CONCEPT OF LIBERAL PEACE MANAGEMENT THROUGH MEDIATION

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Abstract. *Theoretical study of peace as dynamics of life free from violence from perspective of management science reveals instrumental potential of mediation, i.e. organization of peace in communication among people, in liberal peace management, which is process of organization and development of peaceful life by nonviolent means. Liberal peace management through mediation in private and public contexts maintains dialogue, negotiations, and decision-making ensuring maximum autonomy of the parties to achieve agreements between people and voluntary compli-ance with the agreements. As a peaceful way of dispute settlement, liberal peace management through mediation helps to build peace within and between societies ensuring the right of every-one to enjoy just and prosperous peace free from fear and want, as urges 2016 Declaration on the Right to Peace.*
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Introduction

Three profound tendencies of current moment shape our future. Firstly, it is development of communication techniques and skills helping everyone to find common language with anybody. Secondly, it is profound political and economic transformations of world-system, empowerment of global civil society movements and corporations. Thirdly, it is universal competition of two approaches to govern-ance and management, namely, liberal approach based on the inclusive voluntary evidence-based decision-making and illiberal approach based on the old-fashion formula "divide et impera," systemic deception and structural violence.

In categorical terms of political morality (no one should be turned into instru-ment of other's will, in Kantian tradition) and in consequential terms of economic morality (greatest benefit of maximum number, in Benthamite tradition) liberal ap-proach is morally superior over illiberal approach; because of that, liberal approach is nat-ural choice of responsible leaders. Unfortunately, illiberal approach excites short-term thinking; it seemingly proposes cheap way to manipulative and extortive domination over people and mar-kets. Collateral damage of widespread illiberal ap-proach is toxic culture of conflict which distorts human development undermining our plans for peaceful future full of happiness.

Transformations in human communication, management and governance, in particular, devel-opment of the science and art of mediation, help to respond the cul-ture of conflict building culture of peace in foundation of new global social contract.

Literature Review

Interdisciplinary research in law, econom-ics, and management today frequently concern with peace and conflict issues. Bielova, Lotariev and Shcherbakova (2020) argue that ethical respon-sibility can greatly improve the company's opera-tions and reduce the costs of potential conflicts [1]. Liashenko emphasizes fragility of transforming societies during a hybrid world war, in particular, due to lack of legitimate political mediators; Mi-hus points out that business conflicts increase the risk of cor-porate raiding and, therefore, should be promptly resolved in belligerent business environ-ment [2]. Frantsuz and Salamakhina (2018) argue that children's rights are usually violated in many ways in the context of armed conflict, proposing le-gal measures for deescalation of conflicts and pre-vention of engagement of children into the conflict [3]. Alkema, Kirichenko, Litvin et al. (2015) ex-plain importance of timely and high-quality conflict management for organizations, ensuring a friend-ly, positive, optimistic climate in the team, since non-confrontational social environ-ment should be created in organizations according to quality management system standard ISO 9001:2015 [4]. Koval made a point that the armed conflict in east-ern Ukraine is a permanent source of risks for the country and economy [5].

Peacebuilding mediation is essential topic in peace and conflict studies. Rocha (2019) de-scribes mediation as a conflict management tool, a process of assisted ne-gotiations and common decision-making, transforming destructive conflict to a con-structive resolution of problems, creating safe space of communication. Mediation is effec-

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tive when distrust between conflicting parties prevents them from direct bar-gaining, so they employ trusted non-conflicting party to facilitate their negotiation. In new realities when power shifts from states to individuals and corporations, from hierarchies to networks, when nature of war changes from interstate to intrastate armed conflict, peace process and mediation as its vital part takes place on four tracks: official relations, unofficial cooperation, public dialogue, and promotion of peace in civil society, including nonviolent education. Contemporary mediator need to reboot the international system with a stronger inclusion of the citizen diplomacy agenda, bringing back breakaway groups to the peace process [6]. Lederach (1997) considers relations building as central component of dealing with contemporary conflict and reconstruction of divided society [7, p. 151].

