



A GLOSSARY of TERMS and Concepts

in Peace and Conflict Studies
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The mission of the University for Peace is to provide humanity with an international institution of higher education for peace with the aim of promoting among all human beings a spirit of understanding, tolerance, and peaceful coexistence, to stimulate cooperation among peoples, and to help lessen obstacles and threats to world peace and progress in keeping with the noble aspirations proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

Aggression

An unprovoked, offensive act of hostility, attack, or violence on the individual, communal, regional, or governmental level. In the legal sense, aggression refers to military attacks by one nation-state against another or its armed forces. In such cases, the aggressor is commonly identified as a result of violation of a cease-fire, treaty, or other mutually recognised, binding agreement. The United Nations defines aggression as the 'use of armed force by a state against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another state, or in any manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations' (UN General Assembly Consensus Resolution 3314 [XXIX] of 14 December 1974).

Ahimsa

From the Sanskrit for 'non-harm', the principled, often religious, renunciation of physical or mental violence against one's self, others, animals, and nature. This ideal originates within Jainism, a reforming sect of Hinduism and a faith prominent in the region of India where Mohandas K. Gandhi grew to adulthood. Ahimsa is commonly translated into English as 'nonviolence', but in the original Sanskrit it conveys a more comprehensive meaning which encompasses non-injury to all aspects and forms of life.

*See also **nonviolence** and **Satyagraha**.*

Arbitration

A mechanism for resolving conflicts whereby the disputants identify their grievances and demands, fix a procedural process, and willingly submit the decision of outcomes, which are to be final and binding, to an external entity. The contending parties often select the majority of the members of the third party, which normally takes the form of a tribunal. The third party is usually presented with arguments and evidence from both sides, but the process can vary according to the pre-established procedures. Although similar to adjudication, arbitration is informal, private, economical, and relatively quick.

*For further reading, see Richard B. Bilder, 'Adjudication: international arbitral tribunals and courts' in I. William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen (eds.), *Peacemaking in International Conflicts: Methods and Techniques* (Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997).*

*See also **conciliation**, **mediation**, and **negotiation**.*

As long as all international conflicts are not subject to international arbitration and the enforcement of decisions arrived at by arbitration is not guaranteed, and as long as war production is not prohibited, we may be sure that war will follow upon war. Unless our civilization achieves the moral strength to overcome this evil, it is bound to share the fate of former civilizations: decline and decay.

Albert Einstein, in Nathan and Norden 1960: 203

Arms Control

Bilateral or multilateral measures, usually facilitated through international organisations, to mutually reduce military capacities—armaments, armed forces, deployment zones, and general usage—particularly aimed at reducing conventional and nuclear war, but also intended to alleviate tensions that could escalate into military confrontations. Often negotiated in the midst of conflict, arms control does not attempt to resolve (or even address) the grievances or demands of the contending parties. Generally undertaken between antagonistic parties for whom the likelihood of military confrontation is perceived to be high, arms control can contribute to building mutual confidence and ease the tensions associated with conflict situations. Most arms control agreements are extremely specific in enumerating acceptable levels of production, possession, and deployment of arms. Such intricate arrangements are also meant to prevent arms races. Other forms of such agreements attempt to limit the potential effects of war and avoid accidental or surprise attacks. Brought to prominence by academicians in the 1950s, the term arms control has since often been used interchangeably with disarmament, but it can be used to denote a much more comprehensive concept.

See also **disarmament**.

The most important measures of arms control are undoubtedly those that limit, contain, and terminate military engagements. Limiting war is at least as important as restraining the arms race, and limiting or terminating a major war is probably more important in determining the extent of destruction than limiting the weapon inventories with which it is waged.

Schelling 1966: 263

Asylum

Temporary sanctuary granted to a foreigner within a country or embassy or other office with diplomatic immunity. Such protection is granted because it is believed that the foreigner in question would otherwise be in danger.

See also **displaced person** and **refugee**.

Authority. See **legitimacy**.

Bargaining

Concessions, incentives, and threats offered by parties engaged in a process of negotiations. Bargaining should not overshadow the process of negotiations, yet it offers insight into one aspect of how negotiations are conducted. Such exchanges may occur over a single concern or multiple issues, but the parties often tend to offer initially what they consider to be less valuable in order to obtain what they consider to be more valuable, a characteristic known as Homans' Theorem. Bargaining, however, is not a straightforward exercise of mutual exchanges. In sophisticated applications, comparisons are drawn between the respective parties' manoeuvres, which are monitored in order to identify patterns that may be exploited as the bargaining continues. Such practices, derived from social psychology, attempt to recognise and understand the behaviours of others.

See also **concession** and **negotiation**.

A bargainer's concession strategy is one of several influences on the other's concessions; it interacts with such variables as time pressures, the initial offer, perceived relative defensibility of positions, perceived similarity between bargaining opponents, and the pressures of being a representative. But, responding to another's moves is unlikely to be automatic, as in tit-for-tat. It is a more complex process involving expectations, evaluations, and adjustments.

Druckman 1993: 30

Capitulation

A conditional surrender or yielding of rights by a party engaged in a conflict, usually in the form of an official document.

Cease-fire

A bilateral or multilateral halt in all or select offensive military actions among parties engaged in official war, guerrilla warfare, or violent exchanges with one another. Cease-fires sometimes lead to more stable or permanent military or political agreements, but they minimally aim to reduce immediate tensions and extreme losses, while providing opportunities for other forms of conflict resolution or management efforts to be initiated.

Civil disobedience

The conscious, individual or collective, violation of a law, regulation, or edict. The order violated is usually deemed to be immoral or unjust by those undertaking the action. Civil disobedience also includes disobeying neutral orders, which serve as symbols of more general opposition. Henry David Thoreau, well known for his writing on 'civil disobedience', did not use the term, so far as anyone knows. For Thoreau, the intentional

breaking of immoral laws was a form of remaining true to one's beliefs. Some scholars think that he was influenced by the ideas of Granville Sharp, who in the 1770s resigned from the London War Office rather than authorise arms to put down the colonial rebellion in North America. Thoreau presented a lecture, which was published in 1849 as a collection entitled 'Resistance to Civil Government', that has since become known as 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience'.

For further reading, see Henry David Thoreau, Civil Disobedience (New York, Washington Square Press, 1968).

Civil society

A sphere of society distinct and independent from the state system and the means of economic production. This collective realm, or 'public space', includes networks of institutions through which citizens voluntarily represent themselves in cultural, ideological, and political senses. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are often considered the backbone of civil society, but informal social institutions, professional associations, and interest groups constitute further examples. The strength of civil society is generally considered critical in providing protection and institutional hedges for individuals and groups against potential authoritarianism or intrusive government.

For further reading, see John A. Hall, Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996).

Civilian-based defence

A policy designed to accomplish a full range of defence objectives, including deterrence as well as preparations to defend against internal and external acts of aggression. The term is quite literal, indicating planned defence by citizens (as opposed to military personnel). Various methods of non-violent resistance are employed in place of military or paramilitary operations. Successful non-military civilian defence requires that general populations be provided with appropriate training, equipment, and funding to enact the policy, which in practice has only been adopted in limited cases and degrees. It works as follows: in the face of an attack, invasion, or military occupation, civilian defenders work to deny their opponent's objectives. Through non-co-operation

measures, political defiance, and control of key social and political institutions, they make it difficult or impossible for their home country or territory to be ruled by the aggressor. Civilian-based defence has also been variously referred to as 'social defence', 'civil resistance', 'non-military defence', and 'non-violent defence'.

For further reading, see Adam Roberts, *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence: Non-violent Action against Aggression* (Middlesex, England, Pelican Books, 1969).

Compromise

An outcome to a conflict in which the parties involved both concede and obtain a portion of their objectives. Such results often occur when the contending parties either lack the strength or ability to achieve a complete victory, seek to avoid escalation due to an understanding of their interdependence, or choose to compromise because of a valued future relationship with one another. Compromises may be internally or externally proposed, with external propositions more likely to be received favourably when the third party is seen as neutral or trusted by both sides.

See also **negotiation**.

Concession

The voluntary granting of a right, privilege, or advantage by one side to another during negotiations. Concessions indicate a willingness to continue talks and thus serve as a practical step towards facilitating a negotiation process. Debate surrounds the timing, extent, and logic of concessions. Unilateral concessions can provide opportunities to overcome impasses. Exceedingly minor concessions may be ineffectual, while extensive ones can be seen as revealing weakness. Bilateral or multilateral concessions can help to build mutual confidence.

See also **bargaining** and **negotiation**.

Conciliation

The voluntary referral of a conflict to a neutral external party (in the form of an unofficial commission) which either suggests a non-binding settlement or conducts explorations to facilitate more structured techniques of conflict resolution. The latter can include confidential discussions with the disputants or



assistance during a pre-negotiation phase. Conciliation can also contribute to maintaining agreements and preventing future conflicts over other issues. The impartiality of the third party is central to the conciliation process as is that party's non-intervention in the conflict.

See also **pre-negotiation**.

Conflict

From the Latin for 'to clash or engage in a fight', a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends. Conflict may be either manifest, recognisable through actions or behaviours, or latent, in which an incompatibility exists. The latter evidences how conflict may lay dormant for some time, as incompatibilities remain unarticulated or are built into systems or institutional arrangements, such as governments, corporations, or even civil society.

