John Burton complains that the traditional approach to conflict resolution, to which peacekeeping responds, tends to institutionalize conflict without resolving it.[68] Peacekeeping, he says, is typical of judicial settlements which favour existing values and structures. Yet, according to Burton, conflict is truly resolved only when the outcome is self-supporting. This requires that a new relationship be freely negotiated by, and wholly acceptable to, the disputants. For this to happen, communication between the parties must be established, even during the fighting, either directly or through third parties. Burton argues that communication alters the perceptions of the parties and thus their relationship.

Burton and others offer an alternative to traditional "power politics" theories of conflict resolution.[69] Those theories define conflict as a product of the competition over scarce resources. Conflict occurs when the interests of the parties, territorial interests for example, are in dispute. According to this interest-based theory of conflict, a gain by one side entails a loss by the other. Conflict is resolved by methods -- deterrence, coercion, negotiation and legal or judicial settlement, to name a few -- that result in compromise of one form or another.

Contrary to this viewpoint, Burton, as we have seen, maintains that conflict is seldom purely interest-based. He posits, instead, that unfulfilled needs or values are the main causes of disputes. These basic human needs, for things such as security, identity and human development, are limitless resources, common to all and not subject to, or requiring, compromise. Importantly, a gain by one on the scale of human needs does not imply a

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[68] Sidney Dawson Bailey, "Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes Some Proposals for Research," in, K. Venkata Raman (ed.), *Dispute Settlement Through the United Nations*, New York: United Nations Institute of Training and Research, 1977, p. 116.

[69] See: John Burton, *Conflict and Communication*, London: Macmillan, 1969; Leonard W. Doob (ed.), *Resolving Conflict in Africa: The Fermeda Workshop*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970; and, Ronald J. Fisher, "Third Party Consultation: A Method for the Study and Resolution of Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 16, (March 1972), pp. 67-94.