

Utah Valley University
Department of Integrated Studies

Understanding Internal Conflict to Promote External Peacebuilding:
Applying Freudian Psychodynamic Theory to the Diplomatic Climate in the Northern Mali
Conflict

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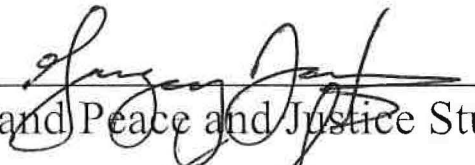
April 17, 2018


Thesis Approval Page

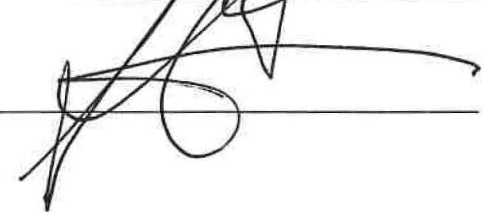
In partial fulfillment for a Bachelors of Arts Degree in Integrated Studies with Peace and Justice Studies, Psychology and French emphases, we hereby accept this Senior Thesis written by Lee Winkleman.

Defended: April 17, 2018

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A sense of community and the need for balance are central to the concept of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding requires efforts offered from both or all sides as a way to establish relations where compromise and negotiation can reign freely. In turn, this type of interaction allows each side the opportunity to take account of the other's position and promote a communal share of needs and/or perspectives. This objective is typically directed and applied to those with whom the conflict is most concerned. Despite the natural ethnic and cultural divisions any community may encounter in various types of states, a common goal or identity can be attained if diligently sought. The necessity for dialogue despite opposing parties is key to preserving the identity of the parties and the establishment of an interconnecting identity between them. This identity is usually forged by the decisions made by the Id and Superego. This balance can be achieved if the dialogue is genuine and does not display components of falsehood or deliberate neglect of sincere efforts for unity.

Dialogue should underline the positive values potentially achieved while rejecting to ignore any negative actions that have occurred between possible warring factions. This practice can be used to promote peacebuilding in an external setting, but additionally has benefits in understanding the conflict mediation that occurs within the individual psyche. Psychology terms (such as individual and interpersonal) should be clearly defined for the purposes of this analysis. *Individual* will refer to the intrapersonal relationship between the Id, Ego, and Superego while *interpersonal* will focus on the external relationship between opposing parties engaged in active conflict. The term *behavior* will signify external manifestations of the internal conflict as performed between tripartite (id, ego, and superego). This paper will externalize the Id and Superego by comparing these concepts to war and diplomacy in the world of conflict. The 2012

Malian intrastate conflict will be of particular interest to us and will showcase the effects of Freud's psychoanalytic theory by linking them to international affairs.

Conflict transformation has evolved and been significantly developed over the past few decades owing to the early proponents for conflict and peacebuilding studies such as Johan Galtung, Edgar Morin, Paulo Freire, and Fredric Jameson, among others. Some conflict transformation approaches suggest that diplomacy has largely failed and the time for a new method to diplomatic relations be implemented. This is where the bulk of development has taken over, in that communication and dialogue be specially focused on transformative means with regards to conflict.¹ These authors additionally argue that negotiations and agreements fail due to the lack of complex conflict analyses. The research will indicate whether or not diplomacy has failed in terms of securing the establishment and promulgation of peaceful relations.

John Paul Lederach's work has led and continues to lead peace studies across the world. His work undoubtedly figures into this thesis as one of the top contributors from the Peace and Justice studies. In his book, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (1998), he proposes models (both long-term and short-term) that ardently strive to promote peacebuilding efforts as a solid foundation to improving conflicting conditions. Lederach's trajectory is, however, most often long-term and persuades the reader and student alike that the bigger picture is essential to sustainable peace. There is no doubt that peaceful relations are anything but simple, however the nature of their true complexity is yet to be accurately determined. The works of Lederach and Sigmund Freud will be cross-analyzed to relate the peacebuilding models proposed by the former to enhance the theories posited by the latter. Using

¹ Graf, Wilfried, et al. "The Art of Conflict Transformation Through Dialogue." *Academia.edu*, Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding, Apr. 2008, www.academia.edu/994960/The_art_of_conflict_transformation_through_dialogue.