Within the field of international relations, Peter Wallensteen (2002) identifies three general forms of conflict: inter-state, internal, and state-formation conflicts. Inter-state conflicts are disputes between nation-states or violations of the state system of alliances. The international community, however, has become increasingly concerned with the rise in frequency and intensity of internal conflicts, which is contributing to the expanding nature, sophistication, and, at times, legitimisation of interventionist policies. Examples of internal and state-formation conflicts include civil and ethnic wars, anti-colonial struggles, secessionist and autonomous movements, territorial conflicts, and battles over control of government.

For further reading, see Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System* (London, Sage Publications, 2002).

Conflict management

Interventionist efforts towards preventing the escalation and negative effects, especially violent ones, of ongoing conflicts. Rarely are conflicts completely resolved. More often, they are reduced, downgraded, or contained. Such developments can be followed by a reorientation of the issue, reconstitution of the divisions among conflicting parties, or even by a re-emergence of past

issues or grievances. Conflict management when actively conducted is, therefore, a constant process.

A variety of techniques have been identified and employed in conflict management efforts. The following are the most prominent. First, conflicting parties are brought together to establish a mutual agreement. Second, governments or third parties to the conflict may directly intervene to introduce or impose a decision. Third, new initiatives, programmes, or institutional structures (for example, elections) are implemented to address the conflict in question. Fourth, contending parties are compelled or coerced to utilise such previously established means. Fifth, government or a third party may use repression to eliminate or instil fear among one or all those engaged in a given conflict, leading to subsidence.

Conflict management should not be viewed as a simple, linear, or structured process. Those assuming or charged with such a task must usually overcome an intensely chaotic situation. Conflicts are frequently managed directly by the society in which they occur. When not possible or when conflicts become national in scope, government normally assumes the task, provided it is not a party to the conflict. In cases where a government is unable or unwilling to intervene, international organisations increasingly assume the role of conflict manager.

For further reading, see I. William Zartman (ed.), *Governance as Conflict Management: Politics and Violence in West Africa* (Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution Press, 1997).

Conflict is an inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions. ...The problem, then, is not to court the frustrations of seeking to remove an inevitability but rather of trying to keep conflicts in bounds.

Zartman 1997: 197

Conflict resolution

A variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflicts through the constructive solving of problems, distinct from the management or transformation of conflict. The conflicts in question may involve interpersonal

relationships, labour-management issues, business disagreements, inter-group disputes, warring nation-states, or international quarrels.

Not all conflicts are harmful. Some may ultimately result in positive social change. As noted by Nigerian sociologists Onigu Otite and Isaac Olawale Albert (1999), 'although conflicts have negative connotations ... [many] constitute an essential creative element for changing societies and achieving the goals and aspirations of individuals and groups' (p. 17).

Conflict resolution involves recognition by the conflicting parties of one another's interests, needs, perspectives, and continued existence. The most effective forms identify the underlying causes of the conflict and address them through solutions that are mutually satisfactory, self-perpetuating, and sustaining. Conflict resolution can also be practised with a variety of emphases, including on co-operation non-confrontation, non-competition, and positive-sum orientation. Serious challenges lie in that parties at times favour, for various reasons, continuation of conflict over its resolution. In such cases, the role of external parties can be critical in creating a balance of power, enacting sanctions or incentives, or acting as neutral mediators or invested facilitators. Not all conflicts will lend themselves to conflict resolution techniques.

*For further reading, see Ben K. Fred-Mensah, 'Bases of traditional conflict management among the Buems of the Ghana-Togo Border' in I. William Zartman (ed.), *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict 'Medicine'* (Boulder, Colorado, and London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000).*

[C]onflicts arise from both systemic and individual perceptions. Therefore, a lasting resolution for any conflict requires both systemic and individual analysis and intervention. Conflict resolution and peace building thus call for a collaborative approach that addresses both of these levels. The parties to the conflict are the experts in defining their needs and how to satisfy them. The role of a third party is to assist parties in identifying and understanding those needs and values when negotiations have deadlocked. Imposing outside resolution may provide temporary relief, but a lasting arrangement can only be designed and implemented by the parties themselves.

Abu-Nimer 2003: 9

Conflict transformation

Changes in all, any, or some combination of the following matters regarding a conflict: the general context or framing of the situation, the contending parties, the issues at stake, the processes or procedures governing the situation, or the structures affecting any of the aforementioned. Conflict transformation may occur through the unintended consequences of actions taken by parties internal or external to the conflict, but deliberate attempts at transformation may also be made. The latter aims to generate opportunities for conflict resolution or conflict management and ultimately more equitable outcomes, particularly where a given conflict is considered intractable or where it has encountered a seemingly insurmountable impasse. Conflict transformation requires that the parties involved alter their previous strategies of handling or avoiding the conflict in order to foster new approaches aimed at ameliorating the situation. The non-violent transformation of conflict and the weaponry of non-violent struggle are desirable for those who seek non-lethal means of conflict engagement, which improve the odds for reconciliation.

Kanye ndu bowi (ingredients of harmony)

The Buem people who reside along the central part of the Ghana-Togo border have a phrase that embodies a philosophical worldview and a normative perspective on maintaining social order: 'kanye ndu bowi'. This adage pertains to societal norms and conflict management, which are enforced through a complex system of positive and negative sanctions. Socialisation through myths, beliefs, and values is critical for individuals to become respected members of Buem society and to sustain continuity within the community. The kanye ndu bowi ideology is central to such development. An implicit understanding also exists to abide by decisions of accepted forms of conflict resolution mechanisms. All violations are tantamount to



threats or disruptions within the community as a whole.

Buems place the individual centrally in conflict prevention. This is encapsulated in the saying 'it is the crooked leg that draws mud and smears it unto the straight one'. Where conflicts emerge, the most common form of resolution in Buem society is *benyaogba ukpikator*, which literally translated means 'to say no to a case between adversaries'. In practice, this institution is similar to mediation. The process involves a downplaying of contending parties' incompatibilities as well as the outcome. The emphasis is instead placed on flexibility and adaptability to ensure social order among peoples that are highly interdependent. *Benyaogba ukpikator* is a preferential form of settling conflicts among the Buems because it does not entail adversarial approaches and zero-sum outcomes commonly associated with other forms of dispute resolution, such as arbitration and adjudication, *kate* and *adzina*, respectively.

For further reading, see Ben K. Fred-Mensah, 'Bases of traditional conflict management among the Buems of the Ghana-Togo Border' in I. William Zartman (ed.), *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts; African Conflict 'Medicine'* (Boulder, Colorado, and London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000).

Coup d'état

The sudden, illegal overthrow and seizure of a government apparatus through threatened or actual violence by sovereign elements under that government. Often led by military, political, or governmental figures, successful coups d'état are normally conducted in less than seventy-two hours. The resulting governmental junta, or small bureau, that assumes control of the state apparatus is typically guided directly or indirectly by members of the armed forces.

For further reading, see D. J. Goodspeed, *The Conspirators: A Study of the Coup d'État* (New York, Viking Press, 1962).

See also **insurgency**.

Decommission of arms

The handover of conventional weapons or armament during or directly following a conflict or war. As an operational process, the decommissioning of arms is closely related to demobilisation of combatants. Decommissioned officers or soldiers are typically provided some type of incentive, in money or in kind, but in certain cases problems arise. Where the trade-in value of decommissioned arms exceeds market prices, individuals at times exploit the situation for profit. Also, the incentives at times fail to entice decommissioning from both the losing and winning sides of an armed conflict, leaving those who remain armed as threats to renewed or protracted engagement.

See also demobilisation of combatants.

De-escalation

An identifiable lessening (in quantity or severity) of violent exchanges among parties. De-escalation often follows intense exchanges among military or paramilitary forces and is initiated through the facilitation of a third party. Conflicts can simultaneously de-escalate in one sense and escalate in another. The ultimate intent of de-escalation is to limit extremely destructive exchanges and create space for more intensive efforts to resolve or manage the conflict. In some cases, however, de-escalation may be pursued merely to buy time to regroup one's forces in order to launch more extensive efforts.

See also escalation.

Demilitarisation

The removal of military or paramilitary forces from a determined area or the concession of particular weaponry by one or all parties engaged in conflict. Demilitarisation normally occurs in the aftermath of a debilitating civil war. The intended immediate reduction of threat can be stabilising or volatile, depending on the timing of demilitarisation and its role within a wider post-conflict strategy. More successful efforts are commonly accompanied by endeavours to professionalise armed forces and reallocate military spending in an attempt to bridle the armed forces under legitimate civilian control. The political gains achieved in conflict or through the actual demilitarisation process must appear to outweigh the risks associated with

demilitarisation. It, therefore, is inherently linked to civil-military relations.

Demobilisation of combatants

Deliberate process of transferring individuals from military or paramilitary forces to other sustaining and productive roles in society. As an operational aspect of conflict resolution, demobilisation aims to quantitatively reduce those engaging in armed conflict and to provide the requirements such individuals need to reintegrate into their society. The initial stage involves disarming, but comprehensive programmes—such as the UN-sponsored Demobilisation Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR)—include such elements as skills training, job creation, housing, social reintegration, psychological assistance, and re-socialisation. Beyond implementation, successful demobilisation requires careful monitoring and evaluation.

