel, et al, Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises.
- Paul Hare, Angola's Last Best Chance for Peace: An Insider's Account of the Peace Process.
- Cameron Hume, Ending Mozambique's War: The Role of Mediation and Good Offices.
- Bruce Jones, Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure.
- Stephen John Stedman, et al, Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements\*.
- Roy Licklider, Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End.
- Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflict.

- Chris Mitchell and K. Webb, eds, New Approaches to International Mediation
- Olara Otunnu and Michael Doyle, eds, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century
- Dennis Roth, The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for the Middle East Peace.
- Michael Watkins and Susan Rosegrant, Breakthrough International Negotiation: How Great Negotiators Transformed the World's Toughest Post-Cold War Conflicts.
- William I. Zartman, Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa.
- Harriet Martin, Kings of Peace, Pawns of War: the untold story of peace-making

If students are dissatisfied with the above selection of texts, they may also choose from the below listed texts, although it is not guaranteed that their work will be published on the Beyond Intractability site. If a student does wish to choose a book not on the Beyond Intractability list, he/she should contact the course assistant who will find out if the student's review might still be published.

Other books that students may choose to review are as follows:

- Julie Dahlitz (ed), Peaceful Resolution of Major International Disputes, New York: United Nations, 1999.
- Morton Deutsch and Peter Coleman, The Handbook of Conflict, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 2000.
- Louis Kriesberg, Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution, Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland, 1998.
- Harold H. Saunders, A Public Peace Process: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Racial and Ethnic Conflicts, New York, 1999.
- From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace, UNESCO Publishing, 1996.

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Reader for An Introduction to Peacemaking

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Mitchell, C. & Banks, M. (1996). *Handbook of Conflict Resolution: The Analytical Problem-Solving Approach*. New York/London: Pinter.

Rapoport A. (1992) *Peace: An Idea Whose Time Has Come*, University of Michigan Press

Sandole, D.J.D. and Van der Merwe, H. (eds.), (1993) *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Zartman, I.W. & Rasmussen, J.L. (eds.) (1997). *Peacemaking in International Conflict*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

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**Unit 1 – August 27**  
**An introduction to peacemaking**

Boutros Ghali, “An Agenda for Peace” available on line at  
<http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html>

Boutros Ghali “Supplement to An Agenda for Peace” at  
<http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agsupp.html>

Dan Smith, “Trends and Causes of armed conflicts” in *Handbook of Conflict Management*, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, at  
[http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/smith\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=113](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/smith_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=113)

Martina Fisher, *Civil society in conflict transformation: ambivalence, potential and challenges*, in *Handbook of Conflict Management*, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, at [http://www.berghof-Handbook.net/uploads/download/fischer\\_cso\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=145](http://www.berghof-Handbook.net/uploads/download/fischer_cso_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=145)

**Galtung, J., *Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding. In Essays in Peace Research—Peace, War and Defense, Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen, Vol II, 1976.***

Cordula Reimann, “Assessing the State-of-the-art in conflict transformation” in *Handbook of Conflict Management*, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, at  
[http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/reimann\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=108](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/reimann_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=108)

**Unit 2 – September 10**  
**The challenge of uniqueness:**  
**introduction to implicit frames, relevant issues and research methods.**

Coleman Peter, et al. (2006), *Constructive Engagement: Strategies and Tactics Fostering Constructive Stakeholders Engagement across Protracted Divides*, (in file)

**Avruch, K. & Black, P.W. (1993). *Conflict Resolution in Intercultural Settings: Problems and Prospects*. In D.J.D. Sandole & H. van der Merwe (eds.), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice*. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, pp. 131-145.**

Hugh Miall, "Conflict Transformation: a multi-dimensional task" in *Handbook of Conflict Management*, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/miall\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=104](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/miall_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=104)

**Kelman, *Social-Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict*, in Zartman & Rasmussen, pp. 191-237.**

**Druckman, D. *Negotiating in the International Context*, in Zartman & Rasmussen, pp. 81-123.**

### **Unit 3 – September 17** **The challenge of complexity: introduction to dynamical systems**

Vallacher Robin et al., *The Dynamics of Conflict: FAQs*, (in file)