Freud's works on the human psyche as explained in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works* (1948) will be primarily engaged. Individuals are expected to incorporate the actions and impulses generated from the Id and Superego. At times, the individual may emphasize importance with one psychological pole versus another, resulting in an over-identification of either the Id or Superego. Freud's objective in explaining this theory is to allow the individual an opportunity to train one's Ego to balance both psychological impulses which will be useful in decision-making. We will eventually see later on how the Id and Superego, as internal concepts, can be understood externally and share an analogy to the likes of states and nations engaged in conflict. Similarly, the Ego itself can experience this externalization as it struggled it to find mediation on the spectrum between war and diplomacy.

French colonialism has strongly influenced the relation between France and Mali. One prominent factor to the success of these colonial initiatives was the practice of *missions civilisatrices* (civilizing missions) to maintain French influence and dominion in a variety of regions. The goal of such a mission was to establish French ruling as the authoritative figure and, as such, situate France into a parent role that would condone the intentions of the European power with regards to the colonized fulfilling a child role. This type of interaction has undoubtedly engendered the emergence of numerous conflicts. French-speaking Africa has seen its fair share of both interstate and intrastate conflict throughout much of the 20th century and into the 21st century. The intrastate conflicts in Mali of the 21st century represents a rare case of successful management of an internal violent conflict in Africa in the post-Cold War era. This time period illuminates the conditions that permitted negotiations to yield a lasting peace in Mali. Kristine Storholt and David J. Francis present some lessons learned from the negotiation process

and an analysis of why the outcome was durable. In Mali, ripeness for positive change was complemented by the ability to build trust and confidence through careful timing, by a flexible mix of informal and formal negotiations at different stages of the conflict, by appropriate third party intervention, and by popular participation from civil society. All of these factors were essential to success among many others to consider. We will closely study the role individual psychology played throughout this peace process and connect it to peacebuilding as a whole.

Interpersonal psychology in the peacebuilding spectrum attempts to shed light on and explain research about mass violence, the escalation of conflict, how societies are shaped by conflict, and why some are sustained over a long period of time. Lucas Mazur reflects on the debate over why some conflicts are seemingly interminable, while valuable socio-psychological processes (such as mediation and negotiation) that may alleviate worsening conditions are not considered sooner.² This research will explore the psychological dimensions that can help explain human interaction between two opposing parties and the events that transpire as a consequence of conflicting relations. The key to more fully understanding conflict (both internal and external) lies in its correlation to the human mind and its ability to balance its moral and egocentric interests. Successful peacebuilders must consider this psychological practice of balancing between the two drives in order to disseminate optimal peacebuilding practices. Since the active participation of parties involved is crucial to understanding the conflict process, it is equally pressing to understand the individual psychology of parties involved. It is important to know how to interact and display proper methods of communication if mediators or negotiators hope to promote peacebuilding in conflict zones. This knowledge and understanding of human

² Mazur, Lucas. "The Social Psychology of Intractable Conflicts." *Culture & Psychology*, 2014, journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354067X14526900

behavior engineered by the mind can benefit peacebuilders to more effectively interact with those in conflict and enlarge the conflict lens of as a whole. The implementation of this method can increase the success rate of global peacebuilding efforts and may be the solution to saving diplomacy from extinction.

Effect of Ego in Conflict Using Psychodynamic Theory

Conflict is often thought as being an interaction between two or more parties engaged in opposition. When the word *conflict* is encountered, images of warring factions, belligerent conversations, or rampant violence are often conjured up. Despite the relative accuracy of these ideas, conflict is much more than the events of the external environment and should include the internal arena contained within the individual in order to be more representative. Although this underwhelming definition is somewhat accurate in relation to conflicts prevailing in the world, the internal mechanisms behind the individual conflicts of the mind are sometimes ignored. Some intrinsic behaviors (such as mediation, bargaining, and compromise) demonstrated within the mind during any level of conflict can be analyzed with the help of a few key Freudian theories. These theories fall under his groundbreaking discipline known as psychoanalysis which serves to better understand patterns of behavior and ultimately the tendencies exhibited during a conflictual relationship.

