

Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means

the transcend method



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United Nations Disaster Management Training Programme

Participants' Manual

Trainers' Manual

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Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (the Transcend Method)

Participants' Manual

Trainers' Manual



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About the Author

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A summary of the approach

This summary follows the logic of the Table of Contents. There is another summary, "The Transcend Method at a Glance".

Conflict workers

I. The conflict workers (peace workers) apply for membership in the conflict formation as outside parties. Credentials: as fellow human being, bringing in general conflict knowledge and skills, with compassion and perseverance, and no hidden agendas.

Dialogue

II. Dialogue exploring the conflict, with one party at the time, is the tool; with no effort to "win"/persuade, but an ongoing brainstorming process, sharing time, questioning and answering equally, being honest, outspoken, tactful, careful and "normal". Respect for the conflict dialogue partners is essential: for them the conflict is deadly serious, they have suffered, are often highly educated, knowledgeable, experienced, but trapped in and by the conflict, seeing no way out. In return, demand respect/equality from them, as condition for joint, good work. For conflict/peace workers to be genuinely new to a conflict avoid specialization on conflict parties and issues. Aim at quality of dialogue, and involvement, not only "high level" (nos. 3-5 from above may be useful); treat everybody well regardless of level; each one of many dialogues is the dialogue. The setting can be anywhere, also "high level" offices, but open-ended time is best. Avoid recording/notes, unless agreed.

Conflict theory

III. Conflict Theory: conflict both as Destroyer and Creator, as potentially dangerous both now and in the future because of violence and as a golden opportunity to create something new.

Conflict practice

IV. Introduce empathy, nonviolence, creativity into conflict practice: understanding conflict partners from the inside, feeling their logic, identifying valid goals and nonviolent approaches to attain them, eliciting from all parties joint creativity to find ways of transcending the incompatibilities.

Violence theory

V. Violence theory: Direct, structural and cultural violence, hurting directly, indirectly, and the culture that justifies.

Violence practice

VI. Violence practice: Identify roots of violence in cultures, structures, actors and untransformed conflicts; early warnings.

Transformation

VII. There is no alternative to transformation: changing violent attitudes/behavior, applying creativity to contradictions.

Peace dialogues

VIII. Peace dialogues: explore diagnosis, prognosis, and therapy together. Avoid linearity, keep dialogue flowing back and forth. Sequence: past therapy (what went wrong when, what could have been done) — prognosis — diagnosis — future therapy. Sow seeds, ideas. Expose old codes of state-system/nation-system; positive images for Conflict the Creator and negative images for Conflict the Destroyer; emphasizing joint roles in developing new codes; preparing parties for some day meeting "at the table".

Conflict transformation

IX. Conflict transformation can then, in principle, happen at all levels of conflict, global, social, and inter/intra-personal (macro, meso, micro).

Peace transformation

X. Peace transformation also presupposes a peaceful context as provided by peace education/journalism, the continuation of the work after violence, and readiness to reopen peace agreements.

A Flow Chart

The manual consists of 50 units divided into ten blocks of five units; separated in the Table of Contents.

I	CONFLICT WORKERS	5 units	1-5
II	DIALOGUE	5 units	6-10
III	CONFLICT THEORY	5 units	11-15
IV	CONFLICT PRACTICE	5 units	16-20
V	VIOLENCE THEORY	5 units	21-25
VI	VIOLENCE PRACTICE	5 units	26-30
VII	TRANSFORMATION	5 units	31-35
VIII	PEACE DIALOGUE	5 units	36-40
IX	CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION	5 units	41-45
X	PEACE TRANSFORMATION	5 units	46-50

I

First, conflict workers are introduced, with personal and social profiles, exploring relations to the conflict parties.

II

Then follows the major conflict worker tool, the dialogue, as conversation, brain-storming; very different from debate.

III

Conflict is introduced by exploring such basic concepts in conflict theory as attitudes, behavior and contradiction.

IV

This is related to the conflict worker through conflict practice concepts like empathy, nonviolence and creativity.

The Transcend Method at a glance: a one-page version

Basic Premise I

following Hindu thought, remember:

Conflict the Destroyer and **Conflict the Creator**; conflict as a source of violence and conflict as a source of development. The conflict worker has the third role as **Preserver**, transforming the conflict by avoiding violence, promoting development.

Basic Premise II

following Buddhist thought, remember:

Codependent origination, everything grows together in mutual causation. Conflicts have no beginning and no end, we all share the responsibility; no single actor (like statesmen) carries all the responsibility (monopoly) and no single actor carries all the guilt.

Basic Premise III

following Christian thought, remember:

Ultimately, the responsibility for conflict transformation lies with individuals and their individual responsibility and decisions to act so as to promote peace rather than violence, and the principle of hope.

Basic Premise IV

following Daoist thought, remember:

Everything is yin and yang, good and bad, there is the high likelihood that the action chosen also has negative consequences and that action not chosen may have positive consequences; hence the need for reversibility, only doing what can be undone.

Basic Premise V

following Islamic thought, remember:

The strength deriving from submitting together to a common goal, including the concrete responsibility for the well-being of all.

Basic Premise VI

following Judaic thought, remember:

The truth lies less in a verbal formula than in the dialogue to arrive at the formula, and that dialogue has no beginning and no end.

These points from world religions have inspired the following process:

- 1 Map the conflict formation: all parties, all goals, and all issues;
- 2 Bring in forgotten parties with important stakes in conflict;
- 3 Have highly empathic dialogues with all parties singly;
- 4 Each conflict worker may specialize on one conflict party;
- 5 In these dialogues identify acceptable goals in all parties;
- 6 Bring in forgotten goals that may open new perspectives;
- 7 Arrive at over-arching goals acceptable to all parties;
- 8 Arrive at short, evocative, goal-formulations;
- 9 Help define the tasks for all parties with that goal in mind;
disembedding the conflict from where it was,
embedding it elsewhere,
bringing in forgotten parties, goals;
- 10 Verify how realizing that goal would realize parties' goals;
- 11 Help parties meet "at the table" for self-sustaining process;
- 12 Withdraw from the conflict, go on to the next, being on call.

The Transcend Method at a glance: an example

The Lima Hostage Crisis: A Possible Conflict Transformation

The takeover of the Japanese Embassy in Lima, Peru, took place 17 December 1996. There are at least six parties to the conflict, and their main goals appeared to be as follows:

- 1** **Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement,**
MRTA (14 guerrillas);
 - release of up to 450 MRTA prisoners (ultimately reduced to 30)
 - to continue the armed struggle, “from the jungle”.

- 2** **The remaining 72 Captives** (the others were released),
 - to be released, unharmed.

- 3** **The Peruvian Government** (President Fujimori),
 - not to yield to terrorism, not releasing prisoners,
 - release of the captives, unharmed.

- 4** **The MRTA prisoners,**
 - to be released,
 - to continue the struggle.

- 5** **The US Government,**
 - that Peru’s government, in fact nobody,
 - yields to terrorism,
 - release of the captives, unharmed.

- 6** **The Japanese Government,**
 - release of the captives, unharmed,
 - respect for Japanese extraterritorial rights,
 - no violence.

- Forgotten Actors,**
 - “Peruvian society” in search of ways to abolish misery,
 - “World public opinion” in favor of all the above.

The overarching goal could be reducing/abolishing misery, and if all parties yield a little they could all find their place:

- 1** **Tupac Amaru MRTA** disarms, joins the political process in a democratic society, with access to media and elections.
- 2** The **captives** are released, finding ways in which they could contribute to misery abolition.
- 3** **The Peruvian Government** improves prison conditions and shortens sentences, giving training in village/social work, accepts MRTA as a nonviolent movement, and steps up misery abolition.
- 4** **The MRTA prisoners** accept training in the prisons as village workers/social workers, and pledge to disarm.
- 5** **The US Government** makes funding/expertise available for misery abolition projects.
- 6** **The Japanese Government** makes funding/expertise available for misery abolition projects, and holds future Emperor's Birthday receptions at multi-exit hotels.

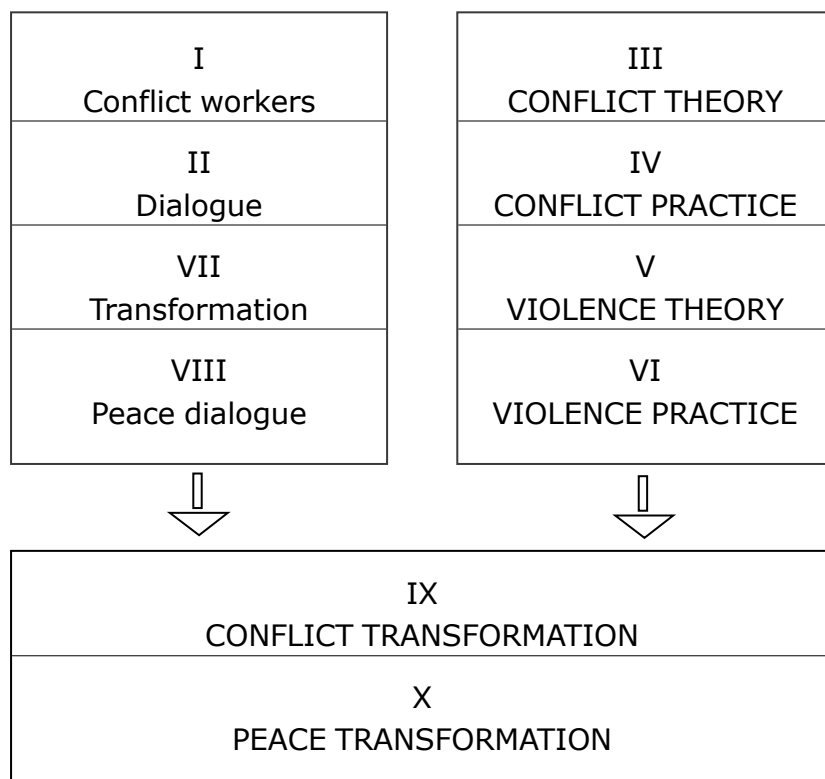
To achieve this four bilateral talks would also be useful:

- A** Direct negotiations between MRTA and Peruvian government.
- B** Direct negotiations between Prisoners and the Government.
- C** Captives and Prisoners meet and form joint pressure group.
- D** MRTA and Captives conduct dialogues on Peruvian society.

And mediators trusted by the parties (Fidel Castro, the Pope).
And pressure from "Peruvian society" and "World Public Opinion".

- V** As violence may enter, basic concepts in violence theory like direct, structural and cultural violence are explored.
- VI** This is related to the conflict worker through violence practice in diagnosis, prognosis and early warning.
- VII** The central thesis is that in order to prevent violence, and develop the creative potential of a conflict, there has to be transformation, the meaning of which is then explored.
- VIII** To bring about this the conflict worker proceeds to a focused peace dialogue; including a socio-analysis.
- IX** The goal of the whole Exercise, conflict transformation, is explored at global, social and inter/intra-personal levels.
- X** For peace transformation the conflict context has to be brought in through such measures as education and journalism.

The manual moves on two tracks. One track brings in the conflict worker, the dialogue tool and the transformation task; the other track focuses on conflict and violence, in theory and practice. The two tracks meet in conflict and peace transformation.



Points for the trainer; with a flow chart*

(*Of course, the trainer/resource person and the participant may be the same person, engaging in self-training.)

- 1 A suitable point of departure may be the Flow Chart (page 4) giving structure to the Table of Contents. Use both as transparencies, asking the participants to trace arrows on the Table of Contents. The basic point is the distinction between “the problem” — conflict and violence — the bottom track, and the upper track, “what to do about it” — dialogue, dialogue for peace, transformation — ending with conflict and peace transformation. To this could then be added A Summary of the Approach, as a transition to:
- 2 The one page version, The Transcend Method at a Glance, with real life examples. As an example of an example, the exercise that was used when this manual was tested in 1997 is included: The Lima Hostage Crisis. It ended with the attack on April 22, 1997, 126 days later, liberating all but one of the hostages, killing all the Tupac Amaru, at the loss of two of the commandos. The point about the exercise is to have an alternative vision of what might have happened, given that few seem to have been really happy about the outcome. The example serves to illustrate the distance between some current practices, and more desirable processes and outcomes. To what extent that process/outcome would also have been feasible is a good discussion topic. The trainer might like to add or substitute another example to get a good discussion going.
- 3 Conflict Theory and Practice: A Perspective is the basic introductory document. Use transparencies for the Phase I–III Diagram often, with reference to the tasks in each phase.
- 4 Creativity, Transcendence and Conflict Transformation can be discussed anywhere during the training, but particularly in connection with Units 19, 20, 34 and 45.
- 5 The bulk of the Trainer’s Manual is the commentary with Exercises on the bulk of the Participants’ Manual: the 50 Units. The **Participants’ Manual** is to the left, and the **Trainers’ Manual** to the right for each unit.

