PG PS S4-03 (DSC)

TWO YEAR MASTER'S DEGREE COURSE
(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER IV

PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

POLITICAL SCIENCE



Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Subject Experts

Professor Dhruba Pratim Sharma, Gauhati University

Professor Jyotiraj Pathak, Bodoland University

Dr. Shantanu Chakravorty (Retd.), Cotton University

Course Co-ordinator: Dr. Abhijit Bhuyan, KKHSOU

SLM Preparation Team

UNITS	CONTRIBUTORS
1, 2	Dr. Pankaj Kumar Sarmah, Kumar Bhaskar Varma Sanskrit & Ancient Studies University, Nalbari
3,8	Dr. Dipak Kumar Sarma, CKB College, Teok
4	Dr. Anjana Chaliha, J.B. College; Dr. Abhijit Bhuyan, KKHSOU; Dr. Violeena Deka; Ms. Kabita Doloi, Pragjyotish College;
5,9,10,11	Dr. Nandita Das, PDUAM, Dalgaon
6	Dr. Abhijit Bhuyan, KKHSOU
7,12	Dr.Daisy Rani Talukdar, Icon Academy, Guwahati
13,14	Dr.Sabyasachi Mahanta, Gargaon College

Editorial Team

Content	:	Dr. Manashi Sarma (Retd.), Arya Vidyapeeth College, Guwahati (Units 1-7) Professor Bipul Das, KKHSOU (Units 8-14)
Language	:	Dr. Abhijit Bhuyan, KKHSOU
Structure, Format & Graphics	:	Dr. Abhijit Bhuyan, KKHSOU

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Head Office : Patgaon, Rani Gate, Guwahati-781 017;

City Office : Resham Nagar, Khanapara, Guwahati-781 022; Website: www.kkhsou.ac.in

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POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course of the MA Fourth Semester Programme of KKHSOU in Political Science is titled "Peace and Conflict Studies". It is designed to help the learners to have an understanding of the basic conceptual and theoretical framework with regard to the area of Peace and Conflict Studies. The evolution of the field of Peace and Conflict studies could be traced back to the 19th century while it was in the 20th century after the end of World War II that the subject came to be formulated in a more theoretical framework.

. Accordingly, the course begins with an explanation of the concept of peace covering both negative and positive peace while at the same time trying to explore the meaning and types of conflict as well as the sources of conflict. The course then goes on to trace the evolution of the discipline of public administration up to the present period. ·The course focusses on certain key concepts and ideas in the realm of peace and conflict studies. Theses include the concepts of structural violence and cultural violence. It is also important that the learners became aware of the different traditions of peace available in different cultural traditions across the globe. Accordingly, the course discusses the diverse perspectives on peace in different cultures of the world. Again, the course highlights some of the leading peace movements in the world such as the Anti-War Movement (Opposition to the Vietnam War), Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement, American Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King (Jr.) and Anti-Apartheid Movement led by Nelson Mandela. An important dimension of peace and conflict studies is that of culture of peace initiated by the UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme which is an integrated approach to peace building and post conflict reconstruction. At the same time, the concept of peace education aims to help people acquire skills for conflict prevention and conflict resolution through peaceful means. The course therefore highlights these two very important concepts in the field of peace and conflict studies. The course further highlights the relationship between war and militarism and discusses the impact of militarism on the society and economy . An important topic that has been discussed in the course is that of International humanitarian law or IHL which set certain rules that regulate the conduct of war and conflict. A central focus of peace and conflict studies is that of resolution of conflict. Accordingly, the course explores the concepts of conflict management and conflict resolution on the one hand and conflict settlement and conflict transformation on the other. The concept of militarism and its various aspects are also covered in the course since militarism constitutes an important area of study in the field of peace and conflict studies. The themes of reconstructive and transformative peace building and peace making constitute an important area of study in the field of peace and conflict

studies. Accordingly both the themes have also been adequately addressed by the course. The course also highlights on the legal means for conflict resolution. Diplomacy plays an important role in peace making. Accordingly, the course tries to explore the different types of diplomacy in peace making, namely, Track 1, Track 2 and Track 3 Diplomacy and also examines the role of the media in this regard. Finally, while exploring the conflict situation in a more localized context, the course ends with a discussion on the impact of the conflict situation in North East India on women and children.

While going through the units of this course, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. You will notice some alongside boxes while going through a unit , which have been included to help you know some of the difficult, unseen terms. Again, each unit carries certain activities after every section. These "ACTIVITIES" will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW" after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. It will be better if you answer the questions put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. Furthermore, a set of sample questions has been included under the category called "POSSIBLE questions" to give you a hint of the pattern of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: CONCEPT OF PEACE AND CONFLICT

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Concept of Peace

1.3.1 Negative and Narrow Peace

1.3.2 Positive and Broad Peace

1.4 Meaning and Types of Conflict

1.5 Sources of Conflict

1.6 Let Us Sum Up

1.7 Further Reading

1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.9 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the concept of peace
- explain the meaning of conflict
- discuss the types of conflict
- discuss the sources of conflict.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

If we begin with the need to survive, we immediately see that peace is a primary requirement of the human condition itself.

Peace is a contested term in the present discourse of academic discussion. It signifies two kinds of possibilities of absence of violence at personal level and structural level. Basically, peace reflects absence of actual warfare. But, mere absence of war only constructs negative dimension of peace. Raymond Aron, a 20th century French intellectual and supporter of Negative Peace defined peace as a condition of "more or less lasting suspension of rivalry between political units."[1] According to Negative

dimension of peace, if there is total absence of war and state sponsored violence, peace will automatically attainable in the society. For Johan Galtung, negative peace is states of action which basically want to overcome the problems of overt conflict. But on the contrary, positive peace is "a pattern of cooperation and integration between major human groups...It is about people interacting in cooperative ways; it is about social organizations of diverse peoples who willingly choose to cooperate for the benefit of all humankind; it calls for a system in which there are no winners and losers-all are winners; it is a state so highly valued that institutions are built around it to protect and promote it."[2]

Both the concept of 'Peace' and 'Conflict' are inter-related. Etymologically both are reciprocal in nature as the absence of one is the result of the other, i.e. absence of Conflict result in Peace and absence of Peace result in Conflict. In this unit, we shall discuss the very basic concepts of peace and conflict.

1.3 CONCEPT OF PEACE

Peace is considered to be a much contested term in the sense that it carries different meanings for different individuals. While analyzing the concept of Peace, the idea of 'Self' and the 'Other' always carry lots of significance. Peace within self and peace within others determine the duration of peace. To remain in peace, the individual's mind must always act in a non-violent manner. But individual's own self and the other's self carries lots of unfolding contradictions which can only be resolved if both the individuals desire to remain in peace. As the needs and aspirations of each individual are different, so the level of satisfaction and dis-satisfaction also varies.

Webster's dictionary defines Peace "negatively as a freedom from civil clamor and confusion" and "positively as a state of public quiet". As every individual desires peace of mind, so attainment of peace always remain the ultimate human goal which can be achieved from social harmony and equilibrium. Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu, founder of Taoism referred

to peaceful images of water or wind- both of them soft and yielding, yet ultimately victorious over such hard substances like rock or iron. The concept of Peace can be elaborated in terms of positive and negative dimensions of peace.

The terms "positive peace" and "negative peace" were introduced by Norwegian sociologist and a pioneer of peace and conflict studies - Johan Galtung who was the main founder of the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 1959. The terms "positive peace" and "negative peace" were introduced by Johan Galtung in 1964 while writing the editorial piece of the founding edition of the journal entitled Journal of Peace Research which was started by him.

In the 1960s , Galtung expanded the concepts of peace and violence to include not just direct violence but also indirect or structural violence. Accordingly, the concept of peace came to be interpreted as not just the absence of direct violence or negative peace (implying "absence of war") but also positive peace (implying "integration of human society" as described by Galtung himself). Thus, in order for real peace to prevail, there must exist harmonious social relations, constructive social communication, peace education, international cooperation and social, economic and political justice and equity. As a matter of fact, positive peace implies the fulfilment of those conditions which sustain peace and eliminate direct and structural violence.

1.3.1 Negative and Narrow Peace

Negative Peace is considered to be a cold peace i.e absence of war. But mere absence of war is not the permanent solution for the establishment of peace. Negative peace is more applicable in conflict-prone areas where immediate mechanisms for conflict resolution need to be resorted to. Diplomacy, negotiation, disarmament and arms control and international law, etc ., are some of the negative dimensions of peace. This perspective of peace is very narrow as the mere absence of war or violence does not result in peace. In

such a scenario, war or violence will keep recurring because the structural causes of violence have not been taken care of. To overcome these sorts of problems, emphasis must be given on the realization of positive peace.

1.3.2 Positive Peace

Positive Peace indicates the absence of not just direct violence but the removal of structural violence as well. Peace needs to be created by changing social structures and ensuring equality and equity in society. To achieve positive peace, reduction of violent behaviour has to be complemented with actions which seek to change the regressive social structures as well as changing attitudes. Positive peace is more conducive for eliminating overt violence as well as structural violence. Structural violence in the long run has the effect of denying people of their basic amenities thereby causing a great sense of human insecurity. For Johan Galtung, many people who behave as good citizens and peace-lovers often participate in settings within which individuals may do enormous amounts of harm to other human beings without ever intending to do so, just performing their regular duties as a job defined in the structure.[3] The positive dimension of peace always involves searching for resolution and keeping vigil on causes of conflict that produce violence. Violent conflicts, basically ethnic and religious in nature have become one of the most significant threats to human security in the 21st century. Peace, which is a multifaceted concept needs to be realized at the societal context for understanding the paradigms of human security. In this context, we can cite Trostle's comprehensive definition of peace,"Peace is a state of well-being that is characterized by trust, compassion and justice. In this state we can be encouraged to explore as well as celebrate our diversity, and search for the good in each other without the concern for personal pain and sacrifice... It provides us a chance to look at ourselves and others as part of the human family, part of one world."[4]



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write the meaning of peace.

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Q.2: What are the two types of peace?

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Q.3: Write the meaning of positive peace?

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1.4 MEANING AND TYPES OF CONFLICT

1.4.1 Meaning of Conflict

Conflict is another important concept of discussion. The meaning of conflict is very broad. In general, the term conflict has been interpreted as the opposite of peace. The kinds of events that increase the hint of antagonism, hostility, frustration, relative deprivation, aggression and any other indifference can be included under the conceptual meaning of conflict. Conflict is an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources and interference from the other party in achieving their goals.[5] The Oxford English Dictionary considers conflict as an encounter with arms that leads to a fight, battle, prolonged struggle, fighting that contend with arms, martial strife. In this context, conflict can be identified with fighting whether physically or verbally. According to the Realist theory, conflicts are always caused by scarcity of resources and attempts by states to win control over those resources.[6] Those conflicts which become more violent now a days are considered as protracted social conflict that

are based on needs, particularly identity related needs of ethno-cultural groups. Edward Azar argues that "These identity groups, whether formed around shared religious, ethnic, racial, cultural, or other characteristics, will act to achieve and insure their distinctive identity within a society. When they are denied physical and economic security, political participation, and recognition from other groups, their distinctive identity is lost, and they will do whatever is in their power to regain it. In short, this is the origin of protracted social conflict."[7] Stephen Ryan defined protracted conflict as "usually conflicts between ethnic groups which have been going on for some time, and which may appear to be irresolvable to the parties caught up in them."[8] The meaning of conflict becomes more clear and conceptual with Johan Galtung's idea of structural violence. Structural violence leads to relative deprivation and subsequently increases the magnitude and intensity of political conflict.

According to Jeong, conflict is said to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals. Destructive behaviour is the most notable negative aspect of conflict. As such, human beings must interact among each other moderately to overcome the possible destruction. Because, conflict can lead to violence, loss of life, denial of human rights, frustration, aggression, disrupt establish working patterns, reduce productivity of the people engaged in various sectors, reduce social harmony and so on.

The term "conflict" is derived from the Latin "to clash or engage in a fight". It indicates a confrontation between one or more parties engaged in a pursuit to fulfil their competing goals and values. Conflict arises when the beliefs and actions of one group are resisted by another group leading to friction and discord among the two groups.

Conflict is a disagreement between two or more parties, such as individuals, groups, departments, organizations or countries, who perceive that they have incompatible concerns. Conflicts exist

whenever an action by one party is perceived as interfering with the goals, needs or actions of another party. Conflicts can arise for several reasons, some of them are:

- Incompatible goals
- Differences in the interpretation of facts
- Negative feelings
- Variations in values and philosophies
- Disputes over shared success

Conflict is neither good nor bad. Conflicts, if controlled or managed constructively, do not lead to violence. The outcome of a conflict is the criterion for determining whether the conflict is functional (conflict that supports organization's goal) or dysfunctional (conflict that prevents an organization from achieving its goal), that is, whether it has positive or negative outcomes for concerned parties.

- Positive Attitude towards Conflict:

  Conflicts in organizations can be positive forces. The creation and resolution of conflict can lead to constructive problem solving. The need to resolve conflict can lead people to search for ways of changing how they do things. The conflict-resolution process can stimulate innovation and positive change, as well as make change acceptable. A positive attitude towards conflict encourages people to solve their differences, to participate in developing an ethical and fair organization, and to directly handle injustice.

- Negative Attitude towards Conflict:

  Conflict can also have serious negative effects, diverting attention from the goal and depleting resources, especially time and money. Conflict can negatively affect the psychological wellbeing of employees and cause stress. Severe conflicting thoughts, ideas, and beliefs can lead to resentment, tension, and anxiety. Over an extended period, conflicts can make it difficult to create and maintain supportive and trusting relationships. When

cooperation is required, severe conflict and competition hurts performance. Deep and lasting conflicts that are not addressed can even trigger violence among people.

- Types of Conflict[9]

1. Intra-personal conflict : This is experienced by a single individual, when his or her own goals, values or roles clash and the individual must make a choice between which goals to pursue. Intra-personal conflict is internal to the person and is probably the most difficult type of conflict to analyze. It happens because the person is not clear about his role; he sets two mutually exclusive goals for himself. An individual is expected to play a variety of role in his life. Since it is practically impossible to live up to everyone's expectations, the role incumbent starts experiencing frustration and anxiety from within. These ultimately lead to interpersonal conflict.
2. Inter-personal conflict : This occurs when the values, ideas, opinions and goals of two or more individuals differ and they need to interact between themselves, resulting in conflict. So inter-personal conflict occurs when two person's attitudes, behaviour and actions are in opposition. Personality clashes lead to interpersonal conflicts in organizations. Inter-personal conflict also results when there is a lack of clarity in terms of understanding one's role in a given situation with respect to another person. The most commonly cited reasons for interpersonal conflict are: personality differences, differences in perception, clashes of values and interests and power and status differences.
3. Intra-group conflict : Intragroup conflict is conflict within a group or team, where members argue over which type of goals or procedures need to be pursued or followed. Such conflicts are often noticed in political parties resulting in splits in a party. It includes disagreements between group

members on certain issues, thereby leading to ineffectiveness in the group's functioning.

4. Inter-group conflict : This type of conflict occurs when two or more groups pursue different values, ideas, opinions and goals and tend to come into conflict with each other over the divergent values. Emergence of coalitions are also seen arising among groups, and an "us-versus-them" mentality develops. Intergroup conflicts often manifest themselves in the form of ethnic and communal clashes. Inter-group conflicts have both positive and negative consequences. On the positive side, the intergroup conflict increases the cohesiveness among the group members, thereby generating enhanced commitment and loyalty towards the group. On the negative side, it distances people from each other in organizations and enhances the gap between teams and departments.

Some other forms of conflict are also mentioned below:

Value Conflict: As a result of incompatible values, this type of conflict may arise between individuals and also between an individual and an organization. In most cases value conflict arises when one individual's value, which is an integral part of his or her self, comes into conflict where the other people expected him or her to act contrary to his or her own values.

Power conflict: The kind of desire that is shown by human beings to gain or maintain power results in power conflict. This type of conflict basically relates to the need for power on the part of every individual in comparison to the other. A basic need of human being is arguably to have enough power. The degree of exercise of power by certain categories of powerful groups further aggravate the situation and provokes others as well.

Territorial conflict: This type of conflict arises as result of territorial instinct shown by each nation state towards neighboring states.

Territorial conflict is based on a perception that a particular territory is threatened and needs to be protected from the opponent. Again, each group may want to expand its sphere of influence over a particular territory and stake exclusive claiml over the same and thereby come into conflict with those who want to operate in the said territory.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Write the meaning of intrapersonal conflict?

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1.5 SOURCES OF CONFLICT

In most cases, conflict is identified with fighting and destructiveness. There is a close connection between society and conflict. There are various sources of conflict which are discussed below:

- **Misinformation:** Any type of conflict arises depending on of the type of information gathered by both the parties on the basis of which hostilities may increase or decreases. Misinformation regarding any event aggravates the possibility of conflict.
- **Miscommunication:** As a result of miscommunication, the degree of violence increases among the hostile groups during the time of conflict. Any form of miscommunication may damage a peaceful situation and lead to violent conflict.
- **Resources:** In order to safeguard the resources of a particular community from the scourge of another one, violent conflict may break out. Since natural resources are scarce, each community wants to safeguard the same from external threats. Edward Azer's concept of Protracted Social Conflict is one of such kinds of conflict.
- **Interest and Needs:** Due to divergent interests and needs of different human beings, there may break out a conflicting situation.

- **Relationships:** Conflict always breaks down the social cohesion. In this context, relationship plays a very significant role in both positive and negative ways. BAad and hostile relations result in the outburst of a conflicting situation.
- **Structures:** Structural incapability on the part of the system results in failure to resolve differences which ultimately results in conflict. It may happen in case of government, institution, society and at different levels.
- **Power:** Desire for power is always considered to be a strong source of conflict. Mad craze for power ultimately results in the destruction of the individual as well as the society.
- **Lack of Good Governance:** In most cases, the stability of a political system depends upon its capacity in terms of governance. Good governance is an important pre-condition of democracy. Failure to deliver the goods and services results in chaos and anarchy in the society. In most parts of the world, lack of governability capacity on the part of the government results in the outbreak of conflicting situations for which later on violence become indispensible.
- **Violation of Rights:** Human rights are one of the important criteria for establishing peace. If there is a gross violation of human rights in the society, there is no possibility of establishment of peace. Instead, it increases restlessness and increasing tension which ultimately results in the form of outburst of violent conflict.
- **Culture:** In order to preserve their respective culture, each group sometimes indulges in certain conflicting situation if they face trouble. Preserving one's own culture is considered to be a primordial loyalty for which they can go to any extent. Since culture is directly related with the sentiment of a particular community, so any threat perception towards their own people results in restlessness among them which ultimately causes violent conflict.

- **Religion:** Religion is also considered to be a crucial source of conflict. Religious dogma, fundamentalism, etc always instigate the people against the established norms of the society which we need to overcome by developing a proper religious belief system without interfering other's religious issues. Religion is always good, but fundamentalism which sparks from religious orthodoxy and dogma is not acceptable for a secular society.
- **Ideology:** Ideological confrontation is one of the important sources of conflict. Ideological differences among the groups result in clashes which often turn violent by the use of armaments.
- **Identity:** In the post- cold war period, most of the conflict situations in different parts of the world, especially in the third world countries, are considered to be identity related conflict. Politics of identity, whether ethnic or linguistic, is a reality in all underdeveloped regions.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write briefly about any two sources of conflict.

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1.6 LET US SUM UP

- Peace is a contested term in the present discourse of academic discussion. It signifies two kinds of possibilities of absence of violence at personal level and structural level. Basically, peace reflects absence of actual warfare. But mere absence of war only constructs negative dimension of peace.
- Peace is considered to be a much contested term in the sense that it carries different meanings for different individuals. While analyzing

the concept of Peace, the idea of 'Self' and 'Other' always carry lots of significance. Peace within self and peace within others determines the duration of peace.

- Negative Peace is considered to be a cold peace i.e., absence of war. But, mere absence of war is not the permanent solution for the establishment of peace. This perspective of peace is very narrow as the mere absence of war or violence does not result in peace.
- Positive Peace indicates the absence of not just direct violence but the removal of structural violence as well. Peace needs to be created by changing social structures and ensuring equality and equity in the society. To achieve positive peace, reduction of violent behaviour has to be complemented with actions directed at changing the structure as well as changing attitudes. Positive peace is more conducive for eliminating overt violence as well as structural violence.
- Conflict is another important concept of discussion. The meaning of conflict is very broad. In general, the term conflict has been interpreted as the opposite of peace. The kinds of events that increase the hint of antagonism, hostility, frustration, relative deprivation, aggression and any other indifference can be included under the conceptual meaning of conflict.
- There are various types of conflict, such as- intrapersonal conflict, interpersonal conflict, intragroup conflict, intergroup conflict, value conflict, power conflict and territorial conflict.
- There are various sources of conflict.



1.7 FURTHER READING

1) Galtung, Johan (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means- P*eace and *Conflict*, *Development and Civilization* . PRIO. SAGE Publications Ltd.

2. Jeong, Ho-Won (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies* : *An Introduction (Studies in Peace and Conflict Research)*.



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Peace is considered to be a much contested term in the sense that it carries different meanings for different individuals. While analyzing the concept of Peace, the idea of 'Self' and the 'Other' always carry lots of significance.

Webster's dictionary defines Peace "negatively as a freedom from civil clamor and confusion" and "positively as a state of public quiet". As every individual desires peace of mind, so attainment of peace always remain the ultimate human goal which can be achieved from social harmony and equilibrium. Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu, founder of Taoism referred to peaceful images of water or wind- both of them soft and yielding, yet ultimately victorious over such hard substances like rock or iron. The concept of Peace can be elaborated in terms of positive and negative dimensions of peace.

The terms "positive peace" and "negative peace" were introduced by Norwegian sociologist and a pioneer of peace and conflict studies - Johan Galtung who was the main founder of the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 1959. The terms "positive peace" and "negative peace" were introduced by Johan Galtung in 1964 while writing the editorial piece of the founding edition of the journal entitled Journal of Peace Research which was started by him.

In the 1960s , Galtung expanded the concepts of peace and violence to include not just direct violence but also indirect or structural violence. Accordingly, the concept of peace came to be interpreted as not just the absence of direct violence or negative peace (implying "absence of war") but also positive peace (implying "integration of human society" as described by Galtung himself). Thus, in order for real peace to prevail, there must exist harmonious social relations, constructive social communication, peace education, international cooperation and

social, economic and political justice and equity. As a matter of fact, positive peace implies the fulfilment of those conditions which sustain peace and eliminate direct and structural violence.

Ans to Q No 2: Negative peace and Positive peace.

Ans to Q No 3: Positive Peace indicates the absence of not just direct violence but the removal of structural violence as well. Peace needs to be created by changing social structures and ensuring equality and equity in society. To achieve positive peace, reduction of violent behaviour has to be complemented with actions which seek to change the regressive social structures as well as changing attitudes. Positive peace is more conducive for eliminating overt violence as well as structural violence. Structural violence in the long run has the effect of denying people of their basic amenities thereby causing a great sense of human insecurity. For Johan Galtung, many people who behave as good citizens and peace-lovers often participate in settings within which individuals may do enormous amounts of harm to other human beings without ever intending to do so, just performing their regular duties as a job defined in the structure. The positive dimension of peace always involves searching for resolution and keeping vigil on causes of conflict that produce violence.

Ans to Q No 4: This is experienced by a single individual, when his or her own goals, values or roles clash and the individual must make a choice between which goals to pursue. Intra-personal conflict is internal to the person and is probably the most difficult type of conflict to analyze. It happens because the person is not clear about his role; he sets two mutually exclusive goals for himself. An individual is expected to play a variety of role in his life. Since it is practically impossible to live up to everyone's expectations, the role incumbent starts experiencing frustration and anxiety from within. These ultimately lead to interpersonal conflict.

Ans to Q No 5: (i) Misinformation

(ii) Ideology



1.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Write the meaning of structural violence?

Q. 2 : Explain the meaning of peace with reference to positive peace and negative peace.

Q. 3 : Write about the meaning of conflict.

Q. 4 : Explain the various types of conflict.

Q. 5 : Examine any eight sources of conflict.

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[1]Aron, Raymond.(1966).Peace and War, New York, Doubleday, p-42

[2]Sandy, Leo R.,& Perkins, Ray.(2002). The nature of Peace and its Implications for Peace Education, in Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Vol 2, No 2, 2002, p-3

[3]Galtung, Johan.(1985). Twenty Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Responses, Journal of Peace Research, vol 22, p-414

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UNIT 2: EVOLUTION OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Origin and Growth of Peace and Conflict Studies

2.4 Present Status of Peace and Conflict Studies

2.5 Let Us Sum Up

2.6 Further Reading

2.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.8 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the origin of Peace and Conflict Studies
- discuss the growth and evolution of Peace and Conflict Studies as a discipline
- analyze the present status of Peace and Conflict Studies as an academic discipline.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Concern and awareness regarding the need for Peace and Conflict Studies programme in the academic field gradually developed from 19th century onwards and it got accelerated in the 20th century after the end of World War II. The evolution of Peace and Conflict studies as an academic discipline is considered to be much younger than people's concern for peace. In the Western part of the world, peace studies evolved into a discipline only with the advent of modernity. But if we look at the genesis of mankind's abiding concern for peace, it was the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides in the West and the great Epic the Mahabharata in the far East. Peace and Conflict Studies as an academic discipline has come to a

current stage gradually evolving from the pacifist philosophy that war is bad and devastating and, on the contrary, peace is good and a complex social goal, which is not impossible to attain.[1]

Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) basically is a discipline that academically analyses and teaches conditions and values of peace, factors of conflict, issues of security, mechanisms of conflict resolution, and ways of conflict transformation with a pursuit of making peace everlasting.[2] The discipline of Peace and Conflict study is considered to be an important branch of social science analysis where utmost importance is given to analyze the violent and non-violent behavior both at the individual as well as the societal context. Peace and conflict studies are an inter-disciplinary effort in the field of academics by encompassing with other disciplines of social sciences to find out a plausible solution for the problems that have been confronting our society day by day.

2.3 ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

Regarding the origin of Peace and Conflict studies as a discipline, World War I is considered to be the starting point. The changing paradigms of world consciousness after the end of World War I were the real turning point for establishing a discipline which entirely looks at the issue of peace and conflict. The three world leaders namely Georges Clemenceau, David Lloyd and Woodrow Wilson met in a crucial time i.e after the end of World War I where Wilson proposed his famous Fourteen Points for peacemaking in the entire Europe. Wilson's fourteen principles basically stressed upon the end of European Empire and for the establishment of League of Nations. The kind of destruction that had been going on during World War I compelled the world community to think in terms of peace. The two World Wars in the first four decades of the 20th century have carried lots of unending problems which the human society had to face immediately after the end of World War. As a result, emphasis was made to seriously think in terms of establishment peace and security in the entire world by stressing on

academic discussion in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies so that an unanimous consensus may create in the minds of all those peace loving individuals in this world.

Ever since the creation of nation state system through the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, there have been hundreds of wars with immense loss including two World Wars in the twentieth century. The saga of violence and destruction of life and property caused the growth of peace and anti-war sentiments which appealed to the intellect of many scholars across the disciplines to initiate peaceful international relations. The main aim of establishment of Peace and Conflict Studies as a separate discipline was to spread the culture of peace through research and develop new perspectives on peace and conflict, and explore the causes and consequences of various forms of conflict.

Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS), is a well-established and well-functioning academic discipline now across the globe, which 'systematically study the causes of war and violence and the conditions of peace.[3] As such this discipline clearly distinguishes itself from other established disciplines. Subsequently it becomes clearer regarding the objectives and principle which need to follow in terms of peace studies. Especially after the end of World War II, the discipline tried to rigorously work in the field of research in order to offer solution for the establishment of peace and security in the world. Regarding the objective of Peace and Conflict Studies, David Dunn and Pedro Bernaldez Stated,

"As a whole, the objective of peace studies is to distill and spread the knowledge of peace research to wider community, in order to better understanding of peace and conflict issues in different and varied forms with certain values within a particular process and try to influence policy-making process successfully." [4]

Peace and Conflict Studies is a very well-articulated academic discipline now, which 'systematically study the cause of war and violence and the conditions of peace'.[5] Series of activities and approaches like peace movements, peace research, peace education, the process of peace building,

are rigorously associated with its evolution. Peace education plays a significant role in terms of analyzing and implementing policy of Peace studies.

While analyzing Peace and Conflict studies as an academic discipline, it has lot of co-relation with the discipline of International Relations. This relationship also well elaborated by John Paul Lederach. According to him, Peace and Conflict studies dealt exclusively on Conflict Resolution mechanism. In Lederach's view, Conflict Resolution (CR) is titled as a younger sister of a big brother, IR, that mostly focuses on soft and humanitarian issues of international relationships; whereas the latter deals with more hard core real politik issues.[6] So by making consensus between Conflict Resolution, which is a specialized field of study, and International Relation, a dominant discipline, the objectives of PACS (Peace and Conflict Studies) can be fulfilled. As a distinct field of study in the post-cold war phenomena, Conflict Resolution basically deals with series of mechanism such as Conflict Management, Conflict Prevention, Conflict Transformation, Peace Building, Peace Keeping, Peace Making etc. A group of pioneers from different disciplines saw the value of studying conflict as a general phenomenon and of late by making connection with peace they discover a new discipline in the name of Peace and Conflict Studies. Regarding the rapid development of Peace and Conflict Studies as a field of study it is measured by some eminent scholars that inter-war period of 1918 to 1945 i.e between World War I and World War II was the period when the discipline got accelerated with primary researches. When idealism enchanted 'supranational structure', for instance, the League of Nations, was unable to stop the World War II and its subsequent casualties of more than 50 million people, the involvement of North American and Western European universities in peace research has started. In the post-1945 period, particularly when SS and WS were launched in many North American and European institutions, the discipline of PACS also got a start as a formal field of study with its own institutions and journals.[7]

Richardson Institute of Peace Centre, which was established at the Lancaster University, in the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Religion

in 1959, was the first peace related institution in Britain. The Center for Conflict Resolution (CCR) was established in 1956 at the University of Michigan, which has started publishing the Journal of Conflict Resolution (JCR) since 1957. Both the center and the journal emphasized how to prevent global war and to bring intellectual efforts to study international relationships as 'an interdisciplinary enterprise'. Conversely, within three years peace research crossed the Atlantic when Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) was founded by Johan Galtung in 1959. The PRIO started publishing the Journal of Peace Research (JPR) and Security Dialogue (SD) since 1964. Galtung broadened the perspectives of Peace Studies, which Paul Rogers terms as "'maximalist' agenda" of European peace research.[8]

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) was set up on 1st July 1966 under the auspices of the Swedish Parliament. It focused on two broader projects - how to prevent further development of biological weapons and on disarmament research, including the study of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system. Subsequently, international peace societies and professional associations like Peace Research Society International (PRSI) and the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) were established in 1963. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research (DPACR) was established in 1966 at Uppsala University, Sweden and its aim was to conduct research on social and economic structures, focusing on both at the national and international level.

In the post-cold war scenario, growing militarization, arms competition, recurrent coups, brutal suppression of social movements in different parts of the world especially in the third world countries, have given birth to a widespread concern for peace. The discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies is more relevant for the global south, where the majority sections of people particularly the marginalized are struggling with social injustice and economic disparities. In this context PACS (Peace and Conflict Studies) has more necessity as well as demand in the Least Developed Countries (LDCs). It was for the first time in 1999, University

of Dhaka, Bangladesh opened a full- fledged academic discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies. Advocating for a discipline like PS or PACS in Bangladesh Peter Wallensteen in 1997 wrote to Professor A.K. Azad Chowdhury, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, and stated,

"Internationally there are already now a large number of such programmes, not only in Sweden (where our training programme includes Bachelors, Masters and Ph.D of peace studies/research), but also in Britain (Bradford), Syracuse in the US and several programmes in the University of California System. Thus, Dhaka University would take its rightful place in a distinguished group of universities forwarding this subject in training as well as in research." [9]

The whole analysis of Peace and Conflict Studies are basically revolving around one specific viewpoint i.e. the process of Conflict Resolution. Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist proposed an influential model of conflict, that encompasses both symmetric and asymmetric conflicts. He suggested that conflict could be viewed as a triangle, with contradiction (C), attitude (A) and behaviour (B). In the field of academic discourse analysis Galtung's triangle model always plays a significant role thereby initiating different research works in Peace and Conflict studies.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: In which year was the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) set up?

.....

Q.2: What is the main aim of establishing Peace and Conflict Studies as a academic discipline?

.....

Q.3: Who founded the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)?

.....

.....

2.4 PRESENT STATUS OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

At present almost all the democratic countries of world have been showing their interest in establishing institute for Peace and Conflict Studies. India is also not exception in this regard. The University of Kashmir founded a center-Gandhian Center for Peace and Conflict Studies (GCPCS). The aim of this centre is to bring conflicting relationships down through non-violent teachings of Gandhian philosophy. In 1996, the International Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IIPCS) was founded in New Delhi. It objective is to develop an alternative and independent framework for peace and security studies for South Asia. Nelson Mandela Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (NMCPCR), the first Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution among the Indian universities, was established in 2004 at the Jamia Millia Islamia University, India. This Institute is has been offering various programmes on peace and conflict studies for students. Academic objective of this center is not only to do critical analysis of contemporary studies of conflicting issues but to fill the gap that exists in Indian academic arena-'the lack of serious and purposeful analysis of types and sources of conflict in our country and neighbourhood, and the methods of dealing with them that India has adopted'.[10] In Nepal, two year multi-disciplinary Master Programme in Conflict, Peace and Development Studies (CPADS) was started in 2007 at the University of Tribhuvan. Almost all the South Asian Universities initiated different academic programmes in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies.