One of the key advantageous components to any disagreement between polarized views is the contributive factor of mediation and its relation to peacebuilding. The coexistence of the Id, Ego, and Superego is quite unique on its own since its inauguration by Sigmund Freud. As one of his personality theories, it serves to address the meditative qualities associated with the

mind and the struggle each individual faces in polishing his or her own set of morals and/or personal interests. Using this method, peacebuilders from a variety of backgrounds can implement transformative practices to constructive conflict by mastering the balance that is required to sustain a healthy psyche. This can be most effective during peacebuilding and de-escalation of conflict and, in essence, serves as an appendage to the diplomatic process. Some scholars argue that diplomacy is failing the international community and is losing relevance when confronted by a world that is becoming quickly overtaken by violence. Others claim that it is a discipline that has not adapted to the needs of a changing world. Our investigation of these arguments will ensue later on.

Johan Galtung, the Norwegian father of peace and conflict studies, posits one such theory: the Transcend Approach. In it, he mentions four main points that factor into the deep dialogue process.³ The first phase is to understand the goals of the conflicting parties referred to as the *differentiation* process according to Folger et al. (2016). This requires a spirit of openness and transparency which can be difficult to achieve if and when the objectives of the parties are mutually understood within their own separate contexts. An environment is then created where true dialogue can permeate without frustration. This should then lead the way towards the establishment of goals representing the interests of both parties. For the individual, Freud would argue that these parties are composed of the id and superego with the ego acting as mediator. Nonetheless, there are three main obstacles that prevent differentiation from transitioning to integration which include escalation, avoidance and rigidity. Escalation can be likened to the events that transpire within a classic story plot, making sure to focus much of the attention on the

³ Graf, Wilfried, et al. "The Art of Conflict Transformation Through Dialogue." *Academia.edu*, Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding, Apr. 2008, www.academia.edu/994960/The_art_of_conflict_transformation_through_dialogue. Accessed 5 Sept. 2017.

rising action. Some form of exposition takes place as the parties begin the process of differentiation. Because conflict is an all-encompassing energy that is subject to the parties' participation, it can sometimes remain static. It certainly has the potential to adopt a more negative approach. When opposition rises to the occasion (quite literally sometimes), conflicting parties are left to eventually confront their innermost motives and strive to form some connection with the perceived enemy. The human mind also has a way of self-escalating by justifying its actions and motives in an attempt to rationalize its actions and glorify the opinions held by that individual. This signifies that the egocentric interests are being solely pursued and hindering the ability to engage in constructive dialogue. This reframing causes the peacebuilding process to suffer as a result and impedes the opposing parties from engaging in true dialogue as a meaningful outlet for reconciliation (which is ideally the intended final cause).

Applying this methodology to Freud's psychoanalytic nature, the ego is seemingly under a constant amount of pressure having to reconcile itself between the incessant strifes of the id and superego (not to mention a multitude of external stimuli that relate as well to conflict). It is no wonder the ego has to ensure it has enough stamina to perform the individual's tasks of the day, both the mundane and the essential. Assuming his theory proves true, Freud would have suggested an element to human existence that may not be understood outside of the psychological realm. If the success for peacebuilding is largely determined by the internal forces controlled by the Ego, then the Ego may be the key to promoting a stronger inclination towards effective mediation. Reinforcing one's ego is similar to working out a particular muscle or emphasizing one part of the body in physical activity. This produces a conduit that will allow the ego a means of smoothing out rough edges when it manages the stress of internal mediation,

which then leads subsequently to advocacy of external mediation. Developing one's ego in this manner, while exercising self-mastery of the desires and appetites can lead to improved mediation in the outside world and a higher quality of engaging in the peacebuilding process.

The second phase of the Transcend Approach is the reframing of illegitimate goals into legitimate goals, with the criteria of the fulfillment of basic human needs of all conflict parties. Often times, the humanity in the individual is removed and this process of dehumanization renders managing the conflict in unrealistic terms more acceptable. All types of misdeeds can be inflicted when there is no humanity left to consider. Despite this malfeasance, the second step of the Transcend Approach is required to facilitate dialogue that can extend beyond the scope of the individual and include both or all parties in conflict. Many conflicts persist because of a failure to recognize the need for compromise at the heart of the conflict and are those that are rooted in one-sided views and pursuits. This potential loss of ambivalence towards one another may often lead to a prolonged process of peacebuilding and extend the circumstances even farther into latency. Freud's theory of the ego similarly experiences this process of internal peacebuilding. It strives to locate this intangible place where reconciliation can preside without any overbearing force to deny the ego this right. This is why the concept of war can be damaging: it pursues the goals of the Self without considering the interests of the Other. Effective conflict mediation requires that the parties maintain an environment where true dialogue can flow unabashedly.

