

## SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

### FIRST INTERNATIONAL

### CONFERENCE ON PEACE-BUILDING

April 28 - May 3, 1986

at

Shannon International Airport  
The National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick, Ireland  
The University of Ulster, Northern Ireland

Organised by the Irish Peace Institute

"Peace is certain. It is only a matter of time... In this case as in other fields nothing in the universe can resist the converging energies of a sufficient number of minds sufficiently grouped and organised."

Teilhard de Chardin



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The tragic conflict in Ireland has generated a growth of new thinking at both governmental and non-governmental levels about the importance of developing dialogue and co-operation in social, economic and cultural matters in order to reduce fear, hatred and other sources of human conflict.

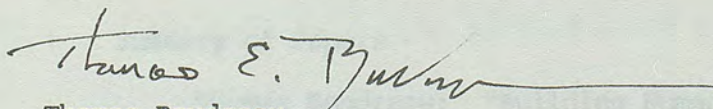
The Irish Peace Institute (IPI), which was established in the autumn of 1984, is devoted to developing new approaches to peace-building and human co-operation. It seeks to achieve its goals by conducting action-oriented programmes and conferences that emphasize the theme of peace-building through managed co-operation. The IPI held its First International Conference on Peace-building during late April and early May of 1986. Over seventy policy-makers, diplomats and scholars from both sides of the Atlantic participated in the Conference.

The following Summary represents a synthesis of the Conference proceedings. The compiling of this Summary depended upon the work of those who submitted Conference papers, those who participated in the Conference discussions and those who submitted feedback and comments after the Conference. On behalf of the Irish Peace Institute, I wish to convey sincere appreciation to all of the Conference participants for their invaluable contributions to this Summary.

I especially want to thank Ms. Marie Wren, Research Officer at the IPI, who prepared the following Summary. She has successfully completed the difficult task of summarising the Conference papers as well as the subsequent discussions and feedback. The IPI owes her a debt of gratitude.

In addition, I wish to acknowledge the help of those who took the time to read the first draft and offer comments - Dr. Brendan O'Regan, Chairman of the IPI; Dr. Patrick Hederman, Director, Glenstal Abbey School; Professor Robert Gavin, Provost, Magee College, University of Ulster; Dr. Patrick Doran, Dean, College of Humanities at the National Institute for Higher Education (NIHE), Limerick, and Mr. Brian Faloon, Lecturer in History, NIHE, Limerick. Ms. Tracey Gleeson deserves special mention for typing the document.

Finally, during the Conference, it became apparent that the participants, though often disagreeing on the strategies and tactics of peace-building, were united in their common commitment to seek a more peaceful world. I want to acknowledge that unity of purpose that inspires, despite the differences in approach, the ongoing efforts of the Conference participants who are working for a more peaceful future.

  
Thomas Boudreau  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### AIMS OF CONFERENCE ON PEACE-BUILDING

Because of the urgent need to discover new ways to build international peace and security in a world increasingly threatened by terrorism, nuclear accident or war, the Irish Peace Institute held its inaugural Conference on the topic of Peace-building. The aim of the Conference was to brainstorm new methods of reducing conflict and building peace, and to consider institutional and non-political arrangements which would expand such activities in Ireland and in other areas of conflict around the world.

### CONFERENCE LOCATION AND PARTICIPANTS

The first International Conference on Peace-building, sponsored by the Irish Peace Institute, took place from April 28 - May 3, 1986. The first days were spent in Shannon and Limerick, and from there delegates moved to Magee College of the University of Ulster. The concluding session was held in Dublin. It was attended by seventy peace leaders from the U.S.A., Canada and Western Europe. A listing of Conference participants is included in Appendix 1. The Conference brought together for the first time representatives from the United States Institute of Peace, the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, and the Irish Peace Institute.

### SOURCES OF SUMMARY

The sources for this Summary include all Conference papers (see Appendix 2), discussions held during the Conference, and feedback and comments submitted by delegates. There are five chapters in the Summary and each is comprised of (1) an introduction to the theme of the chapter, (2) a short summary of each paper relating to that theme, (3) a discussion section where the main ideas emerging from discussions and feedback are summarized, and (4) a conclusion. Whilst this Summary aims to present an accurate reflection of the proceedings, it is prepared in the light of the theme of the Conference - Peace-building, and of the overall objectives of the Irish Peace Institute.

### CHAPTER ONE: PEACE-BUILDING: BEYOND PROTEST

Chapter One deals with the theme of peace-building as a positive, continuous activity, which extends beyond conflict management, and aims to build and nurture communication, trust and co-operation between conflicting groups and nations. In particular, the importance of non-governmental peace-building, or citizen diplomacy is discussed. This is described as Track Two diplomacy which is defined by Joseph Montville of the U.S. State Department as "unofficial, informal interaction between representatives of adversary groups or nations which aims to develop strategies and create an environment which could contribute to



the resolution of their conflict."