Educationists of the entire world in general and South Asia in particular, are showing concern and awareness regarding need for peace studies programme. Because, the fate of peace and conflict studies as a discipline always lies on the concern of the people for peace. In this context, Peace education also plays a very significant role. Education is considered to be the key component in the process of building trust and cooperation between peoples. In this spirit, UNESCO celebrated 2000 as the International Year

for the Culture of Peace. Its 2000 World Education Report focused on the right to education as proclaimed in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has also launched a major campaign known as Manifesto 2000, to propagate a culture of peace and non-violence. Nobel Peace Prize Laureates drafted the Manifesto 2000 which asks everyone to pledge to:

- Respect all life
- Reject violence
- Share with others
- Listen to understand
- Preserve the planet
- Rediscover solidarity

University Grants Commission in India spends several crores of rupees in programmes like Peace and Conflict Studies. As a part of it, several universities of India started different diploma and post-graduate programmes on Peace and Conflict Studies. But ironically, according to Ranabir Samaddar, there are lots of problems of preparing a Peace Studies Reader in South Asia. The first critical query that peace studies faces is with regard to its conceptualization. In order to understand the question peace in the third world countries especially in South Asia we need to understand the binary between coloniality and post-coloniality. Due to the prevailing dominance of colonial commonalities the peace studies face lots of contradictions. But, nevertheless as an inter-disciplinary academic discipline PACS (Peace and Conflict Studies) focuses on finding non-violent and creative alternatives of conflict resolution and transformation, and means of comprehensive security.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Which year was observed as International Year for the Culture of Peace by UNESCO?

.....

Q.5: What does the Manifesto 2000 pledge to everyone to propagate a culture of peace and non-violence?

.....

Q.6: Write briefly about various initiatives taken in India to develop Peace and Conflict Studies.

.....

.....

.....

.....



2.5 LET US SUM UP

- Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) basically is a discipline that academically analyses and teaches conditions and values of peace, factors of conflict, issues of security, mechanisms of conflict resolution, and ways of conflict transformation with a pursuit of making peace everlasting. The discipline of Peace and Conflict study is considered to be an important branch of social science analysis where utmost importance is given to analyze the violent and non-violent behavior both at the individual as well as the societal context.
- Concern and awareness regarding the need for Peace and Conflict Studies programme in the academic field gradually developed from 19th century onwards and it got accelerated in the 20th century after the end of World War II.
- Various institutes of Peace and Conflict Studies were established in the post World War period. The Richardson Institute of Peace Centre, which was established at the Lancaster University, in the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Religion in 1959, was the first peace related institution in Britain. The Center for Conflict Resolution (CCR) was established in 1956 at the University of Michigan, which has started publishing the Journal of Conflict Resolution (JCR) since 1957. The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) was founded by Johan Galtung

in 1959. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) was set up on 1st July 1966. Subsequently, international peace societies and professional associations like Peace Research Society International (PRSI) and the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) were established in 1963. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research (DPACR) was established in 1966 at Uppsala University, Sweden.

- The discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies is more relevant for the global south, where the majority sections of people particularly the marginalized are struggling with social injustice and economic disparities.
- The UNESCO celebrated 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace. It has also launched a major campaign known as Manifesto 2000, to propagate a culture of peace and non-violence.



2.6 FURTHER READING

1. Johan Galtung, 'Violence and Peace', *A Reader in Peace Studies,* in Paul Smoker, Ruth Davies & Barbara Munske (eds.), (Pergamon Press, 1990)
2. Md. Touhidul Islam, *Peace and Conflict Studies: Evolution of an Academic Discipline,* in Journal of Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (Humanities), Vol 58 (1), 2013
3. David Dunn and Pedro B. Bernaldez, 'Peace Studies', Young Seek Choue (ed.) World Encyclopedia of Peace, Vol. IV, second edition, Oceana Publications, Inc., 1999
4. Paul Rogers, Peace Studies', *Contemporary Security Studies,* Alan Collins (ed.), Oxford University Press, 2010, p-70.



2.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: In 1966

Ans to Q No 2: The main aim of establishment of Peace and Conflict

Studies as a separate discipline was to spread the culture of peace through research and develop new perspectives on peace and conflict, and explore the causes and consequences of various forms of conflict.

Ans to Q No 3: Johan Galtung

Ans to Q No 4: 2000

Ans to Q No 5: The Manifesto 2000 pledge to everyone to respect all life, reject violence, share with others, listen to understand, preserve the planet and rediscover solidarity.

Ans to Q No 6: The University of Kashmir founded a center-Gandhian Center for Peace and Conflict Studies (GCPCS). The aim of this centre is to bring conflicting relationships down through non-violent teachings of Gandhian philosophy. In 1996, the International Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IIPCS) was founded in New Delhi. It objective is to develop an alternative and independent framework for peace and security studies for South Asia. Nelson Mandela Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (NMCPCR), the first Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution among the Indian universities, was established in 2004 at the Jamia Millia Islamia University, India. This Institute is has been offering various programmes on peace and conflict studies for students. University Grant Commission in India spends several crores of rupees in programmes like Peace and Conflict Studies. As a part of it, several universities of India started different diploma and post-graduate programmes on Peace and Conflict Studies.



2.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Explain various initiatives taken to promote peace and conflict studies in South Asia.

Q. 2 : Write briefly about the growth of Peace and Conflict studies before the World War II.

Q. 3: Discuss the growth of peace and conflict studies as an academic discipline.

Q. 4 : Discuss the growth of peace and conflict studies as an academic discipline since the 1950s.

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[3]Robert Elias and Jennifer Turpin, 'Introduction: Thinking About Peace', Robet Elias and Jennifer Turpin Rethinking Peace, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994, p-05.

[4]David Dunn and Pedro B. Bernaldez, 'Peace Studies', Young Seek Choue (ed.) World Encyclopedia of Peace, Vol. IV, second edition, Oceana Publications, Inc., 1999, p-266.

[5]Robert Elias and Jennifer Turpin, Introduction: Thinking About Peace', Robet Elias and

Jennifer Turpin Rethinking Peace, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994, p- 05.

[6]John Paul Lederach, Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies, United States Institute of Peace, 1997, p-24.

[7]Paul Rogers, Peace Studies', Contemporary Security Studies, Alan Collins (ed.), Oxford University Press, 2010, p-70.

[8]Paul Rogers, Peace Studies', Contemporary Security Studies, Alan Collins (ed.), Oxford University Press, 2010, p-73.

[9]Peter Wallensteen, as quoted Dalem Ch. Barman, 'Department of Peace and Conflict Studies: Origin, purpose and activities', Peace: Our Turn to Think and Act, Vol. ii, Dept. of Peace and Conflict Studies, DU, 2005, p-09.

[10]Ibid.

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UNIT 3: CONFLICT STUDIES (STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND CULTURAL VIOLENCE)

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Concept of Structural Violence
  3.3.1 Structural Violence Vs Direct Violence
  3.3.2 Patriarchy based Structural Violence
  3.3.3 Globalism and Structural Violence
3.4 Concept of Cultural Violence
  3.4.1 Manifestations of Cultural Violence
3.5 In search of Durable Peace
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Further Reading
3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
3.9 Possible Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of the concept of structural violence and its various forms
- discuss the relationship between structural violence and direct violence
- discuss the impact of structural violence on human beings
- explain patriarchy based structural violence
- explain globalism and structural violence
- explain the meaning of the concept of cultural violence
- explain the different manifestations of cultural violence
- discuss the meaning of peace building
- explain the importance of the Sustainable Development Goals.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Conflict Studies is one of the emerging fields of social science that identifies and analyses violent and non-violent behaviours as well as the

structural mechanism attending conflicts. Here conflict includes social, national or international impediments. Peace studies as a corollary to conflict studies aims at prevention, de-escalation and solution of conflicts by peaceful means. There is no winner or loser in such an amicable solution. In such cases, reconciliation is more suitable mode of dispute settlement instead of truce or treaty. Teachings and ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Nelson Mandela and other preachers of peace influenced this emerging discipline. In this unit, we are going to deal with two aspects of conflict studies; structural violence and cultural violence. Structural violence is not direct violence. It indirectly causes harm to humans either individually or as community. The traditional theories deal with direct violence only. Therefore, the concept of structural violence put forward a new insight to conflict in human life. Structural violence is subtle, apparently invisible but very much damaging. It causes mental trauma, depression, loss of social status, loss of human dignity and even homelessness. Structural violence is systematic and deprives a person or community from equal access to opportunity. These can be legal and formal structures that enforce marginalization; such as apartheid in South Africa or these can be informal such as limited access to education or healthcare for marginalized groups. Cultural violence represents prevailing social or cultural norms that make direct or structural violence natural, valid or at least acceptable. For example, the belief that the Africans are inferior to the Caucasians socially and intellectually gave sanction to the African slave trade. These three forms of violence:-direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. And understanding them better is necessary for pursuit of broader and deeper peace. This is a major concern for humankind in the era of globalization.

3.3 CONCEPT OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Structural violence is a non-traditional way of understanding violence. Structural violence is the imposition of suffering and disadvantage by

social structure and systems. It can emerge from different constructs, such as economy, and is often the cause of more direct forms of violence. Structural violence is also the precursor to direct violence. The concept of structural violence was first developed by Johan Galtung in his article, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" published in Journal of Peace Research in 1969. Galtung was associated with International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway. He is regarded as the principal founder of the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies. By the term 'structural violence' Johan Galtung means any constraint on human potential caused by economic and political structure. He argued that structural violence is an "avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs." The broad forms of structural violence are racism, sexism, classism, ageism, patriarchy, etc. Paul Farmer also includes political and economic inequalities as structural violence. Such arrangements that put individuals in harm's way are violent because they cause injuries to people. Such arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the social, political and economic structures. Unequal access to resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, is a form of structural violence. Structural violence exists when rural people have inadequate access to education and health as compared to urban affluent families, when daily wage labourers toil in inhuman conditions, when poor slum dwellers endure environmental toxins in their neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the victims of structural violence often do not understand the systematic ways in which their plight is choreographed by unequal and unfair distribution of society's resources.

Gilman R (1983) has defined structural violence as 'the physical and psychological harm that results from exploitative and unjust social, political and economic systems'. It is embedded in the social, economic and political systems themselves.

Structural violence has some terrible effects. It erases the history and consciousness of the social origin of poverty, sickness, hunger and premature death. No one is held accountable for occurrence of these

deterrence to development and hence taken for granted as natural. Ironically, victims of structural violence are themselves blamed in society for their plight such as poverty, ill health or lack of access to services.

3.3.1 Structural Violence Vs Direct Violence

Structural violence is problematic in and of itself, but it also frequently leads to direct violence. For example, organized armed conflict in various parts of the world is easily traced to structured inequalities or structural violence. The chronically oppressed sections of people out of frustration often resort to direct violence. Direct violence is what we normally think of when we think of violence. It represents the behavour that threatens life itself and diminishes one's capacity to meet basic human needs. For example, killing, maiming, bullying, sexual assault and emotional manipulation are some forms of direct violence. As such, direct violence injure or kill people quickly, whereas structural violence is much more widespread and kills far more people by depriving them of satisfaction of their basic human needs. For example, when people starve even though there is enough food for everyone, the distribution system is creating structural violence (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020). Starvation, poverty and relative deprivation again become the cause of crime, communal riot and community clash. These are forms of direct violence. Hence, structural violence if unattended for a long period may result in direct violence and vice-versa. However, the reverse is also true. For example, brutal sufferers of structural violence become unwilling or unable to confront social injustice. The chronic situation conditions their life and thought process. In war-torn societies, the civilian population endures decades of poverty and disease. They suffer not only through death, but through devastation of neighbourhood and ecosystems, whereas the ruling elite, the perpetrator of conflict, rarely suffers. During the post-cold war period, the interplay of direct and structural violence has increased on an alarming scale.

Table 1

Typology of Violence

	Survival Needs	**Well-being Needs**	**Identity Needs**	**Freedom Needs**
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming, Siege, sanctions, Misery	De-socialization, Re-socialization, Secondary citizen	Repression, Detention, Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A*	Exploitation B**	Penetration, Segmentation	Marginalization, Fragmentation

* the victim is so disadvantaged that they die due to starvation, disease or other cause.

** the victim is left permanently in unwanted state of misery, illness, malnutrition etc.

Source: Galtung, Johan: Cultural Violence, Journal of Peace Research, Vol.27, No. 3. (Aug., 1990), pp.291-305.

3.3.2 Patriarchy Based Structural Violence

Women and children, specially girl children are the worst sufferers of structural violence. From health care and food to legal standing and political power, women and girls get less than men in every country. The basic cause of this injustice is patriarchy and sexism. Patriarchy based structural violence will not be redressed until women are able to play more active roles making decisions about how resources are distributed. Like women, their children are also invisible victims of the society's structural violence. Children living in poverty experience diminished intellectual development because parents are too overwhelmed in earning bread and butter. Johan Galtung in "Violence, Peace and Peace Studies," 1969 has remarked "when one husband beats his wife, there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance, there is structural violence."



LET US KNOW

Patriarchy and Sexism

Patriarchy is a system of social structure and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. Patriarchy is observed in most societies. Patriarchal society is male dominated society, where power is predominantly held and manipulated by men and individual liberty, dignity and development of women are jeopardized. Hence, patriarchy is unjust and causes gender inequality and deprivation.

Sexism is discrimination based on sex or gender, against women and girls. Sexism can be a belief that one sex is superior to or more valuable than another sex. It functions to maintain patriarchy or male domination that oppresses women and girls. According to this belief, women are treated as weaker sex and less capable than men, specially in the realm of logic and reasoning, so they are relegated to the domestic realm nurturing, homemaking, child rearing etc. According to this reasoning, women cannot be good leaders in business, politics or academia. The extreme form of sexist ideology is misogyny, the hatred of women. In a society where misogyny is prevalent, rate of women oppression is very high.

3.3.3 Globalism and Structural Violence

In the era of globalization, economic reform and open market economy has fostered income disparity around the world. Open borders, relaxed trade and tariff rules and increased communication networks are creating powerful multinational conglomerates that control the economy of the underdeveloped and developing nations in various ways. The result is horrific structural violence to workers who toil under brutal working conditions. They are alienated from social life, work from morning to night, yet fail to meet the basic needs. These issues have emerged as major concerns of human rights violation now-a-days. Globalisation has also produced a monoculture

for the common people throughout the world and people learn that 'the good life' is based on consumer values.



ACTIVITY 1.1

Do you notice any kind of structural violence in your neighborhood? Make a list of those and find the causes.

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who wrote the article "Violence, Peace and Peace Research"?

.....

.....

Q.2: In which Journal did Johan Galtung advocate the concept of 'Structural Violence'?

.....

Q.3: How Gilman R has defined 'Structural Violence'?

.....

.....

Q.4: Mention two different forms of manifestations of structural violence?

.....

.....

Q.5: Write one difference between structural violence and direct violence?

.....

.....

3.4 CONCEPT OF CULTURAL VIOLENCE

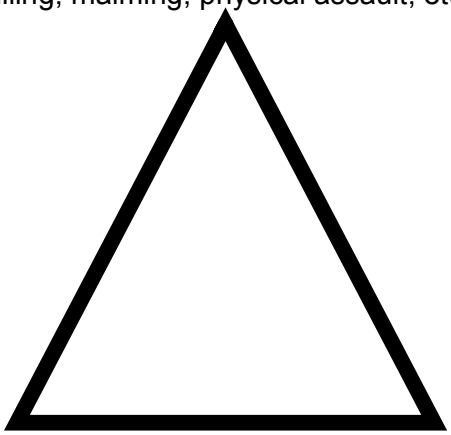
The concept of cultural violence is again attributed to Johan Galtung who also propagated the concept of structural violence that we have

discussed above. Johan Galtung through his article "Cultural Violence" in the Journal of Peace Research in 1990 came up with this concept. Galtung included analysis of culture in peace and conflict studies in order to deepening the quest for peace. Cultural violence is defined as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form (Galtung, 1990). Understanding of cultural violence helps explain how prominent beliefs can be embedded in a given culture that looks inevitable and are reproduced uncritically across generations. Usually, traditional beliefs and norms of dominant sections are recognized in the society. Thus, dominant culture may legitimize repression of minorities and the downtrodden sections for a status quo, favourable to the majority section. However, temptation to institutionalize the culture or efforts for imposing a culture everywhere would already be direct violence. Gatlung observes that cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right- or at least not wrong. Cultural violence like structural violence is also invisible. It can arise from cultural, religious or ideological beliefs. These beliefs are used to legitimize direct or structural violence. In a community certain kinds of structural or direct violence can be tolerated or can become acceptable or in some cases thought to be normal or unavoidable. In India, the violence and repression that the Dalit ("outcaste") community at times suffer in the hands of certain sections of the upper caste people in the society is also justified by a belief in the Indian caste system that the so called "outcaste" communities are culturally and intellectually inferior. If a person justifies the deaths of starving people by blaming them for their situation (called blaming the victim), that person is engaging in cultural violence.

Figure 1: **The Violence Triangle of Johan Galtung**

Direct Violence

Killing, maiming, physical assault, etc.



Structural Violence
Injustice and inequality built into the structure of the society

Cultural Violence
Arises from the society's cultural, religious or ideological beliefs and is used to legitimize direct and structural violence.

3.4.1 Manifestations of Cultural Violence

Cultural violence is manifested at different levels. At the personal level, female, children and aged people witness such violence in the name of tradition and social norms. Confinement of women in domestic work, beating children to make them obey their elders, making decisions for ageing people without their consent are some often tolerated in the name of tradition. Researchers have found that social and cultural norms that lead to the tolerance of violence are learnt in childhood.

We can also identify such cultural or social beliefs at social and national levels that impairs full potentiality of human being. Women are not regarded as leaders and believed to be fit for homemaking and culinary activities. Recently, the Supreme Court of India, in a ruling asked the government to set aside the traditional rule of not promoting women army officers to the position of commander since women are regarded

physiologically weaker than men. The Supreme Court blamed the government for sticking to patriarchal stereotypes, called 'sticky floor'. 'Sticky floor' is used to describe a discriminatory employment pattern that keep women at the bottom of the job hierarchy. This is a clear example of cultural violence at the national or administrative level. There are many others related to ethnic and tribal communities and other marginal sections. Cultural violence is manifested at the international level related through the problems of refugees, immigrants, victims of human trafficking, migrant workers of the MNCs, victims of human rights violation in war-torn zones, etc. International law is also found lacking in tackling these injustices. The victims are often blamed for their plight. Refugees and people who succumb to forced migration are kept in confinement and are subjected to inhuman treatment.



ACTIVITY 3.2

What do you understand by cultural violence? Explain.

.....

.....

3.5 IN SEARCH OF DURABLE PEACE

Peace building is an activity that aims to resolve injustice and to alter the cultural and structural rhetoric of violence that generates destructive conflict and human rights violation. Peace builders who do not equip themselves with an understanding of direct, structural and cultural violence are likely to fail in achieving durable peace. The United Nations since 1945 has been making many inroads for human rights protection, climate and environment protection, creating conditions for human development, etc. Since the 1990s the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has been instrumental in preparing Human Development Index (HDI) for all the countries of the world based on the above factors. Those nations which are successful in stopping structural and cultural violence in public and private spheres are placed at the top of the HDI list. For example, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Sweden (Scandinavian countries) is rated high in Human

Development. The UN General Assembly adopted 17 global goals in 2015, known as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be achieved by the year 2030. The SDGs include no poverty, zero hunger, gender equality, reducing inequality, quality education, good health and well-being. These goals are directly linked to structural violence and cultural violence. Realizing the SDGs is the need of the hour and in a world system characterized by globalism and anarchy, these may find the way to durable peace.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: Who wrote the article "Cultural Violence"?

.....

Q.7: In which year did Johan Galtung advocate the concept of 'cultural violence'?

.....

Q.8: Cultural violence like structural violence is also invisible. (True or false)

.....

Q.9: Mention two different forms of manifestations of cultural violence?

.....

Q.10: How does cultural violence justifies direct violence?

.....

Q.11: What is 'sticky floor'?

.....

Q.12: How many goals are there in Sustainable Development Goals?

.....

Q.13: What is peace-building?

.....

.....

Q.14: Mention the names of any two countries which are rated high in Human Development.?

.....

.....



3.6 LET US SUM UP

- Structural violence is a non-traditional way of understanding violence. Structural violence is the imposition of suffering and disadvantage by social structure and systems. It can emerge from different constructs, such as economy, and is often the cause of more direct forms of violence.
- Structural violence is also the precursor to direct violence. The concept of structural violence was first developed by Johan Galtung in his article, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" published in Journal of Peace Research in 1969.
- Galtung was associated with International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway. He is regarded as the principal founder of the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies. By the term 'structural violence' Johan Galtung means any constraint on human potential caused by economic and political structure.
- He argued that structural violence is an "avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs."
- The broad forms of structural violence are racism, sexism, classism, ageism, patriarchy, etc. Paul Farmer also includes political, economic inequalities as structural violence.
- Such arrangements that put individuals in harm's way are violent because they cause injuries to people.
- Such arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world.
- Unequal access to resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, is a form of structural violence.
- Structural violence is problematic in and of itself, but it also frequently leads to direct violence.
- Women and children, specially girl children are the worst sufferers of structural violence.
- In the era of globalization, economic reform and open market economy

has fostered income disparity around the world.

- The concept of cultural violence is again attributed to Johan Galtung who also propagated the concept of structural violence that we have discussed above.
- Johan Galtung through his article "Cultural Violence" in the Journal of Peace Research in 1990 came up with this concept. Galtung included analysis of culture in peace and conflict studies in order to deepening the quest for peace.
- Cultural violence is defined as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form (Galtung, 1990). Understanding of cultural violence helps explain how prominent beliefs can be embedded in a given culture that looks inevitable and are reproduced uncritically across generations.
- Usually, traditional beliefs and norms of dominant sections are recognized in the society. Thus, dominant culture may legitimize repression of minorities and the downtrodden sections for a status quo, favourable to the majority section.
- Gatlung observes that cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right- or at least not wrong. Cultural violence like structural violence is also invisible. It can arise from cultural, religious or ideological beliefs.
- These beliefs are used to legitimize direct or structural violence. In a community certain kinds of structural or direct violence can be tolerated or can become acceptable or in some cases thought to be normal or unavoidable.
- Cultural violence is manifested at different levels. At the personal level, female, children and aged people witness such violence in the name of tradition and social norms.
- Confinement of women in domestic work, beating children to make them obey their elders, making decisions for ageing people without their consent are some often tolerated in the name of tradition.
- Researchers have found that social and cultural norms that lead to the tolerance of violence are learnt in childhood.

- Peace building is an activity that aims to resolve injustice and to alter the cultural and structural rhetoric of violence that generates destructive conflict and human rights violation.
- Peace builders who do not equip themselves with an understanding of direct, structural and cultural violence are likely to fail in achieving durable peace.
- The United Nations since 1945 has been making many inroads for human rights protection, climate and environment protection, creating conditions for human development, etc.
- Since the 1990s the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has been instrumental in preparing Human Development Index (HDI) for all the countries of the world based on the above factors.
- Those nations which are successful in stopping structural and cultural violence in public and private spheres are placed at the top of the HDI list. For example, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Sweden (Scandinavian countries) is rated high in Human Development.
- The UN General Assembly adopted 17 global goals in 2015, known as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be achieved by the year 2030.
- The SDGs include no poverty, zero hunger, gender equality, reducing inequality, quality education, good health and well-being. These goals are directly linked to structural violence and cultural violence.
- Realizing the SDGs is the need of the hour and in a world system characterized by globalism and anarchy, these may find the way to durable peace.



3.7 FURTHER READING

1) Galtung, Johan. "Cultural Violence" . *Journal of Peace Research,* Vol. 27, No. 3. (Aug., 1990), Sage Publications, Ltd. pp. 291-305. (available on URL:http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3433%28199008%2927%3A3%3C291%3ACV%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6

Journal of Peace Research is currently published by Sage Publications, Ltd.)

2. Galtung, Johan (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means- Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization.* PRIO. SAGE Publications Ltd.

3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Johan Galtung

Ans to Q No 2: 1969

Ans to Q No 3: Gilman R has defined structural violence as 'the physical and psychological harm that results from exploitative and unjust social, political and economic systems'. It is embedded in the social, economic and political systems themselves.

Ans to Q No 4: Racism and ageism.

Ans to Q No 5: Structural violence is problematic in and of itself, but it also frequently leads to direct violence. For example, organized armed conflict in various parts of the world is easily traced to structured inequalities or structural violence. The chronically oppressed sections of people out of frustration often resort to direct violence. Direct violence is what we normally think of when we think of violence. It represents the behavour that threatens life itself and diminishes one's capacity to meet basic human needs. For example, killing, maiming, bullying, sexual assault and emotional manipulation are some forms of direct violence. As such, direct violence injure or kill people quickly, whereas structural violence is much more widespread and kills far more people by depriving them of satisfaction of their basic human needs. Starvation, poverty and relative deprivation again become the cause of crime, communal riot and community clash. These are forms of direct violence. Hence, structural violence if unattended for a long period may result in direct violence and vice-versa. However, the reverse is also true. For example, brutal sufferers of structural

violence become unwilling or unable to confront social injustice. The chronic situation conditions their life and thought process. In war-torn societies, the civilian population endures decades of poverty and disease. They suffer not only through death, but through devastation of neighbourhood and ecosystems, whereas the ruling elite, the perpetrator of conflict, rarely suffers. During the post-cold war period, the interplay of direct and structural violence has increased on an alarming scale.

Ans to Q No 6: Johan Galtung

Ans to Q No 7: 1990

Ans to Q No 8: True

Ans to Q No 9: (i) Confinement of women in domestic work,

(ii) Making decisions for ageing people without their consent.

Ans to Q No 10: Usually, traditional beliefs and norms of dominant sections are recognized in the society. Thus, dominant culture may legitimize repression of minorities and the downtrodden sections for a status quo, favourable to the majority section. However, temptation to institutionalize the culture or efforts for imposing a culture everywhere would already be direct violence. Gatlung observes that cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right- or at least not wrong. Cultural violence like structural violence is also invisible. It can arise from cultural, religious or ideological beliefs. These beliefs are used to legitimize direct or structural violence.

Ans to Q No 11: 'Sticky floor' is used to describe a discriminatory employment pattern that keep women at the bottom of the job hierarchy.

Ans to Q No 12: 17 goals.

Ans to Q No 13: Peace building is an activity that aims to resolve injustice and to alter the cultural and structural rhetoric of violence that generates destructive conflict and human rights violation. Peace builders who do not equip themselves with an understanding of direct, structural and cultural violence are likely to fail in achieving

durable peace. The United Nations since 1945 has been making many inroads for human rights protection, climate and environment protection, creating conditions for human development, etc.

Ans to Q No 14: Norway and Sweden



3.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Explain the concept of structural violence.

Q. 2 : Write briefly about structural violence vs direct violence.

Q. 3 : Explain the concept of cultural violence.

Q. 4: Write briefly about durable peace and the Sustainable Development Goals.

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UNIT 4: PEACE TRADITIONS AND APPROACHES: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Diverse Perspectives on Peace in Different Cultures of the World

4.4 Let Us Sum Up

4.5 Further Reading

4.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.7 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- explain the approach towards peace in Hinduism
- explain the concept of peace in Christianity
- discuss the five virtues prescribed by the philosophy of Confucianism
- discuss the path to a peaceful existence and liberation in the light of the teachings of Buddhism
- explain the meaning of peace in Islam.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

In the modern period, though attempts have been made to theorise the concept of peace, which is now broadly understood as a situation characterised by tranquillity and absence of violence and prevalence of those inherent conditions that sustain peace by facilitating justice and goodwill, yet no discussion on peace will be complete without trying to explore the diverse perspectives on peace in different cultures of the world. In this unit, we shall discuss the various peace traditions and approaches prevalent in different civilisations of the world with regard to some of the leading religions of the world.

4.3 DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES ON PEACE IN DIFFERENT CULTURES OF THE WORLD

- **Hinduism**

The history of Hinduism speaks of its embracing the various regional and ethnic religious traditions within its fold. Mahatma Gandhi says, "Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it, there is room for the worship of all the prophets of the world... Hinduism tells everyone to worship God according to his own faith or 'dharma' and so it lives at peace with all the religions', (M. K. Gandhi, *Young India* (October 26, 1921).

Hinduism includes so many trends believing in one supreme deity alone, a couple of deities, five deities or plurality of gods or none at all and it is due to or the Vedic dictum "The same Reality is spoken of differently by different names" or "All the pluralities are the different manifestations of the same reality".

The ancient period saw the growth of Aryan culture which absorbed many new elements and changed itself in the process. Classical Hindu Culture means ancient Aryan Culture and the term 'Aryan' gradually began to assume a cultural or religious connotation rather than a racial one. Though the cultural solidarity of Hinduism was always maintained, yet it was not uniform throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Aryan and non-Aryan elements combined in different proportions to form the Hinduism of today. This speaks of the tolerant attitude of Hinduism which has emerged by way of amalgamation of different streams of thought and wisdom expressed by our ancient seers, sages, holy texts and literature.

One of the most basic tenets of Hinduism found in texts such as the Maha Upanishad is *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*, which means "the world is one family". It is indicative of a holistic approach to life signifying respect for all forms of life and non-violence.

According to Hinduism, 'dharma' means the right course of conduct within its social framework. The ancient Hindu texts of the Vedas broadly speak of the virtues of peace and non-violence. The term *shanti* is used for peace in Sanskrit. The literal meaning of the term *shanti* is peacefulness, non-violence, calmness or tranquility denoting abstinence from mental and

physical violence and disturbances. Peace has to be practised at three levels, namely, in thought, word and deed. Hinduism emphasizes the fact that the principle of peace covers not only human beings but also pants and animals. The famous *Shanti-Mantra* of Yajur-Veda stresses the wellbeing of all. Hinduism aims at bridging the gap between the "self" and the "other" as all living beings are considered to part of the Supreme Lord.

In the Bhagavad-Gita , Lord Krishna says, *A person who is not disturbed by the incessant flow of desires—that enter like rivers into the ocean which is ever being filled but is always still—can alone achieve peace, and not the man who strives to satisfy such desires.* [Bhagavad-Gita 2.70]. Thus, renunciation of greed and staying on the path of righteousness, will collectively lead to peace and harmony in the world.

Some such basic thoughts gave rise to the spirit of tolerance in Hinduism. In the subsequent period, the rise of the bhakti tradition of Saint Sankaradeva or Caitanya Deva within Hinduism further led to a more democratic, humanist, liberal and compassionate tradition based on a culture of peace and universal brotherhood.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: "All the pluralities are the different manifestations of the same reality" is a Vedic dictum. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: The famous Shanti-Mantra of which Veda stresses the wellbeing of all ?

.....

- **Christianity**

In Christianity, God is defined as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. God as the Father is the universe. God as the Son is every enlightened being. God as the Holy Spirit is the spiritual being that every sensitive being can sense around him or herself. This can be perceived as light, love, peace and bliss. With this power, enlightened and highly developed spiritual people can help others. The Bible describes how Jesus poured Holy Spirit onto his

disciples on Pentecost (the day commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles and followers of Jesus Christ) . Jesus Christ filled his Apostles and followers with this Holy Spirit. The followers felt radiantly and divinely happy and radiated an aura of pure light. (https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/God_and_Religious_Toleration/Christianity).

Christianity believes in making selfless sacrifices in serving humanity and forgiving even those who do us wrong. It believes in extending love and compassion to all.

In the Bible it is stated " Love your neighbor as yourself " which clearly indicates the spirit of mutual respect and solidarity. Some other core tenets of Christianity include forgiving others who have wronged us, loving one's enemies, helping the needy, being truthful and honest and not judging others, among others. Christianity lays emphasis on living in peace and harmony with others in order to receive God's glory. The *Sermon on the Mount* is a collection of sayings and teachings of Jesus Christ. It represents the moral teachings found in the Gospel of Matthew in the New Testament. It is stated in the Sermon on the Mount that " Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God ". It is further stated in Sermon on the Mount that "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy". In the Bible , Jesus Christ is called the "Prince of Peace" and urges everyone to exhibit peace in their lives. Thus, the Bible accords a pride of place to those who work towards peace.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: In Christianity, God as the Father means what?

.....

Q.4: Mention the name of the Sermon which is a collection of sayings and teachings of Jesus Christ.

.....

- **Confucianism**

Confucianism is the philosophy based on the teachings of Confucius (551 BC - 479 BC), who was an important Chinese philosopher.

Confucianism has had a large influence on the history of Chinese civilization. The teachings of Confucius mainly focus on the respect of one's parents, elders, and ancestors.

Confucianism teaches **five virtues**.

- Ren (Jen), that refers to altruism and humanity.
- Yi, that refers to righteousness.
- Li, that refers to good conduct.
- Zhi, that refers to knowledge.
- Xin, which means loyalty.

Adherence to the five virtues can help one reach the goal of a peaceful and harmonious life and contribute to welfare of the society at large.

(Source: https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confucianism)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Ren (Jen), that refers to what ?

.....

Q.6: Xin, which means what ?

.....