According to Horowitz (2007), the task of a mediator is creating the condi-tions for an open dialogue and assuring the parties involved in the conflict freedom of speech and, above all, autonomy in decision making. She describes the Harvard method, aimed at the integrative (win-win) solution of disputes at interpersonal and international levels, and explains Johan Galtung's theory of mediation as peace work, seeking transformation of conflict into transcendent peace, towards legiti-mate, positive, and constructive future [8].

Lehti (2019) describes liberal peace as the idea combining democracy promo-tion, respect of human rights and peace, which became a cornerstone of new interna-tional order, and emphasizes the centrality of private peacemakers "as flexible ac-tors whose innovative thinking paves the way for reconsidering and reinventing old practices of mediation." He mentions academic criticism of "the myth of rational management of a peace process" as "conflict management" based on linear causal logic, related to the notorious "divide and rule" approach prevailing in public poli-tics, which is less effective than "adaptive approach" initiated by private actors, for example, in liberal peace interventions, civil crisis management and humanitarian aid projects of NGOs [9].

Sheliazhenko (2020) describes conflict bias as a tendency of people to ignore peace and opportunities for its achievement and argues that mediation as a form of liberal peace management can help people to realize they have a choice whether to participate in conflict or not, and make their choice in favor of peace; schemes ex-posing conflict bias may be used in mediation [10]. The concept of liberal peace management through mediation proposed in this article was developed by the author during the Master's Program in Mediation and Conflict Resolution at KROK Busi-ness School, which is part of the project "Mediation: Training and Society Trans-formation/ MEDIATS" co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union [11].

Aims

This study is aimed to explain and develop theoretical concept of liberal peace management through mediation linking it with well-known theory of conflict man-agement.

Methods

Theoretical and doctrinal survey was conducted to formulate proposals in methodological framework of management science and peace studies, including au-thor's theory of liberal peace management.

Results and Discussion

Changing nature of peace in modern understanding may be explained on example from intellectual history of management science.

Integrative approach to peaceful organization of life is an old idea in management, developed, in particular, by the "mother of modern management" Mary Parker Follett in her 1918 book "The New State: Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government." Explaining how to achieve "industrial peace," she wrote: "Labor unions have long been seeking their rights, have looked on the differences between capital and labor as a fight, and have sought an advantageous position from which to carry on the fight: this attitude has influenced their whole internal organization. They quite as much as capital must recognize that this attitude must be given up. If we want harmony between labor and capital, we must make labor and capital into one group: we must have an integration of interests and motives, of standards and ideals of justice." Also, Mary Parker Follett emphasized on changing the competition-based approach of classic education: "It is at school that children should begin to learn group initiative, group responsibility – in other words, social functioning. The group process must be learnt by practice. We should therefore teach subjects which require a working

together, we should have group recitations, group investigations, and a gradual plan of self-government. Every child must be shown his place in the life that builds and his relation to all others who are building. All the little daily and hourly experiences of his interrelations must be constantly interpreted to him. Individual competition must, of course, disappear. All must see that the test of success is ability to work with others, not to surpass others... Moreover, we should have, and are beginning to have, group recitations. A recitation should not be to test the pupil but to create something. Every pupil shouldbe made to feel that his point of view is slightly different from any one's else, and that, therefore, he has something to contribute" [12].

Transformation of the spirit of "competition" into the spirit of "contribution" is cornerstone of Follett's idea of "integrative" education and conflict management. Follett approached to explanation of what I call fallacy of illiberal peace in her 1924 book "Creative experience," though she used the vague concept of creative conflict which in my view anticipated modern concept of dynamic peace. Insisting that the law should be "based not on the battle of interests with the crown to the victor, but on the uniting of interests," she wrote: "Again we are told that law comes always from struggle; the right conquers. All the errors of this way of thinking come from one: the ignoring of the creative possibilities of conflict. We do not wish to put up with strife for the sake of the peace that follows. Existence should not be an alternation of peace and strife. We should see life as manifold differings inevitably confronting each other, and we should understand that there is no peace for us except within this process. There is no moment when life, the facing of differings, stops for us to enjoy peace in the sense of a cessation of difference. We can learn the nature of peace only through an understanding of the true nature of conflict" [13].

