Contemporary Conflict Resolution

The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts

SECOND EDITION

SUB Hamburg

B/89102

Oliver Ramsbotham,
Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall

polity
PART I  CONTEMPORARY CONFLICT RESOLUTION

1  Introduction to Conflict Resolution: Concepts and Definitions 3
   Why a Second Edition? 3
   Conflict Resolution Models 8
   Framework Models 9
   Classical Ideas 13
   New Developments in Conflict Resolution 22
   Terminology 27
   Structure of the Book 30
   Recommended reading 31

2  Conflict Resolution: Origins, Foundations and Development of the Field 32
   Precursors: The First Generation, 1918–1945 34
   Recommended reading 54

3  Statistics of Deadly Quarrels 55
   The Conflict Domain 55
   Conflict Trends 59
   Conflict Distribution 62
   Conflict Types 63
   Terrorism and Conflict 67
## Contents

Conflict Costs 72  
Conflict Mapping and Conflict Tracking 74  
**Recommended reading** 77  

### 4 Understanding Contemporary Conflict 78
- Theories and Frameworks 78  
- The Context for an Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Theory 80  
- Edward Azar's Theory of Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) 84  
- Have More Recent Theories Confirmed or Discredited PSC? 89  
- An Interpretative Framework for Conflict Analysis 96  
- Conclusion 104  
- **Recommended reading** 105  

### 5 Preventing Violent Conflict 106
- Causes and Preventors of War 107  
- Early Warning 112  
- Deep or Structural Prevention 114  
- Light or Operational Prevention 121  
- Mainstreaming Prevention: International Organizations and the Evolution of Norms and Policies 123  
- Recent Experience and Case Studies 126  
- Conclusion 130  
- **Recommended reading** 131  

### 6 Containing Violent Conflict: Peacekeeping 132
- First- and Second-Generation UN Peacekeeping, 1956–1995 134  
- War Zones, War Economies and Cultures of Violence 138  
- To Intervene or Not to Intervene? New Requirements for Third-Generation Peacekeeping 141  
- Third-Generation Peacekeeping and Human Security 147  
- Case Studies 150  
- Conclusion: The Transformationist Critique 153  
- **Recommended reading** 158  

### 7 Ending Violent Conflict: Peacemaking 159
- The Challenge of Ending Violent Conflict 160  
- Conflict Resolution and War Ending 162  
- De-escalation, Ripeness and Conditions for Ending Violent Conflict 165  
- Mediation and Third-Party Intervention 167  
- Peace Processes: Turning Points, Sticking Points and Spoilers 171  
- Negotiations and Settlements 174  
- Case Studies 176  
- Conclusion 184  
- **Recommended reading** 184
8 Post-War Reconstruction
Filling the Post-War Planning Gap
Wittgenstein's Locomotive Cabin: The International Post-War Reconstruction Blueprint
A Conflict Resolution Assessment of Intervention, Reconstruction and Withdrawal Operations, 1989–2004
A Conflict Resolution Assessment: Evaluating Cases
Conclusion
Recommended reading

9 Peacebuilding
The Idea of Peacebuilding From Below
The Mainstreaming of Peacebuilding Models in International Policy
Implementing Peacebuilding From Below
Case Study: Peacebuilding in Kosovo, 1999–2004
Conclusion
Recommended reading

10 Reconciliation
Four Meanings of Reconciliation
Between Separation and a Fusion of Identities
Dealing with the Past: Trauma and Atrocity
Peace or Justice? Not Exclusive Alternatives
Alternative Paths to Reconciliation
Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution: Going Down the Escalation Ladder
Recommended reading

PART II COSMOPOLITAN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

11 Terror and Global Justice
Introduction
Conflict Resolution and Terrorism
Conflict Resolution as a Response
The First Dimension: Prevention – Reducing Proneness to Terrorism
Democracy as an Antidote to Terrorism?
The Second Dimension: Persuasion – Reducing Motivation and Support
The Third Dimension: Denial – Reducing Vulnerability and Defeating Hardliners
The Fourth Dimension: Cooperation – Maximizing International Efforts
Recommended reading
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gender in Conflict Resolution</td>
<td>265-272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 1: Making Women Visible as Agents of Change</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 2: Data-Collection and Case Studies</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 3: Rethinking Conflict Resolution Theory</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 4: Mainstreaming Gender in Policy-Making and the Empowerment of Women</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recommended reading</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Ethics of Intervention</td>
<td>275-286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict Resolution Roles</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict Resolution Intervention Principles</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From Just War to Just Intervention</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion: International Ethics, International Law and International Politics</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recommended reading</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dialogue, Discourse and Disagreement</td>
<td>288-301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interactive Conflict Resolution</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dialogical Conflict Resolution and Gadamerian Hermeneutics</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discursive Conflict Transformation and Habermasian Critical Theory</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion: Taking Radical Disagreement Seriously in Conflict Resolution</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recommended reading</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Culture, Religion and Conflict Resolution</td>
<td>302-315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How Far Down Does Cultural Variation Reach?</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Culture and Conflict Resolution: Three Responses</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion and Conflict Resolution: Islamic and Buddhist Approaches</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recommended reading</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Future Directions: Towards Cosmopolitan Conflict Resolution</td>
<td>316-327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Nature of the International Collectivity</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Arrow of the Future: Conflict Resolution and World Politics</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Law</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Intervention</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The United Nations</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict Resolution: The Next Generation</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>References</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>