The third phase of the Transcend Approach consists of the elaboration of an overarching formula for a sustainable solution on the basis of the integration of these legitimate goals. This formula can be as complicated or confined as the participants desire it to be. However, as implied, this requires sincere efforts and genuine determination to create this type of process.

The most successful peace plans (and by that, we mean long-term) are those that consider the future needs and seek to address them. This is where diplomacy may be the most relevant and efficient. Despite the decrease in effectiveness that diplomacy has experienced since the Cold War,⁴ the solution to improving peaceful relations may yet be found within the diplomatic measures taken within the individual's ego. Therefore, we argue that psychology may prove more useful to the peace process than ever before.

The fourth phase of the Transcend Approach is the process of reconciliation.⁵ Peacebuilders such as John Paul Lederach have described this as some sort of place that one can reach during the peacebuilding process. Reconciliation involves bridging the gap between differences that would otherwise have continued to repel one another. If the coexistence that occurs between these three mental components that factor into the psyche of the individual (most especially on the peacebuilder), then the skills needed to ensure successful mediation will be strengthened from within. Thus, the efficacy of the peacebuilder is set to mirror the exterior mediation practices that come forth from the interior efforts made to strengthen the mind's will and determination. This reconciliation process may be analyzed during either the latent or active stages of conflict, yet it is usually more insightful to study it during post-conflict scenarios.

One of the greatest stressors to the human psyche is the inability to successfully control the influence of anxiety on the mind. Psychodynamic theory posits that the superego gives the user a capacity to make judgments about their behavior. When anxiety is introduced into this balance of means between the Id and superego, it can have both positive and negative

⁴ Kovacs, Mimmi Söderberg, and Isak Svensson. "The Demise of Diplomacy: Explaining the Declining Trend of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars." *Department of Peace and Conflict Research*, Uppsala University.

⁵ Folger, Joseph P., et al. *Working through Conflict: Strategies for Relationships, Groups, and Organizations*. 7th ed., Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

consequences and usually results from the judgments individuals make about themselves. Some of these negative emotions stem from a discomfort only known to those who finally realize they would not normally act this way. If left unchecked, these emotions during a conflict (of any nature) can dictate a rationale that would not have normally existed within the bounds of the social interaction. This is one of the foundational ways that peacebuilding cannot transcend the psyche and is confined to the internal arena. It inhibits the user from using this newfound ability to mediate conflicts and stunts the growth that can come from balancing the Ego.

Conflict stage models present us with another useful means for understanding the nature of conflict. Conflict emerges into a wide range of scenarios which includes societal and international conflicts, organizational and small group conflicts, and interpersonal conflict. Here, however, we are most concerned with *intrapersonal* conflict. However, we will discuss the relation that intrapersonal conflict has with international conflict. This type of interaction inevitably permeates into the other types of conflict and should be regarded more carefully into consideration. Critiques of psychological conflict largely discredit the validity behind the categorization of intrapersonal struggles as conflict. One argument is that internal conflict does not constitute the proper conditions by which a true conflict is present. Despite these claims, our main focus is to discover the relation between the internal and external spheres of influence within conflict, particularly on the international spectrum. This may help to bring a greater focus to diplomacy and lead to more relevance in conflict.

Rudolph Joseph Rummel offers insight into this dilemma with his study of international conflicts. His findings were later compiled into a stage model for conflicts to illustrate the

importance and consequences of globalization.⁶ His stage model is separated into five main components which form the basis for his conflict theory. He initially describes that conflict is latent as both parties (or more) express differing dispositions or attitudes which carry the potential for conflict. By definition, this latent energy has, at the same time, potentiality and actuality. However, the important aspect of this step is that its latency is but a momentary period of non-surface level conflict which has not yet emerged. As long as the participants refuse to work with the conflict at hand, it will perpetually remain dormant until some other event may trigger its emergence. During the initiation stage, a triggering event causes the parties to act. The potential differences in values, objectives, or positions establish the basis for the realization of open conflict. Once the conflict has been initiated, Rummel proposes that the conflict moves into a stage of open conflict. No longer is the mind in a state of collusion, rather it openly acknowledges the need to mediate the opposite polar inclinations of the id and superego. At this point, parties assess each other's capabilities and willingness to use force, threats, or violence through the use of moves and countermoves. Parties confront the issues that previously plagued them throughout latent conflict and sometimes try and reach some compromise or agreement. The settlement leads to a balance of power stage where the participants then arrive at a place of understanding and seek resolution. The outcomes are assessed equally by each party as they each learn to live with the consequences of the recently experienced conflict.