6

A happy message: there is a short, only 15 units, version of the manual: Units 1, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, 16, 22, 38, 46-50. This introduces conflict workers and dialogues (2 units each), conflict theory (3 units) and conflict practice (1 unit), then violence theory (1 unit), peace dialogues (1 unit) and ends with peace transformation (all 5 units). You might like to try this first, and then add the other units.

7

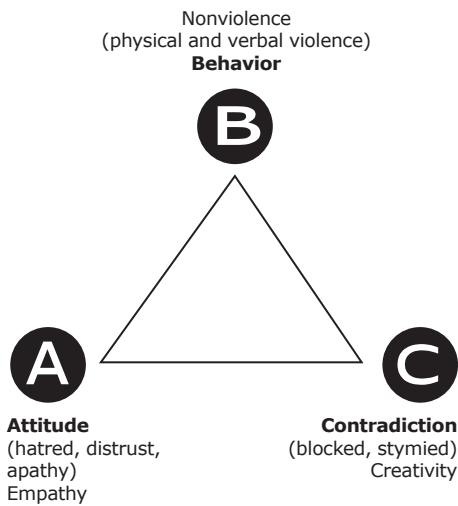
Estimates of time needed for the TRANSCEND Method training:

- the long version, unabridged: two sessions a day for one week; covering one block each session, spreading introductory material.
- the short version, abridged: four sessions over two days; one for introductory material, then five units for each session.
- the mini-version, two sessions, "The Transcend Method at a glance: a two-page version", with an example; and "Points for the trainer", with a flow chart.
- the micro-version, one session only, "The Transcend Method at a glance: a one-page version", with an example. Hopefully participants will read more.

8

Two Tales: About Camels, Numbers and Many Things: Any time!

Conflict theory and practice: a perspective



A **conflict** has its own life cycle; almost like something organic. It appears, reaches an emotional, even violent climax, then tapers off, disappears — and often reappears. There is a logic: — individuals and groups (such as nations and states) have goals:

- goals may be incompatible, exclude each other, like two states wanting the same land, or two nations wanting the same state;
- when goals are incompatible a **contradiction**, an issue, is born;
- any actor/party with unrealized goals feels frustrated and more so the more basic the goal, like basic needs and basic interests;
- frustration **may** lead to aggression, turning inward as **attitudes** of hatred, or outward as **behavior** of verbal or physical violence;
- hatred and violence **may** be directed toward the holders of the goals standing in the way, but it is not always that "rational";
- violence is intended to harm and hurt (including oneself), and **may** breed a spiral of counter-violence as defense and/or revenge;
- that spiral of hatred and violence becomes a meta-conflict (like meta-stasis relative to cancer), over the goals of preserving and destroying.

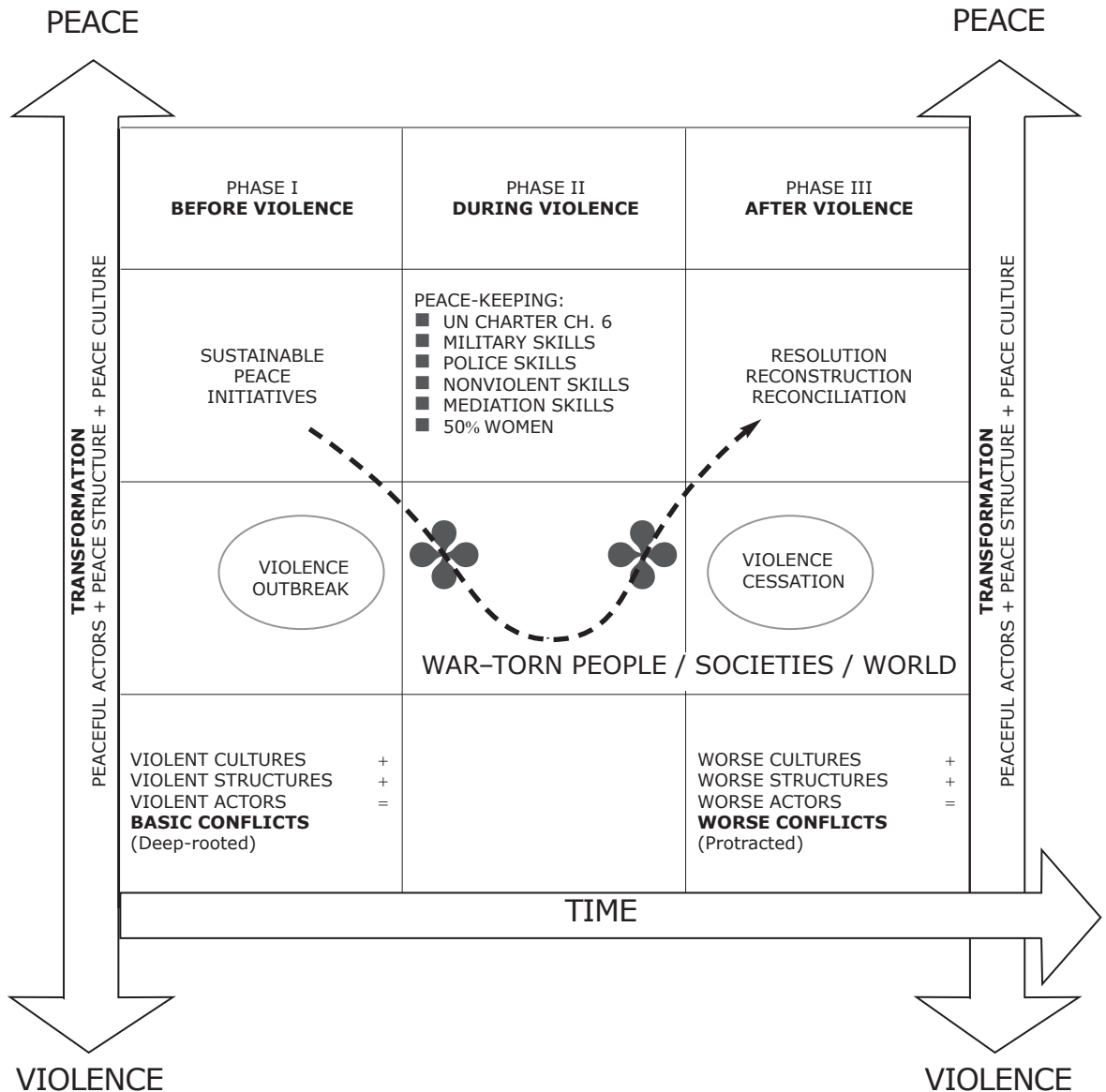
In this way, a conflict may almost get eternal life, vexing and waning, disappearing and reappearing. The original, root, conflict recedes into the background like when Cold War attention focused mostly on such means of destruction as nuclear missiles.

Conflicts may combine, in series or parallel, into complex conflict formations with many parties and many goals, because the same parties and/or the same goals are involved. The elementary conflict formation with **two** parties pursuing **one** goal is rare, except for pedagogical purposes, or as the polarized products of hatred and violence leading to simplified conflict formations. The normal conflict has **many** actors, **many** goals and **many** issues, is complex, not easily mapped, yet that mapping is essential.

Life-cycle of a conflict

The **life-cycle** of a conflict may be divided into three phases, before violence, during violence and after violence, separated by outbreak and cease-fire. This does not imply that violence is unavoidable, or that conflict = violence/destruction.





The Diagram may look formidable, but is actually quite simple. On the horizontal axis is time, in the Greek sense of *khronos*, time that flows, physical time. But then there are two *kairos* points, time that stops, time that punctuates the flow of time: the outbreak of violence and the cessation of violence, the cease-fire. No doubt these are important events.

But there was also conflict before the violence broke out. Four foci for conflict work have been indicated: violent cultures that legitimize violence, like *machismo*; violent structures that exploit, repress and alienate people; violent actors, bullies, with no concern for the hurt and harm these three cause; and: how they combine into basic conflicts that are in addition left unattended.

The Table then indicates **what to do** in the three phases. This manual focuses on Phase I, with some remarks on II and III.

I. Before violence

To describe this as the “prevention” phase to avoid violence is very cynical. A basic conflict is enough reason in itself for serious attention. People are already suffering. Moreover, a conflict is also an invitation for the parties, the society, the whole world to move ahead, taking the challenge presented by the issues head-on, with an attitude of **empathy** (with all parties), **nonviolence** (also to stop the meta-conflicts from developing) and **creativity** (to find ways out).

The task is to transform the conflict, upwards, positively, finding positive goals for all parties, imaginative ways of combining them, and all of this without violence. **It is the failure to transform conflicts that leads to violence.** Each act of violence can be seen as a monument to that human failure.

The diagram suggests four foci for conflict work in Phase I Violence may be rooted in violent cultures that justify violence; in violent structures (of repression, exploitation and alienation, of keeping apart people who want to be together or too close those who want to be apart); and in violent actors attracted by violence (to show prowess, to gain power) and by hatred (to build their own identity against other groups). As hatred and dispositions to violence increase, empathy, nonviolent approaches and creativity are even more needed, but in a deeply polarized conflict formation such talents are given less chance. However, never forget the conflict, those goals that stand in each other’s way. Those conflicts bring together the violent cultures, the violent structures and the violent actors; any inattention carries increased harm and hurt in its wake.

A concrete example: Turkish “foreign workers” (often they are German citizens), in Germany. A minimum four-foci program:

A focus on
the cultures

We are generally speaking of cultures of hard nationalism, demanding “Germany for Germans, Turkey for Turks”; and cultures of violence: conflicts are not to be solved, in a way satisfactory to all parties, they are there to be won. To challenge such cultures is necessary, but will take much time. Missing peace cultures have to be substituted.

A focus on
structures

There is usually a combination of exploitation and excessive closeness. Missing peace structures, like a Council for Intergroup Relations where nations can meet and solve issues before they become even more intractable because of violence spirals, will have to be introduced.

A focus on
actors

Sometimes they can be identified because they themselves announce their readiness to use violence. Take them seriously, engage them in dialogues about all aspects of the situation. Neglecting them will make them more intractable. If violence

A focus on the conflicts

occurs then a judicial process keeping them in prisons is insufficient. The dialogue has to continue, if not with victims or their families, then with others of the same nation.

The issues may include scarcity of schooling, housing and jobs, and threats to identity. Obviously, any country's capacity to receive foreigners has an upper limit. A ceiling is not necessarily a concession to hard nationalism, nor is increasing a country's capacity a concession to pressure from the outside.

An identity based on hard nationalism is more problematic. In our shrinking world there is only room for soft nationalisms, filled with respect and curiosity about the Other, and with capacity to enter into a dialogue.

The general task is clear: to bend the conflict process upward, into the "peace region", by making cultures, structures and actors more peaceful so that conflicts can be handled without violence. The whole conflict syndrome is transformed and embedded in the upper half of the Table, where it should be.

Concretely a focus on peaceful cultures may bring in **the human rights tradition**, and the focus on peace structures calls upon **the democratic tradition**. Both are useful examples of broader approaches. But they are not unproblematic, for instance because of cultural differences. They fit better in Western I-cultures with high emphasis on individualism, individual rights and individual minds, voting in elections and then being counted for majority rule. They fit less in we-cultures with high emphasis on groups (clans, tribes, nations), collective rights and dialogues to consensus.

A focus on peaceful actors may bring in more women, and more actors in the religious/intellectual or merchant traditions, less in the aristocratic/warrior tradition. This may serve to mobilize sufficient empathy, nonviolence and creativity to transform the conflict; whether this comes about through dialogues with all parties separately, or through direct dialogues, "at the table".