- **Buddhism**

Buddha basically was an ethical teacher and reformer. He did not prefer to discuss to metaphysical questions. Instead, he always tried to enlighten persons on the most important questions of life: suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path of its cessation. Hence, from his spiritual experience Buddha became convinced of the four noble truths that (i) there is suffering, (ii) there is cause of suffering, (iii) there is cessation of suffering or it can be suppressed and (iv) there is a way to accomplish it or there is a way leading to its cessation. Thus, for a truly peaceful existence, one should be aware of the four noble truths and endeavour to achieve liberation.

Let us discuss about the four noble truths in the following way :

First Noble Truth

The first noble truth 'There is suffering' (Duhkha) is considered as the tyranny of pain. Life is full of misery and pain. Poverty, disease, old

age, death, selfishness, greed, anger, hatred, conflicts, exploitation are flourishing excessively in this world. No one can deny this fact. Hence life of an individual is painful.

Second Noble Truth

The second noble truth is 'There is cause of suffering' (Duhkha-samudaya). It is concerned with the causes of suffering. According to Buddhism, everything has a cause; So, being a fact suffering also must have a cause. It must depend on some conditions. Craving generates the cycle of birth and death and is the cause of suffering. Craving is of three fold: (a) Craving for sensual pleasure, (b) craving for being and (c) craving for wealth.

Third Noble Truth

The third noble truth is related to the cessation of suffering (duhkha nirodha). Buddha viewed that though the world is full of suffering, it is not without a cause. Again, there is cessation of suffering i.e. it can be suppressed. Everything in this universe is dependent upon some causes and conditions. If these causes and conditions are removed, the effect also will cease to exist. Ignorance is the main cause of suffering and if it is removed suffering will cease to exist. By removing ignorance man can attain liberation or nirvāna.

Fourth Noble Truths

The fourth noble truth is known as 'Duhkha-Nirodha-Mārga' or there is a way leading to the cessation of suffering. There is an ethical and spiritual path by following which suffering or pain can be removed. Buddha himself followed this path and suggested to follow it. The right knowledge regarding the causes of suffering shows the way of liberation. Buddha recommended eight steps or rules to attain liberation. These are known as 'Noble Eightfold Path' or 'Astāngika-mārga'. For liberation, eight fold path should be practised. It consists of eight steps. These are as follows:

(i) Right View (Samyag drsti): The first step towards liberation is right view. It is defined as the correct knowledge about the four noble truths. It was stated by Buddha that the knowledge about the four noble truths helps moral reformation and leads the human being towards the goal- nirvāna.

(ii) Right Resolve (Samyag sankalpa): The mere knowledge of truth would be meaningless, if one is not firmly determined to reform life in their light. Therefore, the human being who wants to attain liberation should renounce worldliness, give up ill feelings towards others and stop doing any harm to others. These three are the constituents of right resolve.

(iii) Right Speech (Samyag vāk): Samyag sankalpa or right determination should be used in practice. It should guide and control our speech. People should keep away themselves away from lying, slander, unkind words ,etc.

(iv) Right Conduct (Samyag karmānta): Right resolve is not limited to right speech only but it includes right conduct too. The concept of 'Pañca-Sila' i.e. abstention from killing, stealing, sensuality, lying and intoxication is included in right conduct.

(v) Right Livelihood (Samyag ājiva): Right livelihood means maintaining one's life by honest means. Human beings should perform action in consistency with good determination. They should never follow forbidden means to lead their lives.

(vi) Right Effort (Samyag vyāyāma): People should maintain a constant effort to root out evil thoughts. So, people should have constant endeavour to maintain moral progress by removing evil thoughts.

(vii) Right Mindfulness (Samyag smrti): The person who is willing to attain liberation should always remember and contemplate the body as body, the sensations as sensations, mind as mind and the mental states as mental states. We should have constant meditation on the knowledge gained through the feeling of soul, body, or perishable objects. Hence, attachment arises to such material things and we feel grief when we loss them. In this way, we become subject to bondage and misery. But, our contemplation on the perishable nature of these things helps us to remain free from attachment and misery.

(viii) Right Concentration (Samyag samādhi): Right concentration is the last step in the path that leads to 'Nirvāna'. Any individual

who has successfully guided his life in the light of the seven rules and thereby freed himself from all passions and evil thoughts is eligible to enter into the stages of concentration leading to the detachment from bodily ease too. It is the state of nirvāna or perfect wisdom.

Thus, it may be mentioned here that the eightfold path of nirvāna consists of three main things – conduct (sila), concentration (samādhi) and knowledge (prajñā).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Mention the Four Noble Truths in Buddhism?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q.8: Write briefly about the Fourth Noble Truth.

.....

.....

.....

.....

- **Islam**

The Quran states that Allah is the all-powerful creator of the universe and all it contains, and that the proper role of humans is that of *Khālifah*, a term generally understood in this context as meaning a steward or vice-regent or God's representative. Peace is associated in the Quran with God.

Creation is said to be good, and all aspects of it are miraculous signs (ayat) proving the existence of God. All of creation, moreover, is said to praise God, though humans may not perceive it. Nonhuman species are said to constitute ‘‘communities’’ similar to those of humans. While the Quran explicitly states that the Earth was created for all beings and not just for humans, it is also stated that certain species (particularly domestic

animals) were created to serve humans. Because creation belongs to God, humans are not to engage in activities that cause harm to creation. Wastefulness and excess consumption are likewise condemned.

The *Quranic* doctrine of vice-regent or '*Khālifah*' placed Man in the role of *Amāna* or trustee and custodian of the earth, thus responsible for building the earth and utilizing its resources with a sense of justice to oneself and to fellow mankind.

The role assigned to 'Man' by the *Quran* included accountability of the numerous resources given by God or *Allah*. Moreover, the Islamic concept of knowledge includes both the transcendental knowledge as well as the knowledge based on sense perception and observation. Consequently, all knowledge gained through scientific activities aims to result in human welfare; and seeks to utilize the resources of the universe for beneficial purposes, that is, there is both social justice and compassion.

The Islamic philosophers affirm the position of humans near the top within the hierarchy of created beings, below angels but above other animals, plants, and minerals. Humans are the mediators between the heavenly and earthly realms and a major channel for divine grace. The human body, furthermore, is perceived as a microcosm of the universe.

Muslim mystics, known as Sufis, have tended to interpret Quranic references to the oneness of God (tawhid) as indicating an underlying unity to all reality. They describe 'creation' in terms of "unity of being". The Sufi notion of the "complete man" (insan alkamil), expands the conception of the human being as microcosm of the universe.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: The Quranic doctrine of vice-regent or '*Khālifah*' placed Man in the role of what ?

.....

Q.10: "Sufis" describe 'creation' in terms of "unity of being". (True/ False)

.....

.....



4.4 LET US SUM UP

- The history of Hinduism speaks of its embracing the various regional and ethnic religious traditions within its fold.
- Hinduism includes so many trends believing in one supreme deity alone, a couple of deities, five deities or plurality of gods or none at all and it is due to or the Vedic dictum "The same Reality is spoken of differently by different names" or "All the pluralities are the different manifestations of the same reality".
- Classical Hindu Culture means ancient Aryan Culture and the term 'Aryan' gradually began to assume a cultural or religious connotation rather than a racial one. Though the cultural solidarity of Hinduism was always maintained, yet it was not uniform throughout the length and breadth of the country.
- The Aryan and non-Aryan elements combined in different proportions to form the Hinduism of today. This speaks of the tolerant attitude of Hinduism which has emerged by way of amalgamation of different streams of thought and wisdom expressed by our ancient seers, sages, holy texts and literature.
- One of the most basic tenets of Hinduism found in texts such as the Maha Upanishad is *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*, which means "the world is one family". It is indicative of a holistic approach to life signifying respect for all forms of life and non-violence.
- According to Hinduism, 'dharma' means the right course of conduct within its social framework. The ancient Hindu texts of the Vedas broadly speak of the virtues of peace and non-violence. The term *shanti* is used for peace in Sanskrit.
- The literal meaning of the term *shanti* is peacefulness, non-violence, calmness or tranquility denoting abstinence from mental and physical violence and disturbances.
- Peace has to be practised at three levels, namely, in thought, word and deed. Hinduism emphasizes the fact that the principle of peace

covers not only human beings but also pants and animals. The famous *Shanti-Mantra* of Yajur-Veda stresses the wellbeing of all. Hinduism aims at bridging the gap between the "self" and the "other" as all living beings are considered to part of the Supreme Lord.

- In the Bhagavad-Gita , Lord Krishna says, *A person who is not disturbed by the incessant flow of desires—that enter like rivers into the ocean which is ever being filled but is always still—can alone achieve peace, and not the man who strives to satisfy such desires.* [Bhagavad-Gita 2.70]. Thus, renunciation of greed and staying on the path of righteousness, will collectively lead to peace and harmony in the world.
- Some such basic thoughts gave rise to the spirit of tolerance in Hinduism. In the subsequent period, the rise of the bhakti tradition of Saint Sankaradeva or Caitanya Deva within Hinduism further led to a more democratic, humanist, liberal and compassionate tradition based on a culture of peace and universal brotherhood.
- In Christianity, God is defined as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. God as the Father is the universe. God as the Son is every enlightened being. God as the Holy Spirit is the spiritual being that every sensitive being can sense around him or herself. This can be perceived as light, love, peace and bliss. With this power, enlightened and highly developed spiritual people can help others.
- The Bible describes how Jesus poured Holy Spirit onto his disciples on Pentecost (the day commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles and followers of Jesus Christ) . Jesus Christ filled his Apostles and followers with this Holy Spirit. The followers felt radiantly and divinely happy and radiated an aura of pure light.
- Christianity believes in making selfless sacrifices in serving humanity and forgiving even those who do us wrong. It believes in extending love and compassion to all.
- In the Bible it is stated " Love your neighbor as yourself " which clearly indicates the spirit of mutual respect and solidarity.
- Some other core tenets of Christianity include forgiving others who have wronged us, loving one's enemies, helping the needy, being truthful and honest and not judging others, among others. Christianity

lays emphasis on living in peace and harmony with others in order to receive God's glory.

- The *Sermon on the Mount* is a collection of sayings and teachings of Jesus Christ. It represents the moral teachings found in the Gospel of Matthew in the New Testament. It is stated in the Sermon on the Mount that " Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God ".
- It is further stated in Sermon on the Mount that "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy". In the Bible , Jesus Christ is called the "Prince of Peace" and urges everyone to exhibit peace in their lives. Thus, the Bible accords a pride of place to those who work towards peace.
- Confucianism is the philosophy based on the teachings of Confucius (551 BC - 479 BC), who was an important Chinese philosopher. Confucianism has had a large influence on the history of Chinese civilization. The teachings of Confucius mainly focus on the respect of one's parents, elders, and ancestors.
- Confucianism teaches five virtues- Ren (Jen), that refers to altruism and humanity; Yi, that refers to righteousness; Li, that refers to good conduct; Zhi, that refers to knowledge; Xin, which means loyalty.
- Buddha basically was an ethical teacher and reformer. He did not prefer to discuss to metaphysical questions. Instead, he always tried to enlighten persons on the most important questions of life: suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path of its cessation. Hence, from his spiritual experience Buddha became convinced of the four noble truths that (i) there is suffering, (ii) there is cause of suffering, (iii) there is cessation of suffering or it can be suppressed and (iv) there is a way to accomplish it or there is a way leading to its cessation.
- The fourth noble truth is known as 'Duhkha-Nirodha-Mārga' or there is a way leading to the cessation of suffering. There is an ethical and spiritual path by following which suffering or pain can be removed. Buddha himself followed this path and suggested to follow it.
- The right knowledge regarding the causes of suffering shows the way of liberation. Buddha recommended eight steps or rules to attain

liberation. These are known as 'Noble Eightfold Path' or 'Astāngika-mārga'. For liberation, eight fold path should be practised. It consists of eight steps. These are : Right View (Samyag drsti);) Right Resolve (Samyag sankalpa); Right Speech (Samyag vāk) ; Right Conduct (Samyag karmānta); Right livelihood (samyag ājiva); Right Effort (Samyag vyāyāma); Right Mindfulness (Samyag smrti); Right Concentration (Samyag samādhi).

- Thus, it may be mentioned here that the eightfold path of nirvāna consists of three main things – conduct (sila), concentration (samādhi) and knowledge (prajñā).
- The Quran states that Allah is the all-powerful creator of the universe and all it contains, and that the proper role of humans is that of *khalifa*, a term generally understood in this context as meaning a steward or vice-regent or God's representative.
- Creation is said to be good, and all aspects of it are miraculous signs (ayat) proving the existence of God. All of creation, moreover, is said to praise God, though humans may not perceive it. Nonhuman species are said to constitute ''communities'' similar to those of humans.
- While the Quran explicitly states that the Earth was created for all beings and not just for humans, it is also stated that certain species (particularly domestic animals) were created to serve humans. Because creation belongs to God, humans are not to engage in activities that cause it harm. Wastefulness and excess consumption are likewise condemned.
- The *Quranic* doctrine of vice-regent or '*Khālifah*' placed Man in the role of *Amāna* or trustee and custodian of the earth, thus responsible for building the earth and utilizing its resources with a sense of justice to oneself and to fellow mankind.
- The role assigned to 'Man' by the *Quran* included accountability of the numerous resources given by God or *Allah*. Moreover, the Islamic concept of knowledge includes both the transcendental knowledge as well as the knowledge based on sense perception and observation.
- Consequently, all knowledge gained through scientific activities aims to result in human welfare; and seeks to utilize the resources of the

universe for beneficial purposes, that is, there is both social justice and compassion.

- The Islamic philosophers affirm the position of humans near the top within the hierarchy of created beings, below angels but above other animals, plants, and minerals. Humans are the mediators between the heavenly and earthly realms and a major channel for divine grace. The human body, furthermore, is perceived as a microcosm of the universe.
- Muslim mystics, known as Sufis, have tended to interpret Quranic references to the oneness of God (tawhid) as indicating an underlying unity to all reality. They describe 'creation' in terms of "unity of being". The Sufi notion of the "complete man" (insan alkamil), expands the conception of the human being as microcosm of the universe.



4.5 FURTHER READING

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4. Galloway, Gorge. *The Philosophy of Religion.* International Theological Library
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6. Johnson, Bernard (Ed.). Colliers Encyclopaedia. Macmillan, Education Co. New York
7. Sinha, J. N. (201?). *Outlines of Indian Philosophy.* Kolkata: New Central Book Agency Pvt. Ltd.



4.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: Yajur Veda

Ans to Q No 3: Universe

Ans to Q No 4: Sermon on the Mount

Ans to Q No 5: Altruism and humanity

Ans to Q No 6: Loyalty

Ans to Q No 7: First Noble Truth: 'There is suffering' (Duhkha) is considered as the tyranny of pain.

Second Noble Truth : The second noble truth is 'There is cause of suffering' (Duhkha-samudaya).

Third Noble Truth : The third noble truth is related to the cessation of suffering (duhkha nirodha).

Fourth Noble Truth: The fourth noble truth is known as 'Duhkha-Nirodha-Mārga' or there is a way leading to the cessation of suffering.

Ans to Q No 8: The fourth noble truth is known as 'Duhkha-Nirodha-Mārga' or there is a way leading to the cessation of suffering. There is an ethical and spiritual path by following which suffering or pain can be removed. Buddha himself followed this path and suggested to follow it. The right knowledge regarding the causes of suffering shows the way of liberation. Buddha recommended eight steps or rules to attain liberation. These are known as 'Noble Eightfold Path' or 'Astāngika-mārga'. For liberation, eight fold path should be practised. It consists of eight steps.

Ans to Q No 9: "Amāna" or trustee and custodian of the earth

Ans to Q No 10: True



4.7 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Discuss the concept of peace in Hinduism.

Q. 2 : Discuss the concept of peace in Christianity.

Q. 3 : Discuss the concept of peace in Buddhism.

Q. 4 : Discuss the concept of peace in Islam.

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UNIT 5: PEACE MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Meaning of Peace Movements

5.3 Anti-War Movement (Opposition to the Vietnam War)

5.4 Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement

5.5 American Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Martin Luther (Jr.)

5.6 Anti-Apartheid Movement led by Nelson Mandela

5.7 Check Your Progress

5.8 Let Us Sum Up

5.9 Further Reading

5.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.11 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of Peace Movements
- discuss the Anti-War Movement (Opposition to the Vietnam War)
- discuss Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement
- discuss the American Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Martin Luther (Jr.)
- discuss the Anti-Apartheid Movement led by Nelson Mandela.

5.2 MEANING OF PEACE MOVEMENTS

The term 'peace' implies harmony in the absence of hostility and violence and it also implies concept of societal friendship. While in social science peace is commonly used to mean a situation of lack of conflict that is absence of war and also it implies freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups. Peace is something very important in our life as a it is a source of true happiness. The most vital way and the most basic way to achieve peace is being true to oneself.

Coming to **'Peace Movement'** it can be defined broadly as a movement which is opposed to preparations for war and which aim at bringing about reduction in or elimination of nuclear weapons. A **'peace movement'** is basically a social movement that seeks achieving ideals such as minimizing inter-human violence in a particular place or such type of situation, including banning of guns, ending a particular or all wars and all these are linked to achieving world peace. There are various means to achieve ideals of a peace movement like advocacy of pacifism, diplomacy, boycotts, peace camps, moral persuasion, non-violent resistance, banning guns, supporting anti-war political candidates, creating open government and transparency tools, formation of direct democracy, supporting whistleblowers who expose war-crimes or conspiracies to create wars, demonstrations, national political lobbying groups to create legislation fostering peace and also legislation to remove profit from government contracts to the military -industrial complex. Peace movements aim at the goal of sustainable world peace.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write briefly about peace movement.

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Q.2: Mention any two means to achieve ideals of a peace movement.

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5.3 ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT (OPPOSITION TO THE VIETNAM WAR)

The **Peace Movement** or the **Anti-War Movement** began in the 1960s in the United States and it was opposed to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. In fact, many advocates in the movement advocated a unilateral

withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam. The protests against the Vietnam War took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The protests were actually part of the movement in opposition to the Vietnam War and as such it took place in the United States mainly. The opposition to United States involvement in the Vietnam War began in 1964 with demonstrations and ended in 1973 . The protests were against the role of the U.S. military in the Vietnam War and eventually it grew into a broad social movement over the ensuing years. The Peace Movement of the post World War II period was the first of the modern social movements in Europe and America.

The Anti-War movement in the U.S. informed and helped in shaping the vigorous debate in the United States during the second half of the 1960s and early 1970s on how to end the Vietnam War. In the U.S. many participants in the peace movement were students, mothers or anti-establishment hippies. In fact, opposition grew with participation by the African-American civil rights groups, women's liberation groups and Chicano movement leaders (Mexican-American civil rights movement). Other groups too got involved which included educators, clergy, academics, journalists, lawyers, physicians like Benjamin Spock and military veterans. As the Vietnam War continued to escalate, public disenchantment grew and a variety of different groups were formed or became involved in the movement. The actions of the anti-war movement in U.S. was mainly of peaceful, non-violent events. In many cases against in the movement police used violent tactics against peaceful demonstrators. It must be mentioned in this context that in 1967, according to Gallup Polls, an increasing majority of Americans considered U.S. involvement in Vietnam to be a mistake and it was later stated by the then head of American war planning, former U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara.

Opposition to the Vietnam War arose during the time of unprecedented student activism, which followed the free speech movement and the Civil Rights Movement. During the war, the US government came up with system of draft which was a system of conscription that mainly drew from minorities and lower and middle class whites. There prevailed opposition to the draft itself based on the sentiment that the draft was unfairly administered. It

inflamed blue-collar Americans specially the African-American citizens. The opposition that grew against the Vietnam War was partly attributed to greater access to uncensored information through extensive television coverage on the ground in Vietnam. In addition to the opposition to the draft, anti-war protests made various moral arguments against the U.S. presence in Vietnam. The American college students along with the general public mainly accused the United States of having imperialistic goals in Vietnam. Many civilian deaths were downplayed or omitted entirely by the Western media and it thus became a subject of protest when photographic evidence of causalities emerged.

There was another reason of the movement and it was the perception that U.S. intervention in Vietnam was not legally justifiable though it had been argued in defence that the threat of communism called for American intervention. Even some sections of the American citizens believed that the communist threat was used as a scapegoat to hide imperialistic intentions and in South Vietnam the Americans interfered with the self-determination of the country. It was argued by some that the war in Vietnam was a kind of civil war that ought to have determined the fate of the country and they felt that America was wrong to intervene in the same. Media coverage of the war shocked many citizens' faith as news television brought images of wartime conflict to the homes of the American citizens.

There was a great deal of civic unrest on college campuses throughout the 1960s as students became largely involved in the Civil Rights Movement, Second Wave Feminism and anti-war movement. Many artists also during the 1960s and 1970s opposed the war in Vietnam and they used their creativity and careers to visibly oppose the war. Many writers and poets opposed the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War like Allen Ginsberg, Denise Levertov, Robert Duncan and Robert Bly. Their great works often incorporated imagery based on the tragic events of the war as well as the disparity between life in Vietnam and the life in the United States. Some filmmakers too like Lenny Lipton, Jerry Abrams, Peter Gessner and David Ringo created many documentary style movies featuring actual footage from the anti-war marches to raise awareness about the war and the opposition to the same form diverse sections. Many playwrights like Frank O'Hara, Sam Shepard, Robert Lowell,

Kenneth Bernard also used theatre as a tool for portraying their thoughts about the Vietnam war and their opposition to it. Women too in great numbers became active participants of the anti-war movement. Despite the inequalities faced by women , their participation in various anti-war groups allowed women to gain experience with organizing protests and crafting effective anti-war rhetoric. Mothers and older generations of women too joined the opposition movement as advocates for peace. Many women in America were highly sympathetic to the Vietnamese civilians affected by the war and they joined the opposition movement.

Many Asian-Americans developed anti-war sentiments due to the racial inequality that they faced in the United States. Again, many African-American leaders were often anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist and in the escalating violence of the Vietnam War and perceived social injustice of the draft system made them get involved in anti-war groups.

The Anti-War movement in the U.S. finally resulted in disruption and eventual termination of the draft of military conscription. The end of Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency is also a result of this movement. Another result of the movement is lowering of U.S. voting age from 21 to 18 years codified nationally in 1971 in the 26th amendment to the United States Constitution. And finally, the movement led to the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and there came an end to the U.S. presence in the Vietnam War.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: The Anti-War Movement in the 1960s in the United States was opposed to U.S. involvement in which war ?

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Q.4: Mention the names of any two filmmakers who created many documentary style movies to raise awareness about the Vietnam War and the opposition the same.

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5.4 MAHATMA GANDHI'S SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

Gandhiji always believed that self-sacrifice, satyagraha or non-cooperation could make even the mightiest empires in the world bow. In Gandhian philosophy 'Satyagraha' is the most powerful weapon for fighting against imperialism or a powerful enemy. Satyagraha or holding on to truth force is a particular form of non-violent resistance or civil resistance. It is not the same as passive resistance and advocates resisting non-violently over using violence. Gandhi, by Satyagraha, meant adhering to truth under all circumstances. According to him, a true Satyagrahi should believe in God and ahimsa (non-violence). For Gandhiji, violence is untruth while non- violence is truth. He said ahimsa means no one should be injured and there should be no hatred in thought, speech and action. He said a true non-violent fighter hates evil and leaves his or her opponent because for him or her it is not the person but the institution which is to be hated. A true Satyagrahi is bound to leave good impression for himself in the minds of others and leaves nothing bitter behind him.

For Gandhiji it was futile to think that many weapons were needed to win over an enemy. An enemy according to him can only be easily won by love and affection. He even stated that ahimsa had a deep bearing not on body but on soul. The evil doer should not be hated but the evil should be hated. A Satyagrahi should have high ideals. Satyagraha can be in various forms like non-cooperation which according to Gandhiji is to be directed towards the various "systems of evil" perpetrating injustice or oppression. They should be denied of any support from any corner and the oppressor should feel himself alone. It is in such situation alone that he will be obliged to listen patiently to the demands of the opponent. Another form of Satyagraha is civil disobedience according to Gandhiji. It is another method of fighting against a powerful enemy. Gandhiji was completely opposed to armed resistance but what he pleaded was that the people should not obey unjust and anti-social laws. In fact, he stated that they should be bold enough to declare their intention to disobey cruel and unjust laws and openly defy such orders. They should also be ready to go behind the bars and

suffer such cruelties as the oppressor might inflict upon them but should carry on the struggle till the time the unjust law is abrogated and replaced by a just law. Strike according to Gandhiji is another weapon for fighting against the oppressor. He favoured the idea of strikes if these were organized on non-violent basis. He felt that strike was an effective instrument if it did not aim at destruction and sabotage. Fasting is another form of Satyagraha. Gandhiji felt that the sense of the persons in power can most effectively be touched by fasting. Further, he felt that it can be a success only when the person going on fast is spiritually disciplined and true to his cause. According to Gandhiji, to become a good Satyagrahi the best method is that of Hijrat or leaving one's ancestral place. It means voluntary exile or temporary withdrawal from the place where one cannot live with self-respect. This method was advised by Gandhi to the Bardoli peasants in 1928.

Gandhiji emphasized that non-violence is the weapon of the brave and not of the weak. Mahatma Gandhi adopted the technique of Satyagraha movement as a real and active weapon against violence.

The Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was the first Satyagraha movement inspired by Gandhiji and a major revolt in the Indian struggle for independence. It was a farmer's uprising that took place in Champaran district of Bihar during British colonial period.

Gandhiji's transformed nonviolence into a tool of mass movement to fight injustice and oppression. In couse of time the Gandhian philosophy established its effectiveness and through these methods of Gandhiji could relieve Indians of their miseries in South Africa and also could win freedom for India from the world's mightiest empire. Gandhiji achieved great success in the revolutions he led in South Africa by following the path of Satyagraha. He had an innate belief that it would succeed in India too. He had an innate belief that it would be the only effective way to fight the powerful British as any other form of resistance was bound to fail on the part of India. Gandhiji's satyagraha methods had few takers in his early years at the Indian National Congress. However under the able guidance of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Gandhiji's method gradually gained acceptance. Satyagraha gained wide popularity and there were committed satyagrahis all over the country. The

Quit India Movement reclaimed the ideals of satyagraha which finally went a long way in securing Indian independence. The significance of satyagraha was soon accepted worldwide. In fact, Martin Luther King adopted the methods of satyagraha in his fight against racial discrimination of the American authorities in 1950.

Thus, Satyagraha is more than a political tool of resistance. It is a holistic approach towards life, based on the ideals of truth and moral courage.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: The Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was the first Satyagraha movement inspired by Gandhiji. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: Mention any two forms of Satyagraha put forward by Gandhiji.

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5.5 AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT LED BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER (JR.)

The American Civil Rights Movement was a decade-long struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for African Americans to gain equal rights under the law in the United States that white Americans already enjoyed. The main activists are Martin Luther King (Jr), Rosa Parks, Malcom X, Dorothy Height, Ella Baker and more. The movement is a mass protest movement against segregation and discrimination in the southern United States that came to national prominence during the mid-1950s. This movement had its roots in the centuries-long efforts of African slaves and their descendants to resist racial oppression and abolish the institution of slavery. It is a movement that came about out of the need and desire for equality and freedom for African Americans and other people of colour. The Civil War had officially abolished slavery, but it did not end

discrimination against blacks and they continued to endure the devastating effects of racism especially in the southern states. By the mid-20th century, African Americans had more than enough of prejudice and violence against them. They along with many whites mobilized and began an unprecedented fight for equality that spanned two decades. During Reconstruction (the period of American history following the American Civil War, whereby the newly freed slaves citizens were given civil rights) blacks took on leadership roles like never before. They held public office and sought legislative changes for equality and the right to vote. In 1868, the 14th Amendment to the Constitution gave blacks equal protection under the law. In 1870, the 15th Amendment granted blacks the right to vote. But many whites mainly those in the southern states were unhappy that people they would once enslave were now on a more or less equal playing field.

Therefore, to marginalize the blacks and keep them separate from whites and erase the progress during Reconstruction, 'Jim Crow laws' were established in the south beginning in the late 19th century. As a result of this, the blacks could not use the same public facilities as whites and most blacks could not vote as they were unable to pass voter literacy tests. Prior to World War II, most blacks were low-wage farmers, factory workers, domestic helps or servants. By the early 1940s, war-related work was booming, but most blacks were not given the better paying jobs. They were also discouraged from joining the military. After that, thousands of blacks threatened to march on Washington to demand equal employment rights, the then President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued executive order in 1941 and it opened national defence jobs and other government jobs to all the Americans regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

One of the most famous events of the civil rights movement took place on August 28, 1963 that is the - March on Washington. It was organized and attended by civil rights leaders such as A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King Jr. More than 200,000 , blacks and whites congregated in Washington, D.C. for the peaceful march with the main purpose of forcing civil rights legislation and establishing job equality for everyone. The highlight of the march was King's speech in which he

continually stated, "I have a dream" which quickly became a slogan for equality and freedom. Martin Luther King Jr. was one of the best known advocates for non-violent social change. His movement was so powerful that he inspired the Congress and it enacted the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and in the same year King himself was honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize. Posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, King is an icon of the civil rights movement and his life and work symbolize the quest for equality and nondiscrimination that lies at the heart of the American and human dream. King's personal exceptional oratorical skills and personal courage first attracted national attention in 1955 when he along with other civil rights activists were arrested after leading a boycott of a transportation company in Montgomery, Alabama which required nonwhites to surrender their seats to whites and stand or sit at the back of the bus. Over the following decade, King wrote, spoke and also organized nonviolent protests and mass demonstrations to draw attention to racial discrimination and to demand civil rights legislation to protect the rights of African-Americans. In 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, King guided peaceful mass demonstrations that the white police force countered with police dogs and fire hoses creating a controversy which also generated newspaper headlines throughout the entire world. Subsequent mass demonstrations in many communities culminated in a march that attracted more than 250,000 protestors to Washington D.C.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964- the legislation initiated by President John F. Kennedy before his assassination into law on July 2 of the same year. King and other civil rights activists witnessed the signing. The law guaranteed equal employment for all, limited the use of voter literacy tests and allowed federal authorities to ensure that public facilities were integrated.

On March, 1965, the civil rights movement in Alabama took an especially violent turn as 600 peaceful demonstrators participated in the Selma to Montogomery march to protest the killing of black civil rights activist Jimmie Lee Jackson by a white police officer and to encourage legislation to enforce the 15th Amendment. The protesters were blocked by Alabama state and local. Refusing to stand down, protestors moved forward and

were viciously beaten and teargassed by police and dozens of protestors were hospitalized. This entire incident was televised and became known as 'Bloody Sunday' and even some activists wanted to retaliate with violence but King pushed for non-violent protests and eventually gained federal protection for another march.

The civil rights movement was an empowering yet precarious time for the blacks in America. The efforts of civil rights activists and countless protestors of all races brought about legislation to end segregation and eliminate black voter suppression and discriminatory employment and housing practices.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Mention the names of two prominent activists of the American Civil Rights Movement.

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Q.8: Martin Luther King's movement inspired the Congress to enact which Act in 1964 ?

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5.6 ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT LED BY NELSON MANDELA

Apartheid was a system of racial inequality and segregation on the grounds of race, which kept all races separate from one another. In 1994 Nelson Mandela was of key importance in negotiating the freedom and equality of all South Africans. Then he became South Africa's first democratically elected President. Nelson Mandela is considered by many to be the father of South Africa. Nelson Mandela was an anti-apartheid activist which means that he fought for those who were disadvantaged by the system of racial segregation. Mandela became a civil rights leader, leading many against the Apartheid government.

Apartheid was introduced in 1948 by the Nationalist Party which was an all-white government. It was a harsh system that gave little opportunities to non-white people and took away their basic human rights such as education, freedom of movement and rights to self-determination. The iconic struggle between the apartheid regime of South Africa and those who resisted it illustrates the complexity of some cases of civil resistance. Originally the use of civil resistance against apartheid was based on Gandhian ideas which originated in South Africa in 1906 where Gandhi was a lawyer working for an Indian trading firm. Soon, the political party, namely, African National Congress(ANC) was founded in 1922 and it became a major force opposing the apartheid system's oppression of the 80 percent non-European population of the country. It was the major institutional vehicle of the resistance.

Mandela joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944 and was elected President of African National Congress Youth League in 1951. He first encouraged non-violent protests as he wanted to follow Mahatma Gandhi's ideals. But later, as non-violent methods did not work, more violent tactics began to be adopted. In fact, the apartheid government then considered Mandela and the other civil rights activists as terrorists. White South Africans monopolized control over the state and its economy including rich natural resources such as a third of the world's known gold reserves. The whites developed an explicit theology and philosophy of white racial superiority and a legal and economic system enforced by a modern military and police force that deliberately excluded non-whites from economic and political power. Discouraged by the lack of results from their non-violent campaign , Mandela and activists called for an armed uprising creating 'Spear of the Nation' that continued alongside the non-violent resistance. That too failed to abolish the apartheid system and in the end a concerted grassroots non-violent civil resistance movement in coalition with international support and sanctions forced the white government to negotiate. After decades of resistance to the explicitly-racist system, questions and even defections from the white power elite emerged in the 1980s as business leaders who were aware of the need for a high quality

workforce involving both blacks and whites began to despair at the failure of modest reforms and increased repression. Even questions began to emerge within the Dutch Nederlands-Reformed Church which fashioned the apartheid theology that had legitimated the regime. Though the apartheid regime of South Africa was powerful in terms of security forces, mineral wealth and industrial capacity, it was dependent on its non-white labour force, Southern African neighbours and international ties with the industrial west. However, when these pillars withdrew their support, the regime became unstable. The ANC at first emphasized legal forms of protests and then shifted to a more militant non-violent direct action campaign in the early 1950s. Later it advocated violent resistance. The violent resistance was limited to occasional bombings of government facilities and avoidance of civilian deaths. By the early 1980s, anti-apartheid forces were virtually united around non-violent resistance that could achieve maximum participation among non-whites and bring international pressure to bear on the government. A number of tactics were used in total during the anti-apartheid struggle and it includes creation of community based institutions like cooperatives, community clinics, legal resource centres; protest and persuation; mass demonstrations; marches; non-cooperation; lighting candles every night during the Christmas season; negotiations; strikes and stay-aways; economic boycotts, school boycotts, sports and cultural boycotts, rent boycotts and civil-disobedience.