Peter Coleman et al. "Attracted to Conflict: A Dynamical Perspective on Malignant Social Relations" in *Political Psychology*, 0405 (in file)

**Azar E. (2002), *Protracted Social Conflicts and Second Track Diplomacy*, in J. Davies & E. Kaufman (eds.), *Track Two/Citizens' Diplomacy: Concepts and Techniques for Conflict Transformation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 15-30.**

Volker Boege "Traditional approaches to conflict transformation – Potentials and limits" in *Handbook of Conflict Management*, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/boege\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=56](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/boege_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=56)

Michele LeBaron, "Transforming Cultural Conflict in an age of complexity" in *Handbook of Conflict Management*, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/lebaron\\_hb.pdf?LANG=e&id=102](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/lebaron_hb.pdf?LANG=e&id=102)

### **Unit 4 – September 24** **The emerging role of NGOs**

**Aall, Pamela. (1996). "Nongovernmental Organizations and Peacemaking." In *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*. Edited by Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, January 1, 1996.**

Kevin Clements, "Towards Conflict Transformation and a Just Peace" in Handbook of Conflict Management, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/clements\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=57](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/clements_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=57)

**Chester Crocker, F.O. Hampson, and P.R. Aall. "Two's Company but is Three a Crowd? Hypotheses about Multiparty Mediation." In Studies in International Mediation. Ed. Jacob Bercovitch. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. pp. 228-257**

**Unit 5 – October 1  
Peacemaking through the United Nations (I)  
Mozambique**

United Nations Charter, Chapter VI, Article 33(1) (in file)

Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, Resolution 37/10 of 1982 (in file)

Declaration on the Prevention and Removal of Disputes and Situations, Resolution 43/51 of 1988 (in file)

Enhancing International Peace, Security and International Cooperation, Resolution 44/21 of 1989 (in file)

**Akashi, Yasushi. (1995). "The Limits of UN Diplomacy and the Future of Conflict Mediation", Survival 37 (winter): 83-98.**

**Aall, Pamela, Lt. Col. Daniel Miltenberger and Thomas G. Weiss. (2000). *Guide to IGOs, NGOs, and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations*. Herndon, VA: USIP Press, November 1, 2000.**

**Unit 6 – October 9 THIS IS A TUESDAY CLASS !  
Peacemaking through the United Nations (II)  
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Judith Fretter, International Organizations and Conflict Management: The United Nations and the Mediation International Conflicts, in Studies in International Mediation. Ed. Jacob Bercovitch. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. pp.98-126. (in file)

**Vayrynen, R. (eds.), To Settle or to Transform? Perspective on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts. In New Directions in Conflict Theory, London: Sage Publications, 1991.**

Peter Willetts, Transnational Actors and International Organizations in Global Politics in J. B. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), The Globalisation of World Politics, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, second edition, 2001), pp. 356-383. (in file)

**Unit 7 – October 15**  
**Peacemaking through the United Nations (III)**  
**El Salvador**

ECOSOC Resolution 1996/31, 25 July 1996 Consultative relationship between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations (in file)  
at <http://www.un.org/documents/ecosoc/res/1996/eres1996-31.htm>

Operational Guidance Note prepared by the UN Peacemaking Databank Team based on content derived the book "On Being a Special Representative of the Secretary-General", by Dr. Connie Peck and interviews with UN Peacemakers. (in file)

Ron Kraybill "Facilitation Skills for Interpersonal Transformation" in Handbook of Conflict Management, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/kraybill\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=101](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/kraybill_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=101)

**Unit 8 – October 22**  
**Peacemaking through the nation states (I)**  
**Oslo Process - Norway**

**Mitchell, C. & Banks, M. (1996). Handbook of Conflict Resolution: The Analytical Problem-Solving Approach. New York/London: Pinter.**