Structural violence may be as bad as, or worse than, direct violence. People die or lead miserable lives because they are politically repressed, economically exploited or deprived of the freedom to be close to those with whom they identify or forced to be close to those they do not like. To refer to this as "early warning" of direct violence to come is, as mentioned, cynical and disrespectful of the suffering already there. The direct violence should be seen as **too late** warning of unbearable structural and cultural conditions, exploited by cynical actors.

But the MDCs originally developed by producing themselves, as import-substitution. Imports to reduce the deficits become

like transplants that may not take hold and are rejected after some time. And any import means more resources for some people and less for others. Conflicts are bound to arise; and the friction and possible violence may more than cancel any material gains made because of inattention to culture and structure.

The widely recognized *Human Development Report* by UNDP measures a wide variety of factors — including: economy, consumption, health, education, gender, environment, access to communication and information, military spending and food security — to arrive at an overall comparison of human development globally. This laudable report, however, does not consider measures of social peace: whether persons in the countries examined live in fear of direct violence: from representatives of the state (e.g. violent police or judicial system which authorizes capital punishment); from their neighbors (e.g. ethnic conflict and crime rate); or family members (e.g. tolerance of violence against women). The 1998 edition has an index of state accession to human rights instruments, but no measures of compliance. To measure “freedom from fear”, it may be useful to consider rates of imprisonment, violent crime and intra- and inter-national military aggression.

A more basic definition of development may read as follows:

development is the building of conflict transformation capacity.

Reduce cultural violence through work done in schools, deglorifying and demystifying violence, adding how to handle conflicts with empathy, nonviolence and creativity.

Reduce structural violence through the 1966 human rights conventions against repression (political and civil rights) and exploitation (economic, social and cultural rights).

This is not a substitute for the economic development mentioned above. But after some cultural and structural reconstruction a society may be ready for more meaningful economic development. Projects that could improve the livelihood of millions could be better rooted. So Phase I should include the 3 R's, resolution, reconstruction, and reconciliation, not waiting for violence to strike, or for violence to end.

II. During violence

During violence, the primary task, is of course, to stop the violence, because it is bad in itself, and because it makes the original conflict more intractable. First some reflections on why human beings make the Phase I to Phase II transition.

The first answer comes out of the original, root, conflict: violence is used to incapacitate the other party(ies) so as to impose one's own goals. This is sometimes called a "military solution", an oxymoron if the word "solution" means "acceptable".

The second answer also comes out of the original conflict but is less rational: aggression because of frustration, of being blocked by somebody; violence out of hatred.

The third answer comes out of meta-conflict logic: conflict as an opportunity to gain honor and glory by winning; and to show courage and gain honor and dignity through violence even when not winning.

The fourth answer also comes out of the meta-conflict: violence as revenge for violence suffered, now or in the past.

These are four important reasons to be taken very seriously. At no point, however, is there any assumption to the effect that violence is in human nature, like the drives for food and sex. The latter are found all over where there are humans, in space and time. The drives may be suppressed, but that only proves the point about their universality. Violence is there all the time as a potential, but that potential is only activated when:

- a basic conflict is left unattended (a negative cause!), without empathy, nonviolence and/or creativity, to impose an outcome, or out of frustration; or
- the culture justifies the transition from conflict to meta-conflict as an opportunity to win, gaining honor through violence; or justifies violence as a compensation for violence.

The conclusion is clear: basic conflicts, like basic wounds, should not be left unattended, nor should violence be justified.

However, violence does not last and spread forever; if it did there would be no humans around. Violence abates, for instance because belligerents run out of:

- means of destruction (hardware/weapons, software/people);
- targets to destroy (material, people);
- willingness to destroy (less "fighting spirit", more disgust);
- the hope of winning; the parties predict the same outcome.

Waiting for this to happen, "they are fed up, ready for the table", means sacrificing people, in our era women and children. Rather, these are four ways of terminating violence: through embargoes on weapons and mercenaries; evacuating people and removing targets (scorched earth tactics); demoralizing soldiers by clarifying visible and invisible consequences of violence so as to induce conscientious objection; pointing out that in the longer run all parties lose because of the spiraling violence.

But there is also the fifth possibility of intercession between the parties. If the concern is with **peace by peaceful means** this opens for Chapter 6, but not for Chapter 7, operations under the UN Charter. What is suggested in the Table is that peacekeeping operations could be improved by calling on expertise not only in the means of violence and the military mentality, but also in police skills, nonviolence skills and mediation skills.

Since women would tend to relate more to people than to hardware they could perhaps constitute 50% of the units. Moreover, the numbers should be vastly increased. In short, a blue carpet of peace-keepers, not only blue helmets, should be created that is so dense that there is little space left for fighting. This peacekeeping would not wait till the violence is "over", but would also include the "3 Rs": reconstruction, reconciliation and resolution. Recasting the definition of peacekeeping to include more than only the "blue helmets" recognizes the contribution to peace made by countless actors in local, national and international NGOs, civil society organizations, journalists and political actors. Financial cost of increasing civilian involvement in peacemaking and peacekeeping is significantly less than the cost of international military and police involvements. (In the Somalia operation, the military security expenditures were estimated at 10 times the civilian humanitarian inputs.)

III. After violence

Reconstruction After Violence: An Overview

Reconciliation After Violence: An Overview

After violence, the relief that violence is over may make people blind to the invisible, long-lasting consequences of violence (such as traumas and desire for more glory and revenge), and blind to how cultures, structures and actors may have become even more violent. The task is more difficult and more complex than before the violence. The mere task of **reconstruction** after the violence, rehabilitating the wounded and rebuilding after material damage, may be so difficult that **reconciliation** to solve the meta-conflict and **resolution** to solve the original, underlying conflicts are forgotten or postponed, even forever.

The tasks to be engaged in are formidable:

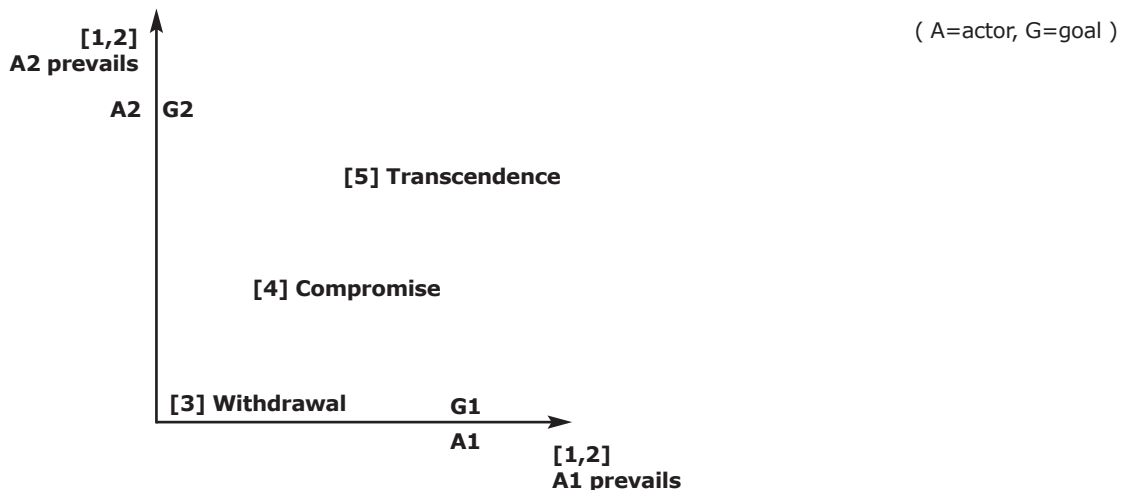
- Rehabilitation: the trauma and collective sorrow approach
 - Rebuilding: the development approach
 - Restructuration: the peace structure approach
 - Reculturation: the peace culture approach
-
- The exculpatory nature—structure—culture approach
 - The reparation/restitution approach
 - The apology/forgiveness approach
 - The theological/penitence approach
 - The juridical/punishment approach
 - The codependent origination/**karma** approach
 - The historical/truth commission approach
 - The theatrical/reliving approach
 - The joint sorrow/healing approach
 - The joint reconstruction approach
 - The joint conflict resolution approach
 - The world is poorly equipped for most of these tasks.
 - The **ho’o pono pono** approach

There is an “Executive Outcomes” for violence, but not for undoing violence. And there is a simple reason why this is so important. The expression “after violence” is too optimistic. Do nothing about the roots of a basic conflict, no conflict transformation, and the violence will be reproduced when the horrors of the last violence are no longer in conscious, “only” in the subconscious memory. And “after violence” easily becomes “before violence”.

Conflict Outcomes and Conflict Processes

Exercise: a table, on the table an orange, two kids seated at the table; what happens? As many ideas as possible, please! And don't be arrogant, most people manage at most 8 of 16:

Figure 1 : Conflict — The five basic outcomes



The diagram (see Unit 14 below) presents the five general **types** of outcomes in a conflict with two parties. Here [1] and [2] are the same; they both mean that one party prevails. In a concrete conflict each general type has several **specific** interpretations:

- [1,2] **One Party Prevails**
 - The Rule of Man:** Fight it out, might is right (**to be avoided**)
 - The Rule of Law:** Adjudicate, some principle (like need, taste)
 - The Rule of Chance:** Some random method
 - Compensation:** Broadening (triangle), deepening (double conflict)
- [3] **Withdrawal**
 - Walk away from the situation**
 - Destroy or give away the orange**
 - Just watch the orange**
 - Put it in the freeze**
- [4] **Compromise**
 - Cut the orange**
 - Squeeze the orange**
 - Peel the orange; divide the slices**
 - Any other division**
- [5] **Transcendence**
 - Get one more orange**
 - Get more people to share the orange**
 - Bake an orange cake, have a lottery, divide the proceeds**
 - Sow the seeds, make plantation, take over the market**

Basic Thesis: The more alternatives, the less likely the violence

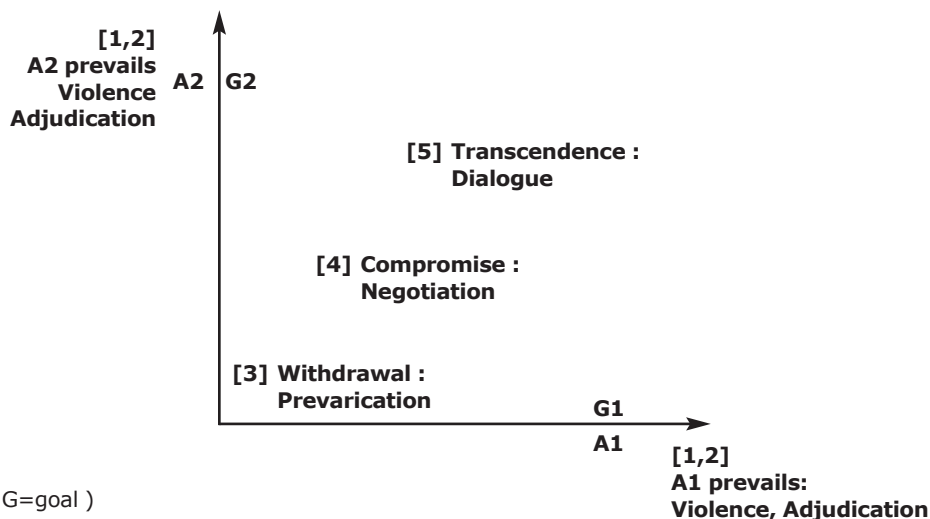
The Transcend method is biased in favor of transcendence, trying to go beyond, “disembedding” the conflict from where it is located, and “embedding” it elsewhere. Go beyond that one orange, get one more (“teacher, you forgot one orange!”).

Or focus on the most important part of the orange, the seeds, plant them. So much for basic conflict outcomes, how about the basic processes or approaches used in conflict? They are related:

- Thesis No. 1:** **Violence** tends to lead to [1,2], **one party prevails**.
Violence is used to impose the victor’s goal over the vanquished;
 or: **to prevail=being on top, violence is a process**
- Thesis No. 2:** **Adjudication** also tends to lead to [1,2], **one party prevails**.
Adjudication is used to decide who is right (not guilty, not liable);
 or: **to prevail = being right, adjudication is a process**
- Thesis No. 3:** **Prevarication** tends to lead to [3]; **withdrawal**.
 Time not ripe, status quo preferred;
 or: **to withdraw, prevarication is a process**
- Thesis No. 4:** **Negotiation** between parties tends to lead to [4] **compromise**,
 assuming one party does not dictate;
 or **to obtain a compromise, negotiation is a process**
- Thesis No. 5:** **Dialogue** with the parties tends to lead to [5], **transcendence**,
 defining a new situation.
 or: **to transcend the conflict, dialogue is a process**

The outcome is already hidden in the process, and the process chosen depends on the outcome wanted in a conflict.