*See also **decommission of arms.***

Détente

Originally from the French verb for 'to slacken', modern usage refers to a reduction in acute tension between conflicting parties, thereby reducing the risk of war but without attempting to settle the on-going conflict or dispute. Despite a long tradition pre-dating the twentieth century, détente is primarily identified with the thaw during the cold war that eased tensions in U.S.-Soviet relations during the 1970s.

Deterrence

Deriving from the French for 'to frighten from', the dissuasive means of preventing an impending or projected action of others through instilling fear of repercussions or by an understanding that the negative consequences of such actions will outweigh the benefits. The actions in question, as well as the threatened repercussions, are usually anticipated (direct or indirect) military attacks, but they may also include political or economic actions. Deterrence differs from other forms of persuasion in that it aims to prevent future actions of others, as opposed to halting those that are ongoing. Measures taken against those in progress are referred to as compellence.

Successful deterrence depends on a credible capacity and willingness to follow through on one's threats and



on convincing the targeted party of the likelihood of the projected negative outcome they will suffer. Determining success, however, is much more difficult in that it requires identifying or measuring actions not taken by others, which involves understanding others' intentions. Deterrence, therefore, acts more as a theoretical construct (as the basis for a doctrine of strategic defence) and less in terms of concrete actions.

Given the unique significance of nuclear weapons, deterrence does not speak to how much is enough to deter an adversary's 'first strike'. If an opponent is willing to undertake self-annihilation along with extermination of the adversary, then it cannot be deterred. The manufacture of new generations of nuclear weaponry creates a perpetual desire and system for continuing production of nuclear weaponry. Moreover, a strategic doctrine of deterrence overlooks human psychology and assumes rationality on the part of all players. It presupposes that leaders possess absolute control over their emotions, as well as their nuclear forces, and that nuclear weaponry is sufficiently secured.

Diplomacy

From the Greek word *diploun*, in reference to an official, folded document, the official means by which sovereign nations conduct affairs with one another and develop agreement on their respective positions. Issues faced include war and peace, alliances, boundaries, and trade, among many others. Somewhat of an art and a science, diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy that involves representation, bargaining, negotiation, and other peaceful means. Such arrangements may be conducted publicly or out of view, but once mutual interests and consensus are recognised, official policy formulation proceeds. Extreme flexibility and tact are commonly attributed to successful diplomatic efforts, which are regulated by law and custom. Accredited agents are assigned the task of conducting such efforts, and tremendous emphasis is placed on individual capacities and talents in addition to the actual official stances that are offered or defended.

In more recent times, use has been made of unofficial, non-traditional diplomatic agents, including business executives, religious figures, non-governmental

organisations (NGOs), academicians, and citizens. Such efforts are referred to as Track-II diplomacy or multi-track diplomacy. The term preventive diplomacy was coined by UN secretary-general Dag Hammarskjöld in the 1950s to refer to the resolution of disputes before they escalate or the persuasion of parties to desist from allowing such escalation to occur.

Diplomacy, the fundamental means by which foreign relations are conducted and a foreign policy implemented, far from being an invention of capitalism or of the modern nation state, or of classical antiquity either, is found in some of the most primitive communities and seems to have been evolved independently by peoples in all parts of the world.

Smith 1989: 7

Disarmament

The near elimination of military arsenals and forces by a nation-state through bilateral or multilateral agreements or unilaterally. While complete disarmament is considered idealistic, the concept is often considered interchangeable with arms control, which refers to restraints on specific weapons or forces. More of a process than an event, theoretically speaking, disarmament contributes to a reduction in international tensions, de-legitimises the use of military force in conflict, and redirects military expenditures and resources towards other endeavours. Policies of compulsory disarmament have been proposed for nation-states after their defeat in war.

See also **arms control**.

Displaced person

An individual forced to leave his or her home province, district, region, or nation in search of sanctuary from life-threatening circumstances. A displaced person remaining within his or her home nation is usually referred to as an internally displaced person (IDP).

See also **asylum** and **refugee**.

Escalation

An increase in quantity, intensity, or scope of violent exchanges among parties. Commonly referred to as a 'downward spiral', escalation typically occurs in cycles of attack or counter-attack. A strategy of escalation is typically adopted based on one of two conditions: First, while losses are expected for all the parties engaged in a conflict, the party pursuing escalation projects that their losses will be tolerably less than the losses of others. Second, a party commits to previously stated intentions, regardless of any risks associated with escalation. While the latter can suggest inflexibility, commitment in such cases is considered important in generating credibility. The expectation is that eventually an opponent will be coerced through fear of continued escalation. In either case, such a strategy can become double-edged, especially if pursued by multiple parties.

See also **de-escalation**.

Force

Within international relations, the application of physical coercion through military weapons and personnel. Considerable debate surrounds the legitimacy of the use of force in various situations. At a minimum, force should only be exerted, if it is properly sanctioned through internationally recognised vehicles. Even the sanctioned use of force is not, however, universally accepted.

Understanding the appropriation of force simply for military purposes is a distortion. It assumes that non-violent means are incapable of force.

Game theory

Originating from a branch of mathematics, a formal modelling system used to analyse competitive situations in which at least two parties (or players) make decisions, the outcomes of which are interdependent. Game theory assumes that all players act rationally—the notion that they can determine, evaluate, and select better rather than worse options—and is governed by constraints or rules that are contextually defined. The theory centres on each player attempting to anticipate the choices of other players to determine his or her best strategic course. Complexity arises from the interdependency and multiplicity of player choices, plus the improbability of settling on the best player strategy. Game theory

offers a structured system of decision making and problem solving.

Gender

Social, historical, and cultural constructions and conditioning indicating acceptable and preferable forms of behaviour and attitudes for men and women. Validity in the field of gender studies requires that focus be given to feminist analyses as well as to the emerging field of masculinities, both of which are sub-fields of gender studies. 'Sex' refers strictly to biological determinations and chromosomes. 'Feminism' refers to the emancipatory project for women and pertains to the pursuit of equity between men and women. Masculinities is concerned with social constructions of what it means to be a man, with the understanding that there is no single form of masculinity.

Gender and the building of peace is a rapidly growing interdisciplinary subject that sits astride gender studies and peace and conflict studies. The linkage is important because the social institutionalisation of gender is central to politics, and, therefore, peace. In the field of peace and conflict studies, gender is explored as an obstacle to peace or as a positive and influential asset. A now indisputable body of evidence proves that the uplift and empowerment of women beneficially affect all aspects of society.

The UN Charter, signed in San Francisco in 1945, includes the phrase 'equal rights of men and women'. When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) was adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly in 1948, the word 'everyone' rather than the male personal pronoun was used in most articles. Two subsequent agreements of major multilateral significance coaxed governments into examining issues that would otherwise have been ignored: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December 1979, and the 1985 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies. CEDAW covers civil, political, economic, and social rights, and in 1980, with ratification obtained, it became the international women's human rights treaty.

A series of UN-sponsored World Conferences on Women began in 1975 in Mexico City. They continued in 1980 in Copenhagen and in 1985 in Nairobi, giving legitimacy to the work of women's organisations around the world.



In Vienna at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, the previously unmentionable issue of violence against women came to the fore. The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo, stressed gender equality.

In March 2001, Secretary-General Kofi Annan told a University for Peace meeting in New York City that he hoped that within ten years UPEACE would have succeeded in mainstreaming gender studies worldwide. Gender mainstreaming was established as a global strategy for promoting gender equality in the Platform for Action at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

For further reading, see Swanee Hunt and Cristina Posa, 'Women waging peace', Foreign Policy, May-June (2001), 38-47.

[Gender mainstreaming is] the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

ECOSOC Agreed Conclusions 1997/2

Genocide

Acts aiming to completely eliminate or significantly reduce a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group through murder, physical or mental harm, unfit living conditions, birth prevention, or forcible population transfer (of children). The crime of genocide was fortified and defined by the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 9 December 1948 and further elaborated in Statute Article 2(2) of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. While

the specific actions defining genocide are well articulated, murkiness surrounds what constitutes a recognised 'group'. Genocide excludes groups that individuals join voluntarily; membership must be by birth into a stable, permanent group. Thus, mass killings or violence perpetrated against groups not recognised by the Genocide Convention have sprouted terms such as politicide, democide, and gendecide. Those suspected of the crime of genocide are bound by international law to face trial.

See also **war crimes**.

Grand strategy

A formulation of how best to achieve an overall objective in a conflict. Grand strategy outlines a general course of action and co-ordinates all one's inventoried resources. The term is most commonly used in reference to military conflicts, while the quasi-equivalent term policy is preferred for non-violent action and other forms of conflict engagement.

See also **strategy** and **tactics**.

Guerrilla warfare

Irregular, often protracted, warfare predominantly targeted against an incumbent government and conducted by paramilitary or voluntary forces operating outside of conventional military organisations. From the Spanish for 'small war', the term was first used in English to depict Spanish opposition to Napoleon in the Peninsular War of 1808 to 1814. 'Guerrilla' refers to the individual fighter in guerrilla warfare.

The guerrilla is the combat vanguard of the people, situated in a specified place in a certain region, armed and willing to carry out a series of warlike actions for the one possible strategic end—the seizure of power. The guerrilla is supported by the peasant and worker masses of the region and of the whole territory in which it acts. Without these prerequisites, guerrilla warfare is not possible.