## CHAPTER TWO: PEACE-BUILDING THROUGH MANAGED CO-OPERATION

Co-operation is essential to human existence and evolution. Effective co-operation requires a substantial and continuous programme of activities, a well-managed organisation and adequate resourcing. Special joint co-operative organisations, such as Co-operation North, which are set up to bring about greater understanding and trust, create a process which inevitably leads to an alteration in the very structures which cause conflict. This theme of the management of co-operation was highlighted by the Chairman of IPI, Brendan O'Regan, at the opening of the Conference - "...my essential intuition and conviction is that peace-building is more about management than it is about any other human discipline presently at our disposal."

## CHAPTER THREE: THE SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND: AREAS OF CO-OPERATION

This chapter elaborates on three areas of co-operation which were highlighted in the Conference - commerce, education and culture. These are just three examples of the many areas of human activity where interaction and intercommunication can break down barriers, create mutual interests and build understanding. The agreement on exchanges and co-operation in scientific, technical, educational, cultural and other fields, issued after the U.S./Soviet summit meeting of November 1985 is a significant illustration in this area.

## CHAPTER FOUR: "CONFLICT RESOLUTION OR CONFLICT REGULATION?"

Conflict - its nature, its causes, and its resolution - forms the theme of Chapter Four. The structural causes of conflict are emphasized, with particular reference to underdevelopment in the Third World. The chapter also focuses on protracted social conflict, and, in particular, on the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland.

## CHAPTER FIVE: PEACE ORGANISATIONS IN ACTION: TRANSFORMING CONFRONTATION INTO CO-OPERATION

Chapter Five illustrates peace-building in action through describing the reconciliation and peace-building work of five organisations, i.e.

The Miami Metropolitan Community Relations Board

Co-operation North

The Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security

The National Peace Institute Foundation



## The United States Institute of Peace

The formation of national peace institutes in both Canada and the United States attests to government initiatives in the areas of conflict resolution and peace-building.

### CONCLUSION

Through a number of future conferences and programmes, the IPI will continue the ongoing process of thinking about, searching and planning for new ways to build peace. The First International Conference on Peace-building set in motion this ongoing process, and gave the direction, inspiration and impetus for IPI's plan for future priority programmes.



## INTRODUCTION

### IRISH PEACE INSTITUTE

There is an increasing realisation today that mankind has the power to annihilate all human life, and that unless new and creative ways of dealing with conflict are found, there is a danger that this power will be unleashed. Against this background, and that of the tragic conflict in Northern Ireland, the Irish Peace Institute (IPI) was formed in October 1984 to explore new ways of building links between countries and communities presently divided by conflict, dangerous ideological differences, or war. The Irish Peace Institute, with its links to the National Institute for Higher Education and the University of Ulster, aims at peace-building at non-governmental levels through the management of co-operation in (1) developing mutual interests and (2) overcoming mutual threats. The IPI will act as a catalyst for co-operation, encouraging the building of economic, social, cultural and scientific links between societies, especially those societies in conflict. It is inspired by the example of Co-operation North, which has seven years practical experience of managing co-operation in business, community, youth and education areas. The IPI seeks to involve leading international experts to help discover new ways of building peace in Ireland and internationally.

In preparing for the First International Conference on Peace-building, the IPI was encouraged by the endorsement of its orientation by the President of the United States, given in a letter to the IPI's Chairman in 1985 in response to his paper "The Third Way: Through the Wandering Rocks":

"I strongly support your thesis that non-governmental pragmatic arrangements are critical to the reduction of sources of conflict."

At the official opening of the Irish Peace Institute's inaugural Conference, Frank Boland, Chairman of Aer Rianta - the Irish Airports Authority, welcomed the delegates to Shannon International Airport. Having referred to the innovative and enterprising development of Shannon brought about by international co-operation on many levels, he expressed his wishes for the IPI and the Conference:

"Perhaps from humble beginnings you too can achieve a real and lasting meeting of minds between East and West and, as in former years when Shannon was the hub of the shortest air route between the Old world and the New, it will again help to build a bridge for peace between all the nations of the globe."

### CONFERENCE ON PEACE-BUILDING

The aim of the Irish Peace Institute's inaugural Conference was to



brainstorm new methods of reducing conflict and building peace, and to consider organisational and funding arrangements which would expand non-political peace-building activities in Ireland and in other areas of conflict around the world.

The conference which took place from April 28 - May 3, 1986, was attended by about seventy participants (see Appendix 1) from U.S.A., Canada and Western Europe. It was acknowledged by many delegates that the international network of contacts which the Conference facilitated was very beneficial. The IPI intends to continue its contact with this valuable and supportive network. A number of useful suggestions were offered by delegates on the management of this inaugural Conference, which will be of value to IPI in planning of future conferences. The Conference brought together for the first time representatives from the United States Institute of Peace, the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, and the Irish Peace Institute.

The theme of the Conference was Peace-building and this was approached from a number of different angles. Emphasis was placed upon non-governmental contributions to the process of peace-building and there was therefore a particular concern with ideas and their dissemination throughout society - both the ideas that have locked particular communities in conflict and the perceptions which have a potentiality for understanding such situations and offering the possibility of surmounting them.