Figure 2 : Relation between conflict outcome and conflict process



Let us now go back to the distinction between the original, root conflict and the meta-conflict. The root conflict is about finding some outcome, solution, exit, transformation, whatever it is called. The meta-conflict is essentially about one thing: **to win**. There is only one outcome: one party prevails. The meta-conflict can be fought with physical means, violence, war and usually leads to victory for one and defeat for the other (in rare cases with a draw, e.g., because the war is drawn-out).

Or it can be fought with verbal means, like in a court, which has much of the same structure. Adjudication is a way of deciding who is right and who is not but guilty, or liable; it is not a good process to obtain the other three outcome types. There is usually a very asymmetric decision defining the winner.

The meta-conflict is often used to decide the root conflict. **The winner takes all**, including what is disputed in the root conflict. This outcome may be acceptable, and it may be sustainable. But it also may not; the meta-conflict may be seen merely as display of physical or legal power. And any decision in favor of only one party already sounds simplistic and divisive, not denying that there also are conflicts where one party simply is **right**. Nor is there any denial that courts are better than wars.

Withdrawal may work short term, but sooner or later the conflict has to be taken on. The traditional approach is negotiation between the parties; the problem being that the parties may treat the table as a verbal battlefield and at best end up with a flat compromise that satisfies nobody and does not provide us with opportunities to move forward. Hence the bias in favor of the fifth outcome, transcendence, going beyond. The best method is the dialogue, with each other, but to start with perhaps better with a conflict worker. To this we now turn.

Comments on “Conflict theory and practice: a perspective”

The Chart, or Table, with the three phases is, of course, fundamental to the whole exercise. It has to be emphasized that:

- the root of the whole problem is always an unattended conflict with violent cultures, structures and actors coming together;
- a bad mistake is to use violence as a signal to start acting, because of the original conflict. Even worse is to let violence run its course till parties are “ripe” for deals;
- what has to be done in the three phases is not that different; not like one team leaving the stage and another taking over.

The 3 R’s, Resolution, Reconstruction and Reconciliation are always needed, one way or another:

- Resolution, to solve the original, root, conflict,
- Reconstruction, to repair damage done, and
- Reconciliation, to solve meta-conflicts, also from the past.

Exercise

Look at the twelve possibilities for reconciliation in Phase III. Brainstorm on similar lists for Phases I and II, given that the 3 R’s should be present, one way or the other, in all three phases. Design a concrete program for action.

The same applies to peace-keeping: good soldiering should arrive before the outbreak of violence and not be withdrawn after the cease-fire — like good policing that prevents both violence and its resumption. This is even more important after violence, the situation has usually become worse:

- violence produces more dreams of glory and revenge, hence worse cultures;
- violence produces more repression and exploitation to sustain the war effort, and more polarization, hence worse structures;
- violence lowers the threshold against violence and makes otherwise peaceful actors violent, hence worse actors.

The orange example can be used as an exercise to open a training session, meaning that the Participants' Manual should be handed out afterwards, not before (since the answers are there). One way of doing this was tried out in England at a national conference on bullying in schools, with children, parents and teachers as participants. Twenty participants volunteered, they were seated opposite each other, in pairs, at a long table, with the smallest children at one end and the older parents and teachers at the other, discussing in pairs.

"One orange, two persons; what will you do", avoiding the word conflict since it is not obvious that there is any, they may refuse to take it on (one child said: "we'll just walk away and leave the orange"). Giving the youngest children the first chance, working up the table, proved less necessary; the children had as much or more orange imagination as adults.

When somebody suggested "fight it out" they had to sit in the corner and in the end received an orange "to think more creative, less destructive thoughts". The other oranges were used as prizes for imaginative proposals. In the end the chart with 16 outcomes was shown and compared with what had come up, training them in types of outcomes. The focus was on conflict imagination: more outcomes imagined beyond "fight it out", less likely the violence. Violence is then seen as having a negative cause: conflict illiteracy, lack of creativity. Hence the basic focus of the whole approach is to develop creativity. And the orange example also brings out another point: it is limited what one single person can come up with, several persons will come up with more, and if they really start dialoguing, brainstorming about it then they will come up with much more.

The diagram in Figure 1, with the four or five types of outcomes ([1] and [2] are only different when it matters to us who prevails), is basic in the sense that it can be used in all conflicts to identify types of outcomes. But it has to be used with care: as the diagram is two-dimensional it accommodates only conflicts between two parties (A1 and A2, with the incompatible goals G1 and G2). Real life conflicts are more complex, but "prevail", "withdrawal", "compromise" and "transcendence" are nevertheless always meaningful. In the orange example the task is to find what these words mean in practice: one kid ends up with the orange, they walk away, they split it, they sow the seeds.

The next diagram, in Figure 2, is based on the same four or five outcomes, but now related to process, not to outcome. Note the word "tends to": there is a relation, but it is not an iron law.

Some participants may be surprised that adjudication, "rule of law" is in the same category as "rule of man", violence. But the logic is similar: the idea of winner/loser, or more basic: of "being right". "Right" becomes almost something material, like "having right", and may stand in the way of finding more productive outcomes, for instance in a marital conflict.

The approach of these manuals aims at transcendence, and the use of dialogue for that purpose. But that does not imply a total rejection of other outcomes and other approaches, including, in extreme cases, minimum use of violence after other methods have been tried, and the situation is truly intolerable.

Transcendence means redefining the situation so that what looked incompatible, blocked, is unlocked, and a new landscape opens up (see the camel tale at the end). Creativity is the key to that lock, block. The conflict has been transformed. To this we now turn.

Creativity, transcendence, conflict transformation

1.

Is there a formula for creativity?

Maybe not. But there may be a heuristic, the formula of a formula so to speak, that nonetheless could be useful in getting a handle on that precious phenomenon. But let us first take note of some comments often heard in the context of creativity:

"It is so simple! Why didn't we think of that before!"

"It makes what we used to say and do so small, like we were not able to get our eyes off the ground and see reality".

"It is like a new reality opening up for our eyes!"

"In the light of this new thinking/idea what used to be, and what we used to do, is only a special case, in the corner so to speak, of a vast space opening up".

"God said, Let Newton be, and all was Light" (Pope).

"It is so threatening. Are we ready for that much novelty?"

It looks as if the old and conventional must still be there as an identifiable special case ("this is where we used to be"); but now seen in a new light that shines on new vistas. Otherwise it is "crazy", not "creative". When Columbus balanced an egg on its end by cracking it, the unbalance-able egg was still there. To the remark that "anybody could have done it if it is that simple", his much quoted answer was "But I did it".

In this story the old is hidden in the new. Cracks at the end of the egg could be made smaller and smaller, yet the egg would balance till some limit is reached. At that point it becomes clear that the old could not accommodate the problem, as little as Euclidean geometry could accommodate Einstein's problems. He had to explore four-dimensional Riemannian and Lobachevskian geometries (with Euclid as a special case). Some continuity between old and new thoughts and acts is useful. And so on, and so forth. Let us jump to the conclusion and offer a "creativity formula", suggested as a hypothesis:

Creativity, in thought, speech and action, is based on:

- A** Identification of a phenomenon as blocked, closed.
- B** Identifying in the context of that phenomenon:
 - A parameter that is constant, hence unthought of
 - Change that parameter, as a thought experiment
 - Hypothesis: that will unblock, open, the phenomenon
- C** Test this hypothesis in the real world.

In other words, creativity is linked to the scientific process. Hardly surprising, since that process has to do with creativity, and creativity has to do with change of paradigm, something easily accommodated within the formula just given. Work **within** a given paradigm is also identified with science, but then more as a puzzle (Kuhn), not as a "break-through". That term is also used for negotiations; reflecting the sense of relief of a rat struggling in a maze to find an exit, and then suddenly finding an exit (the small solution), or jumping out, discovering that the maze has no ceiling (the big solution).

The experience resembles what a social scientist encounters introducing a "third" variable in multi variate analysis. What looks like no relation at all between X and Y becomes different when Z is introduced: when Z is low X and Y are positively, and when Z is high negatively, related. The zero relation is still there, hidden in a more complex reality as some kind of average. The creative act consists in identifying that third (fourth, fifth) variable that had not been introduced into the picture before, like cracking before balancing. The rewards in insight are tremendous. Boring data start singing; to the new music.

Two very different examples come from Japan, and they both relate to music. The first case is *kara-oke* (empty orchestra). There is a stage and a hall with people, the audience, and the "listeners". There is microphone and amplifier on the stage. Conventional spatial arrangement of people would put the singer on the stage and the audience in the hall. Karaoke rotates people between hall and stage, making all potential singers, and all of them listeners. Like professional singers the amateurs choose a program they want to sing; unlike them they cannot be assumed to know the texts by heart so that is provided by a prompter, moving with great precision, with the music. The spatial arrangement has not been reversed, with the singers are in the hall and the listeners on the stage. Rather, singers and listeners are no longer stationary, rotating between hall and stage.

In another, more recent example dancers are equipped with sensors on various parts of the body, particularly legs and arms. As they move music is produced, tones and rhythms. As they dance in special ways that music becomes more attractive, much like special music can bring about attractive dancing. With quick movements and adequate arm and leg work, with some wiggling of feet and hands and some belly work, complex music can be produced. The possibilities are legion. The time order between music and dance has been reversed; rather than music directing the dancing and the dancer following, the dance is now directing the music, with music following. Movement translates into music, which is nothing new, but this time movement of the total body, not just fingers and lungs/lips/tongue. Advanced electronics was probably a necessary if not a sufficient condition for this particular act of creativity.

Sticking to Japan, the reaction of a Swiss watch maker when told that the Japanese now combined time pieces and computers in a "watch" (watch in the sense of something to watch) was: "**Eine Uhr ist eine Uhr und ein Rechenwerk ist ein Rechenwerk**" ("a clock is a clock and a computer a computer", the idea being that "never the twain shall meet".) This physical separation of two different functions was exactly what Japanese manufacturers challenged, and with great success.

Thus, the creative act may not introduce any new element at all, only put them together, in space and time, in a new way. Spatial arrangements and time orders that have been taken for granted are challenged. For that reason it is particularly easy to be creative in cultures with very definite views on correct spatial orders: there is so much to challenge. A culture firmly dividing the world in center and periphery, assuming causality to flow from center to periphery rather than vice versa (from stage to hall, for instance), and conceiving of time as linear with clear views on what comes before and what after (like music and body movement, for instance) invites creative challenges. But if such unilinear ideas are firmly entrenched like in Western culture we would also expect considerable resistance.

Thus, if **cause = center = God** and **effect = periphery = Nature + Man**, the latter created in His image, then such ideas as democracy, secularism and evolution stand out as revolutionary. The first vested power with the people/periphery, like a country without a capital. The second made god a periphery, suggesting that He was created by Man in Man's image. And the third was that Man was an emanation from Nature by Darwinist competition, like Adam Smith arguing that out of this process came the best of all worlds.

2.

From creativity to transcendence

By "transcendence" we mean creating a new type of reality. Something that potentially was always there is becoming empirical reality. An example from the theory and practice of conflict might be the idea of a **condominium**, of two or more countries owning a territory, disputed or not, together. The old formula for Andorra comes to mind, so does the Antarctic, certain aspects of Spitsbergen and Aland, the old arrangement for the New Hebrides, the Cameroons, etc. The conflict between two countries over a disputed territory may end by one winning in military battle or court battle, by a compromise dividing the territory, by both of them withdrawing their claims, leaving the territory to somebody else (such as the inhabitants!), or by the two owning the territory together. Clearly only the last outcome transcends empirical reality; the other conform to the formula that each km² is owned by one and only one state.