Nelson Mandela was arrested by the apartheid government and during the Rivonia Trial (1963-64) and was sentenced to jail. Mandela spent 27 years in jail and most of that time was spent on Robben Island. Nelson Mandela during his jail tenure had become an international symbol for the anti-apartheid movement. In fact, Mandela and the anti-apartheid movement gained huge international support as there were worldwide protests and sanctions against the apartheid government. The fight against the apartheid government was a success due to the efforts of both local leaders and mounting international pressure which forced the regime to withdraw from holding power. On 17th March, 1992 two-thirds of South Africa's white voters approved a negotiated end of the minority regime and apartheid system.

On 27th April, 1994 in South Africa, the first democratic elections were held and everyone was given the right to vote regardless of their race. The ANC won the elections and Nelson Mandela was then elected as the President of the new South Africa in the first free elections where the entire population participated. Mandela stepped down as president in 1999 but continued to promote peace around the globe. Today, South Africa is a fully democratic country.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: Apartheid was a system of racial inequality and segregation on the grounds of race. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: Which political party became a major force in South Africa opposing the apartheid system's oppression ?

.....



5.7 LET US SUM UP

- The term 'peace' implies harmony in the absence of hostility and violence and it also implies concept of societal friendship. While in social science peace is commonly used to mean a situation of lack of conflict that is absence of war and also it implies freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups.
- Coming to 'Peace Movement' it can be defined broadly as a movement which is opposed to preparations for war and which aim at bringing about reduction in or elimination of nuclear weapons.
- A 'peace movement' is basically a social movement that seeks achieving ideals such as minimizing inter-human violence in a particular place or such type of situation, including banning of guns, ending a particular or all wars and all these are linked to achieving world peace.

- There are various means to achieve ideals of a peace movement like advocacy of pacifism, diplomacy, boycotts, peace camps, moral persuasion, non-violent resistance, etc.
- The Peace Movement or the Anti-War Movement began in the 1960s in the United States and it was opposed to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.
- The Anti-War movement in the U.S. informed and helped in shaping the vigorous debate in the United States during the second half of the 1960s and early 1970s on how to end the Vietnam War.
- The Anti-War movement in the U.S. finally resulted in disruption and eventual termination of the draft of military conscription. The end of Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency is also a result of this movement. Another result of the movement is lowering of U.S. voting age from 21 to 18 years codified nationally in 1971 in the 26th amendment to the United States Constitution. And finally, the movement led to the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and there came an end to the U.S. presence in the Vietnam War.
- Gandhiji always believed that self-sacrifice, satyagraha or non-cooperation could make even the mightiest empires in the world bow. In Gandhian philosophy 'Satyagraha' is the most powerful weapon for fighting against imperialism or a powerful enemy.
- Satyagraha or holding on to truth force is a particular form of non-violent resistance or civil resistance. It is not the same as passive resistance and advocates resisting non-violently over using violence. Gandhi, by Satyagraha, meant adhering to truth under all circumstances. According to him, a true Satyagrahi should believe in God and ahimsa (non-violence).
- A Satyagrahi should have high ideals. Satyagraha can be in various forms like non-cooperation, civil disobedience, strikes, fasting, etc.
- The Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was the first Satyagraha movement inspired by Gandhiji and a major revolt in the Indian struggle for independence. It was a farmer's uprising that took place in Champaran district of Bihar during British colonial period.

- Gandhiji's transformed nonviolence into a tool of mass movement to fight injustice and oppression.
- Satyagraha gained wide popularity and there were committed satyagrahis all over the country. The Quit India Movement reclaimed the ideals of satyagraha which finally went a long way in securing Indian independence. The significance of satyagraha was soon accepted worldwide. In fact, Martin Luther King adopted the methods of satyagraha in his fight against racial discrimination of the American authorities in 1950.
- Thus, Satyagraha is more than a political tool of resistance. It is a holistic approach towards life, based on the ideals of truth and moral courage.
- The American Civil Rights Movement was a decade-long struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for African Americans to gain equal rights under the law in the United States that white Americans already enjoyed.
- The main activists are Martin Luther King (Jr), Rosa Parks, Malcon X, Dorothy Height, Ella Baker and more.
- The movement is a mass protest movement against segregation and discrimination in the southern United States that came to national prominence during the mid-1950s.
- One of the most famous events of the civil rights movement took place on August 28, 1963 that is the - March on Washington. It was organized and attended by civil rights leaders such as A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King Jr.
- More than 200,000 , blacks and whites congregated in Washington, D.C. for the peaceful march with the main purpose of forcing civil rights legislation and establishing job equality for everyone.
- The highlight of the march was King's speech in which he continually stated, "I have a dream" which quickly became a slogan for equality and freedom. Martin Luther King Jr. was one of the best known advocates for non-violent social change.

- King's movement was so powerful that he inspired the Congress and it enacted the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and in the same year King himself was honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize.
- President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964- the legislation initiated by President John F. Kennedy before his assassination into law on July 2 of the same year. King and other civil rights activists witnessed the signing. The law guaranteed equal employment for all, limited the use of voter literacy tests and allowed federal authorities to ensure that public facilities were integrated.
- The civil rights movement was an empowering yet precarious time for the blacks in America. The efforts of civil rights activists and countless protestors of all races brought about legislation to end segregation and eliminate black voter suppression and discriminatory employment and housing practices.
- Apartheid was a system of racial inequality and segregation on the grounds of race, which kept all races separate from one another. In 1994 Nelson Mandela was of key importance in negotiating the freedom and equality of all South Africans. Then he became South Africa's first democratically elected President. Nelson Mandela is considered by many to be the father of South Africa.
- Nelson Mandela was an anti-apartheid activist which means that he fought for those who were disadvantaged by the system of racial segregation. Mandela became a civil rights leader, leading many against the Apartheid government.
- Apartheid was introduced in 1948 by the Nationalist Party which was an all-white government. It was a harsh system that gave little opportunities to non-white people and took away their basic human rights such as education, freedom of movement and rights to self-determination.
- The iconic struggle between the apartheid regime of South Africa and those who resisted it illustrates the complexity of some cases of civil resistance. Originally the use of civil resistance against apartheid was

based on Gandhian ideas which originated in South Africa in 1906 where Gandhi was a lawyer working for an Indian trading firm.

- Mandela joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944 and was elected President of African National Congress Youth League in 1951. He first encouraged non-violent protests as he wanted to follow Mahatma Gandhi's.
- The ANC at first emphasized legal forms of protests and then shifted to a more militant non-violent direct action campaign in the early 1950s. Later it advocated violent resistance. The violent resistance was limited to occasional bombings of government facilities and avoidance of civilian deaths.
- By the early 1980s, anti-apartheid forces were virtually united around non-violent resistance that could achieve maximum participation among non-whites and bring international pressure to bear on the government.
- A number of tactics were used in total during the anti-apartheid struggle and it includes creation of community based institutions like cooperatives, community clinics, strikes and stay-aways; economic boycotts, school boycotts, sports and cultural boycotts, rent boycotts and civil-disobedience.
- Nelson Mandela was arrested by the apartheid government and during the Rivonia Trial (1963-64) and was sentenced to jail. Mandela spent 27 years in jail and most of that time was spent on Robben Island.
- Nelson Mandela during his jail tenure had become an international symbol for the anti-apartheid movement. In fact, Mandela and the anti-apartheid movement gained huge international support as there were worldwide protests and sanctions against the apartheid government.
- The fight against the apartheid government was a success due to the efforts of both local activists and mounting international pressure which forced the regime withdraw from holding power.
- On 17th March, 1992 two-thirds of South Africa's white voters approved a negotiated end of the minority regime and apartheid system. On 27th April, 1994 in South Africa, the first democratic elections were held and everyone was given the right to vote regardless of their race.

- The ANC won the elections and Nelson Mandela was then elected as the President of the new South Africa in the first free elections where the entire population participated.



5.8 FURTHER READING

1. Gauba, O P. *An Introduction to Political Theory.* Delhi. Macmillan India Ltd.
2. Baylis, John; Smith, Steve and Patricia Owens. *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to international relations.* Oxford University Press.
3. Adam, Heribert and Kogila Moodley . *The Opening of the Apartheid Mind: Options for the New South Africa. Berkeley.* University of California Press. 1993.
4. Sen, Sailendra Nath. *History of the Freedom Movement in India (1857-1947).* New Age International Publishers.



5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: A 'Peace Movement' can be defined broadly as a movement which is opposed to preparations for war and which aim at bringing about reduction in or elimination of nuclear weapons. A 'peace movement' is basically a social movement that seeks achieving ideals such as minimizing inter-human violence in a particular place or such type of situation, including banning of guns, ending a particular or all wars and all these are linked to achieving world peace. There are various means to achieve ideals of a peace movement like advocacy of pacifism, diplomacy, boycotts, peace camps, moral persuasion, non-violent resistance, banning guns, supporting anti-war political candidates, creating open government and transparency tools,

formation of direct democracy, supporting whistleblowers who expose war-crimes or conspiracies to create wars, demonstrations, national political lobbying groups to create legislation fostering peace and also legislation to remove profit from government contracts to the military -industrial complex. Peace movements aim at the goal of sustainable world peace.

Ans to Q No 2: Diplomacy and moral persuasion.

Ans to Q No 3: Vietnam War

Ans to Q No 4: Lenny Lipton and Jerry Abrams

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience

Ans to Q No 7: Martin Luther King (Jr) and Rosa Parks

Ans to Q No 8: Civil Rights Act in 1964

Ans to Q No 9: True

Ans to Q No 10: African National Congress



5.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of Peace Movements

Q 2 : Write briefly about the Anti-War Movement (Opposition to the Vietnam War) in the United States.

Q 3 : Discuss Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement

Q 4 : Discuss the American Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Martin Luther (Jr.)

Q 5 : Discuss the Anti-Apartheid Movement led by Nelson Mandela

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UNIT 6: PEACE CULTURE AND PEACE EDUCATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 UNESCO's Structure of Peace Initiative

6.4 Peace Education

6.5 Let Us Sum Up

6.6 Further Reading

6.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.7 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- discuss UNESCO's Culture of Peace initiative
- explain the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace
- explain the concept of peace education
- explain the initiatives made in the field of promotion of peace education.

6.2 MEANING OF PEACE MOVEMENTS

In a world marked by the existence of various forms of violence and armed conflict, there is an urgent need to cultivate a spirit of love , tolerance, respect for human rights and solidarity among all human beings. Establishing dialogue and constructive communication among various groups and communities to foster better understanding and mutual respect is of utmost importance. At the same, to be able to live in peace and harmony, it is also necessary to impart the requisite skills and instil those attitudes among people which lead to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to peace. This is where the necessity of peace education

arises. In this unit, we shall discuss the concepts of "Culture of Peace" and "Peace Education".

6.3 UNESCO'S CULTURE OF PEACE INITIATIVE

The concept of a culture of peace is originally associated with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Tracing the origin of the concept of culture of peace , one finds that the concept emerged from the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men organized by UNESCO in Ivory Coast situated in Africa in July, 1989. UNESCO is a specialized agency of the United Nations based in Paris. UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme is an integrated approach to peace building and post conflict reconstruction. The promotion of a culture of peace is at the heart of UNESCO's mandate. In 1992, the UNESCO adopted a Culture of Peace Programme. Several initiatives had been undertaken by the UNESCO under its Culture of Peace Programme in conflict ridden countries such as El Salvador, Mozambique and Burundi where it was seen that conflicts could be settled peacefully when parties try to listen to and to understand one another and also to maintain their integrity without killing. (Source: http://www.culture-of-peace.info/annexes/IPRAnewsletter/page1.html). UNESCO, since 1945, has promoted the right to quality education and the advancement of science and its applications to develop knowledge and capacity for economic and social progress, the basis of peace and sustainable development. (https://en.unesco.org/themes/building-peace-programmes).

In 1997 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution which called for called for a "transformation from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence." The resolution defines the culture of peace as based on "respect for human rights, democracy and tolerance, the promotion of development, education for peace, the free flow of information and the wider participation of women." Since 1997, the United Nations General Assembly has adopted resolutions every year in support of a culture of peace.

The United Nations General Assembly considers that a Culture of Peace consists of " a set values, attitudes, traditions and customs, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reflect and are directed towards respect for life, for human beings and their rights, the rejection of violence in all its forms, the recognition of the equal rights of men and women, the recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information, attachment to the principles of democracy, freedom, justice, development for all, tolerance, solidarity, pluralism and acceptance of differences and understanding between nations, between ethnic, religious, cultural and other groups and between individuals. The individual elements of a culture of peace are therefore: non-violence and respect for human rights, respect and solidarity among all peoples and dialogue between cultures, the linkage of peace to democratic participation and sustainable human development, the free flow and sharing of information and knowledge, contribution to conflict-prevention and post-conflict peace-building, and equality between women and men, all best supported through projects in which people take an active role in transforming their values, attitudes and behaviours".

(Source:http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single- view/news/promoting_a_culture_of_peace_through_education_unesco_celeb/)

- **Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace**

On September 13, 1999, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. The Programme of Action include eight action areas which are listed below:

1. Culture of peace through education
2. Sustainable economic and social development
3. Respect for all human rights
4. Equality between women and men
5. Democratic participation
6. Understanding, tolerance and solidarity

7. Participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge
8. International peace and security

The above action areas are interlinked and complimentary. The United Nations declared the year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace with the aim of celebrating and encouraging a culture of peace worldwide. The UN General Assembly also declared the Decade 2001-2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World.

In November 2000, the General Assembly entrusted UNESCO with the coordination of the activities of the organizations of the United Nations system to promote a culture of peace and liaising with other organizations concerned in this matter. The UNESCO is also engaged in promoting peace building through education and develops peace education materials. Peace education helps people to develop the necessary values and skills to live in harmony with one another and with the natural environment. UNESCO is concerned by the rise of racism, xenophobia and intolerance, and considers that education is essential to strengthening the foundations of tolerance, reducing discrimination and violence. (source: https://en.unesco.org/themes/building-peace-programmes).

It may be stated here that in the wake of the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace adopted by the UN in 1999, many civil society organizations from different regions of the world came forward and joined in to contribute to a global movement for a culture of peace in the light of with the principles incorporated in the Declaration.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The concept of a culture of peace is originally associated with which organisation ?

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Q.2: How does the United Nations General Assembly explain the concept of a Culture of Peace ?

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Q.3: United Nations General Assembly's Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace contains how many action areas ?

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Q.4: The United Nations declared which year as the International Year for the Culture of Peace

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6.4 PEACE EDUCATION

In recent times, the need has been felt, more than ever, to adopt a coherent approach to reduce violence and promote peace building through the means of Peace Education. Peace education seeks to foster and promote values centering around principles of democracy, non-violence, tolerance, mutual respect and trust, co-existence, justice, freedom, equality, respect for human rights, empathy, responsibility and solidarity, among others.

Peace education aims to help people acquire skills for conflict prevention and conflict resolution through peaceful means. Peace education can be imparted to people of all ages and in both formal and informal settings so that the target audience can acquire the skills needed for building and strengthening a culture of peace in the society, guided by a spirit of justice and fair play at all times in their individual lives. The emphasis is to create an atmosphere conducive to peace resulting in peace building. Programmes for peace education exist at local, national,

and international levels and in times of peace, conflict and post-conflict. Peace Education seeks to create dialogue among different sections of the society, cutting across civil society organizations, representatives of different ethnic communities, professional associations, educational institutions, the media, etc., so that the idea of peace and peace building gets disseminated across the board, covering all stakeholders. Bringing about long-term behavioural change is an objective of peace education so that peace building becomes a sustained initiative and people continue to repose faith only in nonviolent and peaceful resolution of disputes. Peace education constitutes an important component of the initiatives undertaken by the UN in promoting a Culture of Peace. As part of the UN General Assembly forum on the implementation of the UN Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace held in September, 2012, the then Secretary General of the UN, Ban Ki-moon said "Through education, we teach children not to hate. Through education, we raise leaders who act with wisdom and compassion. Through education, we establish a true, lasting culture of peace." (source: https://news.un.org/en/story/2012/09/419622-education-crucial-engender-culture-peace-un-officials-stress-general-assembly). It may be mentioned here, among all UN agencies, it is the UNESCO which has been playing a pivotal role in the realm of peace education as a means of developing a Culture of Peace. The UNESCO, over the years, has developed some valuable literature related to peace education and has believed in the idea that peace is something which must emerge from the local and grassroots levels rather than being imposed from above. UNESCO was founded in 1945. UNESCO's mission is to contribute to the building of a culture of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information. UNESCO works to create the conditions for dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples, based upon respect for commonly shared values. (Source: https://www.un.org/youthenvoy/2013/08/unesco-united-nations-educational-scientific-and-cultural-organization/)

UNESCO states that "The promotion of peace through education is at the heart of UNESCO's mission. As stated in its constitution of 1945, UNESCO advances international peace and the common welfare of humanity through educational, scientific and cultural relations between peoples of the world." Describing the concept of peace education, UNESCO declares that "Education for non-violence and peace includes training, skills and information directed towards cultivating a culture of peace based on human rights principles. This education not only provides knowledge about a culture of peace, but also imparts the skills and attitudes necessary to defuse and recognize potential conflicts, and those needed to actively promote and establish a culture of peace and non-violence. The learning objectives of peace education may include an understanding of the manifestations of violence, the development of capacities to respond constructively to that violence and specific knowledge of alternatives to violence. Two fundamental concepts of peace education are respect and skills. Respect refers to the development of respect for self and for others; skills refer to specific communication, cooperation and behavioral skills used in conflict situations". (Source: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000160787)

UNESCO promotes peace education activities by providing support to member states to incorporate the values of a culture of peace at all levels of their education systems. Towards this end, UNESCO provides various means of support, such as: the co-production of textbooks by two or more countries as a basis for mutual understanding; the development of learning materials that are culturally and linguistically appropriate; providing support for Member States wishing to carry out bilateral or multi-lateral revisions of curricula and textbooks in order to remove prejudices or stereotypes, and by promoting teacher training and educational programmes in peace and human rights education. UNESCO has worked with member states in the field of education for peace and non-violence. For instance, the UNESCO office in New Delhi has piloted a project with the National Council for Teacher Education to field test an Education for Peace manual in India. (Source: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000160787)

At a more institutionalized level, peace studies has been incorporated in the curricula of several universities across the globe and more elaborately by those offering specialized programmes on the discipline of peace studies. As a matter of fact, the peace studies as a broader field of study is an interdisciplinary area of study and encompasses within its fold a variety of approaches and attitudes revolving around the concept of peace education, multiculturalism, education for democracy and human rights and education for sustainable development. More specifically, peace education combines both theoretical formulations and applied research. It relies on the contributions of academics, peace theorists, peace researchers and peace activists. Peace education lays stress on the fact that ignorance about other cultures and communities lead to prejudice and violence. So it is necessary to educate students and the people at large about the values, cultures, traditions and customs of other communities so that we all can appreciate cultural similarities and differences vis a vis other communities and build a more humane and tolerant society. Such a society will invariably be grounded in peace and harmony.

(main source: https://www.peaceinsight.org/themes/peace-education)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Explain how UNESCO promotes peace education.

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6.5 LET US SUM UP

- The concept of a culture of peace is originally associated with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO). Tracing the origin of the concept of culture of peace , one finds that the concept emerged from the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men organized by UNESCO in Ivory Coast situated in Africa in July, 1989.

- UNESCO is a specialized agency of the United Nations based in Paris. UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme is an integrated approach to peace building and post conflict reconstruction. The promotion of a culture of peace is at the heart of UNESCO's mandate.
- In 1992, the UNESCO adopted a Culture of Peace Programme. Several initiatives had been undertaken by the UNESCO under its Culture of Peace Programme in conflict ridden countries such as El Salvador, Mozambique and Burundi where it was seen that conflicts could be settled peacefully when parties try to listen to and to understand one another and also to maintain their integrity without killing.
- In 1997 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution which called for called for a "transformation from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence." The resolution defines the culture of peace as based on "respect for human rights, democracy and tolerance, the promotion of development, education for peace, the free flow of information and the wider participation of women."
- Since 1997, the United Nations General Assembly has adopted resolutions every year in support of a culture of peace.
- The United Nations General Assembly considers that a Culture of Peace consists of a set values, attitudes, traditions and customs, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reflect and are directed towards respect for life, for human beings and their rights, the rejection of violence in all its forms, the recognition of the equal rights of men and women, the recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information, attachment to the principles of democracy, freedom, justice, development for all, tolerance, solidarity,

pluralism and acceptance of differences and understanding between nations, between ethnic, religious, cultural and other groups and between individuals.

- On September 13, 1999, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. The Programme of Action include eight action areas.
- The above action areas are interlinked and complimentary. The United Nations declared the year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace with the aim of celebrating and encouraging a culture of peace worldwide. The UN General Assembly also declared the Decade 2001-2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World.
- In November 2000, the General Assembly entrusted UNESCO with the coordination of the activities of the organizations of the United Nations system to promote a culture of peace and liaising with other organizations concerned in this matter. The UNESCO is also engaged in promoting peace building through education and develops peace education materials.
- Peace education helps people to develop the necessary values and skills to live in harmony with one another and with the natural environment. UNESCO is concerned by the rise of racism, xenophobia and intolerance, and considers that education is essential to strengthening the foundations of tolerance, reducing discrimination and violence. (source: https://en.unesco.org/themes/building-peace-programmes).
- It may be stated here that in the wake of the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace adopted by the UN in 1999, many civil society organizations from different regions of the world came forward and joined in to contribute to a global movement for a culture of peace in the light of with the principles incorporated in the Declaration.

- In recent times, the need has been felt, more than ever, to adopt a coherent approach to reduce violence and promote peace building through the means of Peace Education. Peace education seeks to foster and promote values centering around principles of democracy, non-violence, tolerance, mutual respect and trust, co-existence, justice, freedom, equality, respect for human rights, empathy, responsibility and solidarity, among others.
- Peace education aims to help people acquire skills for conflict prevention and conflict resolution through peaceful means. Peace education can be imparted to people of all ages and in both formal and informal settings so that the target audience can acquire the skills needed for building and strengthening a culture of peace in the society, guided by a spirit of justice and fair play at all times in their individual lives.
- The emphasis is to create an atmosphere conducive to peace resulting in peace building. Programmes for peace education exist at local, national, and international levels and in times of peace, conflict and post-conflict.
- Peace Education seeks to create dialogue among different sections of the society, cutting across civil society organizations, representatives of different ethnic communities, professional associations, educational institutions, the media, etc., so that the idea of peace and peace building gets disseminated across the board, covering all stakeholders.
- Peace education constitutes an important component of the initiatives undertaken by the UN in promoting a Culture of Peace. As part of the UN General Assembly forum on the implementation of the UN Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace held in September, 2012, the then Secretary General of the UN, Ban Ki-moon said "Through education, we teach children not to hate. Through education, we raise leaders who act with wisdom and compassion. Through education, we establish a true, lasting culture of peace."

- The UNESCO, over the years, has developed some valuable literature related to peace education and has believed in the idea that peace is something which must emerge from the local and grassroots levels rather than being imposed from above.
- UNESCO was founded in 1945. UNESCO's mission is to contribute to the building of a culture of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information. UNESCO works to create the conditions for dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples, based upon respect for commonly shared values.
- UNESCO promotes peace education activities by providing support to member states to incorporate the values of a culture of peace at all levels of their education systems.
- At a more institutionalized level, peace studies has been incorporated in the curricula of several universities across the globe and more elaborately by those offering specialized programmes on the discipline of peace studies.



6.6 FURTHER READING

1. *UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement.* UNESCO.
2. Kumar, Ravindra. *Some Vital Aspects of Peace Education.* Gyan Publishing House.



6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: UNESCO

Ans to Q No 2: The United Nations General Assembly considers that a Culture of Peace consists of " a set values, attitudes, traditions

and customs, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reflect and are directed towards respect for life, for human beings and their rights, the rejection of violence in all its forms, the recognition of the equal rights of men and women, the recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information, attachment to the principles of democracy, freedom, justice, development for all, tolerance, solidarity, pluralism and acceptance of differences and understanding between nations, between ethnic, religious, cultural and other groups and between individuals. The individual elements of a culture of peace are therefore: non-violence and respect for human rights, respect and solidarity among all peoples and dialogue between cultures, the linkage of peace to democratic participation and sustainable human development, the free flow and sharing of information and knowledge, contribution to conflict-prevention and post-conflict peace-building, and equality between women and men, all best supported through projects in which people take an active role in transforming their values, attitudes and behaviours".

Ans to Q No 3: Eight

Ans to Q No 4: 2000

Ans to Q No 5: UNESCO promotes peace education activities by providing support to member states to incorporate the values of a culture of peace at all levels of their education systems. Towards this end, UNESCO provides various means of support, such as: the co-production of textbooks by two or more countries as a basis for mutual understanding; the development of learning materials that are culturally and linguistically appropriate; providing support for Member States wishing to carry out bilateral or multi-lateral revisions of curricula and textbooks in order to remove prejudices or stereotypes, and by promoting teacher training and educational programmes in peace and human rights education.



6.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : UNESCO's Culture of Peace Initiative.

Q 2 : Write briefly about the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace adopted by the UN General Assembly.

Q 3 : Explain the meaning of peace education.

Q 4 : Discuss the concept of a Culture of Peace as put forward by UNESCO.

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UNIT 7: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Political Economy (Colonialism, War, Free Market Economy, Globalization)

7.3 Relationship between Development, Conflict and Peace

7.4 Let Us Sum Up

7.5 Further Reading

7.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.7 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of political economy
- explain political economy in the context of colonialism and war
- explain political economy in the context of free market economy and globalization
- discuss the relationship between development, conflict and peace

7.2 POLITICAL ECONOMY (COLONIALISM, WAR, FREE MARKET ECONOMY, GLOBALIZATION)

- **Meaning of Political Economy**

Political Economy is a concept that developed in the 17th century. The roots of the concept could be traced back to the theory of property put forward by John Locke . John Locke argued in the Second Treatise that property serves as an explanation for the existence of government and also acts as a criterion for evaluating the performance of government. (Source: Vaugn, Karen I : *John Locke's Theory of Property: Problems of Interpretation*-retrieved from https://www.libertarianism.org/publications/

essays/john-lockes-theory-property-problems-interpretation on 26/02/2020) At present, the concept of political economy is commonly understood as an interdisciplinary field of study that draws on economics, political science and law in order to understand how political institutions, the political environment and the economic system whether capitalist or socialist influence each other. It seeks to explore the relationship between the political environment and the economic environment among and within states.

- **Colonialism and War**

Prior to the Second World War, most countries from Africa, Asia and South America were colonies under the political domination of foreign countries. Historically speaking, European colonialism began in the fifteenth century, when the Spanish and Portuguese began exploring the Americas, and the coasts of Africa, the Middle East, India, and East Asia. Subsequently, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Britain, France and Holland raised their own colonial empires across the globe. It dawned the era of mercantile capitalism based on establishment of colonies, extraction of raw materials from the colonies to feed the factories of the home country and exporting the finished products and accumulation of wealth. Thus, colonialism involved exploring new areas in search of resources (land, minerals, forest, and other raw materials) and markets leading to exploitation of the colonies with far reaching political and socio-economic consequences leading to deprivation of the rights and liberties of the native population. During the early years of colonialism, there occurred several wars among the major powers like Britain, France and Holland over securing colonial domination in Africa and Asia. Thus the political history of the world during this period was largely determined by the conflicts among the colonial powers who competed among themselves to exercise control and domination over the resource rich countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with a view to accumulate more and more wealth.

However, strong nationalist struggles against foreign domination began to sweep across most of these countries. After the Second World War, the process of decolonization was set rolling. More and more of these countries started gaining independence, one after the other, from the control of the

colonial powers. However, it was seen that in spite of their political independence, these newly independent countries found themselves to be economically dependent upon the developed countries in more ways than one. Years of colonial exploitation had left these countries impoverished. Upon gaining independence, these countries aimed at achieving the goals of rapid economic and political development. Consequently, these economically underdeveloped countries started receiving financial and technical assistance from the advanced and developed countries, most of which were former colonial powers. This opened the floodgates for the involvement of the developed countries in the affairs of the less developed countries. This behaviour of the developed countries came to be compared to a new kind of colonialism in the post-colonial world which has been describes as "neo-colonialism." It is a modern form of economic imperialism.

The term neo-colonialism began to gain currency particularly with reference to Africa. Soon after gaining independence, some national leaders and opposition groups from African countries argued that their countries were facing a new form of colonialism perpetrated by the former colonial powers and other developed nations.

Being economically dependent upon the developed countries, the developing and least-developed countries are not in a position to conduct their economic affairs independently. While framing and pursuing their respective economic policies, these countries are influenced and guided by the developed countries. It is also argued that international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization are all responsible for promoting the neocolonial influence. Through exercising economic control, they try to gain control over the governmental machinery. Accordingly, the sovereignty of the developing countries get infringed upon.

The rich countries have also tried to exert control over the politics and economics of the developing countries through Multi-National Corporations (MNCs). Most of these companies have their headquarters in the developed world. For instance, in many less developed countries, trans-national petroleum and mining companies enjoy a monopoly in the

exploitation of their resources. They are interested in the cheaply available raw materials from the less developed countries. The activities of the MNCs are not restricted to the economic field alone. With the help of their financial power, they try to influence the political activities of the developing countries by funding political parties and influencing the government.

Access to the markets of developed countries for the finished products of the less developed countries is restricted to a great extent. The developed countries do not open up their markets to the desirable extent vis-à-vis the less developed countries and impose many tariff and trade restrictions on the finished products of the latter and at best pay low prices for the same. On the other hand, the developed countries insist that the less developed countries should open up their own markets to the manufactured goods of the developed countries while keeping all trade barriers to the minimum. Such unequal agreements curtail the economic development of the national economies of the less developed countries. For instance, in the 1960s, it was argued that underdevelopment in the Latin American economies could be attributed to a large extent to the fact that the highly developed countries were paying low prices for agricultural products of the Latin American countries and flooding those economies with cheap manufactured goods.

During the Cold War period, the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States tried to expand their respective spheres of influence. Each side funded proxy wars in many former colonized nations in Latin America, Asia and Africa and tried to put up puppet regimes in these countries that would further the economic interests of the relevant superpower.

Accordingly, it is through the above mentioned ways that the countries of the developing world are being subjected to neo-colonialism.

- **Free Market Economy and Globalization**

In the present world, the conduct of global trade and commerce has assumed an unprecedented dimension in the form of globalization. Globalization is a multi-dimensional concept. It has political, economic and cultural manifestations. It is largely the philosophy of a free market economy which has given an impetus to the spirit of globalization whereby it is assumed that maximum freedom and prosperity will be achieved if

economic forces including trade, investment, people and technology are allowed to move freely without interference from the government. In terms of economics, globalization means extending of economic activities across the national boundaries. It means integrating the economy of the country with the world economy. In short, the free flow of economic transactions (goods and commodities, labour and capital) across the political boundaries of nations or borderless trade is globalization. Globalization is a direct fallout of the impact of a free market economy Globalization has helped social activists, labour organizations, journalists, academics and many others to work on a global stage as well.



LET US KNOW

The term LPG is associated with Globalization. It means Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization. Liberalization means opening up of economy, less state control, de-regulation of custom duty and allowing foreign private capital to invest in national economy. Privatization refers to the condition when major economic activities are conducted by the private sector instead of government sector.

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), "Globalization is characterized by increases in flow of trade, capital and information, as well as mobility of individuals across borders."

Culturally, Globalization means exchange of ideas and cultural traits among the nations, people to people contact which results in homogeneity and interconnectedness. The social network platforms like facebook, twitter, etc. help to bring people of different countries closer.

Globalization has a strong historical basis. Global movement of people, ideas and commodities are common in the history of human civilization. So what is so special about the contemporary globalization? It is the scale and speed that has added to globalization today.

Causes of globalization

Some key factors responsible for globalization can be summarized as below:

- Politics of Liberalization pursued by different countries mainly account for the growth of globalization
- Technological advances and worldwide connectivity made the flow of ideas, capital, commodities and people easy. This factor has turned globalization into a reality.
- Failure of state-regulated controlled markets, attracted the nations towards western model of market economy and globalization.
- The political supremacy and influence of USA after the collapse of socialist bloc also hastened the process of globalization. USA pursued the liberal foreign policy of " enlargement of free market democracies"
- International institutions namely the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Development Program (UNDP) etc have also helped globalization to flourish.