The Conference included papers that considered specific cases of communities in conflict. But these were set in the context of a purposeful search after solutions. The mix of participants, the thrust of the several papers, the climate of the Conference and its setting in a strife-torn island moved the Conference away from an academic diagnosis of conflict toward an action oriented consideration of ways in which a more peaceful world might be constructed.

Peace-building strategies were the subject of lengthy discussion and debate in the recognition that governments alone could not resolve international and inter-communal differences. Effort was directed toward establishing how ideas and institutions, with a peace-building orientation, could be actively created within society to outdo and ultimately displace those geared to conflict and warlike purposes. The Conference considered ways in which moves in this direction might be brought about through educational institutions, voluntary agencies, tourism and other cross-community and international industrial endeavours. The Conference was throughout imbued with an awareness that effective organization was an essential element in the building of peace, that society had options regarding the pursuits to which it might devote its energies and resources, that creative endeavours of every kind required commitment to ensure their success and that the purposeful effort developed in the course of the Conference should be carried forward toward new initiatives.

#### SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

The purpose of this Summary is to record the main themes which emerged



from the Conference. This document will be presented to participants for use, not only as a record of the Conference, but also to stimulate further research and work in areas covered in the Summary. This document will also be used as the basis for printed informational materials on the Irish Peace Institute and its activities.

The themes which are included in the Summary were selected in light of the theme of the Conference - Peace-building - and of the overall objectives of the Irish Peace Institute. The sources for the five chapters which comprise the Summary include all Conference papers (see Appendix 2), discussions held during the Conference, and feedback and comments submitted by delegates. In a few instances the content of a paper is relevant to more than one chapter and hence parts of the paper appear in different chapters. The IPI is solely responsible for selecting the themes and summarising the papers under those themes. In attempting to reach a happy medium between reproducing a paper in totality or simply alluding to it, undoubtedly justice has not been done to all of the author's ideas. It is for this reason that readers are referred to the full text of each Conference paper.

#### CONCLUSION

At the closing dinner of the Conference, (which was attended by Ambassadors from the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and Egypt), the Countess of Wicklow - a member of Co-operation North's Council - emphasized that the force and success of a new idea does not depend on the size of the nation putting it forward. The Chairman of the Irish Peace Institute emphasized that what is important is that new ideas should give hope and vision for the future, and should be vigorously implemented by good management and adequate resourcing.

This Summary aims to record the main ideas arising out of the Conference so that they can be expanded upon and implemented in the future.



It was noted that such liaisons could be useful in the process of fund-raising. There was also a suggestion that, coinciding with the U.S. exchange programme when students spend time in NIHE, Limerick and the University of Ulster, that university students from the U.S.S.R. would also spend time in Ireland.

A question arose as to the readiness of the B.A. students for the practical placement, and there was some discussion about the title - alternatives such as 'Peace and Development' being suggested. Finally the lack of funds for the peace studies courses was emphasized, and various suggestions were presented from the floor. These suggestions are noted in Chapter Two, under the discussion on fund-raising.

### Culture

During the Conference there were a number of concrete suggestions for peace-building activities in areas which fall into the broader definition of "culture." Such suggestions included co-operative activities based on the universal and "softening" language of the arts - music, poetry, art. Reference was made to the young people's musical - "Peace Child" - a joint U.S./U.S.S.R. production of which was achieved, through a "space-bridge", between Minneapolis and Moscow. A similar production was suggested for Ireland - North and South. The idea of a Peace Song Contest was also suggested and has already been used by some peace organisations. Sport was also highlighted as a vehicle for co-operation and peace-building. The co-operation already existing between Northern Ireland and the Republic was noted, as were the positive influences, such as the boost to morale and the nationwide celebration, which participation in sports achieves even in strife-torn countries.

### CONCLUSION

This chapter refers to three areas in which co-operation can fruitfully take place - commerce, education and culture. Though not discussed in detail, two other areas were alluded to during the Conference i.e. co-operative science, and world-wide communications utilizing improved telecommunications and satellite technology.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### "CONFLICT RESOLUTION OR CONFLICT REGULATION?"

#### INTRODUCTION

Although the theme of the Conference was "peace-building" and the emphasis of the Summary thus far has been on peace-building through co-operation, a number of the papers centred on the theme of conflict resolution. In his paper, Thomas Boudreau relates conflict resolution to co-operation in that "conditions for human co-operation are restored when conflict resolution occurs" and "the role of conflict resolution becomes the restoration of ongoing human co-operation."

The following papers are included in Chapter Four:

John Darby  
Paul Arthur  
Edward Azar  
Christopher Mitchell  
Keith Webb  
James O'Connell  
T.G. Fraser  
Stephen Ryan  
Juergen Dedring

The first two papers focus on the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland - the nature of, and controls on the level of conflict, and governmental attempts at its resolution (Darby, Arthur). In order to better understand the dynamics of the conflict in Northern Ireland, the scope of the enquiry is then broadened to include other conflicts. Protracted social conflicts around the world and particularly in the Third World are discussed, (Azar), followed by an analysis of local community conflict and effective means of resolution (Mitchell). Two further papers deal with the nature of, causes and factors involved in, and resolution of conflict, (Webb, O'Connell). Reference is made to attempts to resolve conflict in the Middle East (Fraser), and finally the role of the United Nations in managing and resolving conflict, (Ryan, Dedring). The chapter is titled "Conflict Resolution or Conflict Regulation?" Paul Arthur asks this question about Northern Ireland. In light of the number of protracted social conflicts around the world, perhaps one should, in the short run, be speaking of regulation rather than resolution.