Another example: European countries were ruled by clergy, aristocrats and **burghers**; i.e., by word, sword and money. The Kings/Emperors were aristocrats. They were dethroned, and the successor system, democracy, combined the word and the bookkeeping by substituting verbal duels (election campaigns) for the physical duels of the aristocracy, counting the numbers voting in favor of the parties. As time passed, the range of people entitled to vote was considerably expanded. No doubt a potential political reality had become empirical reality, and still is; transcending the old. It was highly creative, at least at its time. But the old was still there. Thus, there were still rulers and the ruled. And the sword was still there, in the hands of military, police and those challenging them.

3.

From transcendence to transformation

Transcendence introduces a new reality, opening a new landscape. To transform a conflict is to transplant it to that new reality. To transform a conflict would mean to transcend the goals of the conflict parties, defining some other goals, lifting a conflict ("disembedding") out of the bed the parties have prepared for that conflict, including the discourses to ensure that the incompatibility looks insurmountable (the contradiction non-transcendable), embedding it at a more promising place. For this to happen the conflict has to be transformed also in the sense of adding parties and goals the participants themselves do not always think of. To simplify by eliminating some parties (e.g., the "extremists") would be a major mistake; they will certainly make themselves heard and felt (the peace process in Israel/Palestine?) To simplify by eliminating the moderates is also a mistake (the peace process in Northern Ireland?). The road to fruitful transformation goes through complexification with the possibility of some grouping of parties and goals, yet all the time guarding against **conflict deformation**.

In the case of the Lima hostage crisis, the Transcend proposal was to see the conflict less as a problem of (unlawful, violent) invasion of property and hostage-taking, and more as a problem of reducing the misery in Peru; switching from meta-conflict to root conflict, transcending the definition of the conflict. To transform the conflict the conflict had to be expanded. Then a solution was proposed for the transformed conflict, distributing tasks to the parties; checking that this also solves the conflict as originally defined. If not, there is deformation, not transformation, and the original conflict will hit back.

If we accept that a conflict may both be a source of destruction and a source of creation, then one approach to transformation of a conflict is to act so that the creative aspects dominate. This is more than steering the conflict away from violence. It adds steering the conflict toward development, both the human development of the individual actors involved, the social development of the collective actors involved, and world development. Those who enter conflict should have ambitious meta-goals, like a better Yugoslavia, peace and development in the Middle East, reduction of misery in Peru, etc.

The position taken here is that such meta-goals this is meaningless without deep understanding of the culture and structure within which the conflict unfolds, of the actors, and above all of the conflict itself. Conflict practice has to be rooted in conflict theory; conflict theory has to grow out of conflict practice. Concrete people have to be creative, not only empathic and nonviolent (one of these alone will never do). We suggest calling these people conflict workers. Their major tool is dialogue, with conflict parties, not only facilitating dialogue among them. To do so the conflict workers need a grounding in general conflict theory and general conflict practice, and more particularly in what difference empathy, nonviolence and creativity can make.

But they also have to know the types of violence, not only the direct violence that shows up in the meta-conflict, but the structural and cultural violence, the bad structures and cultures underlying the conflict, the bad "bed" the conflict has to be lifted out of. The rest is transformation, of the conflict, for peace; by ever deeper dialogues. The result: a transformed conflict that can be handled nonviolently and creatively.

Let us take the Korean peninsula as an example. An enormous conflict energy is put into that conflict and can be released in one more war, in turmoil inside the societies (and not only in the North), with repercussions all over East Asia and beyond. Could that energy be put to more positive tasks?

Here is an example of an approach: to open the rail/road connection between the two Koreas, as suggested (for rail) by

the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia/Pacific. That border is also the border between the poor (Vietnam, China, North Korea) and the rich (South Korea, Japan, Taiwan) part of what might one day become the East Asia Common Market/ Economic Community / Community / Union, referring to the stages of the EU. Goods would flow in both directions, wealth would be created, the spin-offs for both Koreas would be considerable, and only a minimum of cooperation is needed to run the transport.

Analytically, the transformation has several aspects:

- a discourse switch, talking about economic cooperation and common culture, as opposed to military and political structures;
- a new over-arching goal is formulated, involving not only the two Koreas but their four neighbors: East Asian
- an effort to disembed the conflict from where it was and embed it in the tricky but not lethal problems of economic cooperation
- no basic change, mutual love or even mutual trust is demanded of the Koreas; only that they pursue the benefit to themselves;
- this is not a meager Pareto optimum with nobody worse off since all six parties would be better off;
- the plan is reversible, but there would be a vested interest in the other parties to provide the incentives to go on;
- within that new setting, in that "bed", all the other issues may gradually be articulated, or they may even evaporate.

These ideas for a transformation of the conflict evolved out of dialogues with the parties concerned. Worth trying?

Conflict theory, conflict practice: some more steps

The ABC-triangle: the third dimension

Workshop participants tend to find the ABC-triangle useful. It separates three components of "conflict": C, **contradiction**, the root of the conflict, from A, **attitudes** and B, **behavior**. The basic thesis, of course, is that conflict work done only on A and B is a band-aid job. There is no alternative to work on the root of the conflict, the contradiction itself.

Let us then add a third dimension: **depth**. We shall look for deep contradictions, deep attitudes and deep behavior.

Deep contradictions: Fault-lines

The basic idea is that underneath all contradictions between human parties to conflicts are **deep contradictions** that steer the surface contradictions in the conflict struggle:

the fault-lines in the human construction, of gender, generation, race, class, "normal"/"deviant", nation/culture/ideology and, for world society, states/regions. (Marx picked up only one of them, class, only economic class, not political, military and cultural; and only as ownership of means of production).

Deep attitudes, deep culture

Underneath attitudes are **deep attitudes**; in English they also start with an "A": assumptions, axioms. De-individualizing and de-mathematizing we get **deep culture**, a web of notions about what is true, good, right, beautiful, sacred.

Deep behavior, basic needs

And underneath behavior is **deep behavior**, preprogrammed, partly by instincts, partly by basic needs. The borderline is not very clear, nor does it matter.

To say "there is something underneath, deeper down" in no way means that professed goals, visible behavior and attitudes, articulated or inferred should be dismissed as masks. They should be respected and taken seriously. But they should be seen in the light of what is deeper down.

The problem of legitimacy

As mentioned, the essence of conflict, the root, is the incompatibility, the contradiction between two or more goals pursued by parties to the conflict. But do they have the right to have those goals? Are the goals valid, legitimate goals? For the parties the goals have value, otherwise, by definition, they would not have pursued them. But, does having that value in itself have value?

Three types of conflict

How do we know that
a goal is legitimate ?

Take slavery: slave-holders valued slavery for production and for the commodity market. They also valued having that value, in terms of white superiority, or in terms of giving them the leisure needed for high culture. The slave certainly also had a value: freedom. Which value had more legitimacy? That was one of the issues leading up to the US Civil War 1861-65. By that time the tide of Western civilization gave more legitimacy to freedom than to slavery. That decided the conflict. **Take colonialism:** Norway and Denmark, in 1933, wanted the same, Eastern Greenland. Norway tried to legitimize the goal by first discovery, Denmark by having "civilized" the place. The Court in the Hague decided in favor of Denmark. But the tide turned in favor of the indigenous, and both goals became illegitimate. Self-determination became legitimate.

That gives us a typology with three types of conflict:

- ① The goals of all parties have (some) legitimacy
- ② The goals of some parties are legitimate, of others not
- ③ The goals of all parties are illegitimate

The first type is by far the most frequent, and is our concern. Not only do the parties have their truths, but these truths are valid truths, Truths. As pointed out above, that is where the legal paradigm fails while it may be very useful in ① and ②.

One answer is, because the law says so. Justice is the commodity produced by the legal system, and justice is served by respecting legitimacy. If the parties agree, after appeals or without, that may bring closure to the conflict as a process. Particularly important is the source of legitimacy found in what de facto is a world constitutional: the International Bill of Human Rights, consisting basically of the Universal Declaration of 10 December 1948 and the two covenants of 16 December 1966.

But the parties may not agree, and both of them may feel their goals are legitimate. How do we proceed when the legal approach has been exhausted and the court system declares that "the case has been dismissed"?

One approach is to build the topic into the dialogue agenda, with a simple question after the party has presented its goal:—*And why do you think you are entitled to that?*—The responses give rise to one more question:—and why should that be relevant?— and so on. In the end there may be references to the ultimate source of legitimacy in their mind, God. Or to basic needs, by statements like "I cannot live without, life loses all meaning". Philosophically trained parties will say things like "because it can be universalized, everybody can have it" (Kant) or "I am also willing to concede it to others" (the Golden Rule). Or refer to basic needs (see below).

The significance of basic needs

But how about the answer:—I don't care, I just want it!— Unless there is a clear case of breaking the law, domestic or international, this should not be dismissed. The problem is whether there is any clash with other goals, and whether that clash can be transcended. The transcendence is forward-looking, legitimacy is based on past experience. We need both.

The basic point about basic human needs is that they are non-negotiable. The needs to survive, with a minimum of well-being, for identity and freedom of choice about how to satisfy the other three, are absolute. Human beings will continue striving for them under almost all circumstances, like water expanding when it freezes to ice, like the seeds growing under asphalt. Enormous forces. Motorists neglect putting anti-freeze to their own considerable regret.

The significance for conflict transformation is obvious: any outcome of a conflict that neglects one or more basic human needs is a non-transformation. They will announce themselves sooner or later. Any slick idea to the effect that the dead no longer have any claim on survival leaves out the reaction of the bereaved, not only revenge/revanche, but struggle for their own survival. Any effort to clinch a deal at the expense of misery somewhere in the system will revert to the dealers. Any lack of respect for the cultural identity of others, their idiom, faith may even strengthen the need to satisfy that need. Limits to freedom may be tolerated for some time, but as options become visible and available the buds will sprout.

Two important reminders

The anti-freeze way out is tempting: change the liquid. Change human beings, engineer away their thirst for meaning and choice, just keep them, feed them like robots. Huxley, Orwell. Two important reminders:

- There is something so obvious about basic human needs that they become unspoken goals, not articulated. The conflict/peace worker had to keep them in mind all the time.
- Conflict "managers" high up do not articulate such goals because they take their satisfaction, **for them**, for granted. The conflict/peace worker should keep this in mind, especially men who often are less sensitive to something that basic.

Articulated goals vs real goals

Parties, people, articulate goals, they issue **texts**. But are those their real goals? The conflict worker will of course keep in mind that there could be something else, underneath, a **sub-text** of which the party is conscious but prefers not to talk; something even deeper down of which the party is not conscious, a **deep text**; something coming from the surroundings but not really the goal of that party, in other words a context; not to mention something coming from above, a **supertext**. Of course, in the last two cases there are also goals, such as conformity and obedience, but they differ from what is being said. These hidden texts, singly or combined, may turn the text into a **pretext**.

No conflict can be successfully transformed without paying attention to hidden texts; including the hidden texts of the conflict worker, known as hidden agendas (there should be none).

- Rule No. 1 Rule No. 1 remains: take the spoken text seriously, assume it to be genuine, remember that all these texts may coexist.
- Rule No. 2 Probe in detail under what circumstances the party would feel the goal has been reached, which, then, could be tested in practice. It could be more than initial statements. But it could also be less, or a reinterpretation. However, do not assume subtexts, use the open text as point of departure.
- Rule No. 3 Probe for other parties whose goals matter, and then seek dialogues with them to understand how conformity and obedience may be imposed, say, in family conflicts.
- Rule No. 4 Probe for deeper goals of which the party may not be conscious. Interests, often needs-related, deriving from the **deep structure** and goals embedded in the **deep culture** may be located here. Do not confuse unawareness with dishonesty.

The meaning of body language

In-between speech and action is the body language, observable like an act, communicative like speech. Maybe with as many nuances as speech, with grammar and dictionary, syntax and semantics, standard language (like a hand-shake) and vernaculars (like Brazilian communication by touching the elbow of the other party). There are taboos (like touching the head of a Thai) and the equivalents of four-letter words, the obscene gesture. And there are misinterpretations.

