From the Chair: A Global Tour of Peace Studies

Louis Kriesberg, Syracuse University

My visits to peace studies and conflict resolution centers in South Africa last June, in Germany during October, and in Peru in November have increased my awareness of the varied responses of such centers to the many, often contradictory, global trends of the post cold-war world. I want to report a few observations, particularly about the emerging relations between problem-solving conflict resolution and peace studies in these countries.

In each country, in recent decades, society members have experienced periods of considerable and even extreme violence and of government repression. The experiences vary among the societies and differ for perpetrators and victims. I want to comment here on the ways peace and conflict resolution centers are contributing to overcoming the legacies of such experiences.

In the Republic of South Africa, the struggle against apartheid drew on past experiences and ideas of nonviolent struggle. These include the non-violent campaigns opposing discrimination against Indians in South Africa, led by Mahatma Gandhi, and the activities of early leaders of the African National Congress (ANC), such as Albert Luthuli. These efforts contributed to the relatively constructive way the ANC fought to end apartheid.
Later, conflict resolution training and mediation efforts accompanied the struggle. For example, the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Capetown pioneered in facilitating contacts between ANC leaders and many non-official and official members of the Afrikan community.

Currently, many non-governmental centers provide training in problem-solving conflict resolution, mediation services for contending groups within townships and other communities, and also conduct reconciling exchanges and shared activities for former antagonists who fought violently against each other. Some centers, such as the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Capetown (successor of the Centre for Intergroup Relations), are also beginning to play a role in national security matters and in mediating conflicts outside of South Africa. For instance, the Centre has consulted with South African Government officials regarding national security issues, and also provide conciliation in resolving conflicts in neighboring countries.

In Germany, several centers conducting policy-relevant research pertaining to peace and conflict studies were established in the early 1970s. Their members contributed to the development of ideas regarding non-provocative defense and some members participated in Track II conversations with Soviet officials and analysts about such ideas. These activities influenced the new thinking in the Soviet leadership and so helped to end the cold war.

Currently, research on security studies continues to be important, including matters relating to nuclear proliferation, arms trade, and the expansion of NATO. What is being added, for example at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, is increased attention to democratization and other domestic concerns, particularly relating to ethnic relations within Germany and consequently to conflict resolution work, including dialogue and workshop activities.

In Peru, until recently only a few organizations have worked in the areas of peace studies and conflict resolution. These include the Associacion Peruano de Estudios de la Investigacion para la Paz, headed by Felipe MacGregor. More recently, centers providing training in conflict resolution and mediation services have been established, for example the Instituto Peruano de Resolucion de Conflictos Negociacion y Mediacion (IPRECON). Currently, a rapid expansion of conflict resolution work is underway, stimulated by the passage of a national law mandating the use of mediation in civil disputes that might otherwise be pursued judicially. These activities are viewed by the writers and advocates of the law as contributing to building a culture of peace in Peru. This social experiment is intended to foster methods of conciliation to deal with many intense disputes regarding land tenure, familial relations, and human use of the environment. Advocacy groups as well as mediation centers are increasingly using various forms of mediation. Such activities, some Peruvians believe, may contribute to a more peaceful society by increasing civil participation and providing alternatives to terrorism and repression.

In all three countries, conflict resolution and peace studies ideas and practices are becoming intertwined. The way this is developing in each country, however, differs. The
variations reflect the different histories and circumstances of each society. They are all affected, nevertheless, by some of the same post-cold war trends. These trends include: increasing global integration and interdependence, the growth of transnational non-governmental organizations, ever speedier diffusion of new ideas, increasing permeability of each society relative to the global environment, growing domination by the United States and associated powers, and rising particularistic reactions against global homogenization shaped by that domination.

All these trends and the legacies of past disasters pose profound challenges for peace studies. More good ideas and practices are needed to meet those challenges. The various efforts to meet them constitute a set of social experiments that deserve our close attention. We can all learn from each other.

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**Peace Studies & IR Theory after the Cold War**

*Bill McSweeney*

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Like sovietology and neorealism, Peace Studies lost a sense of purpose and intellectual clarity after the collapse of the bipolar international order. This is not necessarily to say that its conceptual and theoretical base was adequately defined and defensibly demarcated before that. Like IR theorists, peace researchers in most academic institutes were weary reading and rehearsing the familiar debates about the poverty of theory and the inadequacy of the empiricist creed: if you can't count it, it doesn't count. But there was too much counting to do during the Cold War to worry excessively about theoretical foundations.