Features of Globalization

Liberal market oriented economy is the vehicle of globalization. Though several changes have appeared in social, political and cultural fields due to globalization, the influence of market and consumerism is evident everywhere. Following are some features or characteristics of globalization:

- Integration of domestic economy with global economy
- Opening up of domestic economy for foreign investment, and free competition
- Removal of all tariffs and restrictions on exports and imports for free international trade
- Expansion of Multi National Corporations
- Free flow of international capital across the political boundaries of nations
- Information Technology plays an integral part in process of globalization

- The scope of globalization has spread over time, taking on cultural, political, social and environmental dimensions also.

Impact of Globalization

Impact of globalization can be analyzed from two different perspectives. The first takes the process of globalization as inevitable and beneficial for world economic development. The other believes that it increases inequality within and between nations, increase dependency and expands neo-colonialism. These two opposite viewpoints are discussed below as positive and negative impact of globalization.

Positive effects of Globalization

There are many merits of globalization, some of which are mentioned below:-

- A World Bank report "Globalization, Growth and Poverty" shows that developing countries have achieved higher growth in income as a result of globalization process after 1990s. Life expectancy of the citizens of these countries has increased, poverty reduced. Globalization has promoted equitable distribution of economic resources also.
- Globalization creates an atmosphere for international cooperation resulting in better people to people contact and international peace. Globalization encourages interdependence which will lead to prosperity of all nations. This is the vehicle of modernity.
- Globalization encourages foreign direct investment and flow of capital across the border. Such transfer of resources increases productive economic activity.
- Multinational Corporations (MNC) in domestic market of the developing countries increase production and distribution. The MNCs brings superior technology, professional and managerial competence with quality.
- Globalization provides an environment for flow of ideas and increase in knowledge. The knowledge explosion is driving technical change, creating information network which is changing the nature of global interaction and competition.

- Globalization is also a cultural and social phenomenon. The cross cultural interactions spread good features like dignity of labour, community welfare, respect for law and order, respect for knowledge, etc.
- Globalization is beneficial to consumers. Global competition puts an emphasis on consumer concern, delivering the consumer a variety of good quality goods. This also helps to bring down prices.
- Globalization has extended world trade and business on multilateral basis. It breaks trade barriers among the nations.
- A new type of international division of labour is caused by globalization. The producers spread the production process in different countries according to the availability of resources and labour force. The developing countries specialized in workforce participate in the manufacturing process and gain out of it.

Negative effects of Globalization

There are many demerits of globalization, some of which are mentioned below:-

- The influence of globalization and interference of international financial institutions such as World Bank and IMF in national economy has reduced the role of the State. State sovereignty is no more absolute and developing countries are forced to adopt suitable economic policy as per directions of WTO and IMF to enhance free trade.
- Open border trade policy means less control on domestic economy. Therefore, in recent time many countries have experienced financial instability, depression, job and income insecurity and negative growth.
- Globalization is criticized as a means of neo-colonialism as it creates dependency. The under developed countries have become dependent upon the donor (rich) countries and World Bank.
- Cut throat competition among the multinational corporations might prove detrimental to the interests of the poor nations. The

indigenous industry, cottage industry and local producers suffer greatly as a result of this competition.

- Globalization increases economic inequality and regional disparity. The MNCs give importance to the production of luxury goods and not to the essential commodities. They set up industry in urban areas. Therefore, rural areas remain underdeveloped.
- Consumerism of western type has increased due to globalization. Luxurious lifestyle of some well off people has created class division in society that might lead to social tension.
- Last but not the least, globalization has an adverse impact on the natural resources. Corporate greed may lead to exploitation of natural resources like land, forests and minerals.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write the meaning of political economy.

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Q.2: Write two positive effects of globalization.

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7.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT, CONFLICT AND PEACE

The term underdevelopment refers to that state of an economy where levels of living of masses are extremely low due to very low levels of per capita income resulting from low levels of productivity and high growth rates of population. Underdeveloped countries lag behind in industrialization, education, standard of living, healthcare, life expectancy and other technological and cultural norms in comparison to developed countries. According to the United Nations, "an underdeveloped country is one which has a real per capita income that is lower in relation to the real per capita

income of the USA, Canada, Australia and Western Europe. Professor Ragnar Nurkse also gave a definition of an under-developed country. According to him, "under-developed countries are those which compared with the advanced countries are under- equipped with capital in relation to their population and natural resources."

The poor countries of the Third World are usually referred to as developing countries. They are also termed as 'underdeveloped' or 'backward' or 'developing' countries. All these countries have some general economic characteristics though these characteristics may not be of the same degree in all the countries. The common characteristics are general poverty of the masses, low income, unutilised natural resources, deficiency of capital, technological backwardness, etc. These developing countries also face a number of difficulties in the process of economic development. These obstacles emerge out of economic, social, political, religious and institutional factors. The major economic factors discouraging economic development of a nation include - the Vicious Circle of Poverty, Deficiency of Capital, Market Imperfections, International Forces, Outdated Technology and Low Agricultural Productivity; whereas the non economic factors include - Underdeveloped Human Resources, Political Instability, Socio-Cultural Constraints and Religious Factors.

Following are the **basic features** commonly found in the developing countries-

- **Low per capita income:** The level of income as measured by per capita real GNP is very low in underdeveloped countries in comparison to developed countries.
- **Widespread Poverty:** In the developing countries the standard of living is very poor. Basic needs like food, clothing, housing, education and medical facilities are not available. People lead miserable lives.
- **Low industrialization:** The process of industrialization is very low in developing countries. The main reasons behind low industrialization are lack of capital and dearth of entrepreneurial skills.

- **Dependence on Agriculture:** The majority of population of such countries is engaged in agriculture. But unfortunately agriculture is in a backward stage, and the average land holding and per acre yield are low.
- **Population Pressure:** The rate of population growth is very high in comparison to the rate of economic growth. The birth rate still remains high.
- **Unemployment:** In the less developed countries rate of unemployment is very high. There also exists disguised unemployment.
- **Lack of Technology:** The state of technology is very low in the developing countries. Use of low level technology in various sectors results in higher cost and low rate of production.
- **Limited Home Market:** In less developed countries, the purchasing power of the people is low. Producers are unable to increase the supply of various goods due to low demand. The limited home market becomes an obstacle in economic development.
- **Low rate of capital formation:** Capital deficiency is an important characteristic of an underdeveloped economy. Capital formation or investment is low in such countries. Low capital formation leads to low productivity which leads to low incomes and the low income leads to low savings, and then low savings leads to low rate of capital formation. Thus there exists the vicious circle of poverty.
- **Lack of Infrastructure:** There are inadequate infrastructural facilities in the developing countries. This becomes an obstacle in bringing foreign investments.

The key concern of developing countries is to raise the standard of living of their people by improving the economic, political and social well-being of the people. For this, the pursuit of proper economic policies aimed at securing growth with equity is of paramount importance. However, it is not always the economic policies that determine the outcome of national approaches to critical development problems in developing countries. It is

the power structure and the interests of the dominant classes which ultimately decide the policy framework of the government. The political structure and the vested interests of different groups - large landowners, urban industrialists, bankers, foreign manufacturers, the military, trade unionists often determine the strategies to be followed which may be too "elitist" in nature thereby depriving the population from enjoying the fruits of development in the true sense. At times, lack of governance compounds the problems, especially when the population of the country is composed of diverse ethnic and linguistic communities which makes the "authoritative allocation of resources" that much more difficult for the government. The inability of the government to reconcile differences among different groups and ensure harmonious relationships among them further aggravates situation. Corruption, nepotism, lack of transparency and poor delivery of goods and services on the part of the governmental and administrative machinery leads to large scale dissatisfaction among the masses in the face of widespread inequality. Such a sense of injustice at times also leads to armed rebellions at times in different developing countries leading to violence and denial of human rights. Thus, regional imbalances and lopsided developmental paradigms tend to lead to friction and conflict among different groups and communities. Thus, the developing countries must remain alive to the aspirations of all communities residing within their territories by way of adopting developmental paradigms which include all and exclude none so as to ensure equitable distribution of resources. This alone will lead to overall peace and prosperity in the developing countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Mention any two basic features of developing countries.

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Q.4: The developing countries must adopt developmental paradigms which include all and exclude none so as to ensure equitable distribution of resources. (True/False)

.....



7.4 LET US SUM UP

- Political Economy is a concept that developed in the 17th century. The roots of the concept could be traced back to the theory of property put forward by John Locke . John Locke argued in the Second Treatise that property serves as an explanation for the existence of government and also acts as a criterion for evaluating the performance of government.
- Historically speaking, European colonialism began in the fifteenth century, when the Spanish and Portuguese began exploring the Americas, and the coasts of Africa, the Middle East, India, and East Asia.
- In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Britain, France and Holland raised their own colonial empires across the globe. It dawned the era of mercantile capitalism based on establishment of colonies, extraction of raw materials from the colonies to feed the factories of the home country and exporting the finished products and accumulation of wealth.
- Thus, colonialism involved exploring new areas in search of resources (land, minerals, forest, and other raw materials) and markets leading to exploitation of the colonies with far reaching political and socio-economic consequences leading to deprivation of the rights and liberties of the native population.
- During the early years of colonialism, there occurred several wars among the major powers like Britain, France and Holland over securing colonial domination in Africa and Asia. Thus the political history of the world during this period was largely determined by the conflicts among the colonial powers who competed among themselves to exercise control and domination over the resource rich countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with a view to accumulate more and more wealth.
- However, strong nationalist struggles against foreign domination began to sweep across most of these countries. After the Second World War, the process of decolonization was set rolling. More and more of these

countries started gaining independence, one after the other, from the control of the colonial powers.

- However, it was seen that in spite of their political independence, these newly independent countries found themselves to be economically dependent upon the developed countries in more ways than one. Years of colonial exploitation had left these countries impoverished. Upon gaining independence, these countries aimed at achieving the goals of rapid economic and political development.
- Consequently, these economically underdeveloped countries started receiving financial and technical assistance from the advanced and developed countries, most of which were former colonial powers. This opened the floodgates for the involvement of the developed countries in the affairs of the less developed countries.
- This behaviour of the developed countries came to be compared to a new kind of colonialism in the post-colonial world which has been describes as "neo-colonialism." It is a modern form of economic imperialism.
- Being economically dependent upon the developed countries, the developing and least-developed countries are not in a position to conduct their economic affairs independently.
- Access to the markets of developed countries for the finished products of the less developed countries is restricted to a great extent. The developed countries do not open up their markets to the desirable extent vis-à-vis the less developed countries and impose many tariff and trade restrictions on the finished products of the latter and at best pay low prices for the same.
- During the Cold War period, the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States tried to expand their respective spheres of influence. Each side funded proxy wars in many former colonized nations in Latin America, Asia and Africa and tried to put up puppet regimes in these countries that would further the economic interests of the relevant superpower.

- In the present world, the conduct of global trade and commerce has assumed an unprecedented dimension in the form of globalization. Globalization is a multi-dimensional concept. It has political, economic and cultural manifestations.
- In terms of economics, globalization means extending of economic activities across the national boundaries. It means integrating the economy of the country with the world economy. In short, the free flow of economic transactions (goods and commodities, labour and capital) across the political boundaries of nations or borderless trade is globalization. Globalization is a direct fallout of the impact of a free market economy
- According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), "Globalization is characterized by increases in flow of trade, capital and information, as well as mobility of individuals across borders."
- Culturally, globalization means exchange of ideas and cultural traits among the nations, people to people contact which results in homogeneity and interconnectedness. The social network paltforms like facebook, twitter, etc. helps to bring people of different countries closer.
- Liberal market oriented economy is the vehicle of globalization. Though several changes have appeared in social, political and cultural fields due to globalization, the influence of market and consumerism is evident everywhere.
- Impact of globalization can be said to be both positive and negative.
- The term underdevelopment refers to that state of an economy where levels of living of masses are extremely low due to very low levels of per capita income resulting from low levels of productivity and high growth rates of population.
- Underdeveloped countries lag behind in industrialization, education, standard of living, healthcare, life expectancy and other technological and cultural norms in comparison to developed countries.
- some of the basic features commonly found in the developing countries

include low per capita income, widespread poverty, low industrialization, dependence on agriculture, unemployment, low rate of capital formation, etc.

- The key concern of developing countries is to raise the standard of living of their people by improving the economic, political and social well-being of the people. For this, the pursuit of proper economic policies aimed at securing growth with equity is of paramount importance.
- However, it is not always the economic policies that determine the outcome of national approaches to critical development problems in developing countries. It is the power structure and the interests of the dominant classes which ultimately decide the policy framework of the government.
- The political structure and the vested interests of different groups - large landowners, urban industrialists, bankers, foreign manufacturers, the military, trade unionists often determine the strategies to be followed which may be too "elitist" in nature thereby depriving the population from enjoying the fruits of development in the true sense.
- At times, lack of governance compounds the problems, especially when the population of the country is composed of diverse ethnic and linguistic communities which makes the "authoritative allocation of resources" that much more difficult for the government.
- The inability of the government to reconcile differences among different groups and ensure harmonious relationships among them further aggravates situation. Thus, regional imbalances and lopsided developmental paradigms tend to lead to friction and conflict among different groups and communities.
- Thus, the developing countries must remain alive to the aspirations of all communities residing within their territories by way of adopting developmental paradigms which include all and exclude none so as to ensure equitable distribution of resources. This alone will lead to overall peace and prosperity in the developing countries.



7.5 FURTHER READING

1. Jhingan, M. L. (1992). *Economics of Development and Planning,* Delhi: Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
2. Ronald, G (2014). *Development Economics*, New York: Routledge



7.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Political Economy is a concept that developed in the 17th century. The roots of the concept could be traced back to the theory of property put forward by John Locke . John Locke argued in the Second Treatise that property serves as an explanation for the existence of government and also acts as a criterion for evaluating the performance of government.

At present, the concept of political economy is commonly understood as an interdisciplinary field of study that draws on economics, political science and law in order to understand how political institutions, the political environment and the economic system whether capitalist or socialist influence each other. It seeks to explore the relationship between the political environment and the economic environment among and within states.

Ans to Q No 2: (i) Globalization provides an environment for flow of ideas and increase in knowledge. The knowledge explosion is driving technical change, creating information network which is changing the nature of global interaction and competition.

(ii) Globalization is also a cultural and social phenomenon. The cross cultural interactions spread good features like dignity of labour, community welfare, respect for law and order, respect for knowledge, etc.

Ans to Q No 3: (a) Widespread Poverty: In the developing countries the standard of living is very poor. Basic needs like food, clothing, housing, education and medical facilities are not available. People lead miserable lives.

(b) Low industrialization: The process of industrialization is very low in developing countries. The main reasons behind low industrialization are lack of capital and dearth of entrepreneurial skills.

Ans to Q No 4: True



7.7 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of political economy

Q 2 : Write about colonialism and war in the light of political economy.

Q 3 : Write the meaning of globalization. Explain the causes of globalization.

Q 4 : Discuss the relationship between development, conflict and peace.

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UNIT 8: WAR AND MILITARISM: IMPACT ON PEACE

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Military and the National Security Paradigm

- 8.3.1 War and Militarism
- 8.3.2 Causes of Militarism
- 8.3.3 Military and the National Security Paradigm

8.4 Impact of Militarization

- 8.4.1 Militarization its Socio-Economic impact
- 8.4.2 Impact of Militarization on Peace

8.5 Let Us Sum Up

8.6 Further Reading

8.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.8 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through the unit, you will be able to :

- explain the relationship between war and militarism
- explain the causes of militarism
- discuss the issue of militarization in the context of the national security paradigm
- discuss the impact of militarism on the society and economy.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Armed conflict is one of the deadest threats to human existence in the present century. Inspite of the presence of a world body like UNO, armed conflict is a bitter truth which is taking a toll on the society as well as the economy in varied forms. Involvement of states singularly or in groups or alliance in armed conflict has been seen over the years, which involves

huge destruction of property and breaches of human rights. When armed conflict is institutionalized, it is termed as war. In social sciences, war is an armed conflict between political groups involving hostilities of considerable duration and magnitude. Sociologists usually apply the term to such conflicts only if they are initiated and conducted in accordance with socially recognized forms. They treat war as an institution recognized in custom or in law. Military writers usually confine the terms to hostilities in which the contending groups are sufficiently equal in power to render the outcome uncertain for a time.

Militarism is both a pre-war or post-war condition. The gradual building up of military groups which eventually take over the rule of the nation in name of keeping the law and order intact is termed as militarism. Militarism is the belief or the desire of a government or a people that a state should maintain a strong military capability and to use it aggressively to expand national interests and values. North Korea, the Soviet Union and Sparta are three examples of militaristic societies. Militarism in Europe in the early 1900s contributed to World War I. It believes that a strong military force is to be maintained and used aggressively to defend or promote national interests. It believes that there should be higher spending on military. Militarism is characterized by high military spending, increased military and naval forces, influence of military over civilian government and preference for force as a solution to problems.

The 20th century has been marked by UN as the most destructive century due to more than 250 wars fought. There have been six times as many deaths per war in the 20th century as in the 19th century. It is also been remarked that no other century on records equals the 20th century in terms of civil violence, number of conflict waged , military deployment and its expenses , hordes of refugees created and millions of people killed. Over the years, the characteristics of the wars have changed. The changing nature of war is attributed to the procurement of nuclear weapons and WMD. The great powers are highly armed and militarized. As such, they are reluctant to go for a full-fledged war . So, wars between great powers have considerably ceased, though they are fought indirectly.

8.3 MILITARY AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY PARADIGM

8.3.1 War and Militarism

War and militarism are dependent variables. Both are complementary as well as dependent. For example, constant armed conflict in some territory eventually leads to militarism like Jammu and Kashmir area of India, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, etc. On the one hand, constant and continuous militarization eventually leads to war, like the case of World War I. So, militarism and war go hand in hand.

8.3.2 Causes of Militarism

Militarism is often closely associated with nationalism, mercantilism, imperialism, capitalism and industrialism. Militarism and nationalism often go hand in hand, especially when nationalism leads to a feeling of superiority. Ultra-nationalists believe that their country is superior to all others. They do not advocate joining global organizations and instead support using military force to defend their country. Nationalists justify a large military against attack other countries to show their military prowess. Military enforces the nation's superiority both internally and externally.

Militarism grows under imperialism and mercantilism. It defends the nation's imperial and trade interests. Between 1500 and 1800, Europe subscribed to mercantilism. It powered the evolution of nation states out of the ashes of feudalism. Holland, France, Spain, and England competed on economic fronts by having large military forces. The governments used military power to conquer colonies and defend the newly acquired natural resources. They worked together to fund corporate, military, and national growth. In return, the military funneled the riches from foreign expansion back to their governments. It also enforced order in the colonized country.

Militarism also benefitted from industrialization and capitalism. They strengthened the need for a self-governing nation to protect business rights. Capitalists supported governments that used the military to help them acquire natural resources and beat foreign competitors. This could occur even in countries that were not colonized. Just the threat of military power was enough to convince foreign governments to grant rights to multinational companies.

Infact, militarism was one of the causes behind World War 1. The five major European economic powers - Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Russia, and Great Britain - had relied greatly on imperialism to build their wealth. They derived their economic power from lands they had conquered in the Middle East and Africa. They felt threatened when any of their rivals took over these colonies. At the same time, nationalism was increasing among countries, like Poland, which wanted their independence. There was no world authority like the UNO to make peace. As a result, these powers felt their only protection was to have strong militaries.

8.3.3 Military and the National Security Paradigm

National security is the nation's ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory against external threats and to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its institutions and structures as well as protect its citizens. National security is a duty of the government. Traditionally, national security was referred only to security from military attack which eventually included other dimensions like terrorism or environmental threats. In that sense national security paradigms in a state of war is militarization. It has a far reaching impact on the society as well as the economy. Governments today organize their security policies into national security strategies; Many countries including Spain, Sweden, UK and the US appoint a National Security Council to oversee the security questions of the nation. The nations try to put in place a

strong defence system both at home and abroad by creating a strong military force. Key facts and figures from the Global Study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (relating to women and peace and security) indicates that annual military expenditures of the nations have increased by approximately 60 percent from 2000 to 2015; in 2014, the global military spending was 2.4 percent of global GDP, and almost 13 times higher than development aid from OECD-DA countries; In 2014, the global cost of violence was 1.4 percent of global GDP; in addition to unilateral military operations, there is now an expanding list of military deployments supported by the UN and regional organizations, such as NATO, the European Union, the African Union and the Arab League. These facts reveal that the spending on armaments is more than what is spent on preserving peace on the justification that it will help in establishing peace in turn. Thus, the question of increased military spending is integrally related to the national security paradigm. However, the key issue is to strike a balance between expenditure on building military strength (which is of great importance) and expenditure on health and education.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Militarism is both a pre-war or post-war condition. (True / False)

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Q.2: Write briefly about military and the National Security Paradigm.

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Q.3: Write about imperialism as a cause of militarism.

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Q.4: Which study of the UN has indicated that annual military expenditures of the nations have increased by approximately 60 percent from 2000 to 2015 ?

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8.4 IMPACT OF MILITARIZATION

8.4.1 Militarization and its Socio-Economic impact

However, the overall impact of such militarization has not been so fruitful. The points mentioned below clarify the impact of militarization on socio-economic life of a nation.

1. The rise of fascist leaders like Adolf Hitler used extreme nationalism to override individual rights and subjugate the welfare of the common people to achieve expansionist goals based on military invasions. It was all driven by an expansion of militarism.
2. United States of America has been one of the highest spenders on militarism since the Second World War. The US government subsidized development of technologically superior armaments to stay ahead of Russia and China. All through the Cold war, US had been heavily armed and militarized. In 1965, when the Vietnam War was launched, it cost the US $ 168 billion till 1975. Compensation benefits for veterans and families cost $ 22 billion annually which added up to $270 billion since 1970. During the war period many soldiers and civilians were killed while many more went missing. Further by 2001, due to the threat of terrorism there was enormous expansion in US militarism. By 2018 the US military budget doubled which is expected to reach $ 2.4 trillion by 2020.This figure includes the added spending for the Department of Defense, the overseas contingency funds, and the increased expenditure on Veteran's Administration. Increased

military spending often leads to unsustainable debt, which deprives funding for other pillars like education, infrastructure, environment protection and health care system.

3. Militarism diverts resources. Money which is used for procurement of high-technology military equipment could have been used on infrastructure, health care, education or other economic needs. So indirectly, militarism suppresses dissent, creates environmental damages, institutes classism and leads to crime and terrorism.
4. Destruction of the infrastructure is one of the important after-effects of war and militarism, which create a catastrophic collapse of the entire social structure. It causes serious disruptions in other related systems like education and health care system. For example: destruction of bridges to separate the attackers or militaries actually create barriers for the movement of people which has long term socio-economic effects.
5. The labour force of the economy is affected in a multitude of ways due to drastic loss of life, change in population, shrinkage or increase in labour force due to movements of refugees and displacement and destruction of infrastructure which in turn allows for a deterioration of productivity.
6. Due to increased militarism and war conditions, large scale displacement or forced migration happens which adversely affects the community and the individuals. Many people flee their native country in fear of losing their lives and families. As a result they are displaced both internally and externally. They are then deprived of their rights and citizenship which keeps them out of the system (both domestic and international). They often face hatred based on religion, ethnicity or race. According to Global Trends Reports by the UNHRC, in 2015, 53 percent of refugees worldwide originated from Somalia, Afghanistan and Syria (world's most war ridden and highly militarized states).

Approximately 65 million people around the world have been forced from their homes. They are deprived of their homes as well as their livelihood.

7. War and militarization affects women indirectly by breaking them down emotionally, socially and physically for a longer period. Women are physically assaulted, raped, mutilated over and again in a militarized situation. They are forced to join the labour force, look after the families, and taking other traditional male roles. Unfortunately, there are no concrete data on victims of rape and physical mutilation on women even by UN.
8. Political Scientist Jeffrey Herbst has a positive insight into the process of state formation from war and militarized condition. He states that interstate war is a prerequisite for a strong state because a state of war promotes the spirit of nationalism, helps in collection of higher revenue, results in efficient administration and provides overall a powerful impetus to development of a cooperative or unified state. However, his perception is theoretical because a nation in a state of war and militarization gradually develops different aspects like jingoism and xenophobia, intolerance, violence and also terrorism and all of which eventually result in the formation of a weak state.

8.4.2 Impact of Militarization on Peace

Peace is a concept of societal friendship and harmony in absence of hostility and violence. In social sense, peace is commonly used to mean a lack of conflict or war and freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups. Peace is when people are able to resolve their differences and work together to improve the quality of life. Peace is a relative concept and seen to be achieved in a state of non existence of violence. Literally , the word peace is derived from the Latin word 'Pax' , which means a pact , a control or a an agreement to end war or any dispute and conflict between two people two nations

or two antagonistic groups of people. According to American military history, the word peace essentially means 'the absence of war'. Therefore, by militaries' views, they fight wars to win the peace, or they use force to maintain peace. In military paradigms, peace is seen as an ultimate or ideal goal rather than a means to an end. In terms of war and militarism peace is understood as a tool for containing war and militarism. Peacemaking and peacekeeping are the two efforts to re-establish peace in the warring zones.

Interestingly, the impact on peace due to war or militarization is very profound and influencing. War and militarism in no way promotes peace but accelerates violence. It has been claimed by Global Study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (relating to women and peace and security) that, "Militarism serves to uphold and perpetuate structural inequalities that in turn operate to disenfranchise people from public good and entrench exclusion and marginalization, and create the ingredients for a platform of broader inequalities that increase the potential for violent conflict to occur."

(source: https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20(1).pdf)

The study also recognized that demilitarization is a critical part of structural conflict prevention and addressing root causes of war. The international community has made efforts to address militarization and to reduce military spending to promote development and peace. Some such initiatives include:

- Arms Trade Treaty
- Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action , Area E (Women and Armed conflict) (1995)
- Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (2013)
- Convention on Cluster Munitions (2008). (it seeks to prohibits the use, transfer, and stockpiling of cluster bombs)

- Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development (2006).
- Program of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons (2001).
- United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. (Goal 16 aims at peace, justice and strong institutions)
- UN Human Rights Council Resolutions on arms transfer and firearms, and small arms and light weapons.
- UN Security Council Resolution on Women , Peace and Security: UNSC resolutions 1325 , 1820 , 1888, 2106, 2122 , 2242
- UN General Assembly resolutions on women, disarmament, arms control and nonproliferation.
- UN Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons.
- UN Security Council Resolutions on Small Arms and Light Weapons. (UNSC resolutions 2117, 2200)

However, it is seen that in reality only a few disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes have been successful so far. There have been continuous implementations of these programmes in various war zones over the world like East Timor, Darfur, Lebanon, etc.

Nevertheless, the above mentioned efforts lay importance on disarmament, humanitarian action, control of small arms and light weapons and reforms in the global security environment. However, it is always necessary to address the core causes of war and militarization like illegitimate or weak institutions, corruption, insufficient, respect for human rights, lack of good governance, removal of socio economic differences, removal of unequal distribution of benefits, avoiding marginalization of vulnerable groups or geographical regions and eradication of feelings of relative deprivation which triggers more conflict rather than solving it.

In order to establish peace the following suggestions can be taken into consideration, suggested in OECD Issues Brief by Developmental Assistance Committee. (Source: https://

www.eda.admin.ch/dam/deza/en/documents/themen/fragile-kontexte/92802-peace-building-overview_EN.pdf)

- Support for political and administrative authorities and structures is necessary to rebuild the strength of the government in order to make them perform well.
- Lasting and sustainable peace depends not only on the commitment of political leaders, but also on social acceptance of peace by the population. So, reconciliation and non-violent conflict resolution at all levels of the society is of utmost necessity in post war zones.
- Support for peace oriented elements of civil society including the media.
- The issue of legal action and truth commission must be addressed.
- An appropriate balance needs to be found between truth, justice, punishment, reconciliation and impunity.
- Implementation of quick impact projects and long term development programmes for high - quality and accessible education and health services for everyone.
- Support of Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) should be proactive.
- Support of substantial financial and human resources is required.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write two points highlighting the impact of militarization on socio-economic life of a nation.

.....

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Q.6: Mention any two initiatives made by the international community to address militarization and reduce military spending.

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8.5 LET US SUM UP

- War and militarism are dependent variables. Both are complementary as well as dependent. For example, constant armed conflict in some territory eventually leads to militarism like Jammu and Kashmir area of India, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir etc. On the hand, constant and continuous militarization eventually leads to war, like the case of World War I. So, militarism and war go hand in hand.
- Militarism grows under imperialism and mercantilism. It defends the nation's imperial and trade interests. Between 1500 and 1800, Europe subscribed to mercantilism. It powered the evolution of nation states out of the ashes of feudalism.
- Holland, France, Spain, and England competed on economic fronts by having large military forces. The governments used military power to conquer colonies and defend the newly acquired natural resources. They worked together to fund corporate, military, and national growth. In return, the military funneled the riches from foreign expansion back to their governments. It also enforced order in the colonized country.
- Militarism also benefitted from industrialization and capitalism. They strengthened the need for a self-governing nation to protect business rights. Capitalists supported governments that used the military to help them acquire natural resources and beat foreign competitors. This could occur even in countries that were not colonized. Just the threat of military power was enough to convince foreign governments to grant rights to multinational companies.
- Infact, militarism was one of the causes behind World War 1. The five major European economic powers - Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Russia, and Great Britain - had relied greatly on imperialism to build their wealth.
- They derived their economic power from lands they had conquered in the Middle East and Africa. They felt threatened when any of their

rivals took over these colonies. At the same time, nationalism was increasing among countries, like Poland, which wanted their independence. There was no world authority like the UNO to make peace. As a result, these powers felt their only protection was to have strong militaries.

- National security is the nation's ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory against external threats and to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its institutions and structures as well as protect its citizens.
- National security is a duty of the government. Traditionally, national security was referred only to security from military attack which eventually included other dimensions like terrorism or environmental threats. In that sense national security paradigms in a state of war is militarization.
- Militarization has a far reaching impact on the society as well as the economy. Governments today organize their security policies into national security strategies; Many countries including Spain, Sweden, UK and the US appoint a National Security Council to oversee the security questions of the nation. The nations try to put in place a strong defence system both at home and abroad by creating a strong military force.
- Key facts and figures from the Global Study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (relating to women and peace and security) indicates that annual military expenditures of the nations have increased by approximately 60 percent from 2000 to 2015.
- However, the key issue is to strike a balance between expenditure on building military strength (which is of great importance) and expenditure on health and education.
- However, the overall impact of such militarization has not been so fruitful. The points mentioned below clarify the impact of militarization on socio-economic life of a nation.

- The rise of fascist leaders like Adolf Hitler used extreme nationalism to override individual rights and subjugate the welfare of the common people to achieve expansionist goals based on military invasions. It was all driven by an expansion of militarism.
- Increased military spending often leads to unsustainable debt, which deprives funding for other pillars like education, infrastructure, environment protection and health care system.
- Militarism diverts resources. Money which is used for procurement of high-technology military equipment could have been used on infrastructure, health care, education or other economic needs.
- Destruction of the infrastructure is one of the important after-effects of war and militarism, which create a catastrophic collapse of the entire social structure. It causes serious disruptions in other related systems like education and health care system.
- The labour force of the economy is affected in a multitude of ways.
- Due to increased militarism and war conditions, large scale displacement or forced migration happens which adversely affects the community and the individuals. Many people flee their native country in fear of losing their lives and families.
- War and militarization affects women indirectly by breaking them down emotionally, socially and physically for a longer period.
- Political Scientist Jeffrey Herbst has a positive insight into the process of state formation from war and militarized condition.
- He states that interstate war is a prerequisite for a strong state because a state of war promotes the spirit of nationalism, helps in collection of higher revenue, results in efficient administration and provides overall a powerful impetus to development of a cooperative or unified state.
- However, his perception is theoretical because a nation in a state of war and militarization gradually develops different aspects like jingoism and xenophobia, intolerance, violence and also terrorism and all of which eventually result in the formation of a weak state.

- Peace is a concept of societal friendship and harmony in absence of hostility and violence. In social sense, peace is commonly used to mean a lack of conflict or war and freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups. Peace is when people are able to resolve their differences and work together to improve the quality of life.
- Peace is a relative concept and seen to be achieved in a state of non existence of violence. Literally , the word peace is derived from the Latin word 'Pax' , which means a pact , a control or a an agreement to end war or any dispute and conflict between two people two nations or two antagonistic groups of people.
- According to American military history, the word peace essentially means 'the absence of war'. Therefore, by militaries' views, they fight wars to win the peace, or they use force to maintain peace. In military paradigms, peace is seen as an ultimate or ideal goal rather than a means to an end. In terms of war and militarism peace is understood as a tool for containing war and militarism. Peacemaking and peacekeeping are the two efforts to re-establish peace in the warring zones.
- Interestingly, the impact on peace due to war or militarization is very profound and influencing. War and militarism in no way promotes peace but accelerates violence. It has been claimed by Global Study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (relating to women and peace and security) that, "Militarism serves to uphold and perpetuate structural inequalities that in turn operate to disenfranchise people from public good and entrench exclusion and marginalization, and create the ingredients for a platform of broader inequalities that increase the potential for violent conflict to occur."
- The study also recognized that demilitarization is a critical part of structural conflict prevention and addressing root causes of war. The

international community has made efforts to address militarization and to reduce military spending to promote development and peace.

- However, it is seen that in reality only a few disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes have been successful so far. There have been continuous implementations of these programmes in various war zones over the world like East Timor, Darfur, Lebanon, etc.
- Nevertheless, the above mentioned efforts lay importance on disarmament, humanitarian action, control of small arms and light weapons and reforms in the global security environment.
- However, it is always necessary to address the core causes of war and militarization like illegitimate or weak institutions, corruption, insufficient, respect for human rights, lack of good governance, removal of socio economic differences, removal of unequal distribution of benefits, avoiding marginalization of vulnerable groups or geographical regions and eradication of feelings of relative deprivation which triggers more conflict rather than solving it.