This stage is predominantly characterized by the expectations of those involved which may endure for some time before significant changes are produced. Then again, what changes, if any, truly last and ensure a real sustainability. The last stage of the conflict is called the

⁶ Rummel, R. J. *Understanding Conflict and War: Volume 1 ; The Dynamic Psychological Field*. Sage Publications, 1975.

disruption stage. As the conflict loses momentum, parties may realize that circumstances never proved to be as everlasting as previously thought and eventually perpetuate the cycle of conflict leading back to the latent stage. The ability that each individual possesses to balance internal conflict may stay the hand of continuation of external conflict. We will now use the case of the 2012 conflict in Mali to illustrate the challenges attributed to conflict in an external environment.

Northern Mali Conflict and Peacebuilding Efforts (2012-Present)

Despite France's initial interest in this African state, Mali has experienced plenty of conflicts and internal disputes between warring factions throughout its history. This influence extends beyond its original colonial efforts and has evolved into postcolonial motivations. From an international perspective, the nation of Mali has been known for its political turmoil ranging from *coup d'états*, civil unrests, external invasions and occupations. The intrastate crisis sparked off in 2012 and was briefly abated in 2015 with the signing of a peace agreement.⁷ However, despite the peace process that took place between the southern and northern rivalries, parties' interests were not fully considered when the accord was signed. The agreement was reached through various multi-faceted negotiation attempts by national, regional and international players, such as France. The role of the former colonial power is highlighted especially in this conflict as having contributed to a large extent in ending the war in Mali. We will look closely at the conflict as it emerged out of latency and developed into open violent conflict while addressing the peacebuilding initiatives that led to the creation of the peace agreement. This will

⁷ Nyirabikali, Gaudence. "Mali Peace Accord: Actors, Issues and Their Representation." *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)*, 27 Aug. 2015, www.sipri.org/node/385.

deepen our understanding of the peace and conflict process and how diplomacy influences this strategy.

Before we can properly discuss the nature of this conflict, we must first understand the major actors involved in it. Although the country itself is not divided into two states, inhabitants of each region (originating from both the North and South) would consider themselves to be separate cultures and groups. In Northern Mali, the Tuaregs are a nomadic group who have expressed sentiments of marginalization from their southern counterparts since Mali acquired its independence from France and even before.⁸ Their large presence in the Saharan region of Mali has engendered feelings of ostracization and discrimination from the Bamako-based government to the south and led this predominantly Muslim faction to engage in open conflict with their neighbors. Beginning with small rebellious skirmishes, it gradually led to the capture of major northern cities in Mali and a strong opposing force with which to contend. Due to the Malian government and its ineffective ability to prevent the Tuaregs from taking more territory, soldiers in the Malian army rebelled and ignited a military coup to address the problem of the northern insurgency. As a consequence of these actions, and the international attention that developed, France displayed its interest abroad by having a military intervention in response to the growing intrastate conflict. International media criticized French actions as less than altruistic and diplomatic in nature. President Hollande justified his actions by stating that France had an obligation to overthrow a terrorist regime from taking control of an entire country so close to

⁸ Nizcimana, John Bosco, and Alfred Gwarega Nhema. "The Malian Crisis: Multiple Actors with Diverse Interests and Values." *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, vol. 5, no. 3, Dec. 2015, doi:10.5296/jpag.v5i3.8273.

Europe and the West.⁹ However, effective diplomacy may consist of a synthetic combination of self-pursuant interests and altruistic gestures. It is not necessarily a *méfait* (or misdeed) to promote personal interests.