Peace Studies had its distinctive character, its moral purpose delineating it from IR: that war and violence are a disease of the body politic, not a necessary consequence of the laws that govern it. Its scope was wider than that of IR and progressively being expanded to include new sources of conflict. Adding bits on seemed to improve the quality. And if charged with theoretical deficiency, that was a respectable weakness shared with the political science tradition in IR - particularly in security studies - in which it found at once a methodological home and a target for its disapproval. It was within that tradition that Peace Studies could lay claim to the appealing label 'critique'.

During the Cold War, Peace Studies was SIPRI Yearbook to The Military Balance. What the IR people counted, peace researchers counted differently, to critical purpose. Institutional analyses of the Left served to uncover the lack of objectivity and hidden assumptions of the Right - Galtung's structuralism and Kaldor's functionalism come to mind. But they were as untestable as the views they criticized and as uncritical as IR of
the basic tenets on which IR rested - the nature of anarchy, the objectivity of the state, the concept of security, the normative neutrality of the research process, the essential unity of the natural and social order and of the appropriate method of explaining them.

Had it cultivated its roots in the discipline of sociology, Peace Studies might have been well placed to anticipate the radical critique of the neorealist approach which began in IR in the mid-1980s and in sociology a decade earlier. If we examine the basic tenets of IR noted above, it is not in institutes of Peace Studies that we find the critique or the seminal scholars today but in IR itself. Ironically, the most interesting work in peace research, laying the foundations for the radical critique and normative orientation on which it claims special competence, is found not among self-styled peace researchers but within the disciplinary camp of the IR opposition. Still trapped in the Cold War approach which it shared with IR, peace researchers appear to have lost touch with the sociological debates which have influenced the IR critique, or else to have misread them as old hat, or consigned them unread to the capacious dustbin of 'postmodernism'.

It is unfair to make sweeping generalizations of a disparate group of scholars, but not unwarranted of the general thrust of the peace research approach to say - paradoxically again - that it has moved backwards to the positivistic approach of the early Galtung, while he has moved sideways to more structuralist perspectives. The central normative claim of peace research, without which it would lose its raison d'etre as a distinctive approach to the international order, is commonly defended in terms of the medical analogy bequeathed by Galtung. If medical research is no less rigorous for being ethically oriented in respect of disease and its cure, the argument goes, then Peace Studies too in respect of war and violence. This displays neatly the lack of theoretical reflection and the dependence of Peace Studies on an unreflective positivist definition of scholarship.

Emancipated by the end of the Cold War, IR scholars in growing numbers have discovered the fallacy behind this analogy, and discovered also a new capacity for social critique wedded to scholarship which does not leave the normative question at the door of the research library, but locates it within the research act itself. This does not commit them to the denial of the foundations of knowledge, as the too-easy labeling of anti-positivism as postmodernism has it. Indeed, the very idea of social critique implies a foundational epistemology.

In such trends in IR theory, still more welcomed in the European than in the US academy, peace researchers can find the intellectual and moral basis of a Peace Studies adequate to the challenge of the post-Cold War age, in which the rejection of violence and the critique of established structures of power remain the defining goal. 

Bill McSweeney is the editor of a recent book, Moral Issues in International Affairs: Problems of European Integration (Macmillan, London, 1998) and has a forthcoming book, Security and Identity in International Relations Theory. bmcsweeney@tcd.ie
Call for Nominations: Kenneth E. Boulding Student Paper Award

The Peace Studies Section of ISA announces an award in honor of Kenneth Boulding, a founder of the field of peace studies and former President of ISA. The award will be given each year to a graduate student for an excellent research paper given at the Annual Meeting in the field of peace research. A two-year student membership in ISA and a small cash prize usable for ISA travel will be awarded.

Criteria: A research paper in peace research that is theoretically based, empirical (but not necessarily quantitative), and deals with a significant problem in the field. Neither theory nor empiricism alone will qualify. Research which focuses on areas of peace research with which Kenneth Boulding was concerned will be preferred, but we seek excellent papers in any area of peace research, broadly defined.

The paper must be presented by a graduate student at the ISA Annual Convention. Papers in peace research from any section can be considered, but must be specifically submitted to the Peace Studies Section with a request for consideration for the award.