8.6 FURTHER READING

1. Jeong, Ho-Won (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies : An Introduction (Studies in Peace and Conflict Research).*
2. D. O'Neill Jr., George. *The Impact of War.* Titan Publishing Company LLC, 2019



8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: National security is the nation's ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory against external threats and to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world

on reasonable terms; to preserve its institutions and structures as well as protect its citizens. National security is a duty of the government. Traditionally, national security was referred only to security from military attack which eventually included other dimensions like terrorism or environmental threats. In that sense national security paradigms in a state of war is militarization. It has a far reaching impact on the society as well as the economy. Governments today organize their security policies into national security strategies; Many countries including Spain, Sweden, UK and the US appoint a National Security Council to oversee the security questions of the nation. The nations try to put in place a strong defence system both at home and abroad by creating a strong military force. Very often, the spending on armaments is more than what is spent on preserving peace on the justification that it will help in establishing peace in turn. Thus, the question of increased military spending is integrally related to the national security paradigm. However, the key issue is to strike a balance between expenditure on building military strength (which is of great importance) and expenditure on health and education.

Ans to Q No 3: Global Study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council.

Ans to Q No 4: Militarism defends the nation's imperial and trade interests. Between 1500 and 1800, Europe subscribed to mercantilism. It powered the evolution of nation states out of the ashes of feudalism. Holland, France, Spain, and England competed on economic fronts by having large military forces. The governments used military power to conquer colonies and defend the newly acquired natural resources. They worked together to fund corporate, military, and national growth. In return, the military funneled the riches from foreign expansion back to their governments. It also enforced order in the colonized country.

Ans to Q No 5:

(i) The rise of fascist leaders like Adolf Hitler used extreme

nationalism to override individual rights and subjugate the welfare of the common people to achieve expansionist goals based on military invasions. It was all driven by an expansion of militarism.

(ii) Due to increased militarism and war conditions, large scale displacement or forced migration happens which adversely affects the community and the individuals. Many people flee their native country in fear of losing their lives and families. As a result they are displaced both internally and externally

Ans to Q No 6:

(i) Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development (2006).

(ii) Program of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons (2001).



8.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Write briefly about Military and the National Security Paradigm

Q 2 : Explain the causes of Militarism

Q 3 : Discuss the socio-economic impact of Militarization

Q 4 : Discuss the impact of Militarization on Peace

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UNIT 9: INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Meaning and Nature of International Humanitarian Law

- 9.3.1 Origin and Evolution of International Humanitarian Law
- 9.3.2 Application of International Humanitarian Law

9.4 Basic Rules of International Humanitarian Law in Armed Conflicts

- 9.4.1 Provisions of International Humanitarian Law
- 9.4.2 Common Article 3

9.5 Developments in the Post-Geneva Convention period

9.6 Let Us Sum Up

9.7 Further Reading

9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.9 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After a thorough study of this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the meaning and importance of International Humanitarian law
- examine the nature of International Humanitarian law
- discuss the origin and evolution of International Humanitarian Law
- explain the application of International Humanitarian Law since 19th Century
- discuss several international conventions for codification of International Humanitarian Law
- discuss the basic rules of International Humanitarian Law in armed conflicts
- explain the developments in Post-Geneva Convention period.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

International Humanitarian Law is an important component of International Law. International law is the set of rules followed by civilized countries in their mutual dealings. There are two aspects of International Law-Laws of War and Laws of Peace. All the civilized states observe these rules-developed either through custom or international treaty, for smooth functioning of international affairs. Whether it is war or peace, sovereign countries observe these principles for mutual national interest. International Humanitarian Laws are those rules which are applicable during armed conflicts, aggression and war. Basically, these laws aim to protect human life, prohibit torture and cruel treatment during conflicts, comprise provisions for protection of women and children etc. Rules of International Humanitarian Law also deals with other issues raised during the conduct of hostilities like combatants and prisoners of war status and protection of the Red-Cross and Red Crescent emblems.

9.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

International humanitarian law or IHL in short, also referred to as the laws of armed conflict, is the rules that regulate the conduct of war and conflict. International Committee of Red Cross defines, "International Humanitarian Law is a set of rules which seek, for humanitarian reasons, to limit the effects of armed conflicts." It protects persons who are not participating in war (non-combatants) or are no longer participating and restricts the means and methods of warfare available to combatants.

International Humanitarian Law binds state and non-state parties in an armed conflict to observe humanitarian norms. In international conflicts it must be observed by the states involved, whereas in internal conflicts, i.e., within the state, it binds the government, as well the groups fighting against it or among themselves. Thus, IHL lays down rules that are applicable to both state and non-state actors during armed conflict.



LET US KNOW

There is a debate among scholars regarding whether **International Law is true law or not.** John Austin concluded that international law is not true law but "positive international morality" only. Holland also described international law as nothing more than the moral code of nations and "the vanishing point of jurisprudence". On the other hand, scholars like Oppenheim, Starke, Hall and others argue that international law is a positive law derived from custom and observance of its rules is compulsory for the civilized states. Hence it is also true law and mandatory.

9.3.1 Origin and Evolution of International Humanitarian Law

Since the beginning of civilization, certain principles and customs regulated the conduct of hostilities. International Humanitarian Law is rooted in these humanitarian principles. However, these principles were recognized and respected as law only since the 19th century. This recognition process is called codification of International Law. The states agreed to follow the traditional customs and usage of armed conflict as international law and promise to follow them vide some Convention or Treaty. For example, the Hague Convention of 1899, the Geneva Convention of 1949 etc. Based on the bitter experience of modern warfare, states have agreed to a series of practical rules. These rules strike a careful balance between humanitarian concerns and the military requirements of the States. Thus, International Humanitarian Law is a universally accepted body of law, contributed and nourished by the states themselves.

Serious violation of International Humanitarian Law is called war crime. Individual soldiers, military generals, head of the state or anyone who is engaged in war or conflict cannot escape from these laws if hostilities are conducted with a criminal attitude. The

Nuremburg War Trials against the Nazi military generals and soldiers, after the Second World War, explained war crimes. The judges in their verdict said that individuals responsible for committing heinous war crimes even in the name of national interest are also punishable under International Law.

A major part of IHL is contained in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949. Nearly every state in the world has agreed to be bound by them. The conventions have been developed and supplemented by two further agreements: the additional protocols of 1977 relating to protection of victims of armed conflicts.

The following agreements and treaties are prohibiting the use of certain weapons and military tactics and protect certain categories of people and goods during conflict.

Table 7.1

Development of International Humanitarian Law

Name of the Conference/ Treaty/Convention	Year	Purpose of the Conference/ Treaty/Convention
Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of armed conflict	1954	Rules for preserving heritage sites, cultural sites and monuments during conflict.
The Biological Weapons Convention	1972	Use of Biological weapons like spreading virus in enemy territory in war or conflict is inhuman and prohibited.
The Conventional weapons Convention and its five protocols	1980	Prohibits use of conventional but inhuman war tactics and armaments.
The Chemical weapons convention	1993	Use of chemical weapons like poisonous gases, Chemical bombs in war or conflict is inhuman and prohibited.

The Ottawa Convention on anti-personal mines	1997	Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction
The optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of Child	2000	Involvement of children in armed conflict either as soldiers or helpers in conflict zone is prohibited.

Besides the above mentioned conventions The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 on land warfare, the Brussels Conference on laws of Maritime warfare and The Hague rules of Aerial Warfare also touch upon humanitarian concerns and make provision for protection of non-combatants, women and children, dead and wounded soldiers etc. Now a days, many provisions of International Humanitarian Law are now accepted as customary law-that is, as general rules by the states.

9.3.2 Application of International Humanitarian Law

International Humanitarian Law applies only in situations of armed conflict. Armed conflict may be international or non-international in nature. Armed conflict is international when one or more states resort to the use of armed force against another state. War of aggression, war of national liberation, war against alien occupation etc. are examples of International Armed Conflict. But many armed conflicts today are non-international in nature. Non-international armed conflicts are those in which government forces are fighting against armed insurgents, or rebel groups are fighting among themselves. Examples may be cited of LTTE-Sri Lankan army conflict, Palestine-Israel conflict etc. Sometimes, both international and non-international armed conflicts may take place at the same time and within the same territory; such as the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

International Humanitarian Law lays down rules that are applicable to both state and non-state actors. In international conflicts

it must be observed by the states involved, whereas in non-international and internal conflict it binds the government, as well the groups fighting against it or among them. International Humanitarian Law also imposes obligations on individuals. A person may be held individually criminally responsible for "grave breaches" of the Geneva Conventions and of Additional Protocol I, and for other serious violations of the laws and customs of war (war crimes). International Humanitarian Law establishes universal jurisdiction over persons suspected of having committed all such acts.

There is an International Criminal Court (ICC) situated at The Hague, Netherlands that began functioning on 1st July, 2002. The ICC has jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression. As such, individuals will also be accountable for war crimes committed in non-international armed conflict.



ACTIVITY 9.1

Discuss the importance of International Humanitarian Law?

Why it is called the Law of Armed Conflict?

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Define International Humanitarian Law?

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Q.2: What is Codification?

.....

Q.3: What is War Crime?

.....

Q.4: When were the additional protocols to Geneva Convention adopted?

.....

Q.5: When was the Biological Weapons Convention held?

.....

Q.6: Individuals are not bound by International Humanitarian Law. (True or false)

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9.4 BASIC RULES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW: THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND OPTIONAL PROTOCOLS

The basic rules of International Humanitarian Law are framed in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Optional Protocols adopted in 1977. These are international treaties that contain the most important rules limiting the barbarity of war. These rules protect people who do not take part in the fighting (civilians, medical aid workers) and those who can no longer fight (wounded, sick and shipwrecked troops, prisoners of war).

The first Geneva Convention protects wounded and sick soldiers on land or battle field during war.

The second Geneva Convention protects wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea during war.

The third Geneva Convention applies to prisoners of war (POW).

The fourth Geneva Convention accords protection to civilians, including in occupied territory. Civilian persons include internally displaced persons, women, children, refugees, stateless persons, journalists and other categories of individuals.

The Geneva Conventions came into force on 21 October 1950. Since then 194 states have ratified these treaties making it universally applicable. The need for Optional Protocols emerged when the world witnessed an increase in the number of non-international armed

conflicts and war of liberation. In response, two Protocols additional to the four Geneva Conventions were adopted in 1977. The Protocol-I is intended to strengthen the protection of victims of international conflicts. Protocol-II exclusively deals with situations of non-international armed conflicts which first ever international treaty of this nature. In 2005, a third additional Protocol was adopted creating an additional emblem, the Red Crystal, which has the same international status as the Red Cross and Red Crescent emblem.

The Basic Rules of International Humanitarian Law are as follows:

1. Persons who are not taking part in hostilities (non-combatant) in situation of armed conflicts shall be protected in all circumstances.
2. The wounded and the sick shall be cared for and protected by the party to the conflict which has them in its power.
3. The emblem of the "Red Cross", or of the "Red Crescent," shall be respected as the sign of protection.
4. Captured persons must be protected against acts of violence and reprisals. They shall have the right to correspond with their families and to receive relief.
5. No one shall be subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
6. Parties to a conflict do not have an unlimited choice of methods and means of warfare.
7. Parties to a conflict shall at all times distinguish between combatants and non-combatants. Attacks shall be directed solely against legitimate military targets.



LET US KNOW

The International Committee of Red Cross was established in 1864. The Red Cross has the mandate of international law to extend medical aid during war

and conflict. It is the symbol of hope, help and humanity in conflict situation. The Red Cross and Red Crescent are globally recognized emblems of assistance in times of conflict and disaster. These emblems have worldwide recognition in national and international law under the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The third emblem of this kind, the Red Crystal, approved in the Optional Protocol III of the Geneva Convention in 2005, is used by National Society as a member of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent.

9.4.1 Provisions of International Humanitarian Law

From the above discussion we can enumerate the provisions of International Humanitarian Law as below. Most of these provisions are prohibitory and impose restrictions upon the state and non state actors.

- Use of weapons of mass-destruction (WMD) in conflict and war that cause heavy and inhuman causalities to non-combatants are prohibited.
- Use of biological weapons like virus bomb; chemical weapons like poisonous gases are also prohibited.
- Inhuman war tactics and armaments are banned.
- Any damage to cultural property, heritage sites, historical monuments etc. during conflict will be treated as offence.
- Medical units, hospitals, religious sites are not be attacked during war. Distinctive emblems should be hoisted at such buildings.
- Children should not be involved in armed conflict either as soldier or helper in conflict zone.
- Wounded and sick soldiers including that of enemy side should be provided medical treatment and care.
- Hospital ships, postal ships and other neutral vessels at sea during war are protected under International Humanitarian Law.
- Due regard should be displayed to the dead bodies at the battle zone.

- Conflicting parties are required to give access to international relief and monitoring agencies like the Red Cross into the battle zone.
- Prisoners of war are to be treated with dignity and respect. They must be kept in hygienic condition.
- Information about the prisoners to be communicated properly to their nation.
- Women prisoners are to be kept separately and proper care must be taken for their security.
- The prisoners of war can be engaged in peaceful work not directly related to the war. But wages should be paid for their labour.
- They should not be forced to change their nationality and fight against their own people.
- International Humanitarian Law also makes provision for relief for the prisoners and their judicial proceedings as per rule of law.
- Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of hostilities.
- International Humanitarian Law has detailed provision on humanitarian relief for populations and enemy property in occupied territory. The fourth Geneva Convention particularly deals with protection of civilians in wartime.

9.4.2 Common Article 3

Article 3 to Geneva Conventions is significant because it covers situations of non-international armed conflicts. These types of conflict are increasing rapidly since the Cold War period. They include civil wars, internal armed conflicts that spill over into other states or internal conflicts in which a third state or a multinational force intervenes alongside the government. Article 3 is common to all the four Geneva Conventions. It contains the essential rules in a condensed manner

and makes them applicable to non-international conflicts. Article 3 is summarized as below:

- It requires humane treatment for all persons in enemy hands, without any adverse distinction. It specifically prohibits murder, mutilation, torture, cruel, humiliating and degrading treatment, the taking of hostages and unfair trial.
- It requires that wounded, sick and shipwrecked be collected and cared for.
- It grants the Red Cross the right to offer its service to the parties to the conflict.
- It calls on all parties to conflict to enforce all rules of the Geneva Conventions.

Today most armed conflict are non-international, therefore applying Article 3 is of utmost importance. Its full respect is required.



ACTIVITY 9.2

Discuss the significance of International Humanitarian Law after the 2nd World War.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Which Geneva Convention protects wounded and sick soldiers on land or battle field during war ?

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Q.8: Mention any two rules of International Humanitarian Law.

.....

.....

Q.9: Write any two provisions of International Humanitarian Law.

.....

.....

Q.10: Which Geneva Convention accords protection to civilians, including in occupied territory ?

.....

9.5 DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POST-GENEVA CONVENTION PERIOD

International humanitarian law now includes several treaties that outlaw specific weapons. For example, cluster bombs, anti-personnel mines, boody-traps, incendiary weapons, blinding laser weapons etc. are restricted. These weapons cause death and injuries long after conflicts have ended. Unexploded land mines have caused up to 7000 deaths a year. An estimated 98% of these victims are civilian; farmers tilling their fields and children. The following treaties and conventions have strengthened International Humanitarian Law.

- The 1980 Convention prohibits weapons that produce non-detectable fragments, restricts the use of mines and boody traps, prohibits attacking civilians with laser and incendiary weapons and require the warring parties to clear unexploded bombs and mines.
- In 1997, the Ottawa Treaty or Mine Ban Treaty prohibits the Use, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines except for training purpose.
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (2000) forbids the engagement of anyone under the age of eighteen in armed conflict.
- The Convention on Cluster Munitions (2008) prohibits the use of bombs that scatter bomblets.
- The UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979 (CEDAW) has also enhanced interpretation of International Humanitarian Law.

- The UN Security Council resolution 1888 and 1889 (2009) also binds the conflicting parties regarding protection of women and children against sexual violence in armed conflict. UNSC resolution 1325 aims to improve participation of women in peace building process.

Thus, we can observe that International Humanitarian Law is expanding its horizon. Recent studies and researches reveal that a gendered approach is required as IHL is criticized by feminists as male centric. ICRC in a study on the Middle East, Latin America, and the Pacific found that long standing practices in various cultures are generally consistent with modern humanitarian law. These knowledge and approach is going to facilitate easy implementation of International Humanitarian Law in 21st Century.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: An ICRC study found that long standing practices in various cultures are generally consistent with modern humanitarian law. (True/ False)

.....

Q.12: When was the Ottawa Convention adopted?

.....

Q.13: What was the objective of The Convention on Cluster Munitions (2008)?

.....

Q.14: What is the full form of CEDAW?

.....



9.6 LET US SUM UP

- International humanitarian law or IHL in short, also referred to as the laws of armed conflict, is the rules that regulate the conduct of war and conflict. International Committee of Red Cross defines, "International Humanitarian Law is a set of rules which seek, for humanitarian reasons, to limit the effects of armed conflicts."

- International Humanitarian Law binds state and non-state parties in an armed conflict to observe humanitarian norms. In international conflicts it must be observed by the states involved, whereas in internal conflicts, i.e., within the state, it binds the government, as well the groups fighting against it or among themselves. Thus, IHL lays down rules that are applicable to both state and non-state actors during armed conflict.
- Since the beginning of civilization, certain principles and customs regulated the conduct of hostilities. International Humanitarian Law is rooted in these humanitarian principles. However, these principles were recognized and respected as law only since the 19th century. This recognition process is called codification of International Law.
- The states agreed to follow the traditional customs and usage of armed conflict as international law and promise to follow them vide some Convention or Treaty. For example, the Hague Convention of 1899, the Geneva Convention of 1949 etc. Based on the bitter experience of modern warfare, states have agreed to a series of practical rules.
- These rules strike a careful balance between humanitarian concerns and the military requirements of the States. Thus, International Humanitarian Law is a universally accepted body of law, contributed and nourished by the states themselves.
- Serious violation of International Humanitarian Law is called war crime. Individual soldiers, military generals, head of the state or anyone who is engaged in war or conflict cannot escape from these laws if hostilities are conducted with a criminal attitude.
- The Nuremburg War Trials against the Nazi military generals and soldiers, after the Second World War, explained war crimes. The judges in their verdict said that individuals responsible for committing heinous war crimes even in the name of national interest are also punishable under International Law.
- A major part of IHL is contained in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949. Nearly every state in the world has agreed to be bound by them. The conventions have been developed and supplemented by two further agreements: the additional protocols of 1977 relating to protection of victims of armed conflicts.

- The following agreements and treaties are prohibiting the use of certain weapons and military tactics and protect certain categories of people and goods during conflict.
- International Humanitarian Law applies only in situations of armed conflict. Armed conflict may be international or non-international in nature. Armed conflict is international when one or more states resort to the use of armed force against another state.
- War of aggression, war of national liberation, war against alien occupation etc. are examples of International Armed Conflict.
- But many armed conflicts today are non-international in nature. Non-international armed conflicts are those in which government forces are fighting against armed insurgents, or rebel groups are fighting among themselves.
- International Humanitarian Law lays down rules that are applicable to both state and non-state actors. In international conflicts it must be observed by the states involved, whereas in non-international and internal conflict it binds the government, as well the groups fighting against it or among them. International Humanitarian Law also imposes obligations on individuals.
- A person may be held individually criminally responsible for "grave breaches" of the Geneva Conventions and of Additional Protocol I, and for other serious violations of the laws and customs of war (war crimes). International Humanitarian Law establishes universal jurisdiction over persons suspected of having committed all such acts.
- There is an International Criminal Court (ICC) situated at The Hague, Netherlands that began functioning on 1st July, 2002. The ICC has jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression. As such, individuals will also be accountable for war crimes committed in non-international armed conflict.
- The basic rules of International Humanitarian Law are framed in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Optional Protocols adopted in 1977. These are international treaties that contain the most important

rules limiting the barbarity of war. These rules protect people who do not take part in the fighting (civilians, medical aid workers) and those who can no longer fight (wounded, sick and shipwrecked troops, prisoners of war).

- The Geneva Conventions came into force on 21 October 1950. Since then 194 states have ratified these treaties making it universally applicable. The need for Optional Protocols emerged when the world witnessed an increase in the number of non-international armed conflicts and war of liberation.
- In response, two Protocols additional to the four Geneva Conventions were adopted in 1977. The Protocol-I is intended to strengthen the protection of victims of international conflicts.
- Protocol-II exclusively deals with situations of non-international armed conflicts which first ever international treaty of this nature. In 2005, a third additional Protocol was adopted creating an additional emblem, the Red Crystal, which has the same international status as the Red Cross and Red Crescent emblem.
- Article 3 to Geneva Conventions is significant because it covers situations of non-international armed conflicts. These types of conflict are increasing rapidly since the Cold War period. They include civil wars, internal armed conflicts that spill over into other states or internal conflicts in which a third state or a multinational force intervenes alongside the government.
- International humanitarian law now includes several treaties that outlaw specific weapons. For example, cluster bombs, anti-personnel mines, boody-traps, incendiary weapons, blinding laser weapons etc. are restricted.
- These weapons cause death and injuries long after conflicts have ended. Unexploded land mines have caused up to 7000 deaths a year. An estimated 98% of these victims are civilian; farmers tilling their fields and children. The following treaties and conventions have strengthened International Humanitarian Law.



9.7 FURTHER READING

1. Croix-Rouge, Comité international de la. Customary International Humanitarian Law. ICRC.
2. Pert, Alison and Crawford, Emily. International Humanitarian Law. Cambridge University Press. 2020.



9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: International humanitarian law or IHL in short, also referred to as the laws of armed conflict, is the rules that regulate the conduct of war and conflict. International Committee of Red Cross defines, "International Humanitarian Law is a set of rules which seek, for humanitarian reasons, to limit the effects of armed conflicts." It protects persons who are not participating in war (non-combatants) or are no longer participating and restricts the means and methods of warfare available to combatants.

Ans to Q. No. 2: Since the beginning of civilization, certain principles and customs regulated the conduct of hostilities. International Humanitarian Law is rooted in these humanitarian principles. However, these principles were recognized and respected as law only since the 19th century. This recognition process is called codification of International Law.

Ans to Q. No. 3: Serious violation of International Humanitarian Law is called war crime. Individual soldiers, military generals, head of the state or anyone who is engaged in war or conflict cannot escape from these laws if hostilities are conducted with a criminal attitude. The Nuremburg War Trials against the Nazi military generals and soldiers, after the Second World War, explained war crimes. The judges in their verdict said that individuals responsible for committing heinous war crimes even in the name of national interest are also punishable under International Law.

Ans to Q. No. 4: 1977

Ans to Q. No. 5: 1972

Ans to Q. No. 6: True

Ans to Q. No. 7: First Geneva Convention

Ans to Q. No. 8: (i) Persons who are not taking part in hostilities (non-combatant) in situation of armed conflicts shall be protected in all circumstances.

(ii) The wounded and the sick shall be cared for and protected by the party to the conflict which has them in its power.

Ans to Q. No. 9: (i) Use of weapons of mass-destruction (WMD) in conflict and war that cause heavy and inhuman causalities to non-combatants are prohibited.

(ii) Use of biological weapons like virus bomb; chemical weapons like poisonous gases are also prohibited.

Ans to Q. No. 10: Fourth Geneva Convention

Ans to Q. No. 11: True

Ans to Q. No. 12: 1997

Ans to Q. No. 13: To prohibit the use of bombs that scatter bomblets.

Ans to Q. No. 14: Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women



9.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : What is the difference between international and non-international armed conflicts?

Q 2: Explain the meaning and nature of International Humanitarian Law.

Q 3: Discuss the origin and evolution of International Humanitarian Law.

Q 4: Write about the application of International Humanitarian Law.

Q 5: What is UN resolution 1325?

Q 6: What is Common Article 3?

Q 7: When did the Geneva Conventions come into force?

Q 8: Which Optional Protocol deals with situation of non-international conflicts?

Q 9: Write any five basic rules of International Humanitarian Law

Q 10: Write any five basic provisions of International Humanitarian Law.

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UNIT 10: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, CONFLICT RESOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Concept of Conflict Management

10.4 Concept of Conflict Resolution (western and non-western approaches)

10.5 Let Us Sum Up

10.6 Further Reading

10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.8 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know :

- explain the meaning of conflict management
- explain the types of peaceful conflict management methods
- discuss the concept of conflict management
- discuss the western and non-western approaches to conflict management

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Conflicts are natural in all walks of daily life- both at workplace and home. Conflict is ever present. But conflict is a complex and big subject. Conflict is a process that occurs in layers. It is something inevitable. It exists everywhere. Individual differences are a normal phenomenon as no two persons are the same. It is thus a normal part of life. Conflict is also multidimensional in nature as it manifests itself in different ways as per the degree of seriousness and capacity. Conflicts occur at various levels-within the family, within the nation and also among nations. Therefore, resolution or elimination of conflict requires the widening of the area of cooperation and the lessening of the area of conflict.

10.3 CONCEPT OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The term 'conflict' has various different meanings. There is no unanimity among the scholars about what constitutes a conflict. One school in North America defines conflict in terms of clash of interests between two parties. According to Kenneth Boulding "conflicts over interests are situations in which some change makes at least one party better off and the other party worse off each in their own estimation". It is often used as a synonym for 'incompatible' or 'irreconcilable'. For example, we often refer to conflicting beliefs, values or loyalities. A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In simple words, conflict can be defined as a state of affairs characterized by the existence of an incompatible aspect of relationship. But, a conflict exists only when the incompatibility of interests and values is perceived by both the parties concerned. At the initial stage, a conflict is always called a latent or covert conflict. This means that the conflict exists only at the initial level at which both the parties perceive their interests as incompatible. But, a latent or covert conflict becomes an overt conflict when both the parties concerned decide to resolve it by a behaviour that is likewise incompatible or mutually injurious, often involving the use of physical violence. This implies that a latent conflict exists when the incompatible interests is perceived and it is transformed into an overt conflict when the incompatibility of interests is sought to be resolved by incompatible means including use of physical violence. According to Chester Barnard conflict is "the zone of indifference". The concept of conflict applies to almost all its forms, viz., economic, national or international. International conflict is the most important as it is the competition among states marked by a dramatic alternation of peace and war.

Conflict management is a concept which implies not only about dealing with the conflict but also it denotes the management of conflict in violent or competitive and non-violent or cooperative ways. In the present world, the field is burgeoning with institutions, organizations- private , multilateral and individual consultants who are specialized in managing conflicts.

The term *'conflict management'* can defined as the process of limiting the negative aspects of conflict while increasing the positive aspects of conflict. The main aim of conflict management is to enhance learning and group outcomes including effectiveness or performance in an organizational setting. Conflict management is the principle that all conflicts cannot necessarily be resolved but learning how to manage conflicts can decrease the odds of non-productive escalation. Conflict management involves acquiring skills related to conflict resolution, self-awareness about conflict modes, conflict communication skills and also establishing a structure for management of conflict in your environment. It can be stated here that all members of every organization need to have ways of keeping conflict to a minimum and also solving problems caused by conflict before conflict becomes a major obstacle to your work. Means and measures of how to deal with conflict date back to even biblical days. However, besides religious framework, conflict management also has its roots spanning from interpersonal skills to organizational measures and industrial to international relations.

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Conflict management in international relations is not only a concept about dealing with the conflict rather it denotes the management of conflict

in violent or competitive and non-violent or cooperative ways. An attempt to define conflict management is not very easy. It is a dynamic concept with blurry boundaries. In simple words, Dennis Sandole says , "conflict management is about ways in which parties try to deal with conflict. Today the field is burgeoning with institutions, organizations- private, multilateral and individual consultants who specialize in managing conflicts. Various literature on conflict management covers a wide territory. Means and measures of how to deal with conflict date back to even biblical days. However, besides religious framework, conflict management also has its roots spanning from interpersonal skills to organizational measures and industrial to international relations.

In the world, there are many international conflicts and such conflicts usually exist between nations, states or peoples. But it is also a fact that international conflicts do not include always conflicting states. In fact, sometimes the conflict could be inside the state's borders and still it is considered as an international conflict if it is creates a threat to international peace and universal values such as violation of human rights or right for self-determination. It must be mentioned here that international conflicts have serious consequences like war or political and economic instability. In order to prevent such consequences and resolve a conflict peacefully many peace movements have emerged and also a multitude of international organizations are established. To settle a conflict peacefully, even warring parties can try negotiate and then reach an agreement which will be quite beneficial for all. However, in many cases it is not easy to resolve a conflict only by state negotiation, and it further needs external intervention from some international organizations like the United Nations or other international organizations like the Peace Corps. These type of interventions are known as mediations and mediation is a kind of conflict management method which helps the states in times when their negotiations are almost in the path of failure or when it reaches a deadlock. For ongoing or frozen conflicts the mediators can even employ military, political or economic interventions. Mediation has been one of the most popular approaches to conflict management and conflict resolution. It is the most productive

international conflict management approach. Since the end of the Cold War, the UN has become an objective international actor for taking part in peace-building and conflict resolution using various techniques, tools and approaches. The UN sustains various peacekeeping operations all over the world. The cost of such efforts has increased considerably since 1980s. According, to Goulding, "peacekeeping is a process which aims to control and prevent international military conflicts". The United Nations uses various risk assessment approaches in conflict management and resolution to monitor each situation and also proposes communication between the conflicting parties in the ongoing conflict to prevent critical situation and violence. The role played by the UN regarding conflict management has gained immense recognition and scholarly attention since the past . For creation of peaceful environment and to prevent conflict, peace workers apply various conflict resolution strategies which are helpful to a considerable extent. As a result, the concept of Intercultural conflict management emerged which made it to analyze conflicts and find the ways to reduce international tension. According to Ting-Toomey and Oetzel, "intercultural conflict management is a process that relies on cooperation and mutual respect in order to satisfy mutual interests. Bercovitch said that there are **three types of peaceful conflict management methods -** diplomatic, legal and political.

In case of the diplomatic type, negotiation is considered to be the problem-solving process that relies on cooperation and mutual respect to satisfy mutual interests.

The legal type is a kind of conflict management method in which the conflicting parties use when they do not want to involve external power and want to control conflict by themselves. This kind of conflict management is legal and it means states are trying to create a new international law or submit a conflict to the international courts or tribunals. In this kind of conflict management, the states decline all responsibility for the conflict and do not keep it under its control.

Political type of conflict management is something which is political and results in the establishment of international organizations. These

organizations are like the UN or regional groups such as African Union or European Union which takes various measures to resolve conflict or provide warring parties with humanitarian aid. These organizations have the express purpose for achieving peace. Whatever decisions are taken by these organizations are taken by the government of the concerned countries, but not the judges which is the difference between the legal types of conflicts management. In such situations, the states pass on the responsibilities to the external agencies and they do not control the conflict anymore. Thus, when these international agencies are involved in such conflicts, they need to offer the conflicting parties more than they can do by themselves during bilateral negotiation. Thus, the international agencies take negotiations into their own hands, also undertakes the intercultural conflict management and use the culture-sensitive skills and treat everyone with respect.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write the meaning of conflict?

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Q.2: Since the end of the Cold War, the UN has become an objective international actor for taking part in peace-building and conflict resolution using various techniques, tools and approaches. (True/ False)

.....

Q.3: Mention the three types of conflict management methods.

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Q.4: In case of the diplomatic type, …… is considered to be the problem-solving process. (Fill in the blank)

10.4 CONCEPT OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION (WESTERN AND NON-WESTERN APPROACHES)

Conflict resolution simply is conceptualized as the methods and process which involves facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution. It is process where two parties to find a peaceful solution to disagreement among them. The committed group members attempt to resolve the conflicts through active participation in communicating information about their conflicting motives or ideologies to the rest of the group and then engage in collective negotiation also. The dimensions of conflict resolution typically parallel the dimensions of conflict in the way how the conflict is processed. There are a wide range of methods and procedures for addressing conflict like negotiation, mediation, mediation-arbitration, diplomacy and creative peace-building. The term 'conflict resolution' is sometimes used interchangeably with dispute resolution in which arbitration and litigation processes are critically involved. Concept resolution is a concept that can be thought to encompass the use of non-violent resistance measures by conflicted parties in order to promote effective resolution.

Conflict resolution primarily aims at the satisfaction of basic human needs and it believes that the non-fulfillment of basic human needs is at the root of violent conflicts. Conflict is essentially a subjective phenomenon and therefore its resolution must involve analysis and reconstruction of perception of beliefs about attitudes towards the other side improving communication and facilitating the development of trust and cooperation between the hostile groups and individuals. Mahatma Gandhi too believed that conflict was the result of structural denial of human needs. For him, conflict resolution entails a facilitated problem-solving process that is interactive, analytical and actively involves all the individuals and identity groups directly concerned. In between the two extremes of avoiding conflict and responding to it with violence, each and every society and culture all over the world has developed structured and active conflict resolution approaches to address actual and potential conflicts between individuals, groups and communities.