#### SUMMARY OF PAPERS

##### John Darby

John Darby delivered a paper to the Conference entitled "The Controls on Conflict in Northern Ireland" in which he posed the question as to why the level of violence in Northern Ireland is not in fact a lot worse at present. Lasting conflicts with increased levels of segregation often



escalate in violence. Both these factors - the duration and polarisation - prevail in Northern Ireland but the level of violence has diminished rather than risen. One reason is that the form of violence has changed from sectarian rioting to a type of guerrilla war between republican paramilitaries and the British army. Furthermore, a major cause of the mass rioting has been removed in that minority families have been successfully intimidated out of communities. Some intimidation has been renewed, following the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Apart from the above two reasons - change in the form of violence and successful intimidation, Darby maintains that the main controls on violence lie within the communities. Because of having to share the same territory, over the years Protestants and Catholics have evolved mechanisms which have regulated the conflict. These mechanisms include avoidance, selective contact and functional integration. Violence has been avoided between Protestants and Catholics in some communities simply by avoiding each other. In more integrated communities where segregation is more difficult, the loyalty to a "common community" motivates the occupants to limit their hostility to set occasions such as processions or council meetings.

Where complete avoidance is not feasible, selective contact may be used to control conflict. Two people may feel free to associate under one circumstance, e.g. work, but not under another. Darby refers to this as "co-operation - but only up to a point." The value of such limited co-operation is that it allows people to change at their own speed.

Some groups in a community are more disposed or find it advantageous to co-operate. For instance, middle class Protestant and Catholic businessmen may find it economically feasible to co-operate and avoid civil disorder. This functional integration can also occur because of common interests. It has been shown that "reconciliation groups" are less successful at controlling conflict than such common interest groups.

Darby paints a picture of the full spectrum of intergroup relationships which prevail within Northern Ireland - from the "highly polarised, potentially violent relationship" to the one where there is "a high level of co-operation and interaction." The "ethnic magnet" tends to become stronger in times of tension, pulling people away from a more integrated existence at the "periphery" to the "centre" where contact with the other religious group is kept to a minimum.

Besides the three mechanisms which have evolved to control conflict, certain conditions prevail which also act as constraints on violence. These conditions include the fact that neither side is totally cohesive or united - it is more difficult for the conflict to expand when neither side can rely on complete support from their followers. Furthermore, both groups fear each other; this fact could lead to violence, but because of the fear of retaliation, it actually restrains violence.

#### Paul Arthur

Continuing the emphasis on Northern Ireland, Paul Arthur delivered a



paper entitled "The Anglo-Irish Agreement: Conflict Resolution or Conflict Regulation?" He highlights the complexity with which any political analyst of Northern Ireland is faced. Is this conflict based on religious, ethnic or class cleavages - or perhaps a clash of nationalisms?

Arthur reviews the main political events of Northern Ireland since 1920 when the Government of Ireland Act determined that it should remain in the United Kingdom with its own devolved legislature and executive in Stormont. This arrangement, however, did not establish a tradition of parliamentary political accommodation at inter-ethnic level and it left the people of Ulster lacking in the political skills necessary to solve their problems. During this period "the protection of minority rights was dubious," - areas such as the courts, security forces, voting, access to economic rewards and employment opportunities were cited as examples. Arthur looks at the failure of internal solutions which were attempted after the Stormont government was dissolved in 1972, and in particular the attempt at power-sharing in 1974. He highlights, in particular, political underdevelopment, arising in part from internal factionalism and intra-ethnic conflict, which hinders the solution of Northern Ireland's problems. He asks the question as to whether indigenous groups will be able to solve the conflict or should a third party, such as the U.N. be invited in. He points to the fact that policy makers have not understood the dynamics of ethnic conflict and thus have attempted "to impose one political culture on a society which operated under other values, beliefs and emotions." He notes, as John Darby did, that the importance which ethnic group members assign to their ethnicity can wax or wane with changing circumstance.

Referring to the latest attempt at a solution to the Northern Ireland problem - the Anglo-Irish Agreement, Arthur believes that "at last policy-makers have got it right," in that the Agreement has clearly identified the number of actors involved and their status in Northern Ireland. The Agreement has begun a process, with Britain and the Irish Republic acting as a third party, in an attempt to involve both sides of the conflict "in a common community." Criticizing the 1974 power-sharing attempt because it "held out illusions of pleasing everyone by tackling everything," Arthur suggests that in the short run all that can be hoped for is conflict regulation rather than resolution. Very few intense conflicts in divided societies are resolved in the short run. Regulation is the most that can be expected.