Hints for the conflict worker

Keeping that last point in mind, here are some hints for the conflict worker:

- Rule No. 1 Do not lean too much forward, you may look like an animal ready to jump. Rather, lean backward, be, look, relaxed.
- Rule No. 2 Avoid finger-pointing (also remember that when you do finger-pointing, some of your fingers point back at you yourself – –). There are obvious violent parallels. Men often engage in this.
- Rule No. 3 Do not engage in any sudden, brusque and/or rhythmic movement, it may be very disturbing, “what comes next?”
- Rule No. 4 Slow, soft, rounded movements with one or both hands can be soothing, indicative of holism, completion, closure, having arrived. Women often engage in this.
- Rule No. 5 Be sensitive to the body language of uneasiness, like frequent shifting of position (could be the chair, though), whetting of the lips, perspiration. You are not interrogating; the other party should feel well. Take a break.
- Rule No. 6 Do not freeze into non-motion, it may make you look like an observer rather than engaged party to the dialogue.
- Rule No. 7 Remember the non-verbal aspects of speech: not too high or too low pitch, low amplitudes, don't talk too long.
- Rule No. 8 Make your own list, based on your own experiences.

A case of transcendence : the TRANSCEND method

The TRANSCEND method is about conflict transformation. Let us apply it to a special conflict: the very important conflict over conflict transformation. There are two clear positions:

- ① conflict resolution is the task of/belongs to the parties who have a right to demand and get **conflict autonomy**
- ② conflict resolution is the task of/belongs to the conflict manager (a priest, a judge, a big power, a UN Security Council)

—“you have a dangerous conflict,
I'll have to solve it for you”—

who gets **conflict monopoly** in exchange for ending the violence.

The ideal outcome is ① : the parties are themselves able to transform the conflict, meaning handling it nonviolently and creatively. Nothing could be better: the road to peace is peace itself; the parties grow by taking on the challenge, and they grow together. The problem with ① : they may not be able, hatred and ignorance stand in the way of creativity, and foster violence, verbal, body language, physical. The problem with ② is that the conflict manager appropriate the challenging process and the title to the outcome and become a **conflict thief**. Hence:

- ③ **withdrawal**: do nothing, let the conflict wounds fester; the cop-out of the conflict coward and obviously not acceptable, or
- ④ **compromise**: the outside facilitates a negotiation process between the parties, sets agenda, discourse, venue, even pays it
- ⑤ **transcendence**: the outside, in one-on-one dialogues, tries to help by building up the parties, stimulating the creativity, together searching for nonviolent ways out, making them "ready for the table", then the time may be ripe for ① above. The conflict worker disappears from the scene, the owners take over.

Parties transforming the conflict themselves is beautiful, but some outside help may be necessary. The friend who talks with wife and husband, one-on-one trying to understand their goals, less "what went wrong", more "what is a good marriage". Together they construct a new project. That is TRANSCEND.

Hearing
the unspoken,
seeing the invisible

The conflict worker will listen very attentively to the goals of the parties, take them seriously, even try to formulate them better than the parties themselves. She will listen to the words spoken, and observe the body language. The deep texts in the subconscious are by definition not articulated but may find their way through the body language and a cry for help: *do you see what I mean* – – But sometimes there is nothing, neither heard, nor seen. The unspoken may be too obvious for the parties to articulate, like the basic needs above. It may also be in the unconscious rather than the subconscious. Many people, nations, states have the habit of seeing themselves as exceptional, above the law of the ordinary folks, but may be unaware of their own assumptions. When two of them meet there is competition, jealousy, hatred: who is more exceptional. But there may also be a tacit search for alliance: how can we be exceptional, above the law together.

A less dramatic example: two neighboring countries quarrel over a zone of coveted territory. Deep down there is a shared assumption, too obvious to be stated: each piece of land on this Planet Earth belongs to one and only one country; hence borders have to be drawn. The problem is not only located in what they say, "I want the border here!"/"No, there!" but in their shared unstated assumption: there has to be a border. Condominium, joint ownership over the zone would be a transcending outcome.

Shared unstated assumptions may be the rock bottom on which an acceptable and sustainable outcome can be built. But they may also block a creative, nonviolent outcome. Conflict workers should not be fooled by "good chemistry"/"mutual understanding". They may understand each other too well. Fresh air is needed.

Conflict transformation training course: some extra exercises

Exercise 1

Your father is a Japanese-Hawaiian who was interned in a camp during the war. He struggled with the others and got some reparation from the US government. One day you come home with a black boy-friend. Your father tells you: "if you want to be with him, then get out of my house!"

What do you do ?

Exercise 2

Your mother puts on an evening dress which is much too youthful for her age. She comes to you with eyes hungry for compliments and asks, How do I look? You want to be honest, but you also want to be considerate to your mother.

What do you do ?

Exercise 3

You have strong spiritual yearnings and want to meditate, focus on your spiritual journey. But you also like good material things, roller-blades, driving, fishing, books, music not only about spiritual matters. You have two goals.

What do you do ?

Exercise 4

Together with other workers you want better work conditions and higher salaries. The company tells you that they cannot afford it, they will go bankrupt. This time they are right, in fact, companies do collapse.

What do you do ?

Exercise 5

You have built a small summer house for guests, your guests are usually academics and you have put some shelves and tables for computers in the room. Your wife rightly points out, you have forgotten the wardrobe, for clothes, even sometimes dresses. But there is no floor space left. You suggest, How about in a suitcase, under the bed? Not accepted, for good reasons. You do not want to throw out a table. Husband-wife relations start getting strained.

What do you do ?

Exercise 6

One country with only one nation, and (almost) all members of that nation inside, is a nation-state.

- imagine the nation lives in two countries.

What do you do ?

- imagine there are two nations in one country, and they have a long history of bad relations.

What do you do ?

- imagine you have two countries and two nations that live in both countries, with a history of bad relations.

What do you do ?

Exercise 7

According to some predictions there will be more than one billion refugees and displaced persons before 2050, for military, political, economic, cultural reasons. Try DPT, catching the essential features, and

What do you do ?

Exercise 8

A woman comes to you, in tears, in rage: My husband has betrayed me, with my best girl friend, I was the only one who did not know! I want to kill him!!

(Hint: expand the discourse from sexual (in)fidelity to the (in)fidelity also of the mind, the spirit—joint life projects—the social sphere, the economic sphere; check how they both are doing on all five. In addition, bring in children, parents, friends, neighbors, colleagues — get out of the (2,1) approach!)

What do you do ?

Codes for Conflict/Peace Workers: Twelve Do's

- 1 **Try to identify positive elements in any party**, something of which that party is proud; encourage further development.
- 2 **Try to identify positive elements in the conflict**, Conflict the potential Creator should be kept in mind and be celebrated.
- 3 **Be creative in the way you work**, don't be too afraid of not doing things correctly, do not take manuals (like this one) too seriously, follow your intuitions and above all your experience.
- 4 **Find together a short, easily remembered outcome formula**, like "common security", "sustainable development", which will not do justice to all complexities, but may facilitate communication.
- 5 **Be honest to yourself and to others**, if you think something is wrong say so; if you think a party's proposal is outrageous say so without generalizing to the party as such. Often a good way to be "diplomatic" is to be "undiplomatic".
- 6 **Permit your feelings to show**, if you are happy about the turn of the conversation say so; if you are unhappy also say so, but do not break the relation. That cheap luxury is not for you.
- 7 **Permit the inside conflict parties to challenge you**. Others may tire of your questions and hit back for symmetry, challenging you, your nation, your country, etc. Use challenges to jointly explore also your conflicts the same way: roots, perspectives etc.
- 8 **Always suggest alternative courses of action**, "in this case you can do this, but also that"; never present only one remedy.
- 9 **Your task is to make yourself superfluous**, not to make others dependent on you (but be on call for consultations).
- 10 **Remember: Idealism of the heart, and realism of the brain**
- 11 **Remember: Pessimism/cynicism is cheap; optimism is for you**
- 12 **Remember: Conflict work is the art of the impossible**

Codes for Conflict/Peace Workers: Twelve Don'ts

- 1 **Do not manipulate.** Put your cards on the table, say openly what you try to achieve, including sharing manuals with them; make clear your willingness to question your own assumptions.
- 2 **Do not distribute blame and guilt.** Emphasize shared roots like bad structures and cultures rather than bad actors, and the shared responsibility to find exits. Your task is to help.
- 3 **Do not start playing priest or judge.** You are neither authorized nor qualified to sit in judgment over the parties.
- 4 **Do not worry too much about consensus.** The task is to arrive at good ideas; if they are good they are probably new, at least to the parties; and if they are new consensus may take some time.
- 5 **Do not demand commitment from the parties,** oral or (indeed) written; the ideas will work their way if "their time has come".
- 6 **Do not demand that the parties shall cooperate.** If they do not like each other and prefer to travel separate roads so be it; togetherness is not a goal. Maybe later they find each other.
- 7 **Do not break any promise of confidentiality.** You should not be a reason why the parties fear expressing themselves freely.
- 8 **Do not seek publicity,** but try to enlist the media as helpers in the search for ways out of the conflict/violence.
- 9 **Do not seek expressions of gratitude,** your reward lies in the seeds sown coming to fruition; your punishment if they don't.
- 10 **Do not accept detailed instructions from anybody,** the inside parties have a right to feel that they talk only with you.
- 11 **Do not try to program people too much,** your task is to empower them and enable them to proceed on their own.
- 12 **Do not deform the conflict,** removing it from the parties by pushing agendas too far away from their immediate concerns.

Two Tales: About Camels, Numbers and Many Things

Once upon a time a mullah was on his way on camel to Mecca.

Coming to an oasis he saw three men standing there, crying. So he stopped the camel, and asked, My children, what is the matter? And they answered, Our father just passed away, and we loved him so much. But, said the mullah, I am sure he loved you too, and no doubt he has left something behind for you?

The three men answered: Yes, he did indeed, he left behind camels. And in his will it is stated $\frac{1}{2}$ to the eldest son, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the second and $\frac{1}{9}$ to the youngest. We love camels, we agree with the parts to each. But there is a problem: he left behind 17 camels and we have been to school, we know that 17 is a prime number. Loving camels, we cannot divide them.

The mullah thought for a while, and then said, I give you my camel, then you have 18. And they cried, "No, you cannot do that, you are on your way to something important" — —. The mullah interrupted them, My children, take the camel, go ahead.

So they divided 18 by 2 and the eldest son got 9 camels, 18 by 3 and the second son got 6 camels, 18 by 9 and the youngest son got 2 camels: a total of $9 + 6 + 2 = 17$ camels. One camel was standing there, alone: the mullah's camel. The mullah said: Are you happy? Well, then, maybe I can get my camel back?

And the three men, full of gratitude, said, of course, not quite understanding what had happened. The mullah blessed them, mounted his camel, and the last they saw was a tiny cloud of dust, quickly settling in the glowing evening sun.



Once upon a time a lawyer was on his way in a fancy car through the desert. Passing an oasis he saw three men standing there, crying. So he stopped the car, and asked, What's the matter? And they answered, Our father just passed away, and we loved him so much. But, said the lawyer, I am sure he has made a will. Maybe I can help you, for a fee, of course?

The three men answered: Yes, he did indeed, he left behind camels. And in his will it is stated $\frac{1}{2}$ to the eldest son, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the second and $\frac{1}{6}$ to the youngest. We love camels, we agree with the parts to each. But there is a problem: he left behind 17 camels and we have been to school, we know that 17 is a prime number. Loving camels, we cannot divide them.

The lawyer thought for a while and then said: Very simple. You give me 5 camels, then you have 12. You divide by 2, 3 and 6 and you get 6, 4 and 2 camels respectively. And so they did. The lawyer tied the five unhappy camels to the car, and the last they saw was a vast cloud of dust, covering the evening sun.



Two ways of handling conflict. The choice is yours.

A Dialogue Between the Author (JG) and the Devil's Advocate (DA)

This dialogue is based on comments made during training sessions. The answers, as usual, lead to even more questions.