Western Approaches to Conflict Resolution:

Most of the western approaches to conflict resolution require the usage of a go-between or an intermediary. According to Heidi Burgess, intermediaries are people , organizations or nations who enter a conflict with the aim of trying to help the disputants de-escalate or resolve it. Intermediaries can play various kinds of roles whether active or passive, depending on the circumstances and the kind of help the disputants require from them. However, sometimes the hostile individuals or groups may decide to resolve the conflict on their own initiative by discussing the issues between themselves without involving any intermediary. If the discussion does not work out, then one could move to the process of one to one negotiation. As human beings, we negotiate all the time and therefore negotiation is considered the most simple and widely prevalent skill of negotiation that is used in conflict resolution as a strategy.

If the stakeholders are not able to work out a solution on their own, either through discussion or negotiation, then they may take assistance from an intermediary. The intermediary may initially focus on the process of conciliation where she or he has the limited role of focusing on reducing hostilities. Beyond this, one could move to the process of mediation and seek active assistance from the intermediary in exploring options and negotiating a settlement. When sometimes people in a conflict find it difficult to negotiate one-on-one when issues are complex, emotions are intense or stakes are high then mediation becomes an option for managing conflicts constructively. Mediation implies a process through which a neutral third person or an intermediary facilitates integrative negotiation between disputants. But, the responsibility to decide on acceptable solutions is ultimately in the hands of the contending parties.

If the conflicting parties are still not satisfied, the disputants could resort to the process of **arbitration** whereby disputes are sought to be resolved by an independent third party. **Arbitration** implies a procedure to resolve disputes outside the courts. The arbitrator would behave like a judge, decide on the right and wrong and impose a decision to end the conflict.

Adjudication refers to a settlement of a dispute by a court. When all else fails, the conflicting parties may take recourse to the formal means of settling their dispute through judicial means or through a court of law. However, this is an expensive way of resolving conflicts.

In the early history of Western societies negotiation and mediation as instruments of peaceful conflict resolution have existed but they were institutionalized as means of peaceful resolution of inter-state conflicts only in the 20th century.

Relationships are key to human existence, therefore, dialogue is the best medium through which differences could be ended between disputants and peace could be built. Dialogue means to sit and talk with each other and trying to iron out differences. If dialogue is a process or the end then the means through which the process is conducted is known as facilitation. It is a process of helping a group complete a task, solve a problem or come to an agreement to the mutual satisfaction of the people participating in the dialogue or discussion.

Non-Western Approach to Conflict Resolution:

Under the non-western approach, the Gandhian method of conflict resolution that is 'Satyagraha' is the best example which basically means "a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth". Satyagraha as conceived by Gandhi is a dialectical process that is creative, constructive and centrally concerned with human needs. In order to resolve conflict Gandhi employed a combination of three basic approaches. Firstly, the method of Satyagraha which implied cooperation with the opponent as a person but non-cooperation with the opponent's role in the context of the social structure and the unjust policies pursued by the latter. Gandhi saw conflict as built into social structures and not into people. Therefore, he made a clear distinction between the actor and the deed. Secondly, Gandhi was ready to cooperate with the opponents whenever possible throughout the struggle, aimed at transforming their hearts in order to build relationships and to create the basis for a sound post-conflict life. Thirdly, Gandhi sought synthesis or transcendence that was mutually agreeable and satisfactory

to all parties and superior to any one of the original positions with the aim of creating new choices and restructuring the opposing elements of a conflict. This would include correction in the attitudes, reversal of behavioural polarization patterns and removal of the goal incompatibility. The main aim of Gandhiji's Satyagraha is neither to harm the opponent nor to impose on them a solution against their will; rather it seeks to help the parties achieve a more secure, creative and truthful relationship. Besides Satyagraha is not used against someone, but it is done with someone. The core idea being that moral appeal to the heart and conscience is much more effective than violence or pain. According to Gandhi's view, conflict is the result of structural denial of human needs and conflict resolution thus requires a method of struggle that satisfies three conditions: it must destoy need-denying structures, create need-satisfying structures and respect the needs of the conflicting parties during the struggle itself. Satyagraha was thus Gandhi's attempt to devise a method of struggle that satisfied all the three conditions.

Thus, it can be concluded that the both the western and non-western (Gandhian approach) approaches to conflict resolution believe that the denial of human needs causes conflict and damages relationships. Both agree that restoring relationships through facilitated methods of problem-solving is thus the main aim of conflict resolution.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write briefly about the role of an intermediary in conflict resolution ?

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Q.6: The core idea of Satyagraha is that moral appeal to the heart and conscience is much more effective than violence or pain. (True/False)

.....



10.5 LET US SUM UP

- The term 'conflict' has various different meanings. There is no unanimity among the scholars about what constitutes a conflict. One school in North America defines conflict in terms of clash of interests between two parties. According to Kenneth Building "conflicts" over interests are situations in which some change makes at least one party better off and the other party worse off each in their own estimation".
- It is often used as a synonym for 'incompatible' or 'irreconcilable'. For example; we often refer to conflicting beliefs, values or loyalities. A conflict starts when there exist two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In simple words, conflict can be defined as a state of affairs characterized by the existence of incompatible aspect of relationship.
- But a conflict exists only when the incompatibility of interests and values is perceived by both the parties concerned. At the initial stage a conflict is always called a latent or covert conflict. This means that the conflict exists only at the initial level at which both the parties perceive their interests as incompatible.
- But a latent or covert conflict becomes an overt conflict when both the parties concerned decide to resolve it by a behaviour that is likewise incompatible or mutually injurious. This implies that a latent conflict exists when the incompatible interests are perceived and it is transformed into an overt conflict when the incompatibility of interests is sought to be resolved by incompatible means.
- According to Chester Barnard conflict is "the zone of indifference". The concept of conflict applies to almost all its forms viz, economic, national or international. International conflict is the most important as it is the competition of states marked by a dramatic alternation of peace and war.
- Coming to 'conflict management' it can defined as the process of limiting the negative aspects of conflict while increasing the positive

aspects of conflict. The main aim of conflict management is to enhance learning and group outcomes including effectiveness or performance in an organizational setting.

- Conflict management is the principle that all conflicts cannot necessarily be resolved but learning how to manage conflicts can decrease the odds of non-productive escalcation. Conflict management involves acquiring skills related to conflict resolution, self-awareness about conflict modes, conflict communication skills and also establishing a structure for management of conflict in your environment.
- It can be stated here that all members of every organization need to have ways of keeping conflict to a minimum and also solving problems caused by conflict before conflict becomes a major obstacle to your work.
- Conflict management in international relations is not only a concept about dealing with the conflict rather it denotes the management of conflict in violent or competitive and non-violent or cooperative ways. An attempt to define conflict management is not very easy. It is a dynamic concept with blurry boundaries.
- In the world, there are many international conflicts and such conflicts usually exist between nations, states or peoples. But it is also a fact that international conflicts do not include always conflicting states.
- In fact, sometimes the conflict could be inside the state's borders and still it is considered as an international conflict if it is creates a threat to international peace and universal values such as violation of human rights or right for self-determination.
- It must be mentioned here that international conflicts have serious consequences like war or political and economic instability. In order to prevent such consequences and resolve a conflict peacefully many peace movements have emerged and also a multitude of international organizations are established.
- To settle a conflict peacefully, even warring parties can try negotiate and then reach an agreement which will be quite beneficial for all. However, in many cases it is not easy to resolve a conflict only by state negotiation, and it further needs external intervention from some

international organizations like the United Nations or other international organizations like the Peace Corps.

- These type of interventions are known as mediations and mediation is a kind of conflict management method which helps the states in times when their negotiations are almost in the path of failure or when it reaches a deadlock. For ongoing or frozen conflicts the mediators can even employ military, political or economic interventions.
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- These organizations have the express purpose for achieving peace. Whatever decisions are taken by these organizations are taken by the government of the concerned countries, but not the judges which is the difference between the legal types of conflicts management.
- In such situations, the states pass on the responsibilities to the external agencies and they do not control the conflict anymore. Thus, when these international agencies are involved in such conflicts, they need to offer the conflicting parties more than they can do by themselves during bilateral negotiation.
- Thus, the international agencies take negotiations into their own hands, also undertakes the intercultural conflict management and use the culture-sensitive skills and treat everyone with respect.
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active participation in communicating information about their conflicting motives or ideologies to the rest of the group and then engage in collective negotiation also.

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- Conflict resolution primarily aims at the satisfaction of basic human needs and it believes that the non-fulfillment of basic human needs is at the root of violent conflicts. Conflict is essentially a subjective phenomenon and therefore its resolution must involve analysis and reconstruction of perception of beliefs about attitudes towards the other side improving communication and facilitating the development of trust and cooperation between the hostile groups and individuals.
- Mahatma Gandhi too believed that conflict was the result of structural denial of human needs. For him, conflict resolution entails a facilitated problem-solving process that is interactive, analytical and actively involves all the individuals and identity groups directly concerned.
- In between the two extremes of avoiding conflict and responding to it with violence, each and every society and culture all over the world has developed structured and active conflict resolution approaches to address actual and potential conflicts between individuals, groups and communities.
- Most of the western approaches to conflict resolution require the usage of a go-between or an intermediary. According to Heidi Burgess, intermediaries are people , organizations or nations who enter a conflict with the aim of trying to help the disputants de-escalate or resolve it.

- Intermediaries can play various kinds of roles whether active or passive, depending on the circumstances and the kind of help the disputants require from them. However, sometimes the hostile individuals or groups may decide to resolve the conflict on their own initiative by discussing the issues between themselves without involving any intermediary.
- If the discussion does not work out, then one could move to the process of one to one negotiation. As human beings, we negotiate all the time and therefore negotiation is considered the most simple and widely prevalent skill of negotiation that is used in conflict resolution as a strategy.
- If the stakeholders are not able to work out a solution on their own, either through discussion or negotiation, then they may take assistance from an intermediary. The intermediary may initially focus on the process of conciliation where she or he has the limited role of focusing on reducing hostilities.
- Beyond this, one could move to the process of mediation and seek active assistance from the intermediary in exploring options and negotiating a settlement. When sometimes people in a conflict find it difficult to negotiate one-on-one when issues are complex, emotions are intense or stakes are high then mediation becomes an option for managing conflicts constructively.
- Mediation implies a process through which a neutral third person or an intermediary facilitates integrative negotiation between disputants. But, the responsibility to decide on acceptable solutions is ultimately in the hands of the contending parties.
- If the conflicting parties are still not satisfied, the disputants could resort to the process of arbitration whereby disputes are sought to be resolved by an independent third party. Arbitration implies a procedure to resolve disputes outside the courts. The arbitrator would behave like a judge, decide on the right and wrong and impose a decision to end the conflict.
- Adjudication refers to a settlement of a dispute by a court. When all else fails, the conflicting parties may take recourse to the formal means

of settling their dispute through judicial means or through a court of law. However, this is an expensive way of resolving conflicts.

- In the early history of Western societies negotiation and mediation as instruments of peaceful conflict resolution have existed but they were institutionalized as means of peaceful resolution of inter-state conflicts only in the 20th century.

Relationships are key to human existence, therefore, dialogue is the best medium through which differences could be ended between disputants and peace could be built. Dialogue means to sit and talk with each other and trying to iron out differences. If dialogue is a process or the end then the means through which the process is conducted is known as facilitation. It is a process of helping a group complete a task, solve a problem or come to an agreement to the mutual satisfaction of the people participating in the dialogue or discussion.

- Under the non-western approach, the Gandhian method of conflict resolution that is 'Satyagraha' is the best example which basically means "a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth".
- Satyagraha as conceived by Gandhi is a dialectical process that is creative, constructive and centrally concerned with human needs. In order to resolve conflict Gandhi employed a combination of three basic approaches.
- Firstly, the method of Satyagraha which implied cooperation with the opponent as a person but non-cooperation with the opponent's role in the context of the social structure and the unjust policies pursued by the latter. Gandhi saw conflict as built into social structures and not into people.
- Therefore, he made a clear distinction between the actor and the deed. Secondly, Gandhi was ready to cooperate with the opponents whenever possible throughout the struggle, aimed at transforming their hearts in order to build relationships and to create the basis for a sound post-conflict life.
- Thirdly, Gandhi sought synthesis or transcendence that was mutually agreeable and satisfactory to all parties and superior to any one of the

original positions with the aim of creating new choices and restructuring the opposing elements of a conflict. This would include correction in the attitudes, reversal of behavioural polarization patterns and removal of the goal incompatibility. The main aim of Gandhiji's Satyagraha is neither to harm the opponent nor to impose on them a solution against their will; rather it seeks to help the parties achieve a more secure, creative and truthful relationship.

- Besides Satyagraha is not used against someone, but it is done with someone. The core idea being that moral appeal to the heart and conscience is much more effective than violence or pain.
- According to Gandhi's view, conflict is the result of structural denial of human needs and conflict resolution thus requires a method of struggle that satisfies three conditions: it must destoy need-denying structures, create need-satisfying structures and respect the needs of the conflicting parties during the struggle itself. Satyagraha was thus Gandhi's attempt to devise a method of struggle that satisfied all the three conditions.
- Thus, it can be concluded that the both the western and non-western (Gandhian approach) approaches to conflict resolution believe that the denial of human needs causes conflict and damages relationships. Both agree that restoring relationships through facilitated methods of problem-solving is thus the main aim of conflict resolution.



10.6 FURTHER READING

1. Kumar, Mahendra. *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*. Shiva Lal Agarwal & Company.
2. Baylis, John, Smith Steve and Patricia Owens. *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
3. Chandra Prakash. *Theories of International Relations*. New Delhi. Vikash Publishing House.

4. *The Anatomy of Peace: How to Resolve the Heart of Conflict*. The Arbinger Institute.



10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: The term 'conflict' has various different meanings. There is no unanimity among the scholars about what constitutes a conflict. One school in North America defines conflict in terms of clash of interests between two parties. According to Kenneth Boulding "conflicts over interests are situations in which some change makes at least one party better off and the other party worse off each in their own estimation". It is often used as a synonym for 'incompatible' or 'irreconcilable'. For example, we often refer to conflicting beliefs, values or loyalities. A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In simple words, conflict can be defined as a state of affairs characterized by the existence of an incompatible aspect of relationship. But, a conflict exists only when the incompatibility of interests and values is perceived by both the parties concerned. At the initial stage, a conflict is always called a latent or covert conflict. This means that the conflict exists only at the initial level at which both the parties perceive their interests as incompatible. But, a latent or covert conflict becomes an overt conflict when both the parties concerned decide to resolve it by a behaviour that is likewise incompatible or mutually injurious, often involving the use of physical violence. This implies that a latent conflict exists when the incompatible interests is perceived and it is transformed into an overt conflict when the incompatibility of interests is sought to be resolved by incompatible means including use of physical violence.

Answer to Q. No. 2 : True

Answer to Q. No. 3 : negotiation

Answer to Q. No. 4 : Conflict resolution simply is conceptualized as the

methods and process which involves facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution. It is process where two parties to find a peaceful solution to disagreement among them.

Ans to Q. No.. 5: If the stakeholders are not able to work out a solution on their own, either through discussion or negotiation, then they may take assistance from an intermediary. The intermediary may initially focus on the process of conciliation where she or he has the limited role of focusing on reducing hostilities. Beyond this, one could move to the process of mediation and seek active assistance from the intermediary in exploring options and negotiating a settlement. When sometimes people in a conflict find it difficult to negotiate one-on-one when issues are complex, emotions are intense or stakes are high then mediation becomes an option for managing conflicts constructively. Mediation implies a process through which a neutral third person or an intermediary facilitates integrative negotiation between disputants. But, the responsibility to decide on acceptable solutions is ultimately in the hands of the contending parties.

Ans to Q. No 6: True



10.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Write the meaning of the term "conflict" ?

Q. 2 : Define conflict management.

Q. 3 : What is mediation?

Q. 4 : Write a short note on conflict.

Q. 5 : What are the various methods of conflicts management. Briefly explain.

Q. 6 : Discuss the concept of conflict resolution and the approaches to conflict resolution.

Q. 7 : What is conflict management? Discuss the various kinds of conflict management methods.

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UNIT 11: CONFLICT SETTLEMENT, CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Conflict Settlement and Conflict Transformation

11.3.1 Conflict Settlement

11.3.2 Conflict Transformation

11.4 Approaches to Conflict Management

11.5 Let Us Sum Up

11.6 Further Reading

11.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.8 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of conflict management
- explain the concept of conflict transformation
- discuss the traditional approaches to conflict transformation
- discuss the systemic approach to conflict transformation

11.2 INTRODUCTION

An attempt to define conflict management is not that easy. In fact, it is a dynamic concept with blurry boundaries. Simply speaking, according to Dennis Sandole conflict management is about ways in which parties try to deal with conflict. The simplest view of conflict management obscures its processual and power dynamisms. The literature on conflict management covers a wide territory. Another important concept in the realm of conflict studies is that of conflict transformation which aims at transforming negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict.

11.3 CONFLICT SETTLEMENT AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

11.3.1 Conflict Transformation

Conflict settlement means an approach aimed at reaching an agreement between the parties through negotiation and bargaining. As per this approach, none of the parties involved in the conflict may achieve all of their goals, but the goal is to achieve a mutually compatible compromise acceptable to all the parties. The process of settlement involves making concessions from both sides. There are third party mediators in settlement-type process who who make use of different strategies including pressure, inducements and/ or threats in order to compel the conflicting parties to agree to a compromise solution. Very often, a settlement is the quickest solution to a difficult or violent situation. However, it is argued by critics that a settlement is not the solution to bringing durable peace. The underlying relationships and structures, which had led to the conflict, remain unaddressed. In practice, conflicts that have reached settlements often resurface. For instance, the Versailles Peace Treaty which ended World War I imposed harsh conditions on the defeated power, namely, Germany. However, this settlement failed to resolve the root causes of the conflict. Although the Treaty of Versailles brought an end to the open hostilities of the war, it actually paved the way for future conflict to break out in the subsequent years. (Source: http:// www.netuni.nl/courses/conflict1/week1/1.3_week.html)

11.3.2 Conflict Transformation

The term 'conflict transformation' can be defined as a concept which is designed to reframe the way in which peace-building initiatives are discussed and pursued specially in the context of ethnic conflict. Traditionally, the emphasis has been on conflict resolution and conflict management methods which mainly focus on reducing or defusing outbreaks of hostility. Conflict transformation

puts greater weight on addressing the underlying conditions which give rise to that conflict preferably well in advance of any hostility but also to ensure a sustainable peace. It attempts to make explicit and then reshape the social structures and dynamics behind the conflict. Conflict transformation is a process of engaging with and transforming the relationship, interests, discourses and when necessary the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict. Conflict transformation, as a concept, aims to transform negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict and deals with structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflict.

The concept of conflict transformation approaches differ from those of conflict management or conflict resolution. Conflict management seeks to merely manage and contain conflict and conflict resolution approaches seek to move conflict parties away from zero-sum positions towards positive outcomes often with the help of external actors. On the other hand, conflict transformation involves transforming the relationships that support violence. The theory and practice of conflict transformation are often associated with the academics and practitioners Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. According to Lederach conflict transformation is "to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships". Lederach further says "Conflict transformation pursues the development of change processes which explicitly focus on creating positives from the difficult or negative. It encourages greater understanding of underlying relational and structural patterns while building creative solutions that improve relationships".

According to the Institute for Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding (ICP), "Conflict transformation, in contrast to conflict

resolution, does not only seek to resolve the contradiction in a conflict setting. It also aims at addressing structural and social root causes by challenging injustices and restoring human relations and it deals with ethnical and value-based dimensions. Conflict transformation is not only an approach or a tool but primarily a mindset. Conflict transformation, according to our 3 Cs approach, needs to be comprehensive, compassionate and creative". (Source: https:// www.revolvy.com/page/Conflict-transformation?cr=1)

According to the international non-profit organization, namely, Search for Common Ground, "conflict transformation initiatives are often characterized by longtime horizons and interventions at multiple levels aimed at changing perceptions and improving communications skills addressing the roots of conflict, including inequality and social injustice". (Source: https://www.revolvy.com/page/Conflict-transformation)

There is a set of principles of conflict transformation developed by TransConflict which contribute to the conceptual debate about conflict transformation. These are -

- Conflict should not be regarded as an isolated event that can be resolved or managed but as an integral part of society's on-going evolution and development
- Conflict should not be understood solely as an inherently negative and destructive occurrence but rather as a potentially positive and productive force for change if harnessed constructively
- Conflict transformation goes beyond merely seeking to contain and manage conflict but instead seeks to transform the root causes of a particular conflict
- Conflict transformation is a long-term, gradual and complex process, requiring sustained engagement and interaction
- Conflict transformation is not just an approach and set of techniques but a way of thinking about and understanding conflict itself

- Conflict transformation is particularly intended for intractable conflicts where deep-rooted issues fuel protracted violence
- Conflict transformation adjusts to the ever-changing nature of a conflict particularly during pre-and-post violence phases and at any stage of the escalation cycle.
- Conflict transformation is always a non-violent process which is fundamentally opposed to violent expressions of conflict
- Conflict transformation addresses a range of dimensions- the micro-meso-and macro levels; local and global
- Conflict transformation is concerned with five specific types of transformation, focusing upon the structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflict: actors, contexts, issues, rules and structures.
- For conflict transformation to occur, tensions between parties to conflict must be overcome first by ensuring all actors recognize that their respective interests are not served by resorting to violence and secondly by seeking consensus on what should be transformed and how
- Conflict transformation stresses the human dimension by reminding parties of the compatible nature of their needs, instead of emphasizing their opposing interests and by rejecting unilateral decisions and action which may represent victory of one over the other
- Conflict transformation does not resort to a predetermined set of approaches and actions, but respects and adapts to the particularities of a given setting
- Conflict transformation looks beyond visible issues and is characterized by creative problem-solving incorporating the perspectives of a broad array of actors including those typically marginalized from such considerations
- Conflict transformation invariably involves a third impartial party in order to help actors exchange cognitive and emotional views

of each other and thereby helping to break down divisions between 'us' and 'them'

- Conflict transformation represents an ambitious and demanding task which is better equipped to cope with the asymmetric, complex and protracted nature of contemporary conflicts than prevailing techniques and approaches

Conflict transformation views peace as centered and rooted in the quality of relationships. These relationships have two dimensions: our face-to-face interactions and the ways we structure our social, political, economic and cultural relationships.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write the meaning of conflict settlement ?

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Q.2: The theory and practice of conflict transformation are often associated with the academics and practitioners, namely, Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. (True/False)

.....

11.4 APPROACHES TO CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

There are many violent conflicts in the world and for overcoming there emerged the concept of conflict transformation. In this context, the name of traditional approaches and systematic approaches could be mentioned. In most societies, especially in the developing world, there are traditional institutions and structures which have contributed towards conflict transformation at a local level. Again, there is also the theory of systemic conflict transformation. Under certain circumstances recourse to traditional approaches has made sense and in some others the systematic approach.

- **Traditional Approaches to Conflict Transformation**

Traditional approaches to conflict transformation are basically based on customs and vary considerably from society to society, from region to region and from community to community. In fact, there are so many different traditional approaches to conflict transformation as there are different societies and communities with a specific history, specific culture and also specific customs in the global south. There is no one single general concept of traditional conflict transformation. Rather, traditional approaches are always context specific and this is a decisive feature of traditional approaches and this is an important indicator of the difference between traditional and modern approaches. In principle, traditional approaches are specific, not universally applicable whereas modern approaches aims at universal applicability.

From a traditional point of view conflict is perceived as an unwelcome disturbance of the relationship within the community. Traditional conflict transformation thus aims at the restoration of order and harmony in the community. Cooperation between conflict parties in the future has to be guaranteed and thus traditional conflict management is thus geared towards the future. Reconciliation is necessary for the restoration of social harmony of the community in general and of social relationships between conflict parties in particular. The aim is not to punish but to restore good relations. Restorative justice means compensation for loss not retribution of offence. Traditional approaches generally follow the line of restorative justice instead of punitive justice. Thus, the ultimate aim of conflict transformation is the restoration of relationships.

Then traditional approaches cannot be compartmentalized into political or juridical or otherwise. In fact, they are holistic, comprising social, economic, cultural and religious-spiritual dimensions. This is in accordance with the entirety of traditional lifestyles and worldviews in which the different spheres of societal life are hardly separated. Traditional approaches do not provide a panacea for conflict transformation that can be utilized at all times in all situations. Rather, their applicability is confined to specific conditions.

Traditional approaches to conflict transformation are not state-centric and because of that they are credited with legitimacy by the communities in which they are sought. Sometimes, traditional approaches could be observed particularly under conditions of state failure and state collapse.

Traditional approaches provide for inclusion and participation. They take into consideration the fact that all parties and every member of each party involved in the conflict is responsible for the conflict and therefore, everybody also has the responsibility for its solution. A solution can be achieved by consensus.

But there are five major weaknesses also matched to the strengths of the traditional approaches. These are as follows:

i) Traditional conflict transformation approach does not necessarily put an end to violence in the long term.

ii) Traditional approaches may contradict universal standards of human rights and democracy.

iii) Traditional approaches have a limited sphere of applicability. They are confined to a relatively small community context to the 'we' group of family, clan, village or neighbouring communities. Transformation of traditional approaches from the local context to larger societal contexts with a lot more and much more diverse actors poses serious difficulties.

iv) Traditional approaches are preservative. They are geared towards the preservation of the status-quo or the restoration of the good old order.

v) Traditional approaches are open to abuse. There are many examples of traditional authorities abusing their powers for their own benefit and to the detriment of the weaker members of traditional communities.

Thus, traditional approaches give us wider insights for conflict transformation processes more generally.

- **Systemic Approach to Conflict Transformation**

The explicit aim of systemic conflict transformation is to contribute to reducing violence in conflicts and mobilize the system's own internal resources. Systems display boundaries and sub-systems. These perform specific functions within the system and exhibit their own patterns of interaction with the system elements. However, systemic approaches are relevant because they make a meaningful contribution to reducing the complexity in the conflict.

Systemic conflict transformation is based on the recognition that highly escalated inter-group conflicts constitute highly complex 'systems'. Systemic conflict transformation is based on a series of normative assumptions which are extremely important.

These are :

i) The need for a peaceful and constructive transformation of conflict systems.

ii) Support for processes of comprehensive social change is desirable and necessary for a transformative approach.

iii) Local actors must be in the driving seat of social change.

iv) The need for a holistic human rights approach.

iv) The systematic approach is committed to protecting and promoting human rights and humanitarian norms and principles.

v) The systemic approach is an inclusive approach in which the interests and legitimate needs of all stakeholders in the conflict system are taken into account.

vi) A transformative approach must also contribute to overcoming gender-specific power relations and violence.

The cycle of systemic conflict transformation consists of :

i) Observing the system

ii) Working with and within the system

iii) Evolving along with the system

The systemic approach guides individuals, organizations and networks towards an open-ended and complexity-sensitive way of thinking and acting without blurring the necessary focus on specific details and factors. It makes an important contribution to establishing a strategic planning framework to coordinate and link different activities, levels of activity and actors.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Traditional approaches to conflict transformation are …….and not universally applicable. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 4: Mention any two normative assumptions of the systemic conflict transformation.

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11.5 LET US SUM UP

- Conflict settlement means an approach aimed at reaching an agreement between the parties through negotiation and bargaining. As per this approach, none of the parties involved in the conflict may achieve all of their goals, but the goal is to achieve a mutually compatible compromise acceptable to all the parties.
- The process of settlement involves making concessions from both sides. There are third party mediators in settlement-type process who who make use of different strategies including pressure, inducements and/ or threats in order to compel the conflicting parties to agree to a compromise solution.
- Very often, a settlement is the quickest solution to a difficult or violent situation. However, it is argued by critics that a settlement is not the

solution to bringing durable peace. The underlying relationships and structures, which had led to the conflict, remain unaddressed. In practice, conflicts that have reached settlements often resurface.

- For instance, the Versailles Peace Treaty which ended World War I imposed harsh conditions on the defeated power, namely, Germany. However, this settlement failed to resolve the root causes of the conflict.
- The term 'conflict transformation' can be defined as a concept which is designed to reframe the way in which peace-building initiatives are discussed and pursued specially in the context of ethnic conflict.
- Traditionally, the emphasis has been on conflict resolution and conflict management methods which mainly focus on reducing or defusing outbreaks of hostility.
- Conflict transformation puts greater weight on addressing the underlying conditions which give rise to that conflict preferably well in advance of any hostility but also to ensure a sustainable peace. It attempts to make explicit and then reshape the social structures and dynamics behind the conflict.
- Conflict transformation is a process of engaging with and transforming the relationship, interests, discourses and when necessary the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict.
- Conflict transformation, as a concept, aims to transform negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict and deals with structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflict.
- Conflict management seeks to merely manage and contain conflict and conflict resolution approaches seek to move conflict parties away from zero-sum positions towards positive outcomes often with the help of external actors.
- On the other hand, conflict transformation involves transforming the relationships that support violence. The theory and practice of conflict transformation are often associated with the academics and practitioners Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach.

- There is a set of principles of conflict transformation developed by TransConflict which contribute to the conceptual debate about conflict transformation.
- There are many violent conflicts in the world and for overcoming there emerged the concept of conflict transformation. In this context, the name of traditional approaches and systematic approaches could be mentioned.
- Traditional approaches to conflict transformation are basically based on customs and vary considerably from society to society, from region to region and from community to community. In fact, there are so many different traditional approaches to conflict transformation as there are different societies and communities with a specific history, specific culture and also specific customs in the global south.
- There is no one single general concept of traditional conflict transformation. Rather, traditional approaches are always context specific and this is a decisive feature of traditional approaches and this is an important indicator of the difference between traditional and modern approaches. In principle, traditional approaches are specific, not universally applicable whereas modern approaches aims at universal applicability.
- From a traditional point of view conflict is perceived as an unwelcome disturbance of the relationship within the community. Traditional conflict transformation thus aims at the restoration of order and harmony in the community.
- Cooperation between conflict parties in the future has to be guaranteed and thus traditional conflict management is thus geared towards the future.
- Reconciliation is necessary for the restoration of social harmony of the community in general and of social relationships between conflict parties in particular. The aim is not to punish but to restore good relations. Traditional approaches generally follow the line of restorative justice instead of punitive justice.

- Thus, the ultimate aim of conflict transformation is the restoration of relationships.
- Then traditional approaches cannot be compartmentalized into political or juridical or otherwise. In fact, they are holistic, comprising social, economic, cultural and religious-spiritual dimensions. This is in accordance with the entirety of traditional lifestyles and worldviews in which the different spheres of societal life are hardly separated.
- Traditional approaches do not provide a panacea for conflict transformation that can be utilized at all times in all situations. Rather, their applicability is confined to specific conditions.
- Traditional approaches provide for inclusion and participation. They take into consideration the fact that all parties and every member of each party involved in the conflict is responsible for the conflict and therefore, everybody also has the responsibility for its solution. A solution can be achieved by consensus.
- The explicit aim of systemic conflict transformation is to contribute to reducing violence in conflicts and mobilize the system's own internal resources. Systems display boundaries and sub-systems. These perform specific functions within the system and exhibit their own patterns of interaction with the system elements. However, systemic approaches are relevant because they make a meaningful contribution to reducing the complexity in the conflict.
- Systemic conflict transformation is based on a series of normative assumptions which are extremely important. Some of these are: the need for a peaceful and constructive transformation of conflict systems; support for processes of comprehensive social change is desirable and necessary for a transformative approach , etc.
- The systemic approach guides individuals, organizations and networks towards an open-ended and complexity-sensitive way of thinking and acting without blurring the necessary focus on specific details and factors. It makes an important contribution to establishing a strategic planning framework to coordinate and link different activities, levels of activity and actors.



11.6 FURTHER READING

1. Lederach, John Paul. *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation: Clear Articulation of the guiding principles by a pioneer in the field.* Good Books, 2014.
2. Menkhaus, Ken (2000), "Traditional Conflict Management in Contemporary Somalia", in I. William Zartman (ed.). *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict Medicine*. Lynne Rienner, 183-199.



11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: Conflict settlement means an approach aimed at reaching an agreement between the parties through negotiation and bargaining. As per this approach, none of the parties involved in the conflict may achieve all of their goals, but the goal is to achieve a mutually compatible compromise acceptable to all the parties. The process of settlement involves making concessions from both sides. There are third party mediators in settlement-type process who who make use of different strategies including pressure, inducements and/ or threats in order to compel the conflicting parties to agree to a compromise solution. Very often, a settlement is the quickest solution to a difficult or violent situation. However, it is argued by critics that a settlement is not the solution to bringing durable peace. The underlying relationships and structures, which had led to the conflict, remain unaddressed. In practice, conflicts that have reached settlements often resurface.

Ans to Q. No. 2: True

Ans to Q. No. 3: specific

Ans to Q. No. 4: i) The need for a peaceful and constructive transformation of conflict systems.

ii) Support for processes of comprehensive social change is desirable and



11.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Explain the meaning of conflict transformation.

Q. 2 : Write briefly about conflict settlement.

Q. 3 : What is conflict transformation? Write the principles of conflict transformation.

Q. 4 : Write about the systemic approach to conflict transformation.

Q. 5 : Discuss the approaches to conflict transformation.

Q. 6 : Explain any four weaknesses of traditional approaches.

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UNIT 11: RECONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFORMATIVE PEACE BUILDING AND PEACE MAKING

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Peace Making- Meaning and Methods

12.3.1 Concept of Peace-making

12.3.2 Methods of Peace-making

12.4 Peace building- Reconstruction and Transformation: Actors and Processes

12.4.1 Concept of Peace building

12.4.2 Peace building- Reconstruction: Actors and Processes

12.4.3 Peace building- Transformation: Actors and Processes

12.5 Let Us Sum Up

12.6 Further Reading

12.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.8 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of peace-making
- discuss the various methods of peace making in international politics
- discuss the meaning of peace building
- discuss the major actors and processes of peace building reconstruction and transformation

12.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units, we have discussed the concept of conflict and various ideas associated with conflict in the context of international relations. In this unit, an attempt is made to discuss one of the another core elements of international politics that is 'peace' and other areas associated with the concept of peace like peace making and peace building to develop an environment where human rights are preserved to a great level.