Guevara 1985: 183



Guerrilla techniques require maintaining clandestinity and avoiding direct confrontations. Among classical guerrilla techniques are hit-and-run operations, sabotage, ambushes, and partisan warfare behind enemy lines. Aside from undertaking overt offensive and defensive operations, guerrilla fighters must master the ability to blend into the general population of the region in which they conduct their activities. This is done most successfully when the population condones (or supports and assists) the guerrillas' objectives. The guerrillas' unique and at times sophisticated tactics have spawned opponents to develop an array of responses generally referred to as counter-insurgency tactics.

Human rights

The universal, equitable, and indispensable claims of civil and political liberties which are legally recognised internationally for individuals and collectivities as enshrined by the United Nations General Assembly in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on 10 December 1948. The rights of individuals can be divided into those in defence from nation-states and claims on nation-states. Those in defence from nation-states are those generally associated with traditional Western conceptions of rights in the Greco-Roman tradition and include freedom of movement, thought, religion, opinion, and expression; freedom of peaceful assembly and association; equal access before the law to legal institutions, public services, and cultural life; freedom from slavery, torture, inhumane treatment, political persecution, and arbitrary interference in personal life. Claims on the nation-state include social and economic rights, including choice of employment, quality work conditions, unemployment safety nets, equal pay for equal work, adequate standard of living, social security, free education through designated stages, protection of private and intellectual production and one's good name. The United Nations has since 1948 passed additional resolutions on collective rights for self-determination and development. Several state systems have incorporated aspects of the UDHR into their constitutions, providing legal provisions in their respective justice systems.

Insurgency

Paramilitary, guerrilla, or non-violent uprisings directed against a nation-state or apparatus from within

in order to achieve political objectives. Insurgencies vary in organisation, spontaneity, and threat, but all rely on mass participation in some form.

See also **coup d'état**.

Intervention

Requested or imposed unilateral or multilateral actions by external parties conducted either within a nation-state or in relation to an ongoing process between parties. Intervention assumes one of three forms: actions by external nation-states in pursuit of policy objectives or favourable conditions to achieve those objectives; actions taken to uphold internationally accepted values or laws; or efforts to alter the dynamics or outcomes of a process under way.

The first type of intervention is widely understood as the unprovoked interference by one nation-state in the internal affairs of another. Such intervention is normally unilateral and coercive and includes an array of examples, such as military force, covert operations, dissemination of propaganda, or cultural domination. The principle of non-intervention that has historically helped to define international relations generally deems such actions to be illegitimate. Recent developments in humanitarian intervention have, however, had the effect of condoning and in some cases encouraging external parties to become involved in the alleviation of suffering of peoples within a nation-state, geographic area, or region. In such cases, moral or legal concerns (such as protection of human rights) may overshadow other factors.

The second type of intervention—humanitarian intervention—is a tool available to the international community and is particularly encouraged where human suffering occurs at the hands of a host government or where the state system is unwilling to address such conditions. In cases where a nation-state is simply unable to relieve trauma and suffering, humanitarian intervention is often requested by the authorities in power. Successful intervention requires a secure geographical area within the region in question and, therefore, in instances of warfare, necessitates a military component to ensure a degree of security. Given increasing assumptions about the validity of humanitarian intervention and the growing establishment of standards for implementation, non-interference in cases of severe human suffering or atrocities is now widely deemed unjustifiable.



The third form of intervention is typically referred to as third-party intervention, in which the external party attempts to either influence a party (or parties) involved in conflict engagement, conflict management, or conflict resolution or seeks to manipulate any such processes already under way.

For further reading, see Nicholas Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000).

Just war, theory of

Derivative from the work of Bishop Augustine of Hippo after the collapse of the Roman Empire, a doctrine that provides criteria for the decision to go to war (*jus ad bellum*) and guidelines for conducting war (*jus in bello*). The study of just war over the centuries has led to the development of several principles that have greatly influenced Western political thought and international law particularly. These include (1) that the war be a last resort, not to be entered into until all other means of resolution have been explored and found wanting; (2) that the decision to engage in war be made by a legitimate, duly constituted authority, not by aggrieved individuals; (3) that there be right intention and just cause—neither aggression nor revenge being acceptable—and that the detrimental results of war be unlikely to outweigh the intended injustices targeted for amelioration; (4) that success be reasonably attainable; (5) that an end result of the envisioned peace be preferable to the situation that would pertain if the war were not fought. Conditions three through five are often referred to as the proportionality principles. Once a war is under way, the *jus in bello* principles ask that military means and the cost of war be proportional to a moral goal and the presumed benefits.

For further reading, see Kenneth Kaunda, *The Riddle of Violence* (San Francisco, Harper and Row, Publishers, 1980).

One problem is that it is easy to say 'Amen!' to each of the ... conditions whilst in practice reducing them to one—a just war is one fought by my side and an unjust war is one fought by yours ... once we have decided which side we are on (and we are usually born into that) it can be taken for granted that we will meet all six conditions during any conflict in which we get embroiled.

Kaunda 1980: 94

Legitimacy

A quality that signifies voluntary acceptance of procedures that inherently necessitate obedience, co-operation, or acquiescence. Such procedures may be explicitly or implicitly formulated by individuals or institutions, and they may include laws, orders, decrees, decisions, and judgements. Legitimacy is crucial to the maintenance and exertion of political power, but is extremely fragile given its dependence upon voluntarism and co-operation from the governed. Deriving from the Latin legitimus, and originally bestowed by a document conveyed by a king, legitimacy and legality remain indistinguishable in practice and conception.

See also **sources of power**.

Mechanisms of change

The four processes by which non-violent struggles succeed: conversion, accommodation, non-violent coercion, and disintegration. Conversion, the rarest form, occurs when an opponent accepts the justification of the objectives of those employing non-violent action and in turn concedes based upon this shift in perspective. Accommodation involves mutual compromise over select objectives between an adversary and non-violent protagonists. This mechanism—the most common in practice—is possible when the contending parties have not developed extensive objectives, hope to avoid an escalation of the conflict, or can identify and accept mutually beneficial concessions. The mechanism of non-violent coercion occurs when an opponent is compelled to concede, because of the threatened or actual methods of the non-violent protagonists. The opponent realises that any direction taken will be either ineffectual or produce a negative return. Finally, the most elusive mechanism, disintegration, occurs when non-co-operation and defiance is so extensive that an opponent is simply unable to respond because its system of decision making or implementation crumbles and dissolves.

Mediation

The voluntary, informal, non-binding process undertaken by an external party that fosters the settlement of differences or demands between directly invested parties. Mediators often have a general interest in the resolution of a given conflict or dispute, but they are able to operate neutrally and objectively. Lacking the authority to coerce or impose judgements, conditions, or



resolutions, facilitators aim to transform the dynamics of the conflict situation by introducing new relevant knowledge or information, especially regarding the negotiation process between the disputants, by revealing common interests and suggesting possible directions toward settlements. In acute situations, mediation acts as a means of facilitating communication, commonly termed 'good offices', through the consent of vested parties that are unable to formulate mutually satisfactory resolutions on their own. The process is usually initiated by the intended external mediator—such as an international organisation, government, or non-governmental organisation—or by the relatively weaker party of the conflict. The contending parties, nonetheless, maintain considerable control over the process and the outcome. Two theories dominate how mediation can be successful. The first focuses on the personal skills and characteristics of the mediator(s), and the other emphasises the environmental and contextual factors relevant to the conflict in question.

See also **arbitration, conciliation, and negotiation.**

For further reading, see Hizkias Assefa, *Mediation of Civil Wars: Approaches and Strategies. The Sudan Conflict* (Boulder, Colorado, and London, Westview Press, 1987).

In traditional African mediation, the agent is a neutral and powerless third party, armed with personal characteristics such as wisdom and integrity but without the means for providing inducements and sanctions—a moral mediator rather than a mediator with muscle, or in more standard terms, a mediator as formulator but not as manipulator. The mediator functions much as an ombudsman, intervening between authority and citizen, tempering justice with mercy and sentences with reintegration.

Zartman 2000: 222

Negative-sum outcome

A situation in which the losses of one party equal the losses of another party. In other words, negative-sum outcomes, or 'lose-lose' outcomes, involve the pursuit

of objectives by one or more parties that produce mutually detrimental effects on all the parties in question, limiting the possibility of any of them achieving their objectives.

*See also **game theory, positive-sum outcome, and zero-sum outcome.***

Negotiation

Communication, usually governed by pre-established procedures, between representatives of parties involved in a conflict or dispute. A technique in both the management and resolution of conflict, negotiation is conducted on various grounds: to identify common interests and develop unilateral or multilateral initiatives in pursuit of objectives, to de-escalate a conflict situation, or to formulate mutually satisfactory solutions towards resolution of a given conflict(s). The voluntary nature of negotiations grants the parties direct control over the process and outcome, both of which can vary widely. The process involves numerous skills and tactics, including bargaining, compromise, and concessions, among others. Outcomes may range from authorised documents to informal agreements to new or adjusted procedures to institutional arrangements. Negotiations may also be employed as a stalling technique, although unstated, where concrete results are not expected by a participating party. Certain conflicts lend themselves more readily to negotiations, such as situations where the parties possess an interdependent relationship or value their future relationship with one another. Such conditions do not automatically eliminate or reduce adversarial or confrontational attitudes, even during a negotiation process, but reductions in tension and mutual confidence provide considerable advantages over more hostile encounters.