With the peace agreement that was reached in 2015, the *Accord pour la paix et la réconciliation au Mali issu du processus d'Alger* (Accord for peace and reconciliation in Mali emanating from the Algiers process) brought the opposing parties into a temporary stage of harmony where the peace process could thrive. The 2015 peace accord was a defining moment in the history of the nation of Mali because the country had endured several clashes between the Northern and Southern regions of Mali in which all groups of people were the victims. The 2015 peace accord came as a salvation to both parties in the conflict. A way out of this crisis became necessary for all Malians and the international community at large, most notably France whose influence and intervention proved to be both humanitarian and militarily strategic. Finally, the Bamako-based government and the Tuareg-led rebel groups signed a landmark peace deal to end the years of fighting in the country. Mention must be made of the role of the Algerian government whose efforts towards ending this long conflict through dialogue was an important factor. Transformative dialogue is an art in and of itself and remains to be a defining component to peacebuilding.¹⁰ The Algerian brokered deal was signed by a representative of the *Mouvement national de libération de l'Azawad* (National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad) in the Malian capital in a bid to end the cycle of conflict in the country.

⁹ Francis, David J. "The Regional Impact of the Armed Conflict and French Intervention in Mali." *Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution*, 9 Apr. 2013, noref.no/Publications/Regions/Mali/The-regional-impact-of-the-armed-conflict-and-French-intervention-in-Mali.

¹⁰ Graf, Wilfried, et al. "The Art of Conflict Transformation Through Dialogue." *Academia.edu*, Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding, Apr. 2008, www.academia.edu/994960/The_art_of_conflict_transformation_through_dialogue.

The heated intrastate conflict in Mali has undergone several transformative moments throughout its duration. Several types of responses have been taken, most notably the military strategy executed by French leaders as well as United Nations humanitarian efforts. What started as decades of latent conflict disguised as grievances of discrimination and isolation exploded into total warfare and rebellion from both sides. Armed conflict ensued as peaceful measures for dialogue were mostly ignored and not considered; this critique is targeted to more than just those in Mali. What could have happened had diplomacy been more integral to the peace process? One could argue that the peace process does not truly begin without incorporating some form of promotion for strong international relations. This conflict here is just one example that highlights the interplay between war and diplomacy and questions whether diplomatic measures can keep up with a world which struggles to correctly identify the right way of confronting conflict. We argue that the Id and Superego are quintessential to understanding conflict because of their role within the internal arena and the apparent externalization in the world of these same concepts. Is diplomacy failing because mediators, negotiators, world leaders, military strategists – humans – have we failed it? Our next section will explore the validity that diplomacy strives to preserve in order to maintain relevance in a world where it is on the decline.

Applying Internal Reconciliation Theory to Diplomatic Relations

Understanding how the human psyche is capable of balancing its three dimensions in Freud's model may illuminate the success of diplomacy in the outside world. It is no surprise that healthy international relations are one of many keys to the success of ensuring human security for the global community. In recent years, there has been a declining trend in the use of

diplomatic means toward effective engagement in conflict, resulting in fewer peace agreements signed to end civil wars across the globe. The intrastate conflict in Mali is a specific example we are using to highlight the importance of this trend. A considerable amount of debate has been sparked over the efficacy that diplomacy brings to the international table of conflict with scholars such as Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs and Isak Svensson who strongly support diplomacy, while Monica Duffy Toft questions its role. Perhaps the role that diplomacy plays is suffering because its very definition has not evolved enough to keep up with the modern circumstances that dictate its implementation. Military strategies are more likely to be heard over diplomatic petitions because the age of mediation and negotiation settlements is gradually waning. These peaceful methodologies may be lacking a meaningful outlet where the grounds for conflict balance can properly be exercised.

Kovacs and Svensson suggest that negotiated settlements lead to more stable and durable peace and that “the decline of conflict resolution may indicate a less secure and stable peace down the road” and that “military victories are problematic from a democratic perspective. Efforts to win militarily encourage authoritarian strategies both during and after the war.”¹¹ Toft argues that “most scholarship and policy making to date has simply taken negotiated settlements as a necessary starting point and then focused on the difficulties of arranging settlements or on problems associated with bargaining under incomplete information or commitment problems.”¹² Often enough, peace deals are made and armed conflict reignites because parties’ interests were not more carefully considered when creating the negotiation accords. This is most evident in the

¹¹ Kovacs, Mimmi Söderberg, and Isak Svensson. “The Demise of Diplomacy: Explaining the Declining Trend of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars.” *Department of Peace and Conflict Research*, Uppsala University.