We welcome both submissions direct from students and nominations from panel chairs and discussants. We encourage chairs of panels and discussants to recommend excellent student papers. You may contact the Award Committee by email: (cstephen@hawaii.edu), but please do not send papers by e-mail. For consideration for next year's award, please send a copy of the paper by 16 January 1999 to Boulding Award Committee chair: Dr. Carolyn Stephenson, Political Science Department, 2424 Maile Way, Social Sciences 640, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI 96822, USA; phone 808-956-8195; fax 808-956-6877.

Peace Studies Section Workshops? One of the proposals made at the section business meeting was to organize workshops associated with the annual ISA meeting. The idea received enough interest that the Chair was asked to form a committee to look into it. He has asked Juergen Dedring, Eileen Babbitt, and myself to join him on the committee. In this newsletter we'd like to ask what you think of the idea. The section discussed especially the idea of a workshop immediately prior to the annual meeting, but that is only one possible format. What numbers? What subject matter? What kind of process? Would you want to come a day early? Could you? Questions were raised as to whether this would be any different from a panel. Does the idea appeal to you? If so, do you have any suggestions? Or is it a lousy idea? Please respond to the chair of the workshop committee:

Dr. Carolyn Stephenson, Political Science Department,

Please Submit 2500-3500 word essays on or off themes on IBM or MAC disk to: Robert Elias, Editor; Peace Review University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117 USA Fax: 415-388-2631/422-2772 Ph:415-422-6349 Email: eliasr@usfca.edu

Current Perspectives in Social Theory invites submissions for Volume 20, 2000. *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* is an annual publication dedicated to publishing significant articles across the spectrum of perspectives within social theory, conceived of in a broad and interdisciplinary way. To submit a manuscript, send five copies and a one-page abstract to: Professor Jennifer M. Lehmann, Editor, Current Perspectives in Social Theory, Department of Sociology, 741 Oldfather Hall, The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0324. **Deadline for submissions is January 31, 1999.** Any manuscript received after January 31, 1999 will not be considered for the 2000 volume.

Curriculum Guide Available: *Teaching the Sociology of Peace and War*, edited by John MacDougall and Helen Raisz is available through the American Sociological Association’s web site: [http://www.asanet.org/Pubs/tchgres.htm](http://www.asanet.org/Pubs/tchgres.htm).

New Web Site: AGenocide: Resources for Teaching and Research” provides annotated links to genocide related sites, an on-line bibliography, and information on conferences and recent publications. The site is maintained and regularly updated by researchers at The University of Memphis and Pennsylvania State University. URL is: [http://www.people.memphis.edu/~genocide](http://www.people.memphis.edu/~genocide).

**Publications by Section Members**


"**Brauch, Hans G.** ALangfristige Ursachen der Migration aus dem Maghreb nach Europa: Bev ö lkerungswachstum und ökologische Herausforderungen@ In Michaela Koller, Klaus Lange (Ed.) *Migration aus Nordafrika* Reihe Studien des Instituts für Afrikanische und Internationale Studien (München: Akademischer Verlag, 1998)


The Future of War Conference will take place from 24 to 26 February 1999 in the Imperial setting of St Petersburg. Well-known international historians and military scientists and analysts will give their vision on current topics in the new world order. The conference will make an important contribution to the international debate about the transformation of the international system and the related change in the manifestation of war.

St Petersburg has a special place in the debate about peace. One hundred years ago, the last Tsar, Nicholas II, and his counsellor, Ivan Bloch, took the initiative to organize a large international peace conference. This conference took place in May 1899 in The Hague (The Netherlands), hosted by the Dutch Queen, Wilhelmina, and is known as >the first Peace Conference of The Hague=. One hundred years later, we go back to St Petersburg, ancient city of Tsars, in a drastic changed social and political environment. International warfare has practically disappeared, but other forms of violence continue: civil wars, regional conflicts, terrorist attacks. How will a new world order look, and what will be the consequences of this new order for war and peace? Among those accepting invitations to the conference are Christoph Bertram, Martin van Creveld, Roger Fischer, John Keegan, Edward Luttwak, Sir Michael Rose, Immanuel Wallerstein and Javier Solana, Secretary General of NATO. The conference is an initiative of the Dutch Foundation for War Studies, which is a private initiative; members of the Board are politicians, military personnel and scientists. The conference is supported by, among others, the Dutch government. The Russian authorities have confirmed their cooperation. The conference will result in specific recommendations and should be considered as a preparation to the official commemoration of the first International Peace Conference, later in 1999 in The Hague. Further information can be obtained from: Foundation for War Studies; Oosterhaven 11 9723 AP GRONINGEN; The Netherlands; e-mail: pvk.project@tip.nl; tel: +31 50 318 0686; fax: +31 50 318 7125