*See also **arbitration, conciliation, mediation, and pre-negotiation.***

*For further reading, see Daniel Druckman, 'Turning points in international negotiation', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45:4 (2001), 519-44.*

Non-cooperation

The conscious and deliberate non-engagement in activities, partial or total, which can impede the objectives or interests of a particular person, group, institution, bureaucracy, or state system. A large class of methods in the repertoire of non-violent direct



action, non-co-operation may assume social forms (boycotts and stay-at-homes), economic forms (strikes and lockouts), and political forms (civil disobedience and mutiny). At the core of non-violent action, employment of non-co-operation is based on the fact that all systems of government rely on co-operation from their respective populations, whether through consent, acquiescence, or duress. Individuals may refuse to provide such co-operation and withdraw their support.

If nothing be given [tyrants], if they are not obeyed, without fighting, without striking a blow, they remain naked and undone, and do nothing further, just as the root, having no soil or food, the branch withers and dies.

de la Boétie 1577: 11

See also **mechanisms of change** and **non-violent action**.

For further reading, see Gene Sharp, *Methods of Nonviolent Action 2: The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston, Porter Sargent Press, 1973).

Nonproliferation. See **arms control** and **disarmament**.

Nonviolence

A holistic belief in and practice of abstaining from violent acts. Such belief systems stem from various religions and ethical codes, with the range of understandings varying equally. These may include degrees of the rejection of mental harm or physical damage to the environment, one's self, or others. In some instances, nonviolence dismisses the conception of adversaries. Nonviolence—religious, ethical, or principal—may be a creed, or faith, a matter of spirituality, or a system of morality. It can be an article of faith, but not necessarily. Careful use of terminology is warranted.

Non-violent action

A technique of conflict engagement or prosecution that aims to achieve political objectives through the imposition of sanctions and various supporting methods excluding physical, violent acts. Non-violent action constitutes a vast array of political, economic, social,

and psychological methods that can be categorised into three main classes: protest and persuasion, non-co-operation, and intervention. Non-violent action involves two fundamental forms of activities: omission and commission. It operates on the precept that all political symbiotic relationships require varying degrees of obedience, co-operation, or acquiescence, which are manifested through identifiable sources. The supply of these sources is not guaranteed, and it can be purposefully withdrawn. As a result, shifts can occur in the power relations among the parties involved in the conflict. Non-violent action is also termed non-violent struggle, non-violent resistance, direct action, civil resistance, and political defiance. In the past, scholars sometimes differentiated between 'principled' and 'practical' non-violence. This is a false dichotomy no longer in use, as ample historical evidence shows that non-violent direct action is principled as well as practical.

See also **mechanisms of change** and **sources of power**.

Pacifism

A doctrine and historical school of thought that rejects war as the means of resolving conflict. Pacifism reflects several perspectives, all of which consider that conflicts should be settled through peaceful means. The term, not the concept, is but a century old, having first been used in 1902 at the tenth Universal Peace Conference at Glasgow, Scotland. People choose pacifism for any number of reasons, including religious faith, non-spiritual conviction on the sanctity of human life, or practical belief that war is ineffective and obsolete. To some, pacifism is more than opposition to war and includes action to promote justice and human rights.

A differentiation must be made between the morality of pacifism as elected by an individual and the application of such morality to the behaviour of a nation-state. Failure to appreciate this difference can lead to problems in discussing pacifism. Pacifism is often confused with non-violent resistance, but it is not a pre-condition for the practice of non-violent struggle as a form of engagement in conflicts.

An absolute pacifist may believe that it is never right to take part in war, even in self-defence, and that human life is so valuable that nothing justifies killing another person intentionally. Conditional pacifists



oppose war and violence in principle, but recognise that there may be circumstances when war is the least bad option. Selective pacifists believe that pacifism is a matter of degree and may oppose wars involving weapons of mass destruction—atomic, nuclear, chemical, and biological—because of the special significance of such devastating weapons or because a war utilising such weaponry is not 'winnable'.

Pacifists are often deeply involved in political efforts to promote peace and argue against particular wars. Some pacifists refuse to fight. Others will take part in non-combat activities that seek to reduce the harm of war, such as attending the wounded, bearing stretcher, or driving ambulances. Still others refuse to take part in any activity that might support a war. Some pacifists have chosen punishment, even execution, rather than go to war. Many democratic countries accept the principle that citizens have the right of conscientious objection to military service, but they usually expect the objector to undertake public service as an alternative.

Pacifism is as much a factor in Western thinking as the theory of just war, yet pacifism as national policy is rare. The ideals of pacifism, however, have played an important part in twentieth-century international politics and inform the work of the United Nations. Pacifism surged in reaction to the horrors of World War I and universal male conscription, and it gained renewed support after the advent of nuclear weapons. The Holocaust of World War II, however, and other gross abuses of human rights, have caused many to reconsider whether war is not sometimes the least objectionable course of action. Two major pacifist organisations that emerged from World War I are still at work: the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League.

Some religions, including Buddhism, promote pacifism. Others, for example Christianity, have strong pacifist roots but have accepted the possibility of war and seek to provide moral guidance in decision making concerning war and in its conduct. The 'historic peace churches' have long propounded pacifism and are sometimes known as 'prophetic minorities'. These include the Society of Friends (Quakers), Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, the Mennonites, and the Brethren. Judaism is historically opposed to violence and has traditionally considered that where force is necessary, the minimum should be used.

Paradigm

A model or pattern that cannot be proved in a scientific sense but which may reflect shifts in thinking. Paradigms are often used to describe concepts of peace. In another example, the Dutch theologian Hans Küng describes the era after World War II as embodying a number of 'epoch-making' paradigm shifts, characterised by him as follows:

- *post-Eurocentric*
- *post-colonial (nations more inclined to co-operate)*
- *post-capitalist, post-socialist*
- *post-patriarchal*
- *post-ideological*
- *interreligious, post-confessional, multi-confessional, and ecumenical, concerned with world society*

For further reading, see Hans Küng, Global Responsibility (New York, Crossroad, 1991).

Peace

A political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices, and norms. Several conditions must be met for peace to be reached and maintained:

- *a balance of political power among the various groups within a society, region, or, most ambitiously, the globe*
- *legitimacy for decision makers and implementers of decisions in the eyes of their respective group as well as those of external parties duly supported through transparency and accountability*
- *recognised and valued interdependent relationships among groups fostering long-term co-operation during periods of agreement, disagreement, normality, and crisis*
- *reliable and trusted institutions for resolving conflicts*



- a sense of equality and respect, in sentiment and in practice, within and without groups and in accordance with international standards
- mutual understanding of rights, interests, and intents and flexibility despite incompatibilities

Notoriously elusive, peace connotes more than a mere absence of war or hostilities; an absence of conflict is impossible. In addition, the state of peace should be distinguished from techniques that simply avoid conflicts or employ violent or coercive approaches to engage in, manage, or resolve them.

Deriving from the Latin *pax*, peace in the Western world is generally considered a contractual relationship that implies mutual recognition and agreement. Understandings of peace throughout the world, however, evidence a much deeper comprehension of peace in relation to the human condition, which also includes inner peace. The comprehensive understanding of peace outlined above extends beyond what are referred to as positive conceptions of peace but acts in accordance with them as well. This is in contrast to negative conceptions of peace, which are described most commonly as the mere absence of war or violent conflict.

For further reading, see Johan Galtung, 'Cultural violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, 27:3 (1990), 291-305.

Peacekeeping

The maintenance of public security, civil services, and cease-fire agreements in war and conflict zones by UN or regional military, police, and civilian forces, with the consent of the nation-state on whose territory these forces are deployed. Peacekeeping involves co-ordinated efforts to ensure stability and relative normalcy in the aftermath of otherwise extremely volatile and chaotic situations. Chapter VI of the UN Charter outlines the objectives of peacekeeping and serves as the international mandate. The extended goal is to create conditions conducive to establishing lasting political settlements. The scope of peacekeeping activities has gradually broadened over the years, leading to what some observers call 'mission creep'. Such commentaries particularly point to the civilian and humanitarian activities conducted by peacekeepers, such as food distribution, transportation and other basic services, and establishing safe havens.

The presence of impartial multi-national troops and civilians under UN authority serves as a confidence-building measure, providing psychological and physical space for the parties to pursue the process of peacemaking. As in Mozambique and Namibia, the 'blue helmets' can assist in monitoring adherence to a cease-fire, overseeing elections, repatriating refugees and demobilising combatants.

Nathan 1997

Peace studies

An interdisciplinary field of study with various themes and foci: analysis of conflict, management and resolution of conflict, social and economic justice, peace paradigms, peacekeeping and enforcement, war (its causes and conduct), and a variety of conceptions of international and domestic security. Peace studies is one of the fastest growing disciplines in the social sciences.

Carolyn Stephenson has identified three 'waves' of peace studies. The first began in the 1930s, with quantitative studies of industrial conflict and war, and was largely academically driven. The second was in the 1960s. It broadened the field to include the study of the impact of forms of violence and injustice. At this time peace research moved extensively into classrooms in certain parts of the world. The third wave emerged in the 1980s and was affected more by movements and mobilisations than by academia and pedagogues (Klare and Thomas 1989). The field has its richest history in Scandinavia, where universities have had peace studies for more than a century.