¹² Toft, Monica Duffy. “Peace through Security: Making Negotiated Settlements Stick.” Carleton University.

peace deals made between Palestine and Israel, referred to as the Oslo Accords¹³ or, as analyzed in the last section, with the Northern Mali conflict peace agreement that faded only months just after the ink had dried.¹⁴ A peace treaty is only as effective as the participants are willing to adhere to the conditions. If these requirements are not fulfilled, much of the blame is placed on diplomatic measures taken because it is thought that diplomacy is the undisputed resolution to international conflicting relations. This shares some commonalities to the “give war a chance” ideology that has interested several scholars of democratic peace theory. It may be beneficial to consider the advantages to engaging in warfare over diplomacy. Similar to the ego’s desire to satisfy its personal appetites, proponents for war are typically driven by a sense to satisfy egocentric objectives, nearly culminating in an absolute ignorance of the Other’s position.

War is largely a quicker process where decisions are made and the focus is put on selfish pursuits rather than the (ideally) altruistic sentiments that stem from true meditative collaboration. However, if we compare the id to war (personal goals are capitalized) and the superego to diplomacy (collaborative efforts are primarily made), then the ego represents the diplomat, mediator, or negotiator. It is true that all viable options are to be brought into account before a decision is made. Perhaps the world is so concerned with peace talks and agreements that the positive side to war is largely ignored, if there even is one. Despite these claims, neither war nor diplomacy should be solely factored into the peace process. Similar to the mind, Freud calls for the need to balance the ego with elements from either pole. This process must include a harmonization of the selfish and selfless drives that fuel all action within the individual. War and

¹³ Hedges, Chris. “MIDEAST ACCORD: THE OVERVIEW; RABIN AND ARAFAT SIGN ACCORD ENDING ISRAEL'S 27-YEAR HOLD ON JERICHO AND THE GAZA STRIP.” *The New York Times*, 5 May 1994.

¹⁴ Jazeera, Al. “Mali's Tuareg Fighters End Ceasefire.” *News | Al Jazeera*, 30 Nov. 2013, www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/11/mali-tuareg-fighters-end-ceasefire-2013113093234673103.html.

diplomacy work in an interesting fashion, like the id and superego do within the individual.

Consider the reality that humans are sometimes driven senselessly by emotions and desires that push and pull in a number of directions. This multitude of directions leads the ego to make decisions both simple and complex. Let us equally consider the difficulty that is mandated in order to balance a healthy ego so that it does not overly constrain itself during the decision-making process. Hence, similar to many learning concepts, the ego too must undergo some form of growing process where it is properly exercised in order to fulfill the functions and responsibilities that have been mandated to it.

What does this changing trend away from conflict resolution and towards an increasing reliance on military mean in settling intra-state armed conflict? One key consequence is the potentially negative long-term effects of military victories on the likelihood of durable peace and democracy. Such effects might include sustained intimidation rather than sustained cooperation and a strategy that relies heavily on the use of pursuing personal interests rather than integrating a communal system of thinking. The answers to the question of which civil war outcomes best reduce the risk of civil war recurrence and are more likely to lead to sustainable peace and democracy, have essentially divided the research community into two sides. On the one hand, there are those that argue that military victories trump negotiated settlements in most of these respects. On the other hand, there are a number of researchers that have questioned these findings, suggesting that they are not very robust. It is our argument that negotiated settlements are more conducive to stable peace when interests of the Self and Other are appropriately mediated. We have seen that peace agreements are not always as lasting as they intend to be. Conflict is a force of dynamic energy that remains in flux between activity and latency. When the

variable known as human interaction plays a vital role, peace agreements can dissolve and the conflicting emotions may retake their former positions. If this occurs, conflicts may become worse than they previously were and exhibit a spiraling trend that obeys none other.

Being a recent and often-cited proponent of the first argument, Toft finds that civil wars ended by military victory have a tendency to stay ended, compared to negotiated settlements which are more likely to result in renewed violence.¹⁵ In particular, rebel victories have a lower probability of war recurrence than government victories. She argues that the key reason why military victories are more stable is because the victor can credibly threaten the losing side with direct physical harm should violence resume. Negotiated settlements, on the other hand, are fragile because they only offer benefits for compliance and indirect harm. She adds that rebel victories are also more likely to lead to more enduring peace and encourage democratisation in post-war states. This is because in addition to credibly threatening harm, rebel victories provide positive incentives for non-violence and contribute to open up political space. However, according to her, military victories and peace agreements can potentially be merged into the ultimate form of civil war ending if negotiated settlements can incorporate the “promise of harm” of military victories through comprehensive security sector reform. Perhaps at the center of this reform lies the meditative role that the ego plays in determining the balance between military justification and peacebuilding frameworks. This merging she references may be what Freud theorized as being the tripartite (meaning the systematic construct of the id, ego, and superego) since the individual may, at times, be at odds with oneself and experience a personal civil war.