#### Edward Azar

In his Conference paper "The Management of Protracted Social Conflict," and in previous works, Edward Azar provides a detailed analysis of protracted social conflicts (PSC) which he claims are "stubborn and costly conflicts which become more debilitating when they prevail in poor and underdeveloped societies." For the purpose of this Summary, reference is made to one aspect of this analysis, i.e. the relation of underdevelopment to such conflicts.

Azar refers specifically to the Third World when discussing these



conflicts, which he sees as "extra-legal" attempts by minorities to assert their identity, and claim their rights to participation, justice and a fair share of economic benefits. Such attempts often resort to violent revolution and resistance, and become progressively more severe and intractable.

Azar believes that "conflict and underdevelopment are woven together in a manner as to make it difficult to manage and resolve either one of these absorbing processes." After World War II in many newly independent Third World countries high hopes and plans prevailed for socio-economic development, but unfortunately such hopes have not been fulfilled. The failure of such plans is attributed to political authoritarianism, economic weaknesses, population growth and world greed. Population growth, in particular, placed tremendous pressure on scarce resources and compounded underdevelopment. One unfortunate response to this economic situation has been the scapegoating of minorities - religious, ethnic or racial - blaming them for the deterioration in the quality of life rather than looking for the real causes. Such marginalised groups often react by having recourse to radicalism and religious fundamentalism.

The management of protracted social conflict requires a third party. Parties to the conflict are demoralised, immobilised and trapped in the conflict, and need an outsider to break the impasse and energise them by pointing to comparable experiences and possible solutions. Such third parties can help by utilising informal Track Two diplomacy combined with a firm agenda which focuses on solutions to protracted social conflict, such as development through institution building and participation. If violence is to end, the legitimate rights of individuals to participation and identity must be recognised by the State. In the Third World, peace and development go hand in hand.

#### Christopher Mitchell

"Peace-building in the Local Community" is the theme of Christopher Mitchell's paper. Establishing the context for his discussion he maintains that "conflicts seem to be an endemic feature of human societies and it is unlikely that history has ever (or will ever) see a society that is completely free of differences, disputes and conflicts." Identifying a society as "peaceful" does not mean that society is free of conflict but that it has achieved methods of handling conflict in a non-destructive, productive way and has a record of successfully handling conflicts in this way. The aim of peace-building is to enable societies to achieve such skills and to develop harmonious relationships.

Two methods of handling conflicts are then reviewed - the adversarial model and the joint problem solving model. The former involves procedures such as legal action, collective bargaining, or arbitration, and is based on solutions which involve winning, losing or compromising. The second model shifts the emphasis to solving a mutual problem, in a way that all parties involved will gain. The parties themselves devise the solution, rather than having a settlement imposed as in the



adversarial model.

Local communities in many countries have in recent years become dissatisfied with conventional ways of solving conflicts and have looked for "alternative dispute resolution processes." Invariably they have adopted a problem-solving type approach. Dispute settlement services are provided in many communities by commercial, academic or community institutions, applying problem solving methods to a variety of disputes such as between neighbours, or about environmental nuisances, e.g. noise. Mitchell maintains, however, that a community based, grassroots service is preferable - i.e. one that is run by members of the local community. This ensures that the activity arises from within the community, the solutions are "owned" by the community, and the process of peace-building is continuous.

The long term benefits to a local community of utilising a problem solving approach to its conflicts are that its members learn problem solving skills which can be applied in other personal or extra-community conflicts, local people become empowered to solve their own problems successfully, and finally, an alternative model for coping with disputes is presented. The latter can be an important benefit in developing positive attitudes in young people.

#### Keith Webb

Keith Webb explores some salient points about the nature, causes and resolution of conflict in his introduction to a research project entitled "Dimensions of Alienation, Discrimination and Conciliation in Northern Ireland."

Conflict exists when the parties perceive incompatibility of interests; such perception may, of course, be based in fact on discrimination or repression. Webb points out that it is a misconception to think that conflict is caused by misperception, misunderstanding and lack of communication. Rather, these are accompanying features of conflict, and they tend to sustain conflict in that they reinforce already existing divisions through simplification and stereotyping. It is extremely important in understanding a conflict to know what values are under dispute and their relative importance in the conflict.

In attempts to resolve conflicts, settlements which are the result of coercive bargaining or the intervention of an external power may simply "freeze" the conflict. Such settlements are useful in that the cost of conflict is lessened and it gives the parties a breathing space to look at more creative solutions. However if the original causes are not altered then the conflict is likely to re-emerge. Agreements between parties, Webb maintains, are likely to last in the long term if the parties freely choose the agreement and are satisfied with the values obtained. Webb comments on the role of a facilitator in conflicts and suggests that such a service is more likely to be accepted if the cost of the conflict is high, there is no way out of the situation and the likelihood of victory or defeat is low. Such a facilitator needs to be able to maintain the confidence of the parties and to keep alive the



idea that there are alternatives worth considering.

The value of conflict analysis is that there are similarities between all conflicts, and "the understanding of any one situation is enhanced by the insights drawn from other studies." Furthermore, understanding how conflicts are resolved provides a guide to options which may work in a given situation.