Illiberal peace, based on purely communitarian approach, is self-contradictory concept legitimizing structural violence. It claims supremacy of collective agents over individuals to legitimize aggressive competition in authoritarian and manipulative clientellae-gathering. Any collection, collective, or capital of people and things (in Roman law known as "universitas," or association) is organization, basic unit of management having artificial personality; it is collective individual. But propo-

nents of communitarianism refuse to understand that political power in numbers of popular support does not legitimize violence; when they say "it is popular will," it means basically "might is right." Interestingly, they criticize capitalism for immoral attitude to arbitrary use the power of money, but they don't see that the gathering of people and the gathering of money to obtain (and abuse) power are activities very similar in many ways.

I had interesting discussion on that issue with Professor Peter Hallward at Warwick colloquium "The Ends of Autonomy." He thinks that autonomy isn't personal characteristics but only "the mass sovereignty," in particular, organized will of workers and capitalists in class struggle. I said him that any organized mass or class as a political agent is some organization, individual social capital (in modern society possibly even automated, driven by artificial intelligence). Nation states, or sovereign democracies, are political entreprises in debt of bankers, weaker than multinational corporations, high-profitable for holders of sovereign bonds and debts because of predatory taxation, which is legitimate robbery, monopolist privilege of such form of commercial firm as nation state, which tends to wage wars against competitors at the imperialist market of global robbery and create "social pollution" of deprivation, unhappiness, and pain. In that view, I asked him what difference is, in his view, between individual sovereignty and mass sovereignty; aren't masses just corporate individuals? He answered that difference is in power and in different quality of power, namely, the mass is "agent and action simultaneously," like the noun "masses" denote result of action, denoted by the verb "to mass." Of course, this reasoning is flawed because any individual is capable to gain some amount of power by social contacts and material enrichment. And this flawed reasoning is typical for communitarianism, refusing to see individual character of its social constructions and refusing to respect individual rights, seeing in individual just weak single human person which should be crushed or coercively subordinated to "the community" or "the collective," created by amassment of people and things, like all capitalists manage organizations, because it is universal method neutral to ideologies. When we hear these words in this communitarian context, it would be wise to ask, who owner of the clientele we talking about; who

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is trying to obtain unjust liberty of despotic power, denying basic liberties of people needed to live peacefully and happily.

Illiberal peace causes structural violence and rebellion in communities depriving people of individual rights, supposedly for the sake of peace, and pose a threat to liberal peace management through mediation, because it allows to cover up violence, injustice, and oppression under disguise of peaceful settlement. Conflict fundamentalism sees conflict in any differences among people and claims the conflict leads to progress, ignoring the red line of nonviolence between constructive exchanges and destructive animosity, and thus legitimizing, perpetuating, escalating violence; it pose a threat to liberal peace management through mediation, because it lowers expectations of participants, their hopes for peace, their trust in process and other participants.

Peace management, unlike conflict management, avoids crossing red lines and infamous "divide and rule" approach, and thus strengthens the dynamic diversity of peaceful life. Sociologist Johan Galtung, father of peace studies, coined a term "dynamic peace" for this diversity. Mother of modern management, Mary Parker Follett, used the term "creative conflict" writing that peaceful life should be founded on integration of diverse differings, not on elimination of difference or victory of the strongest.

Dynamic peace is a factor of economic security that must be created at all levels. Peacebuilding and political mediation should create safe social environment. Business and private mediation, e.g. in labor and family disputes, should be used more widely because it helps to resolve conflicts faster and cheaper than litigation and arbitration.