Toft’s argument fall back on an academic tradition that have for a long time suggested

¹⁵Toft, Monica Duffy. *Securing the Peace: the Durable Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton Univ. Press, 2010.

that military victories provide a better foundation for stable post-war environments than negotiated settlements. The argument was first made in the famous article "Give war a chance," in which the author argues that military victories produce a more stable peace because they reduce the loser's capacity to resume violence.¹⁶ The implication of this argument is, according to Luttwak, that the international community should be allowing wars to run their course in order to enhance the likelihood of durable peace and post-war reconstruction. However, at what point do we allow conflict to remain unchallenged by refuting all claims to confront it? Human participation is essential to appropriately interacting with conflict since it is wisdom to direct the conflict more so than being directed by it. Additionally, this raises questions to the validity of this international community. Who should lead this community and how will decisions be determined? Wars involve people and people have tendencies to struggle confronting their own morals and flaws.

On a similar line of thought, Roy Licklider argues that victories are more stable than negotiated settlements because the loser's capacity to reignite conflict is low.¹⁷ He finds empirical support for the proposition that negotiated settlements are less likely to endure than military victories, and finds that decisive military outcomes reduce the likelihood of another armed conflict. Barbara Walter too finds that decisive military victories lead to longer periods of peace, and explains this through a bargaining perspective.¹⁸ The more decisive the outcome, the more information about relative capabilities rivals have, and the greater the incentives to maintain peace. Negotiated settlements, on the other hand, leave combatants at risk of

¹⁶ Luttwak, Edward N. "Give War a Chance." *Foreign Affairs*, 1999, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1999-07-01/give-war-chance.

¹⁷ Licklider, Roy. *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*. New York Univ Press, 1995.

¹⁸ Walter, Barbara F. *Reputation and Civil War: Why Separatist Conflicts Are so Violent*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009.

information asymmetry, are difficult to craft in countries with weak political institutions, changing social structures, and depend on credible third party guarantees. Moreover, negotiated settlements signal government willingness to compromise with rebel groups, encouraging future armed challenges. Hence, governments have incentives not to negotiate in order to build a reputation for toughness, Walter argues. We observe that the debate over the survivability of diplomacy remains highly contested as peacebuilders and conflict scholars struggle to properly define its relevance and use in conflict transformation efforts. It is possible that our focus has been primarily on the external conflict environment without understanding the internal conflict arena of the mind.

Conclusion

The complex features of the mind may have more to do with diplomacy than at first glance. Sigmund Freud proposed that each human individual had the capacity to live their life in accordance with adhering to a set of psychological inclinations, whether it dictated selfishness, selflessness or a combination of the two. This mediation of the mind would help the individual grow in their capacities and properly confront adversarial circumstances, most often in the form of conflict. This omnipresent energy exists everywhere and affects individuals, groups, organizations, states and nations; all of which share the human variable as foundational to its establishment. If we use Freud's psychoanalytic theory to understand the course of conflict in the mind, we may use this knowledge to understand the external environment in which conflict effortlessly prevails. The id exhibits tendencies that support its own preservation with little to no regard for the Other, while the superego maintains a spirit of communal efforts and seeks a more

utilitarianism approach. The ego must be strong enough to handle this constant battle for balance, just as the process of peacebuilding in any conflict zone must have the ability to mediate between a plethora of variables.

The conflict in Mali is just one example where a stronger emphasis on diplomacy might have avoided violent conflict from raging between the North and the South. Even though the number of conflicts has decreased since 2005, the tactics being employed are perhaps not as effective, nor is the peace as lasting when diplomacy is not considered sooner.¹⁹ While it is true that peace agreements are signed once armed conflict has ceased, it is equally true that no peace agreement has the power to stop conflict altogether.

¹⁹ Nizeimana, John Bosco, and Alfred Gwarega Nhema. "The Malian Crisis: Multiple Actors with Diverse Interests and Values." *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, vol. 5, no. 3, Dec. 2015, doi:10.5296/jpag.v5i3.8273.