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## Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques

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those of the drill instructors, as well as his own observations. To hear him talk, many of the recruits he knew were the dregs of society. "They are, with a few exceptions, denizens of the bottom half of the American economy, or on their way there—poor kids with lousy educations, and a few wealthier ones sliding off the professional tracks their parents had taken." There are university graduates and community college dropouts, pacifists and bullies, gang-bangers, and skinheads. Turning them into contributing members of society is tough enough; turning them into Marines is an especially daunting task, and Ricks does an excellent job of showing the transformation.

The author addresses more than just the culture of the Marines; he goes on to discuss the state of civil-military relations today. As the recruits become indoctrinated into Marine culture they shed their civilian values, at least on the surface. Most take on a holier-than-thou attitude, looking down on the civilian culture from which they came. The fact that many do not actually internalize these beliefs is reflected in the fact that out of 3,086 graduates, nearly 15 percent will not finish their first year in the Corps. It is also a little scary how some of these recruits come together: the gang member from Washington, D.C., and the skinhead from Alabama find their common bond in anti-Semitism. Ricks uses the recruits' harsh opinions of civilian society to demonstrate the perceived division between today's military and the population at large. It is here that the book's only real fault becomes glaringly evident: it is difficult to tell where the recruits' and the drill instructors' views end and the

author's opinions begin. Is he merely explaining their perspective, or is he adding his own commentary on the subject? It is hard to be sure, but when examining the issue Ricks seems to fall into the social science trap of looking for views that support one's own while missing other important evidence.

That is not, however, a fatal flaw. This is an excellent book for anyone who is interested in how the Marine Corps turns young men and women into a force that, to paraphrase one sergeant major, can hold babies one day, kill the next, and know the difference between the two. Given the changes in the world, it is helpful to see how one small service has already addressed many of the challenges facing the larger services today. Conducting military operations other than war, operating as an expeditionary force, and getting by with limited resources are issues that have always been a part of the Marine Corps. *Making the Corps* will be an excellent stroll down memory lane for every Marine, and an excellent guidebook for everyone else.

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Captain, U.S. Air Force

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Zartman, I. William, and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds. *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997. 412pp. \$19.95

William Zartman and Lewis Rasmussen have assembled a stable of contributors whose experience encompasses scholarship and field work in

## 136 Naval War College Review

international relations theory, international law, conflict resolution, diplomacy, and nongovernmental organization (NGO) operations. Zartman, a senior academic at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, brings thirty years of conflict resolution scholarship to the project. Rasmussen, a program officer at the United States Institute of Peace, has coauthored a study of Middle East conflict resolution. The qualifications of each of the other contributors are strong, reflecting extensive experience in each of their specialties. The articles are supplemented with lists of additional readings.

The book consists of four parts: "Mapping the Field" and "Approaches to Peacemaking" deal in theory, while "Practitioners" and "Training" discuss practical matters.

In Zartman's introduction, he notes the state's preeminence in world politics but observes that conflict transcends the state, pulling it into struggles with subgroups and embroiling it in regional contests.

In Part One, "Mapping the Field," Rasmussen's "Peacemaking in the 21st Century" summarizes the development of international relations theory since World War II. Louis Kriesberg, a professor of sociology, complements Rasmussen with his comprehensive essay, "The Development of the Conflict-Resolution Field."

Part Two, "Approaches to Peacemaking," explores various peacemaking possibilities, such as negotiation, mediation, adjudication, social-psychological techniques, "interactive conflict resolution," and religion. Daniel Druckman, a professor of conflict

management, in his essay "Negotiating in the International Context" explains state-to-state negotiations as puzzle solving, bargaining, organization management, or diplomatic politics. Law professor Richard Bilder introduces "Adjudication: International Arbitral Tribunals and Courts." He explains them, discusses the differences between arbitration and judicial settlement, and points to the benefits of a strengthened international judicial system. In "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict," Herbert Kelman, professor of social ethics, looks at human processes promoting hostility.

Psychology professor Ronald Fisher describes "Interactive Conflict Resolution," which draws representatives of groups into problem-solving workshops, supplementing conventional diplomatic and governmental activities. "Religion and Peacebuilding" by Cynthia Sampson discusses the roles of lay and ecclesiastical figures who have become advocates, intermediaries, observers, and educators in the most intractable conflicts.

Part Three, "Practitioners," highlights diplomats and nongovernmental organizations. Cameron Hume, a senior member of the American United Nations mission, contributes "A Diplomat's View," discussing the relative decrease of the state's powers to contain conflicts, and pointing out their reliance on the executive agency of the Security Council. Experiences of nongovernmental organizations are presented by Andrew Natsios, vice president of World Vision U.S., in "An NGO Perspective." For military officers, his is one of the most useful chapters, addressing NGO strengths

(endurance in the community, commitment to long-term resolution) and weaknesses (lack of hierarchy, multiplicity of programs and doctrines, etc.).

In Part Four, "Training," Eileen Babbitt, an international politics professor, illuminates the topic of "Contributions of Training to International Conflict Resolution," describing training appropriate to specific conflicts and also the more general training of entry and midgrade foreign affairs professionals.

*Peacemaking in International Conflict* is not about international relations or the military's post-Cold War role. Rather, it concentrates on resolution of conflict by means other than force. Though couched in state-based terminology, it ignores the state itself as a political actor. One strength of this work is that it goes beyond state and national interests to focus on the socially confined arena where violent conflicts find their solutions. By explaining international relations theory; shortcomings in conflict resolution theory; subtleties in negotiation, adjudication, and mediation; and the part that religion plays, this book contributes to a richness of understanding in a complex world. Another strength of this work lies in its exposition of the character of many nonstate actors. Religious organizations and secular NGOs have assumed larger roles. The salience of diplomacy, tied to the sovereign state, continues to recede. This book helps the reader to understand why.

The major weakness of this book is the absence of the military. At this late date, its exclusion cannot be understood. Military organizations are routinely employed in the implementation

of cease-fires, delivery of humanitarian assistance, and the assurance of confidence-building measures. Local commanders often find themselves involved in immediate and highly dangerous conflict resolution. A chapter by an experienced military source would have been welcome.

Nonetheless, this book is a valuable addition to the library of those whose careers will expose them to the conflict resolution process. Zartman is incorrect to refer to his latest volume as a "tool kit." Rather, it provides a rough map and a compass, and it indicates where additional maps may be found.

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McDougal, Walter A. *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997. 286pp. \$26

Walter A. McDougal's *Promised Land, Crusader State* is a necessity for those with an interest in foreign policy and America's future. A Pulitzer Prize-winning author and editor of *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, McDougal here provides a survey based on his extensive historical studies of American diplomatic history. More importantly, he presents an original view of America as first a promised land and then a crusader state.

Rejecting the "sterile debate" over foreign policy doctrines following the post-Cold War era, and annoyed by the "flip" use of such terms as Wilsonianism and isolationism, McDougal