Liberal peace management is process of organization and development of peaceful life by nonviolent means. In historical development, liberal peace management goes through three stages. The first stage is a moral influence, Ten Commandments and Ahimsa are good examples. The second stage is ethical prescriptions, such as customs of medieval international trade, so-called lex mercatoria, which preceded contemporary business ethics. The third stage is modern scientific methods and technologies of peace process such as mediation, facilitation of dialogue, and Harvard method of principled negotiation [14]; also, traditional adjudication in paradigm of procedural and social justice also is a method of liberal peace management.

Since mediation is organization of peace in communication among people, assistance in achieving agreements between people, the liberal peace management through mediation organizes process of decision-making ensuring maximum autonomy of the parties.

Promising approach to liberal peace management through mediation is conflict coaching (which may be characterized even better as peace leadership). The approach was developed by Jan van Zwieten; it focuses on helping individuals and teams to increase their human potential in energetic, rational, and social capacities, motivating and stimulating people to focuse personal and team energy (i.e. "energy we," capacity to deal with conflicts together), intelligence and emotions on a "quest," in search of higher purpose in life according with their identity, values, norms, passion, ambition [15], in other words, transcending themselves.

Jan van Zwieten once told us during his lecture, that there are over a million informal mediators in Netherlands and the nation is in top-10 of happiest countries in the world; this fact proves that peace culture generates prosperity.

Culture of conflict and hatred generates opposite results, as shows current hy-brid multi-layered geopolitical and geoeconomic conflict of neo-imperialist great powers around Ukraine inflaming armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine, caused by aggressive militarism of Russian and Ukrainian nationalists [16].

International mediation in Ukraine-Russia conflict was successful in establishing fragile ceasefire and humanitarian agreements such as prisoners exchange [17], but stuck in political disagreement, because all major stakeholders pursue illiberal peace being more interested to profit from the conflict than to resolve it. Let's hope that peace leadership and more active peacebuilding efforts of global civil society in future may change this unfortunate belligerent attitude of the stakeholders.

Conclusions

Liberal peace management as permanent process of organization and development of peaceful life by nonviolent means is essential factor for maintaining and development of universal and per-

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pertual peace, which is dynamics of life free from violence in all forms and dimensions, including politics and economics. The modern idea of liberal peace management reflects results of historical development of peace culture and organization of peace in different forms, such as moral and spiritual leadership, ethical reasoning in negotiations and decision-making, and mul-titude of scientific technologies of peace process developed in modernity.

Despite conflicts usually draw all our attention (the phenomena which I call conflict bias), there are always deep peace near and under the surface of any con-flict, even if the peace does not reveal itself at a first glance. Peace management is a way to analyse existing peace thorougfully, organize and strengthen the peace to ensure as much as possible minimization of the level of violence, any threats and harms crossing red lines and encroaching the state of peace. Other approach is con-flict management, based on analysis of conflict and organization of interventions seeking different benefits in conflict resolution, control over and transformation of conflict. Proponents of conflict management are usually eager, or not reluctant in negligence, to provoke and escalate conflicts if they feel power to control outcomes of the conflicts, believing that conflict and even violence is inavoidable and neces-sary part of human life, survival of the fittest and evolution. Peace management, un-like conflict management, doesn't neglect realities of peace during conflict analysis, doesn't resort to planned violence, avoids crossing red lines and infamous "divide and rule" approach, and thus strengthens the dynamic diversity of peaceful life.

Mediation is organization of peace in communication among people, assistance in achieving agreements between people. Liberal peace management through media-tion organizes dialog between parties and process of common decision-making en-suring maximum autonomy of the parties. It includes organization of negotiations and dialogue using facilitative, transformative, narrative, and other techniques, based on liberal principles of voluntariness and equal opportunity, leading to win-win type of conflict resolution and fair agreements.

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