#### James O'Connell

In his paper "Conflict and Conciliation: A Comparative Approach Related to Three Case Studies: Belgium, Northern Ireland and Nigeria" James O'Connell discusses first the general factors found in most conflicts, then he looks at three case studies, drawing on them to add a more detailed analysis of the factors involved in conflict, and finally he deals with a set of suggestions for conciliation in group conflicts. This Summary will simply allude to some key conclusions made in this in-depth and wide-ranging analysis.

Initially he identifies three general factors underlying conflict. The first is "a problematic, socially strong and distinctive mark," such as language. The mark which bonds a group and which sets it in contrast to other groups is problematic because it is unacceptable to the other group(s). Secondly, there is some type of competition, or opposition present, usually centring around power, money or status. The distinctive mark provides an organising focus and boundary for preserving or fighting inequality. It may take rapid social change to awaken social perception and hence activate such competition/opposition. Finally, conflict in a society seldom occurs unless there is organisation to mobilise opposition so as to protect or secure group interests.

In a more detailed analysis of conflict, O'Connell looks at a number of structural and immediate factors which specify or condition the social competition. He discusses the following five structural factors:

- Relative population size and rates of demographic increase - concluding that "demography may add crucially to a conflict situation where groups are polarised and are equal or near/potentially equal in numbers. The existence of more than two groups seems to help in creating a more peaceful equilibrium."
- Values of tolerance - the level of political or other types of tolerance condition conflict.
- Distribution of political power - this is more critical when trust or confidence in the state do not exist.
- Access to the economic rewards of society - education enters into this factor by sensitizing deprived groups or raising consciousness.



- Pace and patterns of social change - insecurity and unpredictability are created by social change, often leading to lowered trust and communication and an increase of stereotyping, fear, dislikes and even hatred.

The immediate factors which affect a conflict situation are more psychological in nature and tend to condition conflicts in which the objective, structural factors are already operating. These immediate factors also prolong confrontation. These factors are categorised under inter-group relations, and community and wholeness. Under inter-group relations are included:

- Threats - either real or perceived - to economic possessions or prospects, to legitimate political representation, or to cultural values.
- Breakdown of communication - which may be compounded by such things as different languages or the use of double-talk.
- Breakdown in trust and confidence - a factor related to breakdown in communication.

Three aspects are included under community and wholeness, i.e.

- Impurity reaction - the existence of "outsiders" within a group's own boundaries - affecting the wholeness of the group.
- Stereotyping - this is a follow-on from lack of communication, competition and impurity reaction. Stereotyping concentrates on undesirable characteristics and prevents accurate perception of the other.
- Organisation on competitive lines - the mobilising of opposition.

In a final section of his paper entitled "Brokerage and Process" O'Connell discusses a set of suggestions for conciliation of intergroup conflicts. A few such suggestions are highlighted here:

- Although it is important to acknowledge that fear brings distortion of perception which may lead to violence, it is even more important to keep in mind the overall worth of normal humanity.
- Gaining a knowledge of other groups, and acknowledging differences contribute to conciliation.
- Leaders with confidence, courage and vision who can reassure their own group while being able to reach out to opposing groups are needed to transcend conflict.
- In the conciliation of conflict, the convergence and



criss-crossing of interests of conflicting groups is an advantage. Ultimately, of course, groups need to feel that their interests and cultural identities will be preserved.

- Reconciliation of economic interests, historical sentiments and ideological values is essential for peace. Without such reconciliation, especially of economic interests, mediation based on explaining groups to each other is insufficient.
- Process - rather than solution - is all important in dealing with intractable human problems. Such a process seeks "to confine or avoid conflict and to construct structures that enable groups to reconcile interests in continuing and often adjusting ways." The merit of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, O'Connell believes, lies in the fact that "it modestly confines itself to process."

#### T.G. Fraser

T.G. Fraser delivered a paper to the Conference entitled "Peace-building in the Middle East." He notes that since the end of the Second World War the Middle East is "one of the most dangerously unstable parts of the world," where "peace has always been fragile and often broken."

He reviews the three mechanisms which have been used to achieve peace, or at least the absence of war, i.e. direct negotiations between Israel and Arab adversaries, the intervention of the United Nations, and the intervention of the United States. All of these mechanisms have been unsuccessful to date in achieving peace. Fraser believes that the lack of political progress, of which violence is a symptom, will only be solved when the U.S. renews its commitment to peace in the Middle East, rather than just responding to terrorism.

#### Stephen Ryan

In his paper "Peace-building, Ethnic Conflict and the United Nations" - already alluded to in Chapter One - Stephen Ryan draws attention to the most pervasive form of conflict existing today - i.e. that between different cultural groups in a single state. Governments often seem unable to find peaceful solutions to such ethnic problems. Ryan examines how effectively the U.N. is able to act in such conflicts.

He adopts a three strand approach to peace promotion in his paper - i.e. peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building. These three strategies have been defined in Chapter One. He examines how effectively the U.N. is able to act in these three areas - using Cyprus as a concrete example.

