

Maintaining Order, Making Peace

Also by Oliver P. Richmond

MEDIATING IN CYPRUS

THE UN AND HUMAN SECURITY (*edited with Edward Newman*)

THE WORK OF THE UN IN CYPRUS (*edited with James Ker-Lindsay*)

Maintaining Order, Making Peace

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palgrave



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Preface

This study outlines and explores three generations of approaches to ending conflict culminating in the broadening concepts of, and approaches to, peace and human security in the post-cold war era. It aims to develop a useful typology for analysis, as well as detailing and critiquing an emerging approach to ending so-called 'intractable' conflict, which in the post-cold war environment is dominated by questions of legitimacy related to identity, representation, powersharing, and claims to sovereignty. This development has occurred within the static framework of territorialism and state-centricity as the basic foundation for the attempted organization of political community. Classic forms of peacekeeping, international mediation/negotiation, and conflict resolution approaches constitute the first two generations of activity, and are essentially mono-dimensional activities. In the contemporary environment in which local, regional, and global actors and the norms pertaining to human security and human needs have accrued enhanced legitimacy through a growing consensus at most levels of political interaction, space and access has been created for the utilization of more sophisticated tools. This was implicit in the emergence of a third generation of multidimensional and multilevel approaches to ending conflict, exemplified by the UN peace operations of the 1990s. These multidimensional approaches to ending conflict may seem to have a clearer potential to unravel 'intractable' conflicts when compared to mono-dimensional approaches, though they also lead to some serious dilemmas for international society, particularly as approaches to ending conflict have become more interventionary in nature, especially in the context of humanitarian operations. The three generations outlined here indicate the progression of peace strategies into more diverse multidimensional approaches in a global environment in which a wider recognition of human needs has led to a conceptual shift towards forms of human security rather than state security. This, however, raises the suspicion that the creation of peace is a totalizing practice based on universal claims that are difficult to substantiate or justify (though there seems to be little alternative). Finally, some conditions are proposed for a fourth generation approach that may emerge from this debate.

Acknowledgements

This book was prompted by a long-standing interest in various 'protracted' and 'intractable' conflicts that have been a significant part of the daily diet of news in Western media for many years. These conflicts have seemed indicative of the fact that there are zones of conflict that are perceived to be all but hopeless because they are afflicted by issues which are almost impossible to resolve or even manage within the conventional framework of the Westphalian international system. My thinking about these issues has benefited from a wide range of inputs, from friends, colleagues, and many other writers, most of whom are named in the bibliography. I would like to thank my colleagues at the University of St Andrews, and in Cyprus. I would particularly like to thank Costas Constantinou whose hospitality and conversation in the foothills of Troodos was particularly helpful. I would also like to thank Roland Bleiker, Dan Jones, and Tarja Vayrynen, for their helpful comments on several chapters at various stages of their development. Finally, I would like to thank Myria for her invaluable contribution, support and vivacity. Of course, all errors are my own responsibility.

Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
ECOMOG	Economic Community Cease-fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
HCNM	High Commissioner on National Minorities
HRFOR	UN Human Rights Field Operation (Rwanda)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFOR	International Force
IGOs	Inter-Governmental Organizations
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
IOs	International Organizations
IR	International Relations
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
LAS	League of Arab States
MCPMR	Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution
MICIVIH	UN–OAS International Civilian Mission
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OIC	Islamic Conference
ONUC	Operation des Nations Unies au Congo
ONUSAL	UN Observer Mission in El Salvador
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicano
ROs	Regional Organizations
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC	South African Development Community

SFOR	Stabilization Force
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMIR	UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNAVEM I, II and III	UN Angola Verification Missions
UNDOF	UN Disengagement Observer Force
UNEF	UN Emergency Force
UNFICYP	UN Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	UN High Commission for Refugees
UNIFIL	UN Interim Force in Lebanon
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNMIK	UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNOGIL	UN Observer Group in Lebanon
UNOMIL	UN Observer Mission in Liberia
UNOSOM I/II	UN Operation in Somalia
UNPREDEP	UN Preventative Deployment Force (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNTAC	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAG	UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia
UNTSO	UN Truce Supervision Organization
US	United States