DA: *Give me in not too many words, and no social science jargon, the assumptions underlying this so-called TRANSCEND Method!*

JG: Fair demand. Here are the theses I believe in, at least about 80 percent:

- Thesis 1:** Military/violent conflict solutions do not exist. They are unsustainable because of loser trauma and unacceptability, and because of highly addictive victor glory. Violence breeds more violence; pointing this out serves as a negative anchor.
- Thesis 2:** Violence is used by people in conflict when the blocked goal is important, and they see no alternative exits.
- Thesis 3:** The meta-conflict and "who wins" drive out the root conflict; conflict transformation recedes into the background.
- Thesis 4:** People see no alternatives because conflict illiteracy limits the outcome repertory, and because creativity is blocked.
- Thesis 5:** People are conflict illiterates because "fighting it out, and the winner takes all" has dominated as the approach.
- Thesis 6:** Creativity is blocked by the hatred caused by violence and by big people /big powers monopolizing conflict work.
- Thesis 7:** Big people/big powers monopolize conflict work to increase their power and to benefit from conflict redistribution
- Thesis 8:** To decide over conflicts they see conflicts as between two parties, in need of them as "disinterested third parties".
- Thesis 9:** "Disinterested parties " do not exist; real conflicts have many parties with more or less acceptable conflict goals.
- Thesis 10:** "All parties meeting at the table" makes them even less creative and more easily managed by big people/big powers.
- Thesis 11:** A true "conflict worker" has sustainable and acceptable conflict transformation as goal, and no hidden agenda
- Thesis 12:** One approach to elicit acceptable goals is to engage in empathic dialogues with all parties separately, one-on-one.
- Thesis 13:** One approach to make acceptable goals compatible is to engage in dialogues with all parties, eliciting creativity.
- Thesis 14:** One approach to transform a conflict nonviolently is to dis-embed it from where it was and re-embed it elsewhere.
- Thesis 15:** Looking at the conflict from that new angle serves to develop a new reference point, a positive anchor for dialogues.
- Thesis 16:** "All parties meeting at the table "may be useful to finalize, or unnecessary, because a new, sustainable system has emerged acceptable to all so that the conflict has evaporated.

DA: *Hold it! I can't take it any more. I disagree with all these theses, in addition you are already deeply into social science bla-bla.*

JG: OK. Could you accept using the theses as some kind of agenda and critique them one by one, in the order you prefer?

DA: *As a point of departure, yes, if this is the TRANSCEND method. But I also have something to say about that discourse.*

JG: DA, "discourse" is already a social science word!

DA: *That word existed before you people co-opted it. Now, let us start with "violence". Your position is negative, abstract, and ideological. Violence is compatible with victim acceptance:*

- (a) he may see his defeat as dictated by higher forces, or*
- (b) celebrate his liberation from pursuing an impossible goal.*

JG: I concede some of that; and hasten to admit that my two-liners may be a little simplified! But if those "higher forces" are God, then acceptance would probably depend on the level of faith in both God's infallibility, and in God's use of might to indicate right. I doubt that this double faith is widespread today. One successor to God is the state, and the infallibility currently being constructed, "democratic states cannot be wrong", would serve as an incentive to join that club. That is good, but leads to the successor problem to "Christian countries cannot go to war with each other": "democracies cannot go to war with each other". The there are of either kind, and the more diverse structurally and culturally, the more likely that they still go to war.

DA: *Maybe. But how about the second point, getting off the hook?*

JG: I would tend to agree with you. But I could say: why not rather engage in a dialogue ante bellum to give up that goal?

DA: *I'll give you three examples of military solutions: the US Civil War, the Second World War in Europe, the Pacific war. The slave states, German nazism and Japanese militarism were beaten, they accepted the defeat, and gave up their goals.*

JG: I could argue that the real victor was war/military itself. Out of the first came a militarized United States making the conquests of 1898-1902; out of the second came United States, Soviet Union and China capable of fighting major wars.

DA: *And out of the third?*

JG: A major invisible consequence of defeat is thirst for revenge, returning to the issue. I doubt that we know the consequences of the colossal traumas suffered by Germany and Japan. Such things may show up generations later. However, I could strengthen your point. Sun Tzu type violence, as a potential not used, may work, but not Clausewitzian violence as the famous "continuation of politics with other means", in fact, "with all necessary means". This was used by the US-led coalition in the Gulf War. I doubt there was any acceptance. And for that reason also no sustainability.

DA: *Maybe Sun Tzu is not quite diabolical enough for me?*

JG: Clausewitz is certainly diabolical enough. Extrapolating from his assumptions, total elimination of the enemy, the Other, becomes rational. Your own goal will then prevail because there is nobody left as carrier of the goal standing in your way. Holocausts are the logical implications, as were colonialism, nazism, bolshevism. Whereas Sun Tzu for me opens for

UN Charter Chapter 6, peacekeeping, and for defensive defense, Clausewitz opens for Chapter 7, "peace enforcement". Many people today see violence as a last resort. But then, do all those things, and they are numerous, that would fall under the labels of empathy and creativity. I see our world short on those capabilities and long on violence, hence much too inclined to resort to violence.

DA: *What worries me more, however, is not your position on the instrumental aspect of violence, that it does not work, and is counterproductive because of loser revanchism and victor glory of which they may want more. I might agree on that. But that position is too rational. Where is the expressive part of it? Not "continuation of politics", that is already instrumental. My diabolic colleague is not Clausewitz, but untold numbers of human beings, probably mainly men, boys, as you might point out, who simply enjoy violence because of what it does to the victim, harming/hurting, and what it offers them: risk, danger, courage, sacrifice, heroism, dedication, comradeship! Not to mention the simple, pure desire to loot, to rape; you want it, you get it!*

JG: History provides more than enough data to prove you right on this one too. But my point is not that there is no danger of violence, and for even deeper reasons, like enacting archetypes in the collective subconscious. My point is to nip that violence in the bud, to do something about the conflict before it enters a violent phase with the untold suffering, the complications for the future, and the inattention to the root conflict. It is not because I disagree with you on these points, but because I agree that I find this so important. And everybody seems to agree on "preventive diplomacy". The TRANSCEND method is one approach.

DA: *Let's move on. You see violence as response to a blocked goal, a variation on the old frustration—aggression hypothesis. But is that not culture-dependent? How about withdrawal from conflict, simply refusing to take it on?*

JG: Sure. Or out of sheer apathy. My point is that when there is violence it is mainly because major goals are blocked. Other reactions may in the longer run be equally disastrous, however, like giving up, suffering endlessly from structural violence instead of standing up, turning basic needs into basic rights. In other words, the goal is not only absence of direct violence but also the absence of structural violence, social injustice.

DA: *But aren't you then justifying direct violence?*

JG: As a last resort when everything else has been tried, maybe. I am not an absolutist, but I am more interested in exploring that "everything else". And I would like to know how people who become violent themselves justify their violence. I would like to know those reasons, since I think they are among the unstated goals in conflicts, and should be taken seriously.

DA: *Give me examples of meta-conflict driving out root conflict.*

JG: Think back to the Cold War. The original conflict was about interests such as borders and who was master in Eastern Europe; and at a deeper level about ideology, capitalism vs socialism, democracy vs dictatorship of the proletariat, and the underlying world views of liberalism/marxism. However, the basic concern, debate, and conflict, was about the meta-conflict, over the means of violence in general and nuclear weapons and their carriers in particular. Governments as well as the peace movement had this as their central concerns most of the time since 1949. Interestingly, when finally the Helsinki conference 1973–75 started tackling the real issues, the root conflicts, with the famous three baskets of border problems, economic relations and human rights, seemed to evaporate. People started asking, are these differences really worth a major war? The dissident movement in Eastern Europe managed better than the peace movement to make root conflicts the real issue,

insisting on democracy and human rights. And nobody believed in the Cold War getting hot any longer. Transforming the root conflict then drove out the meta-conflict; that is the idea.

DA: *What troubles me is that you seem to disregard the violence, and the machinery of violence, in your insistence on the transformation of the conflict so that it becomes manageable for the parties without any violence. If you pay no attention to the meta-conflict and prefer to go around it, heeding Boeygen in Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt, your countryman jointly with Brand — I think he said "go around" when there is some major obstacle — won't evil forces be given time to organize and perfect their machineries? Don't you need disarmament, or, failing that, some balance of power, or failing that, their elimination through violence? Moreover, how can you expect parties to negotiate the root conflict if they have the Damocles sword of violence hanging over their heads?*

JG: Any focus on the means of violence strengthens those who control the means of violence by giving them veto power. The end of the Cold War was delayed by too little focus on issues, too much focus on armament/disarmament. The Cold War transformation was not at the arms control conference table. Insisting that IRA/ETA shall decommission, give up their arms as condition for real negotiation gives them veto power, and can also be used by others to block transformation. I would keep a keen eye on the violence potential, and speed up root conflict transformation.

DA: *I find your statement about "conflict illiteracy" arrogant. You will probably not put yourself in that category. By what right do you distribute such certificates to big power/ people?*

JG: The people entering international conflicts are usually statesmen pursuing the interests of their own country/region, or diplomats who are even paid to do so and are controlled by the instructions from the statesmen. Domestically the situation is better, Alternative Dispute Resolution is catching on. But much conflict work is dominated by a religious paradigm locating the roots of conflict inside humans rather than in social realities, and by a legal paradigm that is too dualistic, guilty or not. In addition people feel disempowered, ready to accept a division of labor between conflict managers and conflict managed. That is where the conflict worker enters, in principle.

DA: *But aren't all third parties trying to do that?*

JG: I have seen those who even seem to wait for violence to run its course, waiting for the conflict to "mature", the situation to become "ripe", with the parties begging on their knees for an intervention liberating them from the curse of violence. Then they move in to dictate the peace, sharing the spoils, like vultures circling, waiting for the fight on the ground to cease. A good surgeon is supposed to heal the body of the patient, not to mine it for kidneys, retinas, may be even a heart.

DA: *This sounds to me like "realism", you attribute motives to what you call big people/big powers that you generally belittle.*

JG: I am skeptical of people/powers who became "big" through violence because I am afraid it becomes addictive. "To he who has a hammer the world looks like a nail". Maybe the world would be better served by third parties or "conflict workers" with more peaceful track records?

DA: *Isn't that modest-sounding word "worker" little but a cover for a new profession seeking precisely what you profess to avoid, a status as conflict manager?*

JG: A problem, I agree. Maybe "conflict specialist" is a more adequate term, but "manager" definitely not. Remember that the conflict worker has no power in the sense of carrot or stick. He can neither reward nor punish. He can suggest, but acceptance has to come from

the inner conviction that the "positive anchor" is a better exit than the implications of the "negative anchor".

DA: *Aren't you then just manipulating them with your "anchors"?*

JG: Again a danger. The conflict workers should put his cards openly on the table: the search for a conflict transformation by peaceful means, through empathy and creativity aiming at acceptable and sustainable ways out. Whatever he suggests he is supposed to arrive at through deep dialogues with the parties, not about the parties. Those dialogues have a conscientizing function the sense of my late friend Paulo Freire; if not the conflict worker has been debating, trying to push his own views.

DA: *OK, OK. But you realize, of course, that this may also sound as just that much bla-bla while in the meantime the conflict worker emerges as the dominant force in the conflict?*

JG: I do. S/he should find ways of handling this, also to avoid becoming the common enemy rather than the common friend of the parties. One way is systematically to use question marks rather than exclamation signs. The judge will tell you the outcome as laid down by the law. The arbitrator will tell you the binding outcome as decided by him, having their agreement in advance. The mediator will put forward a non-binding outcome, take it or leave it. The conflict worker does less, and more, than that. He serves as a catalyst for a dialogue, first with the parties separately, then, if desirable, together. He may formulate visions not formulated by them, even suggest things they can do separately or together. But above all he tries to build them up, making them more empathic, nonviolent and creative, capable of moving ahead without any outside assistance.

DA: *And you do not call that an exercise of power?*

JG: Of course this is an exercise in power, but not of power. A bad professor wants to clone himself in students/assistants. A good professor tries to stimulate enough creativity for the students not to become disciples but to relate critically and constructively to their professor. Power-sharing through empowerment, in other words. The power we are talking about is normative/cultural power, not the carrot/remunerative/economic power of a trade treaty nor the stick/punitive/military power with sanctions, boycotts, "peace enforcement" around the corner.

DA: *But the fact remains that the conflict worker accumulates much more experience than the one who has been conflict worked on. And that experience can be converted into power.*

JG: No doubt about it. This is the way of all professions. And worse: he may become scholastic, reducing the conflicts and the parties to cases handled according to formulas he has developed, insensitive to the specificities of each case. Hopefully he will be criticized by colleagues and conflict parties, and be grateful for the warnings, early or even late.