Ryan concludes that the U.N. is an important body for peace-keeping, along with regional organisations. In the peace-building area he sees



the U.N. as just one among many bodies who can contribute. Other international agencies such as the E.E.C., and especially private bodies like Co-operation North, have promising roles to play in this area. The most disappointing aspect of the U.N. has been in the peace-making area. A more imaginative, creative approach is needed, he suggests, along the lines of the conflict resolution methods proposed by John Burton and Roger Fisher.

#### Juergen Dedring

Juergen Dedring's Conference paper entitled "Peace-building and the United Nations" examines the present roles of the Security Council, the Secretary General and General Assembly in peace-building, and presents a picture of how the U.N.'s role in peace-keeping and peace-building could be greatly strengthened, which ultimately could enable it to control the nuclear threat and other planetary issues.

Dedring envisages that the Security Council has the most potential for a strengthened peace-building role, although he also refers to the Secretariat and Assembly. This Summary will focus only on the Security Council. The most fruitful, pragmatic and realistic work of the Council tends to get done in the informal, private, more personal, more co-operative consultations among Council members, rather than in public sessions. The emergence of informal leaders who suggest ideas, and move them toward adoption and implementation is an important dynamic in overcoming impasses in peace and security work. The consultative work of the Council allows Member States who do not sit on Council to impact its decisions. Dedring believes that the non-aligned members or middle powers of sufficient neutral standing have the best opportunity to affect the Council's peace-building work, as the discord between the two superpowers limits their capacity to act as catalysts for peace. He calls for "a 'silent conspiracy' of those middle and small states to purposefully strive to activate the Council, to lead its discussions and to shape the framework for decision and implementation." These "middle power catalysts" should be well organised and co-ordinated and should have an unwritten agenda whereby they enliven deliberations and focus attention on the resolution of selected issues.

In the pursuit of a diplomacy of prevention, the Council could invite the parties to a conflict to meet in a private informal meeting. This type of meeting has potential for opening up lines of communication, increasing understanding and facilitating conciliatory moves. Such involvement could ease tension and lead to peaceful resolution of conflicts. The Council could also become a forum for negotiations, or send out teams to carry out inquiries or negotiation. In concluding, Dedring expresses the hope that activities of the U.N. will be turned to peace-building purposes, through the catalytic role of the middle powers together with a dynamic Secretary-General.

#### DISCUSSION

As Conference participants examined protracted conflicts around the



## DISCUSSION

Monsignor Walsh's paper emphasised two recurring themes during the Conference - the need for training and education in "waging peace" and the salience of structural causes of conflict, particularly the lack of economic opportunity. Leo Murray, a Conference participant, in a submission made to the Conference, also discusses the function of churches in enabling and encouraging people to re-organise economic and social systems on the basis of justice and in a non-violent way.

Following Robert Kidd's description of Co-operation North, this example of co-operative linkages in a part of the world plagued by protracted ethnic and sectarian conflict was used several times during the Conference as a paradigm for Track Two diplomacy in action. The hope was expressed that it would provide a valuable model for similar projects around the world in building peace between conflicting nations and groups.

In discussion following the presentations on the Canadian and United States institutes of peace, concern was expressed by delegates over the lack of representativeness of the all-white male board of USIP. Concern was also expressed that many of the board members are decidedly defense and deterrence oriented. It was felt, however, that it was healthy to have a mixture of orientations - the real test of new ideas lies in convincing the opposition, and it is in confronting such opposition that new thinking gets refined and elaborated. It was also noted that being placed in a role function - in this case, a board member in a Peace Institute - can in itself change attitudes. Two suggestions were offered during the Conference for activities for the Irish Peace Institute, relating to other peace organisations, i.e. that IPI participate in the National Peace Institute Foundation's Computer Conference, thus gaining access to information on a wide range of programmes, and that the IPI participate in the United States Institute of Peace Essay Contest for students in second-level schools.

## CONCLUSION

This final chapter dealt with some of the examples of peace-building in action described during the Conference. The Conference drew together for the first time three recently formed peace institutes - the Irish Peace Institute, the United States Institute of Peace, and the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security. During the Conference, the formation, objectives and activities of five organisations were described, including the U.S. and Canadian peace institutes.



## CONCLUSION TO "SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS"

This Summary of Conference Proceedings attempts to highlight the main themes which emerged from the Irish Peace Institute's First International Conference on Peace-building.

### PLAN OF ACTION FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS

The Irish Peace Institute plans to expand its "humble beginnings" - to which Frank Boland referred in opening the Conference - through its plan for a number of conferences and programmes. Although the plan of priority programmes for the next two years was drawn up after the Conference, its direction and impetus was inspired in no small measure by the Conference. Three priority programmes were identified and they are discussed briefly here. The "Staff Summary of the Strategic Plan (1986-1988)" gives more detail about these programmes.