**Sandole, D.J.D. and Van der Merwe, H. (eds.), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.**

Zartman, I.W. & Rasmussen, J.L. (eds.) (1997). Peacemaking in International Conflict. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

**Unit 9 – October 29**  
**Peacemaking through the nation states (II)**  
**Nepal - Switzerland**

Nick Donovan, Malcolm Smart, Magui Moreno-Torres, Jan Ole Kiso and George Zachariah, "Countries at Risk of Instability: Risk Factors and Dynamics of Instability" PMSU Background Paper at [http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy/downloads/work\\_areas/countries\\_at\\_risk/1factors.pdf](http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy/downloads/work_areas/countries_at_risk/1factors.pdf)

Günter Bächler, “Conflict Transformation through State Reform” in Handbook of Conflict Management, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/baechler\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=52](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/baechler_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=52)

**Unit 10 – November 5**  
**Peacemaking through the nation states (III)**  
**Ivory Coast – Bourkina Faso**

**Brown, Michael E., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller (eds.) 1996. *Debating the Democratic Peace*, Cambridge Ma/London: MIT Press.**

Erwin van Veen, “Order in world politics: An Inquiry into the Concept, Change and the EU’s Contribution” UNU-CRIS Occasional Papers 0-2006/17 at <http://www.cris.unu.edu/admin/documents/20060724144024.O-2006-17.pdf>

**Unit 11 – November 12**  
**Peacemaking through NGOs (I)**  
**Media-Search for Common Ground**

**Rouhana, N.N. & Korper, S.H. (1997). Power Asymmetry and Goals of Unofficial Third Party Intervention in Protracted Intergroup Conflict. *Peace and Conflict*, 3, pp. 1-17.**

Mary B. Anderson, “Experiences with Impact Assessment: Can we know what Good we do? in Handbook of Conflict Management, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/anderson\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=50](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/anderson_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=50)

**Unit 12 – November 19**  
**Peacemaking through NGOs (II)**  
**Economic Development-International Alert**

Thania Paffenholz, “Designing Transformation and Intervention Processes” in Handbook of Conflict Management, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management at [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/paffenholz\\_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=106](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/paffenholz_handbook.pdf?LANG=e&id=106)

**Unit 13 – November 26**  
**Peacemaking through NGOs (III)**  
**Networking - GPPAC**

Sandra Melone et al. “Using the media for conflict transformation: the Common Ground experience” ” in Handbook of Conflict Management, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management at

[http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/melone\\_hb.pdf?LANG=e&id=103](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/melone_hb.pdf?LANG=e&id=103)

**Unit 14 – December 3<sup>rd</sup>**

**A preliminary conclusion to an introduction to peacemaking**

**Rouhana, N.N. (2000). Interactive Conflict Resolution: Issues in Theory, Methodology, and Evaluation, in P.C. Stern & D. Druckman, (Eds.). International Conflict Resolution after the Cold War. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, pp. 294-337**

**Final Paper due at the beginning of the last day of class on Monday December 3<sup>rd</sup> 2007**

## **Calendar for An Introduction to Peacemaking**

Unit 1 – August 27

An introduction to peacemaking

Unit 2 – September 10

The challenge of uniqueness

Unit 3 – September 17

The challenge of complexity

Unit 4 – September 24

The emerging role of NGOs

Unit 5 – October 1

Peacemaking through the United Nations (I)

Unit 6 – October 9 (TUESDAY CLASS)

Peacemaking through the United Nations (II)

Unit 7 – October 15

Peacemaking through the United Nations (III)

Unit 8 – October 22

Peacemaking through the nation states (I)

Unit 9 – October 29

Peacemaking through the nation states (II)

Unit 10 – November 5

Peacemaking through the nation states (III)

Unit 11 – November 12

Peacemaking through NGOs (I)

Unit 12 – November 19

Peacemaking through NGOs (II)

Unit 13 – November 26

Peacemaking through NGOs (III)

Unit 14 – December 3

A preliminary conclusion to an introduction to peacemaking

**Final Paper due at the beginning of the last day of class**