The Charles DeBenedetti Prize in Peace History, for 1997-1998

The Peace History Society invites submission for the prize, to be given to the author or authors of an outstanding journal article published in English in 1997 or 1998, which deals with peace history. Articles may focus on the history of peace movements, the response of individuals to peace and war issues, the relationship between peace and other reform movements, gender issues in warfare and peacemaking, comparative analyses, and quantitative studies. The prize was first awarded in 1989. Previous prize-holders include: Larry Wittner, Frances Early, Sandi Cooper, Allen Smith, and Susan Zeiger. The prize includes a cash award of $500. Articles should be submitted in triplicate by February 1, 1999 to Susan Zeiger, Department of History, Regis College, Weston MA 02193.

Betts Fetherston, Department of Peace Studies University of Bradford, UK

Connie Peck's *Sustainable Peace*, provides an excellent, clearly written overview of the activities of the key regional organizations working in this area as well as an innovative proposal for "a more coordinated and strategic approach" to conflict prevention (p. 225). And, as the founder and current coordinator of the Fellowship Programme in Peacemaking and Preventive Diplomacy at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), Peck is well situated to consider the role of governmental organizations in preventive action and provide insights into effective and realistic recommendations for change.

Peck opens with a presentation of her central concept 'sustainable peace', follows this with a discussion of the causes of violent conflict (relying especially on Gurr's Minorities at Risk study and focusing on 'ethnicity' as a crucial factor in today's conflicts), and concludes with structural solutions (mainly focused on different means of ensuring political participation for 'minorities'). Underpinning these four initial 'setting the scene' chapters is the theoretical bedrock of the field of conflict resolution - John Burton's theory of human needs. From human needs is subsequently derived the methodology of problem-solving. From this base, Peck develops the concept of sustainable peace which emerges from "the pairing of good governance and conflict prevention" (p. 17).

Although an interesting concept, sustainable peace lacks some theoretical depth and critical bite, diminishing the "dynamic interplay between theory and practice" and thus making the proposal for Regional Centers for Sustainable Peace, a necessarily tentative idea. This, though, is not a terminal problem, and could be developed further in later work. In particular there is a need to problematize 'ethnicity', 'state', 'good governance', 'socialization' 'democratization', 'development', 'human needs', 'problem-solving' and so on, perhaps making more specific use of the excellent critical work of a number of international relations scholars (and of critical social theorists working in other fields). Too much damage can be done through good intentions, as is clearly demonstrated in a number of recently published books analyzing the work of development agencies and humanitarian NGOs.

What is excellent and useful in this book is the overview of already established preventive mechanisms, an analysis of their strengths and shortcomings, and suggestions for development. Peck's survey begins with the UN, moves its focus to regional
intergovernmental organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and finishes with a preliminary discussion of (international) NGOs (using the example of the Carter Center).

Combining the outcome of her analysis of existing preventive measures with her central idea of sustainable peace, Peck generates a proposal for the establishment of Regional Centers for Sustainable Peace. Particularly useful is the great extent to which her proposal stresses the need for long term work to establish the structures necessary for good governance in conjunction with preventive diplomacy, and her point that this sustainable peace work needs to be clearly linked to sustainable development.

One could quibble with this idea on the grounds that these regional centers run the very great risk (particularly to the extent that central concepts are largely uncritically adopted) of creating yet another overpaid, less-than-capable layer of bureaucracy which is so top-down in orientation that it disconnects itself from the needs of people (except those drawing the large salaries) - Peck herself makes these points. However, if these centers were able to avoid even half of the problems that Peck argues face the organizations she surveys, they would clearly make a lasting contribution to peace with social justice. In this respect especially, Peck makes a significant contribution to the field of preventive diplomacy and her central proposal provides an important launching point for further discussion and analysis.