Peace research is a constituent element of peace studies. As in peace studies, people involved in peace research rarely desire to produce knowledge for its own sake. They usually aim to bring about or consolidate peace. Moreover, those involved in peace research need not necessarily be academicians, as innumerable successes and insights are attributable to the work of non-governmental organisations. Particularly in Africa, some of the most useful work is a by-product of collaboration



between scholars and community organisations. Action research is a type or an approach within peace research in which the researcher abandons a detached stance and becomes part of the programme team. He or she is therefore able to give rapid feedback, often solving problems in the course of conducting research.

Indeed, while numerous examples have been cited over the centuries about how language has been used to provoke violent actions, very little has been written about and hardly any courses exist that deal exclusively with the relationship between language and peace. . . . Thus, the study of language within the field of international peace and conflict resolution is imperative because it can be demonstrated that language is the subject of policy decisions as well as a possession that confers advantages. Moreover, language is a major variable that pushes open or closes the door to power, prestige, and wealth within societies and contributes to war and peace within and between societies.

Bangura n.d.

*For further reading, see Carolyn Stephenson, 'Evolution of peace studies' in Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas (eds.), *Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide*, 5th edn (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1989).*

Pillars of support

The institutions and organisations that supply the necessary sources of power to a party in a politically symbiotic relationship, thereby allowing that party to maintain and exert its political power capacity. Pillars of support are most recognisable within a nation-state or society. Examples of such pillars include police, prisons, military forces, authority figures, the business community, labour organisations, the media, and universities, among many possible others.

*See also **sources of power.***

Political jiu-jitsu

Deriving from the Japanese martial art, a process by which participants in a non-violent struggle refuse to reciprocate violent actions of their opponent resulting in a disruption of the opponent's political equilibrium. In turn, the non-violent resisters are strengthened by new or altered third party or constituent allegiances and support. Requiring considerable discipline by non-violent resisters, political jiu-jitsu illustrates the asymmetrical nature of parties employing different techniques against one another in conflict.

Briefly stated, by deliberately refusing to meet violence with violence, and by sustaining nonviolent behavior despite repression, a protagonist throws an opponent off balance. As the participants in a nonviolent campaign refuse to reciprocate their adversary's violence, the attacker becomes shaken by the sight of the suffering that has been caused and the refusal of the protagonists to respond with violence. The adversary becomes unsure of how to respond. The sympathies of the police or troops often begin to flow toward the nonviolent protagonists.

King 1999: xv



Political power

The summation of means, influences, and pressures available to a nation-state, institution, group, or individual that are exploited to achieve respective objectives or to change targeted conditions. Political power may be exerted positively, in the form of incentives, or negatively, as in various types of sanctions. Domestic and international relations are influenced and at times dictated by the relative political power among parties. The attainment of political power is often a source of conflict in itself. Differentials in political power can be a crucial factor in determining

the outcomes of disputes, but in such situations the underlying causes of the conflict in question are often purposefully ignored. Groups are often unaware of their full power capacity, creating distorted depictions of the balance of power among contending parties. Shifts in power relationships can occur through a full realisation of political power or structural changes within or among societies.

Positive-sum outcome

A situation in which the gains of parties can be mutually satisfied. Positive-sum outcomes, or 'win-win' outcomes, encourage co-operation in joint problem solving where the parties seek to minimise or eliminate the negative impact of their respective actions on other parties and the likelihood of the interdependence of their actions in the future.

*See also **game theory, negative-sum outcome, and zero-sum outcome.***

Pre-negotiation

The exploration by parties to determine if negotiations might act as a successful technique of conflict resolution between them and, if so, the subsequent joint process of developing procedures for such negotiations.

Realism

A school of thought and theory of international relations that is also known as Realpolitik and is distinguished by the following three general characteristics or assumptions:

- *international politics are dictated through a disorganised system of self-reliance;*
- *nation-states are the primary and dominant agents acting within the international system; and*
- *politics inherently revolve around the quest for power.*

Proponents of realism do recognise that relations among nation-states are generally guided by accepted norms. In their opinion, however, the international system lacks the supranational authority to impose or enforce such relations, which means that nation-states must

ensure and maintain their own interests. While various agents and groups may affect international relations, these entities definitively must remain subordinate to nation-states. Realists view political power on the international level as a zero-sum game, that is, the gain of one or several nation-states will result in the proportional loss by one or more others. Thus, the world is understood as inherently conflictual.

Classical realism contains a philosophical aspect as well. Human nature is viewed as unchanging, and pessimism overshadows the inevitable battles over power played out through international relations. Neo-realists attribute innate power struggles to the anarchic system of international relations rather than to the actions of individuals. In their view, the preparation by nation-states for self-reliance (particularly regarding security) endangers the stability of other nation-states, creating a cycle of real or perceived threat.

Reconciliation

A process that attempts to transform intense or lingering malevolence among parties previously engaged in a conflict or dispute into feelings of acceptance and forgiveness of past animosities or detrimental acts. Reconciliation may involve recourse to justice, particularly where one party has suffered egregiously relative to or at the hands of the other party. It is often considered essential to creating conditions for durable resolutions and stability. Also, if conducted sensitively, reconciliation has tremendous healing capacity for the injured party as well as for the perpetrators of harmful acts.

Truth is often noted as an important dimension of reconciliation since members of antagonistic sides are so prone to deny what the other side experiences and believes to be true If members of one party acknowledge that another community has suffered great injury by their actions, forgiveness or at least acceptance of their humanity becomes easier to be felt and expressed.

Kriesberg 2003: 329, 331

See also **truth (and reconciliation) commission**.



Refugee

A person seeking asylum based on the likelihood of persecution or imminent harm in his or her home country due to race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, social membership, political opinion, or knowledge. Refugees are commonly fleeing from war and its subsequent conditions, and they are unable to receive protection from their home nation-state. Considerable debate surrounds whether refugee status must involve one or both of the following conditions: impending persecution of select individuals or groups and the inability of a state system to provide protection to such persons or groups. What constitutes 'protection' is contested as well. Does it involve, for instance, the provision of public order and subsistence or mere survival? The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) offers protective auspice for refugees.

Under the international regime, those individuals who flee across a border from the generalized threats posed by war or civil disturbance are outside the ambit of refugee law. These people are not considered to have a sufficiently individualized fear of persecution. Member states of the Organization of African Unity have adopted a broader refugee definition, which includes war and civil disorder. Governmental and expert discussions in Asia and Latin America have also recognized the advantages of a broader definition.

Helton 1994: 118

See also *asylum* and *displaced person*.

Sanctions

Penalties threatened or imposed by a nation-state, institution, organisation, or group on a targeted party for failure, actual or anticipated, to act in accordance with standards, obligations, or expectations. As countenance or encouragement, forms of sanctions may range from the political to the economic to the cultural. Punitive sanctions similarly have great variety. Economic

sanctions include embargoes and prohibition of foreign aid. Political sanctions may target diplomatic links or international organisational participation. Cultural sanctions may limit educational exchanges and sporting events. Implementation may be unilateral or multilateral, comprehensive or selective, and initiated by official authorities or civil society organisations, although in common usage the term is often used to describe penalties imposed among nation-states. In all cases, sanctions are enacted to coerce the party in question and influence its behaviour.

The latent effects of sanctions are widely debated, particularly concerning the detriment to civilians affected in undemocratic societies because they are often unable to influence policy in their own country or may have been weakened by opposing the targeted regime. Selective sanctions are increasingly used to target specific personnel and élites, thereby limiting the effects on the general population.

See also **sources of power**.

Satyagraha

Deriving from Hindi and Gujarati, *satya* means 'truth', and *agraha* is most commonly translated as 'insistence on', 'pursuit of', or 'force'. Therefore, *satyagraha* is often referred to as 'the pursuit of truth', or more colloquially, 'truth-force'. The term was coined by Mohandas K. Gandhi to describe his conception of non-violent action, and thus it depicts a form of conflict engagement. During the Indian campaigns against British

There is a law of nature that a thing can be retained by the same means by which it has been acquired. A thing acquired by violence can be retained by violence alone, while one acquired by truth can be retained only by truth. The Indians in South Africa, therefore, can ensure their safety today if they can wield the weapons of *Satyagraha*.

Gandhi 1928: 306



rule, satyagraha became associated with nearly all such activities.

For Gandhi, satyagraha could be understood morally and politically. He personally upheld both aspects and encouraged others to do the same, but he recognised that not all people who put satyagraha into practice would share the moral conviction as well. Given his philosophical perspective, Gandhi sought a broader meaning of satyagraha that embodied a lifelong pursuit of Truth. In this sense, the term transcends the more limited definition of non-violent action.

For further reading, see Krishnaalal Shridbarani, *War without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Method and Its Accomplishments* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939).

Security

A subjective state in which an individual or collectivity feels free from threats, anxiety, or danger. Security stands along a continuum and, therefore, cannot be understood in absolute terms. Given relative perceptions, reaching or maintaining security is almost always contentious. To ensure security at the nation-state level, governments must trust their ability to deter attacks or to defend against them. Such capacity has centred historically on relative military power among nation-states. Given the subjective and relative nature of such parameters and security more generally, obvious difficulties arise. An expanse of activities have consequently resulted in the name of security, including expansionist policies, wars of conquest, armaments races, acts of intervention, and alliance formations.