#### International Co-operation Centre

As its initial project the International Co-operation Centre will manage a number of future conferences. As a follow-up for the First International Conference on Peace-building, these conferences will continue to explore new ways to build peace and will promote international links and co-operation in a variety of spheres - economic, social, cultural, educational, and technological. A unit has already been formed to begin work on the conference entitled "Tourism and Cultural Exchanges" to take place in May 1987. Following that the "Co-operation through Global Communications" conference is planned for autumn 1987. The International Co-operation Centre's operational principle is based on the formation of small units seconded from participating organisations to which work on specific projects will be delegated.

In addition to setting up managerial units to foster co-operation, it is envisaged that the International Co-operation Centre will establish an International Peace Pavillion, the aim of which is to promote economic, social, and cultural co-operation between participating countries, including between East and West, through attracting international exhibits of both an economic and artistic nature. There is already a Peace Exhibit on display in Shannon Airport that can be expanded, and can become the basis for ongoing exhibits at a Peace Pavillion.

#### Peace Education in Ireland

The second priority effort of the IPI is the promotion of peace education, and management training in Ireland. Included in this programme is the initiative with the National Institute for Higher Education and the University of Ulster in the planning of a Master's degree programme in Peace Studies. The University of Ulster is already involved in a B.A. programme in Peace Studies, innovative research and community involvement related to conflict resolution and reconciliation.



# B.A. IN PEACE STUDIES

## Curriculum Outline

### Year One

### Year One

- |          |    |                                 |    |                                |
|----------|----|---------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| 1st Year | 1. | INTRO. TO PEACE STUDIES         | 4. | INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE |
|          | 2. | POLITICAL THEORY AND IDEOLOGIES | 5. | THE HISTORY OF POLITICS        |
|          | 3. | INTRO. SOCIOLOGY                | 6. | INTRO. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY       |

- |          |    |                               |     |                           |
|----------|----|-------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| 2nd Year | 7. | THE HISTORY OF MODERN IRELAND | 10. | NON-VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT |
|          | 8. | PEACE AND CO-OPERATION        | 11. | PEACE AND CONFLICT        |

## APPENDIX THREE

### PROGRAMMES OF STUDY: B.A. AND M.A. IN PEACE STUDIES

- |          |     |  |     |                    |
|----------|-----|--|-----|--------------------|
| 2nd Year | 12. | CONFLICT, COEXISTENCE AND PEACE IN IRELAND |     |                    |
|          | 13. | INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION                |     |                    |
|          | 14. | CONFLICT RESOLUTION                        |     |                    |
| 3rd Year | 15. | WORLD CRISIS PREVENTION                    | 17. | PEACE AND CONFLICT |
|          | 16. | PEACE AND CONFLICT                         | 18. | PEACE AND CONFLICT |
|          | 17. | PEACE AND CONFLICT                         | 19. | PEACE AND CONFLICT |
|          | 18. | PEACE AND CONFLICT                         | 20. | PEACE AND CONFLICT |
|          | 19. | PEACE AND CONFLICT                         | 21. | PEACE AND CONFLICT |
|          | 20. | PEACE AND CONFLICT                         | 22. | PEACE AND CONFLICT |



## B.A. IN PEACE STUDIES

### Curriculum Outline

	Term One	Term Two
1st Year	1. INTRO. PEACE STUDIES 2. POLITICAL THEORY AND IDEOLOGIES 3. INTRO. SOCIOLOGY	4. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS 5. THE ACTIVITY OF POLITICS 6. INTRO. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
2nd Year	7. THE POLITICS OF NORTHERN IRELAND 8. INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND CO-OPERATION 9. THE SOCIOLOGY OF ETHNIC AND RACIAL CONFLICT	10. MORALITY AND CONFLICT 11. INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT 12. COMPUTER METHODS IN HISTORY
3rd Year	13. CONFLICT, COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY IN IRELAND 14. INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION 15. ORGANISATION STUDIES	PLACEMENT (20 Weeks)
4th Year	16. WORLD ORDER PROBLEMS 17. CULTURAL MINORITIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN WESTERN EUROPE 18. DISSERTATION	19. SUPERPOWER RELATIONS 20. POLITICS OF DIVIDED SOCIETIES 21. PARTITION IN MODERN HISTORY



DIPLOMA/M.A. IN PEACE STUDIES

to be offered jointly by

THE UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER and NIHE, LIMERICK

ALL STUDENTS

FULL TIME STUDENTS

PART TIME STUDENTS

CONCEPT AND  
METHODS IN  
PEACE STUDIES

CASE STUDY OF  
A DIVIDED SOCIETY  
Belgium-Field Trip

SPECIAL TOPIC IN  
THE STUDY OF  
DIVIDED SOCIETIES

Choose One:

Education  
Religion  
Housing  
Employment  
Administration  
Trade Unions  
Cultural  
Institutions

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT  
AND  
CONFLICT RESOLUTION

RECONCILIATION,  
INTEGRATION AND  
ETHNIC LOYALTIES  
IN WESTERN EUROPE  
SINCE WORLD WAR II

Taught at NIHE  
Limerick

THE STUDY OF  
DIVIDED SOCIETIES

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
IN  
DIVIDED SOCIETIES

ALL M.A. STUDENTS

DISSERTATION