DA: *But this idea of separating the parties, isn't that also a power strategy known as fragmentation? Instead of meeting them jointly, the conflict worker takes them on, one at the time?*

JG: When they come together at the table it is only physically, if the conflict is deep. They are divided by the conflict issues, and even more divided by the trauma meta-conflict and the trauma of inflicting traumas on others. What the conflict worker meets with are people reduced to much less than they could have been. His task is to build them up, to make them realize their own strengths, rethinking the conflict. In that process, eye-to-eye, they may also start criticizing the conflict worker, separately, and later on jointly, when or if they find each other. But it does not have to end that way. My experience is more positive: some kind of gratitude when some possible exits are indicated. New possibilities have emerged, for them to explore or act upon.

- DA: *But if a conflict worker uses empathy—nonviolence—creativity even to the point of disembedding and re-embedding the conflict, aren't you in fact turning their conflict in another direction? By what right do you launch new perspectives as points of reference, "anchors" as you call them?*
- JG: The conflict worker cannot impose any redefinition of the situation. But he can suggest. Anyone is entitled to do so.
- DA: *Nevertheless I have the feeling that you come like a saving angel, descending on the conflict, telling parties what to do!*
- JG: I try never to suggest anything that has not come out of dialogues with the conflict parties, with well-known actors, or with the less well-known. Processes are started in me, and in them. Out of that come proposals, perspectives.
- DA: *But why should you propose anything at all? Why not leave it to them, to the parties together, it is their conflict!*
- JG: You are right, that would be the ideal approach. The two parties seek each other, sit down at that famous table I try to make infamous, have dialogues with each other, and proposals not only flourish but are enacted. That would certainly be my first choice, and reasonable people in soft conflicts behave that way. In the real world, however, not everybody is reasonable, and not all conflicts are soft. They refuse to meet. If they meet, they shout at each other. If they do not shout, they hold back lest they are interpreted as yielding. If they propose anything, it may be to make the other look bad. If they should agree on something it may be a flat compromise satisfying nobody.
- DA: *You portray them as if they were me, in various shapes, all around the table, procrastinating, prevaricating!*
- JG: You are reasonable in comparison. We at least have some kind of dialogue. But let me ask you, what would you do?
- DA: *I am the one who does the questioning here, your task is to answer! And here is my next question: why not wait till they formulate the proposals themselves?*
- JG: I do, but not forever. They are not free to formulate proposals. They have constituencies sitting on their back. Sometimes they try to put ideas into my head with the hope that I will say it. The task of the outsider is to try to switch the discourse, to help them talk about the conflict in another way, like discussing how ex-Yugoslav republics could cooperate, how a recognized Palestinian state would relate to Israel, etc.
- DA: *Well, well. And all that without violence?*
- JG: If at all possible, yes. If reasonable proposals are found all over it is much more difficult to unleash the violence. If the media, and the civil society, people's organizations and local authorities surround the conflict parties with proposals with which, upon some reflection, they can live, even live together, violence and war look not only immoral, but stupid.
- DA: *But isn't this rather naive? There are enormous forces in the world, big people/big powers as you say, not to mention big capital. Aren't you just keeping the system going with a little repair work here and there? Isn't creativity rather small change relative to what big capital can put into armament?*
- JG: Creativity may work small miracles, nonetheless, if people learnt to trust themselves more. Moreover, don't let the big answers stand in the way of the small answers. Somebody badly

wounded in a traffic accident needs help, not brilliant analysis of a traffic engineer not to mention of the capitalist system with too much traffic. I might opt for all three approaches. There is the immediate answer, the medium term and the long term answers. Maybe we know better the immediate answers.

DA: *But aren't you then taking much of the fun away from those boys? Maybe they love a little violence once a while. Who said you are entitled to that? By what right?*

JG: Simply this: the majority wants creation and construction, not destruction. They want more than cease-fire. They want peace.

Appendix 1 — Further Readings

Some Recent Literature

- Bondurant, Joan V., *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1971, 271pp. This book presents an analysis and overview of the central ideas of Gandhi's political thought and the challenge they present to Western political philosophy. An excellent companion volume to Gandhi's *An Autobiography, or The Story of My Experiments with Truth*.
- Burrowes, R. J., *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense, A Gandhian Approach* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 367 pp. The book discusses de-escalating violence in a conflict: by one of the parties using nonviolence rather than violence. The point is not "does nonviolence always work?" — nothing ever does — but to know how it works when it does work. A more interesting point might actually be whether violence ever works if it leaves behind, as argued in the manual, at least two traumatized parties and dreams of more glory and revenge.
- Büttner, C. W., *Friedensbrigaden: Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung mit gewaltfreien Methoden* (Peace Brigades: Civilian Conflict Processing By Nonviolent Means) (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 147 pp. No doubt this concept, civilian peace service in peace brigades, will play a considerable role in the future, bringing together empathy, nonviolence and creativity. A number of concrete cases are analyzed.
- Camplisson, Joe and Hall, Michael, *Hidden Frontiers. Addressing deep-rooted violent conflict in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Moldova*, Newtownabbey, Co Antrim BT36 7JQ, Northern Ireland: Island Publications, 1996), Island Pamphlets No. 16, 44 pp. The pamphlet is a fascinating account about how becoming a conflict worker in one conflict prepared Joe Camplisson for significant conflict work in another setting, Republic of Moldova. The approach is very compatible with the present manual.
- Chetkow-Yanoov, Benyamin, *Social Work Approaches to Conflict Resolution: Making Fighting Obsolete* (Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press, 1996), 174 pp. An easily readable book filled with common sense based on a wealth of personal experience. Good as an introduction to the field.
- Curle, Adam, *Another Way: Positive Response to Contemporary Violence* (Oxford: Jon Carpenter, 1995). A veteran conflict worker with experience from India and Pakistan, Nigeria, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Ireland, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia to mention some. The book deals more with meta-conflict than conflict, and particularly with the "New Violence", "sheer bloody-minded", with no cause, nor rationality — and what can be done about it. Equally recommended is his *Tools for Transformation: A Personal Study* (Hawthorn Press, 1990) and his classic, *Making Peace* (Tavistock, 1971), 301 pp.
- European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation, *Prevention and Management of Violent Conflicts: An International Directory, 1998 Edition*, Amsterdam, 1998, 466p. Descriptions and contact information for 475 organizations involved in conflict work globally. (see contact information in the organizations section below.)
- Fischer, Dietrich, *Nonmilitary Aspects of Security: A Systems Approach* (Dartmouth, for UNIDIR, Geneva, 1993), 222 pp. The book contains a wealth of ideas for peace-building; it would be hard to imagine a conflict where some ideas could not be applied.
- Galtung, Johan, *Peace By Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (London, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 1996), 280pp. The book, organized in four parts that roughly correspond to direct violence, conflict transformation, structural violence and cultural violence, contains the theoretical background for this manual. Not recommended for beginners unless you feel particularly motivated.
- Galtung, Johan and Carl G. Jacobson, with contributions by Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobson and Finn Tschudi, *Searching for Peace, The Road to TRANSCEND* (Pluto Press, London-Sterling, Virginia, in association with TRANSCEND).

- Lederach, John Paul, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (Syracuse, NJ: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 100+pp. This book is based on the author's extensive experience in Latin America, Asia and Africa, and his "elicitive" approach to understand the goals of the parties. Close to this manual.
- Lumsden, Malvern, *Peacebuilding in Macedonia*, Oslo: PRIO, 1997, 76 pp. An account of the search to make Macedonia less vulnerable to violence through community-level projects.
- Mahony, Liam and Eguren, Luis Enrique, *Unarmed Bodyguards: International Accompaniment for the Protection of Human Rights* (West Harford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1997), 275 pp. This book deals with "international accompaniment" in zones of violence, accompanying human rights activists and others. The "unarmed bodyguards" incur considerable risks, but their nonviolence, as practiced by *Peace Brigades International* seems to work.
- Mindell, Arnold, *The Leader as Martial Artist: Techniques and Strategies for Resolving Conflict and Creating Community, An Introduction to Deep democracy* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 168 pp. This book focuses on the psychology of the conflict worker (not necessarily only a "leader"), and the deep problems that person is likely to encounter. Very imaginative Exercises.
- Mitchell, Christopher and Banks, Michael, *Handbook of Conflict Resolution: The Analytical Problem-Solving Approach* (London: Pinter, 1996), 187 pp. The approach described in this excellent handbook differs from the present manual in bringing the parties together for a joint workshop, solving problems together, then solving the problem of re-entry.
- Mörland, Liv, *Megling i konfliktråd; Hva skjer?* (Mediation in Conflict Councils; What happens?) (Kristiansand S.: HöyskoleForlaget, 1995), 176 pp. The book contains an analysis of what happens in the Norwegian institution "konfliktråd" (also known from New Zealand) for voluntary mediation by lay mediators to prevent criminality and as a substitute for civil process. One conclusion is that the mediation is most successful when the parties formulate the conflict from their own perspectives in their own language, and the mediators (team, with high empathy) are not too different from the conflict parties. Informality is preferred over bureaucratization.
- Ortega, Zoilamérica, *Desmovilizados de guerra en la construcción de la paz en Nicaragua* (Demobilized soldiers constructing peace in Nicaragua) (Managua: Centro de Estudios Internacionales, 1996), 91 pp. The book reports an experiment filled with promise for the future: soldiers on both sides of the bitter civil war in Nicaragua demobilizing and then joining in reconstructing what they destroyed during the war, in the process both reconciling and contributing to the resolution of the conflict. Also see her *The Nicaraguan Experience*.
- Patfoort, Pat, *Uprooting Violence, Building Nonviolence* (Freeport, ME: Cobblesmith, 1995), 128 pp. An excellent primer in what nonviolence means at the intra- and interpersonal level, in communication as verbal nonviolence, and as peace culture.
- Ross, Marc Howard, *The Management of Conflict: Interpretations and Interests in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 226 pp. The psychoculture of conflict transformation, the kind of assumptions, conscious and subconscious, participants and mediators have about conflicts, and the conditions for a constructive conflict society.
- Sandole, D. & van der Merwe, H., eds., *Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 298 pp. A very useful introduction to different US approaches in the field of conflict resolution.
- Stutzman, J. & Schrock-Shenk, C., eds., *Mediation and Facilitation Training Manual* (Mennonite Conciliation Service, PO Box 500 Akron, PA 17501-0500; Third Printing, 1996), 310 pp. An excellent manual, very rich in content, with examples from daily life.
- Thompson, W. S. & Jensen, K. M. eds., *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1992), 414 pp. A very useful collection of 16 chapters, essentially outlining mainstream approaches to peace.
- Unit for Justice, Peace and Creation, Christian Council of Sweden, *Empowerment for Peace Service* (Stockholm, Box 1764, 11187 Stockholm, 1996), 109 pp. An excellent overview of training of conflict/peace workers, indicating how to get more material.

- Volkan, Vamik D., et.al., editors, *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships: Vol. I, Concepts and Theories* and *Vol. II, Unofficial Diplomacy at Work*, Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1990. This two volume set presents perspectives from a range of disciplines — including psychoanalysis, psychiatry, psychology, political science, public policy, diplomacy and anthropology — which probe the roots of human behavior, drawing lessons for peacemaking. Groundbreaking in this field.
- Wehr, Paul, Burgess, Heidi & Burgess, Guy ed., *Justice Without Violence* (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner, 1994), 300 pp. Thirteen articles about nonviolent action against direct and structural violence, in general, in Nicaragua, Eastern Europe, ex-Soviet Union, China, Africa, the Middle East and India.

Other examples of useful literature:

- Avruch, K., Black, P., Scimecca, J., *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*
- Edward de Bono, *Conflicts. A Better Way to Resolve Them*. London: Penguin, 1991 (first published 1985).
- John W. Burton and Frank Dukes, *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement & Resolution*. New York: St Martin's, Press, 1990
- John W. Burton and Frank Dukes, eds., *Conflict: Readings in Management & Resolution*. London: Macmillan, 1990
- John W. Burton, *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*
- John W. Burton, *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*
- Mary Fitzduff, *Community Conflict Skills*, 3rd Edition, 1998
- C. R. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, London: Macmillan, 1981
- Dennis J. D. Sandole and Ingrid Sandole-Staroste, eds., *Conflict Management and Problem Solving*. New York: New York University Press, 1987
- Deborah Tannen, *The Argument Culture*, New York, Random House

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