Governments have traditionally been solely responsible for providing their own security, which is commonly called strategic security. More recently, a reconceptualisation of security is emerging in the form of collective security. This expanding doctrine includes new terminology, such as 'human security', 'common security', 'co-operative security', 'democratic security', 'environmental security', and 'preventive security'. Under these new developments, the nation-state neither plays the dominant role in formulating and implementing security strategy and policy, nor is it the intended unit to necessarily be protected. The populations of nation-states and individuals have become the primary concern.

Sources of power

The origins or loci of political power: legitimacy, human resources, skills and knowledge, material resources, intangible factors, and sanctions. Sources of power can be identified in any politically symbiotic relationship, as can their manifestations through institutions and organisations. The supply of these sources by one or various parties is directly related to the political power of the party that receives them.

See also **legitimacy, non-violent action, pillars of support, and sanctions.**

Strategy

The activity, process, or plan to attain desired objectives or goals as efficiently as possible, usually in the face of or in competition with others who are developing and implementing similar activities. Strategy is essentially the application of means to attain desired ends. Here, means are expressed widely, suggesting available or retrievable political, economic, social, and psychological resources. The use of strategy is most frequent in connection with warfare, but the concept permeates politics and other fields, where the logic remains the same. Strategy focuses on questions of how, when, and where and determines how the subsequent answers are interdependently formulated. Strictly speaking, strategy is understood as direct or indirect competition with others. Three broad forms can be identified: offensive, defensive, and deterrent. Offensive strategies pertain to seeking objectives actively through initiative. Defensive strategies involve denying the accomplishment of the objectives of an opponent. Deterrent strategies aim to persuade an adversary to abandon pursuit of objectives in light of the estimated or perceived cost of such pursuit.

Whenever strategy is less than fully realized it does not assess, continuously and comprehensively ... all the factors that are likely to bear on the outcome of a conflict, and adjust the group's behavior to them in real time to achieve the best effect. To the extent that strategic assessment is present at all, so long as it remains unarticulated and inchoate it is unlikely to produce good guidance and optimal decisions.

Kruegler 1997: 515



Successful strategies must be informed by the politics, ethics, and culture of the context and the party responsible for development and implementation. The term is derived indirectly from the Greek strategos (general), although in modern usage a comparable equivalent would have been strategike episteme (generals' knowledge).

*See also **grand strategy** and **tactics**.*

Structural violence

Embedded social and political hierarchies—enacted most often by nation-states and their institutions—that impose conditions which place people at high risk for negative consequences, such as unemployment, malnutrition, mental illness, suicide, crime, disease, and ill health. The sources of structural violence may be difficult to identify, but its results are normally visible.

During the twelve years that Mohandas K. Gandhi spent in South Africa after 1902, he came to see the impact that structural forms of violence could have on society: hunger, poverty, the oppression of women, the privilege of the few, and the powerlessness of the many. Observing a pathological violence ingrained in societal structures—a structural exploitation more than intentional harm inflicted upon innocent victims by evil people—would fuel Gandhi's campaigns and underlie his insistence on the technique of non-violent resistance. For Gandhi, what he saw in South Africa highlighted the depths of institutionalised violence and convinced him of the need for a procedure that could undermine such violence from within.

The concept of structural violence also hints at transactional relationships with other types of violence, such as domestic violence, sexual exploitation of children, and drug trafficking. Such silent types of violence have a mutual effect on one another and often a disproportionate impact on marginalised populations.

Tactics

Limited and particular actions decided on short-term bases. In conflict situations, tactics refer to such actions during encounters with contending parties. If conducted efficiently, the choice of tactics will be informed by a strategy.

Thus, it may be a strategic choice to use mass demonstrations and strikes to force a violent regime to recognize human rights standards, but it is a tactical choice to conduct certain demonstrations in a silent and dignified manner, as opposed to a boisterous or provocative one.

Kruegler 1997: 514

See also **grand strategy** and **strategy**.

Terrorism

Violent actions inflicted upon secondary targets that may be conducted by an individual, group, or government with the wider purpose of attracting attention, gaining support, or forcing concessions from the primary target on personal or political issues. Perpetrators of terrorism normally select, either purposefully or indiscriminately, illegitimate secondary targets (i.e., non-combatants and civilians) and target them with bombings, hijackings, and other violently coercive methods. These targets can be viewed as the intermediaries used by terrorists to manipulate the primary target and subsequently achieve an objective. A dominant theory regarding terrorism posits that such actions are employed in expectation that a harsher reaction by the primary target will in turn generate support for the issues espoused by the terrorists.

*Deriving from the Latin *terrere* (to frighten), in a political sense terror was first used to describe the methods of the French revolutionary government against its adversaries. Although state terrorism remains today, the concept is understood as a nation-state that supports or condones activities as described above. As a technique of waging war, terrorism was first developed by revolutionaries in czarist Russia in the 1870s. The term international terrorism denotes actions conducted by groups outside the country of their origin, residence, or the location from which their activities are coordinated. Terrorism primarily involves semi-clandestine groups opposed to their home or an external government.*

Some groups that employ acts of terrorism reject the stigma attached to this method of conflict engagement, which is widely considered illegitimate and egregious.



This is especially true in cases where terrorism is one of several techniques employed and the aspired objectives are widely believed to be legitimate and worthwhile. Nonetheless, the method usually overshadows the issues.

[Historically,] there were three principal objectives [of terrorism]. One was self-advertisement—what was called ‘Propaganda of the Deed’—to show the world that the group existed and was ruthless in its determination to achieve its ends. The second was to demoralise the government and its supporters. And the third was to provoke the government into such savage acts of suppression that it forfeited public support and awoke popular and international sympathy for the revolutionary cause. This was known as a ‘strategy of provocation’.

Howard 2001

Treaty

A legally binding written agreement of mutual relations that is ratified by two or more nation-states or other internationally recognised subjects. Treaties are developed by co-operative production of drafts by authorised agents, adoption of a final text, authentication through designated signatories, ratification through respective constitutional procedures, and enactment as a binding force. International treaties today are legally founded on the principle of pacta sunt servanda (pacts made in good faith shall be observed). Outside international jurisprudence, treaties, particularly in Africa, once were enforced by the swearing of oaths.

Truth (and reconciliation) commission

A temporary fact-finding body that aims to elucidate past human rights violations and war crimes and address issues of reparation and rehabilitation. The ultimate objective of truth commissions is to create conditions that lead to healing from suffered losses or injuries and which foster stability and reconstruction. Such commissions are normally empowered to grant partial

amnesty in exchange for full testimony by witnesses and suspects. To date, nineteen truth commissions have been established in different regions of the world.

See also **reconciliation**.

Rwanda International Criminal Tribunal

On 1 July 1994 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 935, which requested the establishment of a commission of experts to investigate the possibility of serious violations of humanitarian law, including genocide, by Hutus against Tutsis in Rwanda. The commission reported positive findings to the Security Council, prompting the secretary-general to issue a statute on the formulation of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The tribunal was established under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and under the pretence of the tribunal formed in 1993 for the former Yugoslavia. It consisted of six trial judges (in Arusha), five appeals judges (in The Hague), and a deputy chief prosecutor.

The statute of the tribunal limited jurisdiction to 1994 only and granted power to prosecute responsible persons for violations of humanitarian law committed in Rwanda and by Rwandan citizens in neighbouring countries. This constituted an expansion of juridical power beyond the territorial and into a personal domain. Although Rwanda conceded partial jurisdiction, given its request for the tribunal, neighbouring nation-states were forced to comply as well. Although state systems may try Rwandans on counts of violations of international law in conventional court systems, the tribunal retains primacy over national courts and may thus request deference of particular cases. The tribunal's statutes outline penalties for any nation-state refusing to comply.

After investigations by the tribunal found that flagrant violations of international law had occurred, the task remained to develop grounds for the case of genocide. As stipulated in the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, an early task of the tribunal was to determine if the Tutsis constituted a stable and permanent group. With further evidence and investigation, the justices



concluded that the Tutsis should be considered an ethnic group in accordance with the mandatory identity cards distributed by the Rwandan government. This decision has tremendous ramifications for future cases involving the crime of genocide, as the nature of the Tutsis' inclusion among groups identified as 'stable and permanent and determined by birth' significantly expands the peoples protected under the genocide convention. In the Tutsis' case, 'ethnic group' was defined in relation to the subjective understanding and culture of Rwandan peoples and respective government procedures.

The lengthy procedural requirements of the international tribunal and conventional courts led to restoration and modification of a traditional mechanism for addressing disputes over land and other communal issues. In pre-colonial times, elders sat on a 'gacaca'—green grassy knoll in the Kirwanda language—to mete justice. The gacaca system has been upgraded to meet international human rights standards, and the requirements of a fair trial, and has been adapted for use in dealing with the huge number of genocide detainees. More than 250,000 judges, including a large number of women, were elected, hired, and trained to preside over the trials of the genocidaire, or perpetrators.

For further reading, see Paul J. Magnarella, *Justice in Africa: Rwanda's Genocide, Its Courts, and the UN Criminal Tribunal* (Hants, England, Ashgate Publishing, 2000).