UN Development Programme=s 1998 Human Development Report

The 1998 edition of the UNDP=s Human Development Report embeds its usual collection of data on economic and social indicators of development within a broader discussion of consumption. This perspective highlights the problem of stratification in the consumption of the world=s natural resources and consumer goods. Data such as changes in the numbers of McDonald=s franchises by region and expenditures for advertising compared to education capture interesting aspects of globalization and the nature of global capitalist development. The Report examines cross-national data relevant to contemporary policy debates, such as the relationships between fuel prices and consumption or the global distribution of CO₂ emissions. Insets that offer proscriptions against consumerism from various world religions and John K. Galbraith=s retrospective on The Affluent Society help make the text quite readable and accessible for advanced undergraduate readers. The Report also summarizes its various measures of human development including GEM - gender empowerment measure, and GDI - a gender-controlled development index. It also provides some regional and country comparisons using the real GDP or Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) measure, allowing for more appropriate comparisons than the typically used measure of GDP or GNP per capita. The Human Poverty Index (HPI) is also offered as another yardstick against which to measure development practices.
PEACE STUDIES SECTION ELECTIONS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1999-2001

The Peace Studies Section must elect three new members of the Executive Committee to help plan the future directions of our Section’s work. Among the things these new section officers will help shape are the Peace Studies panels at each year’s ISA meeting, the discussions about a possible Section workshop in the coming year or two, and ways the Section can contribute to the field of peace studies more generally. Your vote is important! Please take the time to select three candidates for the Executive Committee and return your ballot to Lou Kriesberg by 30 January (address, email, and fax information below).

CANDIDATES

Alice Ackermann (Ph.D. 1992, University of Maryland) is assistant professor of international relations and conflict resolution at the University of Miami's School of International Studies in Coral Gables, Florida. She has published articles on conflict prevention, and reconciliation in Peace and Change, Security Dialogue, European Security, The Journal of Conflict Studies, and The International Spectator (Rome). She also produced an award-winning video documentary on preventive diplomacy, From the Shadow of History (1997, with Sanjeev Chatterjee) which has been broadcast on public television and screened at educational institutions in the United States, Canada, Europe, New Zealand, Israel, and South Africa. She is the author of a forthcoming book on preventive diplomacy, When Peace Prevails (Syracuse University Press, 1999).

Nimet Beriker-Atiyas currently is professor of conflict resolution and international relations at Sabanci University, in Istanbul, in which she is responsible for the development of graduate program on Conflict resolution. She received a doctorate in 1993 from the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. She then joined the Department of International relations in Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey where she taught until June 1998. Her teaching and research interests are in the areas of international negotiation and mediation, simulation and content analysis. Her recent article "The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey: Issues, parties and prospects" appeared in December 1997 issue of Security Dialogue. She has been involved in several conflict resolution training seminars in Turkey including seminars in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Security Academy and several Turkish NGOs.
Betts Fetherston is a member of the faculty of the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford in the U.K. She is the author of Towards a Theory of United Nations Peacekeeping (1994, St. Martin=s Press). Her current research on the relations between international peacekeeping operations and local NGO peace initiatives in Croatia is supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council. Her research has appeared in a number of journals, among them Peace and Change, International Peacekeeping, and Cultural Survival Quarterly.

Daniel Lieberfeld teaches courses on mediation and international conflict settlement, ethnicity and nationalism, Middle East politics, and international relations in the Department of Government at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. His book, Talking With the Enemy: Negotiation and Threat Perception in South Africa and Israel/Palestine, is forthcoming from Praeger Publishers in mid-1999. He has also written articles for Negotiation Journal, Mediation Quarterly, The American Scholar, and other journals. His current research projects include a comparative evaluation of the effects of unofficial, track-two diplomacy on official-level negotiations.

Section Officers

—Chair: Louis Kriesberg, Department of Sociology, Syracuse University lkriesbe@maxwell.syr. edu

—Past-Chair: Marc Ross, Bryn Mawr College MROSS@BRYNMAWR.EDU

—Council: (1997-9) Juergen Dedring, CUNY; Betts Fetherston, Bradford University; Jackie Smith, SUNY-Stony Brook (1998-2000) Eileen Babbitt, Tufts University; Volker Franke, Syracuse University; David Last, Pearson Peacekeeping Center

—Newsletter Editors: Jackie Smith, SUNY Stony Brook and A. B. Fetherston, Visiting Fellow, Center for Peace Studies, Zagreb, Croatia

NEWSLETTER SUBMISSIONS

We ENCOURAGE Announcements, reviews of books relevant to members of the Peace Studies Section, essays, or notices of resources, ideas, and events of interest to Section members are welcome. Submit inquiries or submissions via e-mail or diskette to Jackie Smith; Dept. of Sociology SUNY-Stony Brook; Stony Brook, NY 11794-4356; E-mail: jacsmith@notes.cc.sunysb.edu. Target deadlines: 1 October, 1 February, and 1 May.