Ubuntu

In the Bantu family of languages and stemming from 'ntu' (the life force that causes things to happen), an indigenous philosophical perspective of South African peoples that connotes a collective responsibility among human beings to distribute naturally and spiritually the life force for common benefit. Literally translated into English, ubuntu means 'collective personhood', but is captured by the Nguni proverb 'umuntu ngu-muntu ngabantu' (I am because we are), whereby human nature can only be realised through relationships with others. The ubuntu spirit is also based on a union of opposites that, while maintaining their inherent contradictions,

are not exclusive, creating a unified and interconnected conception of human existence.

Ubuntu is characterised by a sense of collective solidarity through love, caring, tolerance, respect, empathy, accountability, and responsibility. Transgressions against this customary law are rarely enforced, but breaches have resulted in isolation, fines, and at times death. Ubuntu did not traditionally extend in practice to situations external to a given community. The past century, however, has evidenced an expansive application of the concept in South Africa, for example regarding debates on the death penalty and the 1995 Labour Relations Act. The term is making its way into juridical rulings, and its use is spreading northwards to other parts of the continent.

Ubuntu is thus a celebration of being in its trinity of manifestation: the human, natural, and spiritual. Ubuntu is a life force that helps to maintain the equilibrium of forces natural, spiritual, and human in the community. Ubuntu is something that is internalised and should manifest itself in activities and attitudes such as respect, love, care, sharing, accountability, and responsibility. Due to the centrality of the other person in my own existence, it does not discriminate on the basis of race, gender, ability, or handicap. It accepts all persons as belonging to the community of the living.

Seleti n.d.

Values and norms

Values are characteristics of a person, object, behaviour, experience, or concept that imply intrinsic excellence, esteem, worth, or desirability. They are



essentially preferences that are governed strictly by individual choice, which, admittedly, is influenced by external factors. Peoples' values are constantly changing and adapting, and values that withstand fluctuations can become institutionalised by custom, tradition, or convention. Values might not be consciously articulated, but may guide behaviours and conformity.

Norms are an explicit prescription or rule for human (inter)actions or a recognised implicit pattern of normatively driven behaviours. Either can develop spontaneously or through purposeful construction. Violations of both, however, are usually subject to formal or informal sanctions. Most norms become accepted when adherence to them brings individuals some benefit, and subsequent imitation can eventually lead to institutionalisation. Here, how the norm was formulated, spontaneously or purposefully, can be crucial. The former tends to benefit the society as a whole, while the latter tends to centralise enforcement. Rules can evolve into behavioural patterns, whereby the rule itself is forgotten, but such patterns need not be deliberately constructed.

The social sciences have shown considerable interest in identifying and understanding values in two ways. First, theories suggest that knowing a group's values sheds insights into documenting their behaviours more systematically. Second, however, explanatory attributes have been attached more prominently to understanding why certain groups act or do not act in certain ways. Values thus supply rationality to behaviours.

Values and norms are also important in the field of normative ethics, the study and exploration of morally superior ways to act or live one's life. Values and norms should be distinguished from attitudes and beliefs, which do not necessarily carry normative valuations. The more encompassing field of normative research refers to studies, investigations, and inquires concerning the nature and formation of values, norms, attitudes, and beliefs.

War

A mutually recognised, hostile exchange of actions among two or more parties (such as between or within nation-states) conducted by conventional military forces, paramilitary forces, guerrillas, or non-violent resisters

to achieve respective policy objectives. Warfare assumes a degree of continuity until such objectives are accomplished or a party concedes or is defeated. A state of war carries legal parameters governed by internationally recognised rules of engagement and conduct. For example, the initiation of war requires some form of official or unofficial declaration, and conclusions are usually facilitated by formal agreements among the belligerents. Encounters in war may assume a range of forms and employ various types of weapons, depending on the capacities of the parties potentially able to participate in warfare. Examples include nuclear, chemical, and conventional arsenals and non-violent methods, among others.

Historical trends in war are changing: Human, environmental, and economic costs are rising along with the number of civilian casualties. The geographic areas involved in actual battles are widening. The length of battles, the number of battles per year, and the number of battles per war are increasing. On average, however, wars are becoming shorter. The absolute size of armies is increasing, and an army's size relative to the general population can be documented. Lower proportions of combatants are injured. Wars now spread to additional belligerents more swiftly than in the past. Since World War II, the frequency of 'low-intensity' conflicts, revolutions, counter-revolutions, and proxy wars has risen.

It is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire. . . . If you concentrate exclusively on victory, with no thought for the after-effect, you may be too exhausted to profit by the peace, while it is almost certain that the peace will be a bad one, containing the germs of another war.

Liddell Hart 1991: 353

See also **war crimes**.



War crimes

Violations of the laws of war or recognised customs and conventions for the engagement or conclusion of them. The majority of war crimes are perpetrated against non-combatant, civilian populations and include murder, genocide, torture, deportation, rape, hostage taking, and forced labour. These acts are also considered war crimes when perpetrated upon prisoners of war and refugees. In addition, war crimes include plundering, unjustified destruction of public or private property, the use of certain weapons, and the improper usage of symbols of truce.

Article 6 of the 1945 Charter of the International Military Tribunal sets forth two categories of war crimes: crimes against humanity and crimes against peace. The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, held during 1945 and 1946 and the first of its kind, refined the definition of these acts and further illustrated the criminality of them. The Military Tribunal for the Far East was held from 1946 to 1948 in Tokyo. Both tribunals were conducted on an ad hoc basis and were dissolved immediately following their conclusions, having found several men guilty and imposing the death penalty on them. Since these trials, capital punishment has been replaced in favour of imprisonment. Accused war criminals must be granted fair trial under supranational or national juridical pronouncements. Indictment on the supranational level does not preclude proceedings before national justice systems.

See also **genocide**.

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD)

Any weapon capable of horrific physical destruction, human or material. Weapons of mass destruction may be nuclear, chemical, biological, or radiological. The acronym abc is sometimes used to refer specifically to atomic, biological, and chemical weapons. The term weapons of mass destruction is literally translated from Russian. Since its inception into the English language, it has remained vague and ambiguous.

Zero-sum outcome

A situation where the gains of one party are inversely related to the losses of another party. In other words, as one side benefits, the other side proportionally suffers. At the extreme, zero-sum outcomes, or 'win-lose' outcomes, produce a completely victorious party and an utterly defeated party. The pursuit of zero-sum strategies places parties in direct competition with one another and encourages egoistic behaviour.

*See also **game theory, negative-sum outcome, and positive-sum outcome.***



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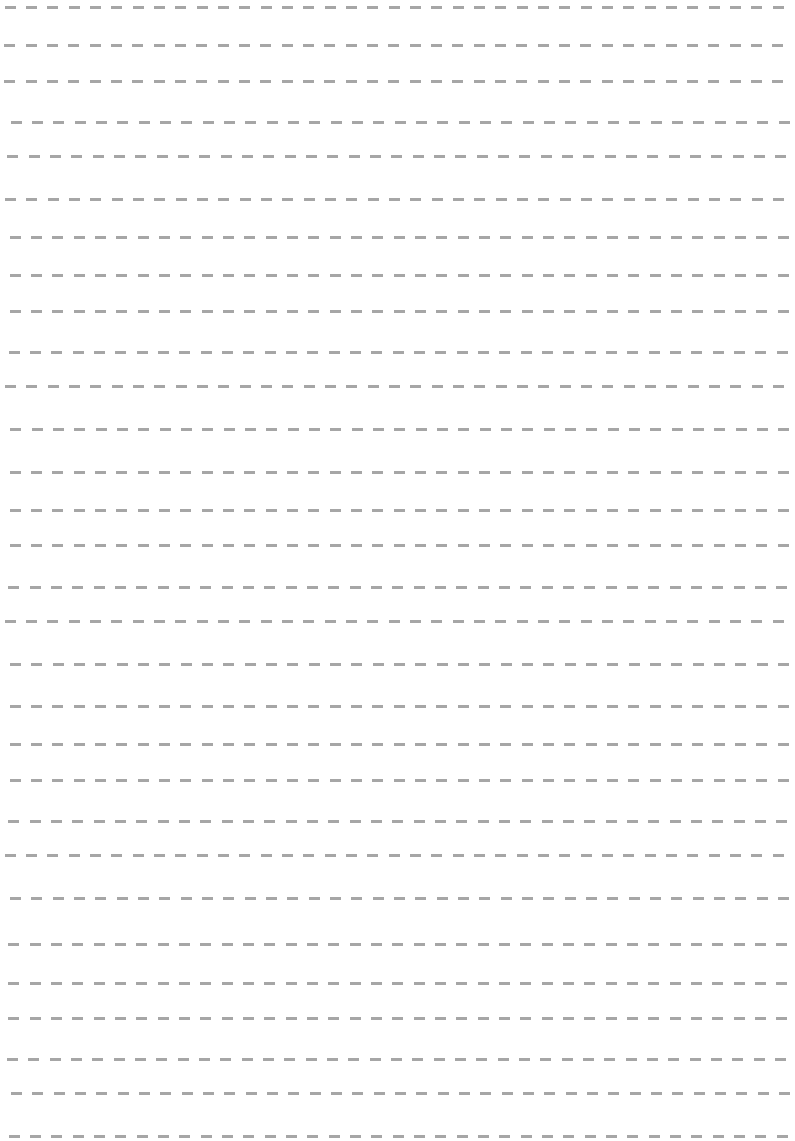




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