Peace is a concept which implies a situation of societal friendship and harmony in the absence of hostility and violence. Simply speaking, in social sense it means lack of conflict such as war and freedom from fear of violence between individual or groups. It is discussed more elaborately below.

12.3 PEACE-MAKING: MEANING AND METHODS

12.3.1 Concept of Peace-making

The term 'peace' like many other theoretical terms is difficult to define. Like happiness, justice, harmony and freedom, peace is something we often recognize by its absence. Johan Galtung among others proposed the important distinction between 'positive' and 'negative' peace. Positive peace means the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society like harmony, justice, equity and so on. On the other hand, negative peace denotes the 'absence of war' and other forms of large-scale violent human conflict. Many philosophical, religious and cultural traditions have referred to peace in its positive sense.

Throughout history, various leaders have used peace-making and diplomacy to establish a certain type of behavioral restraint that has resulted in the establishment of regional peace or economic growth through various forms of agreements or peace treaties. These types of behavioural restraint has often resulted in the reduction of

conflicts, greater economic interactivity and consequently, substantial prosperity.

In the global political context for maintenance and preservation of peace and security, the widely known international organization the United Nations (UN) was established after World War II in 1945. The goal of promoting peace and security is mentioned first in the UN Charter and peaceful settlement of disputes is also foremost among the means for goal attainment. As issues of peace and security were increasingly understood to include human security and justice, the UN was expected to take on a stronger role in maintaining standards for individuals within states. In order to perform its significant and foremost role of maintaining peace and security, the three major methods employed by the UN are peaceful settlement, collective security and preventive diplomacy or peacekeeping. In the early 1990s, after the end of the cold war, the UN agenda for peace and security expanded quickly. The then Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali outlined the more ambitious role for the UN in his seminal report, "Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping" (1992). The report described interconnected roles for the UN to maintain peace and security in the post-cold war context. These included:

- **Preventive diplomacy :** It involves confidence - building measures, fact finding and preventive deployment of UN authorized forces.
- **Peacemaking :** It is designed to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through peaceful means. However, when all peaceful means have failed, peace enforcement authorized under Chapter VII of the Charter may be necessary. Peace enforcement may occur without the consent of the parties.
- **Peace-keeping :** It implies the deployment of a UN presence in the field with the consent of all parties which may be referred to classical peacekeeping.

- **Post-conflict peace building :** It means to develop the social, political and economic infrastructure to prevent further violence and to consolidate peace.

'Peace-making' can be defined as practical conflict transformation focused upon establishing equitable power relationships robust enough to forestall future conflict, often including the establishment of means of agreeing on ethical decisions within a community or among parties that had previously engaged themselves in inappropriate that is violent responses to conflict. Peacemaking seeks to achieve full reconciliation among adversaries and new mutual understanding among parties and stakeholders. An example of peacemaking is the several types of mediation usually between two parties and involving a third, a facilitator or mediator.

United Nations peacemaking is an extension of the parties' own efforts to manage their conflict. When the parties cannot, the Security Council or the General Assembly may call upon the Secretary General to exercises his 'Good Offices' to facilitate the resolution of the conflict. The Secretary General may also undertake independent peacemaking initiatives by offering his 'Good Offices' to parties to resolve the conflict in a peaceful way. United Nations Peacemaking excludes the use of force, unless imposed action is taken by the Security Council to facilitate the peacemaking process. UN peacekeeping went through a rapid expansion in the early 1990s. By the mid-1990s, the UN had become involved in maintaining international peace and security by resisting aggression between states by attempting to resolve disputes within states (civil wars), and by focusing on conditions within states including economic, social and political conditions. In 1994, UN peacekeeping operations involved nearly 80,000 military personnel around the world, seven times the figure for 1990.

Outside the UN context, peacemaking is used sometimes to refer to a stage of conflict which occurs during a crisis or a prolonged conflict after diplomatic intervention has failed and before

peacekeeping forces have had a chance to intervene. Peacemaking is sometimes simply understood as an outside intervention in a violent conflict.

12.3.2 Methods of Peace-making

The term 'peace-making' is used in several different ways. According to the UN, "peacemaking is action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations- Pacific Settlement Disputes". (source: www.un.org) . Peacemaking is a diplomatic effort intended to move a violent conflict into non-violent dialogue where differences are settled through representative political institutions. The main idea behind peacemaking is to end the violence between contending parties. There are various methods through which peacemaking can be done and these are : i) negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, ii) The International law through International courts is another method, iii) Threat or Use of Force

Article 33 of the UN Charter specifies negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and resort to regional agencies or arrangements as modes of peaceful intervention in violent conflicts. Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter again allow for sanctions , blockading and violent intervention in order to restore the peace between warring states. Moreover, according to the UN Charter peacemaking were based on the concept of sovereign states. Therefore, there is no support for intervention in civil wars in the UN Charter.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali suggested in the "Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping" that the International Court of Justice (ICJ) would be an effective tool for peaceful adjudication of disputes. In case of interstate wars or the threat, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) would be the most effective entity for settling disputes. However, civil wars could not be

adjudicated in the ICJ. Again the ICJ has no effective enforcement mechanisms. Any unfavorable decision made by the court is likely to be ignored. Other international courts though exist but their jurisdiction is more limited. For example, the European Court of Justice and European Court of Human Rights. Due to the lack of enforcement mechanisms on the part of ICJ, effective peacemaking strategies should rely on the threat of force according to Ghali. But negotiation, arbitration and mediation are always the first choice for third parties in armed conflicts, still the threat of force should not be ignored completely.

The concept of 'peace enforcement' is within the broad category of peacemaking. The UN defines peacemaking as nothing but the diplomatic efforts to end conflict and on the contrary peace enforcement is the active use of force. Moreover, peace enforcement is a subsidiary concept within peacemaking. There are some tools that fall in the peace enforcement categories and these are sanctions, blockades and military intervention. Sanctions are the mildest in terms of military force, though the effect of sanctions can be quite devastating. Then the difference between sanctions and blockades is quite small. One is considered an act of war but the other is not. Sanctions generally are seen as limiting exports and imports from a country or group while blockade involves the active prohibition of all material trying to enter or leave a country or region. Blockading is considered as a 'casus belli' meaning reason to go to war as it is an active intervention in another state's trade.

Peacekeeping is now divided into First-Generation/ traditional peacekeeping and Second-Generation peacekeeping. First-generation peacekeeping was simply to guarantee ceasefires with neutral interposition forces. While Second-generation peacekeeping has evolved to allow flexibility of functions and mission from guaranteeing ceasefires to election monitoring to subsequent peace enforcement.

Thus, peacemaking is a tool to use in violent conflicts. Peacemaking efforts are often closely intertwined with preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Peacemaking in the post-Cold War era occurs most often within states where battles lines are not clearly drawn and the strategic situation fluctuates frequently.

Moral Obligations to Peace-making :

The moral obligations to Peacemaking under Article 33 of the UN Charter are-

1. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their choice.
2. The Security Council shall when it deems necessary call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write the meaning of preventive diplomacy.

.....

Q.2: Write the meaning of First-generation and Second-generation peacekeeping.

.....

12.4 PEACE BUILDING- RECONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION (ACTORS AND PROCESSES)

12.4.1 Concept of Peace building

In international relations the term 'peace building' refers to the process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and at the same time tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing

the root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building and political as well as economic reconstruction. This consists of a set of physical, social and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. The term "peace building" was brought to international attention in 1992 when former UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali announced his "Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping". According to Johan Galtung, peace building is "the process of creating self-supporting structures that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occus". Conflict resolutions mechanisms according to Galtung should be built into the structure and be present there as a reservoir for the system itself to draw upon, just as a healthy body has the ability to generate its own antibodies and does not need ad hoc administration of medicine. In fact, peace building involves addressing social and political sources of conflict as reconciliation.

Again there are certain strategic peace building principles as provided by the Joan B. Kroc Institute For Peace & Justice, University of San Diego. These are:

i. Peace building is complex and has multiple actors.

ii. Peace building requires values, goals, commitment to human rights and needs.

iii. Peace building goes beyond conflict transformation.

iv. Peace building cannot ignore structural forms of injustice and violence.

v. Peace building is founded on an ethnic of interdependence, partnership and limiting violence.

vi. Peace building depends on relational skills.

vii. Peace building analysis is complex; underlying cultures, histories, root causes and immediate stressors are essential.

viii. Peace building creates spaces where people interact in new ways, expanding experience and honing new means of communication.

ix. Peace building also heals trauma, and promotes justice and transforms relationships.

x. Peace building requires capacity and relationship-building at multiple levels.

According to John Paul Lederach, peace building is "understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships." The term peace building thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Peace is a dynamic social construct. It is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition.

Peace building is about dealing with the reasons why people fight in the first place and supporting societies to manage their differences and conflicts without resorting to violence. It is a long - term and collaborative process as it involves changes in attitudes, behaviors and norms. Peace building approaches often refer to positive and negative peace. This is used to denote a transition from violence to peace which can be two phases- improved stability and positive peace. Stability means the absence of violence when people can get on with their lives after the fighting stops. This period is dubbed as negative peace as the stability frequently masks the reality that grievances or other causes of conflict have not been addressed and may erupt again. This brings the challenge to use periods of stability to build longer term - positive peace.

Peace building approaches and methods are varied and diverse but they work to ensure that people are safe from harm, have access to law and justice and are included in the political decisions that affect them and have access to better economic opportunities and also enjoy better livelihoods. There are various ways through which peace building can be achieved and these are :

- Engaging in various forms of diplomacy
- Strengthening democracy and through inclusive politics for example, active citizenship initiatives
- Improving justice system
- Working to improve general security
- Improving infrastructure and urban and rural planning
- Including peace education in curricula
- Creating free and inclusive media
- Improving healthcare
- Making development programmes in conflict areas sensitive to conflict dynamics
- Working together with trade and business to create sustainable jobs or improve their employment practices

Thus, peace building is done collaboratively at local, national, regional and international levels. In fact, individuals, communities, civil society organizations, governments, regional bodies and also the private sector plays a prime role in building peace.

12.4.2 Peace building- Reconstruction: Actors and Processes

Any successful peace building strategy relies on a multi-stakeholder engagement processes with a variety of actors. The actors involved in conflict and peace building are such as the state, civil society and private businesses which are termed as 'insiders' and the 'outsiders' including international organizations and NGOs, UN agencies, specific campaigns and intyernational financial institutions. Each play a unique and important role in contributing in some way to the process of peace building though problems like lacking coordination, standards, norms or unity in purpose creates difficult operating environment.

State: It is the primary actor and it plays an important function regarding the protection of human rights against potential abuses. It has a role to play in promoting conflict-sensitive business practices through the adoption of CSR voluntary guidelines.

Local civil society: As in other aspects of economic recovery and peace building, local NGOs play variety of roles including those of advocacy, public goods provider, watchdog and capacity builder. Local NGOs can pick up relatively insignificant changes in social dynamics, often subtle signals of brewing conflict. Then they can fill in the service delivery shortfalls that grow during conflict. Then they can conduct peace and conflict impact assessments to ensure that development aid does no harm and builds peace.

International NGOs: International NGOs engage in a variety of activities to promote private sector development, enhance the capacity of local civil society and governments and ensure transparency and accountability. It links the private sector and peace building. Let us discuss some of these:

Collaborative for Development Action: Collaborative for Development Action (CDA) is an NGO which is committed to improving the effectiveness of international actors who provide humanitarian assistance, engage in peace practice and are involved in supporting sustainable development.

Transparency International: It is a global civil society organization that aims to fight corruption.

International Alert : It is established as an independent peace building organization that works in 20 countries and territories globally to build foundations for peace and security in communities affected by violent conflict.

The United Nations : The vast body of agencies, funds and departments that comprise the vast network of international actors rely on the United Nations. Member states, regional organizations like African Union in peace keeping operations, multilaterals and each

affiliate of the UN rely on close coordination to align objectives and operations towards common human security goals. This coalition maximizes mandate for global peace and security by expanding a state-centered framework of international relations to include private and non-state actors as key players in the application of international law.

UN Peacekeepers: The presence of UN Peacekeeping missions also impacts greatly post conflict economics. Large incoming missions demand tremendous assets and personnel, spurring rapid growth of local markets.

International Financial Institutions (IFIs): IFIs were initially established with the purpose of contributing to the restoration of peace in the wake of conflicts through various financial attempts and for international financial transactions. The shared aim of IFIs is generally to bolster international monetary cooperation; the World Bank has prioritized the realization of the Millennium Development Goals dealing mainly with reducing global indebtedness. The World Bank in the past years has increased its focus on providing aid for low and middle income countries under stress and suffering from conflict. The internal policy development in the World Bank Group also includes guidelines and benchmarks for global private sector investment and operations in conflict-prone countries and is often used as a prerequisite to receive project finance.

12.4.3 Peace Building- Transformation: Actors and Processes

Peace building and conflict transformation actors usually involves a broad range of actors who make use of a wide repertoire of practices. These actors can be categorized into four main groups :

States and intergovernmental organizations: It is among the most influential of all the actors as their practice impinges most

directly and powerfully on the conflict parties and the positive and negative consequences of their interventions are fully in the eyes of the public. The 1990s began with a hopeful phase in which the UN set out to implement the expanded conception of peacemaking envisioned in former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 'Agenda for Peace' with notable peace building operations in areas with peace settlements including Cambodia, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and El Salvador.

Development and Humanitarian organizations: In the 1980s and 1990s these organizations were increasingly drawn into the costly business of rebuilding war-torn societies and were responding to the acute damage to development which had resulted from armed conflicts by targeting development programmes specially towards peace building.

International NGOs concerned with conflict prevention and transformation: The NGOs have paid most attention to theories of conflict transformation and seek an in-depth understanding of the roots of conflict and working with people within and outside the conflict parties. The NGOs seek an open space for dialogue, sustain local or national conferences and workshops on paths towards peace, identify opportunities for development and engage in peace building, relationship building and institution building over the longer time.

Parties to the conflict and other relevant groups within the affected societies: Finally the most importantly the local actors themselves have the greatest responsibility and the greatest opportunity for transforming their own conflicts and play a significant role in opening channels of dialogue and opening political space and shift towards conflict transformation.

Thus, conflict transformation and peace building involves certain theories, actors and practices and conflict transformation is a comprehensive approach addressing a range of dimensions.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Mention two ways through which peace building can be achieved.

.....

Q.4: Mention any two groups of peace building transformation actors.

.....



12.5 LET US SUM UP

- 'Peacemaking' can be defined as practical conflict transformation focused upon establishing equitable power relationships robust enough to forestall future conflict, often including the establishment of means of agreeing on ethical decisions within a community or among parties that had previously engaged themselves in inappropriate that is violent responses to conflict.
- Peacemaking seeks to achieve full reconciliation among adversaries and new mutual understanding among parties and stakeholders. An example of peacemaking is the several types of mediation usually between two parties and involving a third, a facilitator or mediator.
- United Nations peacemaking is an extension of the parties' own efforts to manage their conflict. When the parties cannot, the Security Council or the General Assembly may call upon the Secretary General to exercises his 'Good Offices' to facilitate the resolution of the conflict. United Nations Peacemaking excludes the use of force, unless imposed action is taken by the Security Council to facilitate the peacemaking process.
- UN peacekeeping went through a rapid expansion in the early 1990s. By the mid-1990s, the UN had become involved in maintaining international peace and security by resisting aggression between states by attempting to resolve disputes within states (civil wars), and by focusing on conditions within states including economic, social and political conditions.

- Outside the UN context, peacemaking is used sometimes to refer to a stage of conflict which occurs during a crisis or a prolonged conflict after diplomatic intervention has failed and before peacekeeping forces have had a chance to intervene. Peacemaking is in this context is simply understood as an outside intervention in a violent conflict.
- The term 'peacemaking' is used in several different ways. According to the UN, "peacemaking is action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations- Pacific Settlement Disputes". (source: www.un.org) .
- Peacemaking is a diplomatic effort intended to move a violent conflict into non-violent dialogue where differences are settled through representative political institutions. The main idea behind peacemaking is to end the violence between contending parties. There are various methods through which peacemaking can be done and these are : i) negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, ii) application of International law through international courts iii) threat of use of force

  Article 33 of the UN Charter specifies negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and resort to regional agencies or arrangements as modes of peaceful intervention in violent conflicts.
- Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter again allow for sanctions , blockading and violent intervention in order to restore the peace between warring states. Moreover, according to the UN Charter peacemaking were based on the concept of sovereign states. Therefore, there is no support for intervention in civil wars in the UN Charter.

  Boutros Boutros-Ghali suggested in the "Agenda for Peace" that the International Court of Justice (ICJ) would be an effective tool for peaceful adjudication of disputes. In case of interstate wars or the threat, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) would be the most effective entity for settling disputes.

- However, civil wars could not be adjudicated in the ICJ. Again the ICJ has no effective enforcement mechanisms. Any unfavorable decision made by the court is likely to be ignored. Other international courts though exist but their jurisdiction is more limited. For example, the European Court of Justice and European Court of Human Rights.
- Due to the lack of enforcement mechanisms on the part of ICJ, effective peacemaking strategies should rely on the threat of force according to Ghali. But negotiation, arbitration and mediation are always the first choice for third parties in armed conflicts, still the threat of force should not be ignored completely.
- The concept of 'peace enforcement' is within the broad category of peacemaking. The UN defines peacemaking as nothing but the diplomatic efforts to end conflict and on the contrary peace enforcement is the active use of force. Moreover, peace enforcement is a subsidiary concept within peacemaking. There are some tools that fall in the peace enforcement categories and these are sanctions, blockades and military intervention.
- Peacekeeping is now divided into First-Generation/ traditional peacekeeping and Second-Generation peacekeeping. First-generation peacekeeping was simply to guarantee ceasefires with neutral interposition forces. While Second-generation peacekeeping has evolved to allow flexibility of functions and mission from guaranteeing ceasefires to election monitoring to subsequent peace enforcement.
- Thus, peacemaking is a tool to use in violent conflicts. Peacemaking efforts are often closely intertwined with preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Peacemaking in the post-Cold War era occurs most often within states where battles lines are not clearly drawn and the strategic situation fluctuates frequently.
- In international relations the term 'peace building' refers to the process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and at the same time tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing the

root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building

- The term "peace building" was brought to international attention in 1992 when former UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali announced his "Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping".
- According to Johan Galtung, peace building is "the process of creating self-supporting structures that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occurs".
- Conflict resolutions mechanisms according to Galtung should be built into the structure and be present there as a reservoir for the system itself to draw upon, just as a healthy body has the ability to generate its own antibodies and does not need ad hoc administration of medicine. In fact, peace building involves addressing social and political sources of conflict as reconciliation.
- Peace building is about dealing with the reasons why people fight in the first place and supporting societies to manage their differences and conflicts without resorting to violence. It is a long - term and collaborative process as it involves changes in attitudes, behaviors and norms. Peace building approaches often refer to positive and negative peace. This is used to denote a transition from violence to peace which can be two phases- improved stability and positive peace.
- Stability means the absence of violence when people can get on with their lives after the fighting stops. This period is dubbed as negative peace as the stability frequently masks the reality that grievances or other causes of conflict have not been addressed and may erupt again. This brings the challenge to use periods of stability to build longer term - positive peace.
- Peace building approaches and methods are varied and diverse but they work to ensure that people are safe from harm, have access to law and justice and are included in the political decisions that affect

them and have access to better economic opportunities and also enjoy better livelihoods.

- There are various ways through which peace building can be achieved such as engaging in various forms of diplomacy, strengthening democracy and through inclusive politics for example, active citizenship initiatives, etc.
- Any successful peace building strategy relies on a multi- stakeholder engagement processes with a variety of actors. The actors involved in conflict and peace building are such as the state, civil society and private businesses which are termed as 'insiders' and the 'outsiders' including, international organizations and NGOs, UN agencies, specific campaigns and international financial institutions.
- Each play a unique and important role in contributing in some way to the process of peace building though problems like lacking coordination, standards, norms or unity in purpose creates difficult operating environment.
- Peace building and conflict transformation actors usually involves a broad range of actors who make use of a wide repertoire of practices. These actors can be categorized into four main groups, namely, states and intergovernmental organizations, development and humanitarian organizations, international NGOs concerned with conflict prevention and transformation and parties to the conflict and other relevant groups within the affected societies.



12.6 FURTHER READING

1. Schirch, Lisa. *The Little Book of Strategic Peacebuilding: A Vision And Framework For Peace With Justice (Justice and Peacebuilding).* Good Books. 2005
2. Ackerman, A.(2000), “Making Peace Prevail: Preventing Violent Conflict in Macedonia”. Syracuse. University Press.



12.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: Preventive diplomacy involves confidence - building measures, fact finding and preventive deployment of UN authorized forces.

Ans to Q. No. 2: Peacekeeping is now divided into First-Generation/ traditional peacekeeping and Second-Generation peacekeeping. First-generation peacekeeping was simply to guarantee ceasefires with neutral interposition forces. While Second-generation peacekeeping has evolved to allow flexibility of functions and mission from guaranteeing ceasefires to election monitoring to subsequent peace enforcement.

Ans to Q. No. 3: (i) Including peace education in curricula

(ii) Making development programmes in conflict areas sensitive to conflict dynamics

Ans to Q. No. 4: (i) States and intergovernmental organizations

(ii) Development and Humanitarian organizations



12.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Explain the meaning of peacebuilding.

Q. 2 : Write briefly about peacemaking.

Q. 3 : Mention the methods of peacemaking.

Q. 4 : Write the meaning of sanction and blockade?

Q. 5 : Define peacemaking? Discuss the various methods of peacemaking.

Q. 6 : Define peacebuilding? Discuss four peacebuilding reconstruction actors and four transformation actors.

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UNIT 13: LEGAL MEANS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Means of Conflict Resolution in International Law

13.4 Means of Conflict Resolution in Municipal Law

13.5 Let Us Sum Up

13.6 Further Reading

13.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.8 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- explain the means of conflict resolution in international law
- explain the means of conflict resolution in municipal laws
- discuss the differences between international law and municipal law

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Conflict has been defined in various ways. It has been seen as incompatibility between the two or more parties. Or it can be termed as the existence of incompatible activities. It is an inevitable part of human life. It is impossible to get rid of. It is a dynamic phenomenon. It involves not only the objective situation but also the way in which the participants understand and feel about the situation. Conflict is not necessarily negative. Deutsch notes that, conflict is an inevitable feature of all social relations. It can take a destructive or a constructive course. It can take the form of enlivening controversy or deadly quarrel. So, conflict resolution is not just about averting danger of conflict. Nor is it a way of fixing the problems, but it is about finding and capitalizing on the opportunity that is inherent in the event.

Conflict resolution refers to a process of resolving disagreements or disputes between individuals, states or among state and non-state actors. It tries to reconcile opposing arguments to establish peace. It protects and promotes human rights of all parties. In general, conflict resolution adopts the following methods. Conflict resolution is also known as dispute resolution or alternative dispute resolution. Legally, the methods for conflict resolution include negotiations, mediation, diplomacy, arbitration, litigation and formal complaint processes. These measures have been given by US Legal Forum (http://uslegal.com)

- Problem solving or confrontation in which the two parties work together to find out a common solution.
- Compromising in which both sides arrives on an agreement about their gain and loss.
- Forcing in which the person having power direct a solution for acceptance by the other.
- Smoothing in which the major points of agreements are given attention and disagreements between the two sides are not highlighted; and
- Withdrawing in which either one or both sides withdraws from conflict.

13.3 LEGAL MEANS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

Conflict occurs between warring parties who contest an incompatibility which can be territorial or governmental. Generally, the warring parties in international conflict are government of a state or any opposition organizations that uses armed force to promote its position. These conflicts can be concluded with peace agreements or ceasefires which do necessarily not bring the conflict to an end but contribute towards the same. So, necessarily conflict resolution is an expanding form of professional practice around the world. International law refers to the entire body of legal rules, norms and standards which govern the conduct of nation states in their

dealings with one another. It is reelected in treaties, conventions, agreements, declarations, etc. However, at times we do see the breach of international law when conflict arises among nations. Broadly, there are two ways of conflict resolution provided in international law, namely, **Peaceful means** and **Coercive means.**

Peaceful means of resolving conflict try non-violent means to settle dispute. According to Article 33 of UN Charter 'any dispute that is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should be first be addressed through negotiation, mediation or other peaceful means, and states that the Council can call on the parties to use such means to settle their dispute'.

The second means of conflict resolution is coercive which uses force as a means but only when all means of conflict resolution fail completely. The methods that have been established as coercive are retaliation, reparation, closure of territorial borders, boycott, suspension or expulsion from international organization, and the breaking of diplomatic relations.

I) Peaceful means of Conflict Resolution: The peaceful or pacific means of conflict resolution in international law are as follows:

1. Extrajudicial dispute resolution or Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)
2. Negotiation
3. Good Offices
4. Mediation
5. Conciliation
6. Inquiry
7. Arbitration
8. Adjudication
9. Online Dispute resolution
10. Role of the UN

II) Coercive means of Conflict Resolution: The coercive means of conflict resolution are as follows:

a) Coercive methods short of war-

1. Pacific blockade
2. Embargo
3. Retaliation
4. Reprisal
5. Reparation
6. Closure of territorial borders
7. Expulsion from international organization
8. Retortion

b) Coercive methods through war-

1. Limited war
2. Total war

I) Peaceful means of Conflict Resolution:

The following are the certain **peaceful means of conflict resolution** used in resolving conflict among the nations in international relations:

1. Extrajudicial dispute resolution or Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR):

Alternative Dispute Resolution or ADR processes include arbitration, collaborative law, and mediation to resolve conflict and potential conflict between nations. ADR generally depends on agreement by the parties to use ADR processes, either before or after a dispute has arisen. ADR has experienced steadily increasing acceptance and utilization because of a perception of greater flexibility, costs below those of traditional litigation, and speedy resolution of disputes, among other perceived advantages.

2. Negotiation:

Negotiation is used to denote intercourse between states for the purpose of arriving at a settlement of dispute or for relaxation of international tension. It is the simplest form of dispute resolution. Negotiation can be carried out by the heads of states or their agents. Example: Indo - Pak Indus Water treaty 1960 and Yalta and Potsdam agreement during WWII.

3. Good Offices:

When a third party offers its services to remove differences between two states which are not willing to negotiate directly. A friendly third state assists in bringing about an amicable solution to the dispute. These offices may also be offered by international organizations. Example: The U.N Security Council offered its good offices in the disputes between Indonesia and Netherlands in 1947.

4. Mediation:

Mediation is a kind of negotiation through the agency of third party. It is quite similar with good offices except that the participation of third party itself is more active in mediation. Example: The Soviet Premier Kosygen mediating between India and Pakistan at Tashkent in 1966.

5. Conciliation:

The reference of a conflict to a commission or committee to make a report with proposals for settlement is called conciliation. It is the process of ending a disagreement by recommendations. It is a kind of mediation where the committee mediates.

6. Inquiry:

Through inquiry investigation of relevant matters are made so as to establish facts. It is also known as fact-finding. It is an indirect method just to investigate and establish so as to facilitate reconciliation among the states. Generally, the embassies take up such an initiative.

7. Arbitration:

It means the hearing and settlement of a dispute by an impartial referee chosen by the warring states. It decides a dispute and is a binding decree. Example: The Rann of Kutch arbitration of 1968 for the settlement of disputes between India and Pakistan.

8. Adjudication:

It is a form of arbitration which can be done by a permanent institution like judiciary as the arbitral tribunal where it is known as judicial settlement. The International Court of Justice is such a tribunal.

9. Online Dispute Resolution or ODR:

Online Dispute Resolution or ODR or is a growing field of dispute resolution which involves the usage of technology to resolve disputes through negotiation, mediation or arbitration or a combination of all three methods through online techniques.

10. Role of the UN:

One of the fundamental objectives of the UN is maintenance of international peace and security and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to breach of the peace. The General Assembly and the Security Council have been assigned responsibilities in this connection. The General Assembly is given the authority to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation. The Security Council acts in two kinds of dispute: a) Dispute that endanger international peace and security; b) Cases of threats to the peace or breaches of peace, or acts of aggression.

II) Coercive means of Conflict Resolution:

a) Coercive procedure short of war:

States turn to coercive but non violent methods of settling a dispute if pacific procedures fail to produce satisfaction. Among the non-violent coercive techniques are the recall of diplomats, expulsion of opposing states' diplomats, denial of recognition of a regime, breaking off diplomatic relations and suspension of treaty obligations. It also includes actions like -

1) The Pacific Blockade:

   It was first used in 1827. In times of war, the blockade of a belligerent state's ports is a very common naval operation. It is generally designed to coerce the state whose ports are blocked into complying with the terms and conditions of the blockading states. It is sometimes employed during peace also.

2) Embargo:

   If a state violates international law then the affected nation may resort to the technique of embargo whereby the latter

tries to prohibit the shipment of all goods or certain goods to a particular country or a group of countries. However, the technique of embargo is applicable only in the area of territorial waters.

3) Retaliation:

It is a limited reaction of a state against another state on certain harmful conduct .It is contrary to international law. It is a kind of reprisal method also. This method includes embargo against ships and aircrafts, property and even commodities of the country against which action is taken. It also sometimes involves cutting off communications and trade relations and financial relations with the problem countries.

4) Reprisal:

Methods adopted by states for securing redress from another state by retaliatory measures is called reprisals. It means coercive measures adopted by one state against another for the purpose of settling some dispute brought about by the latter's illegal or unjustified conduct. It may be in the form of violent (armed attack) or non violent (seizure of property or naval blockade) means. They are usually regarded as illegal. Reprisals are justified if they bring about satisfactory settlement of dispute.

5) Reparation:

It is a legal philosophy which refers to a kind of transitional justice where states take measures to gross violations of human rights law in the form of compensations. It is applicable mainly in case of slavery.

6) Closure of territorial borders:

One of the common sources of armed conflict in the present century is territorial disputes which is often resolved by arbitration or adjudication of the governments. If in case

such mechanism does not work, then governments decide to close the borders as a recourse to end conflict. Many a time borders between India and Pakistan have been sealed to contain conflict.

7) Expulsion from International Organizations:

When a nation continuously violates international law and indulges in violent armed conflict of any form one after another, then international organizations like the UN expulses the nation from its membership either partially or fully.

8) Retortion:

Retortion means retaliation on the part of a state in a legal way to a discourteous act by another state. It does not involve armed force. Severance of diplomatic relations is one of the examples of retortion. For example, the US broke off diplomatic relations with Iran when its citizens seized the US embassy in Tehran in 1979. Other acts of retortion involve revocation of diplomatic privileges or withdrawal of fiscal or tariff concessions. Another example of retortion is when US President Jimmy Carter refused to allow athletes from the US to participate in the 1980 Moscow Olympics. His decision was a protest against the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

b) Coercive methods through war-

Limited War and Total war :

War is the ultimate means of self help when other measures of obtaining redress for alleged wrongs are unsuccessful. War is not the primary tool to settle a dispute. It is the last resort. However, war has its own instrumental value in settlement of conflict between two or more states. In case of a limited war, the aim is not complete victory or wiping out the enemy, but it is to achieve a limited goal, such as

restoration of status quo or maintenance of equilibrium. In case of a total war, the aim is to destroy the existing system by altering relationships drastically and permanently.

Essentially, there is no fixed way of resolving conflict among the nations. It depends upon the extent and depth of the conflict. National interest also plays an important role in choosing the method of conflict resolution. Diplomacy at different strata of the government plays a key role in diminishing the outbreak and spread of conflict among the nations. The role of the UN is also significant in leveraging the warring tendencies of the nations. However, inspite of much effort, the international arena is often clouded with the ever increasing tendency of conflict breaking out. The answer lies in the very fact of human nature being violent and selfish.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention any two peaceful means of conflict resolution?

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Q.2: Mention the names of any two filmmakers who created many documentary style movies to raise awareness about the Vietnam War and the opposition the same.

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13.4 MEANS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN MUNICIPAL LAW

Municipal law implies the national or domestic law of a sovereign nation. At the domestic level, conflict resolution may need the intervention

of the state. In such a scenario, several techniques may be resorted to. These include:

(a) Filing of lawsuits or litigation: In this case, the dispute is settled formally in a court of law. The dispute is then sought to be resolved through a fair trial based on the application of the law of the land.

(b) Arbitration: Arbitration is a form of alternative dispute resolution. It is a way to resolve disputes outside the courts. In case of arbitration, the disputed matter is looked into by an impartial person or the arbitrator for decision. The "arbitration award" is enforceable in the courts.

(c) Conciliation: It implies the act of mediating between two disputing parties. This is an out of court settlement process.

(d) Negotiation: it refers to discussions aimed at resolving the dispute through discussion and compromise so that the best possible outcome is reached on both sides.

(e) Facilitation: In facilitation, a neutral person helps the disputing parties to work together and resolve differences.

Thus, conflict resolution in municipal law provides for legally enforceable conflict resolution mechanisms like filing of formal lawsuits in a court of law. At the same time, there is also a scope for extra-judicial mechanisms like arbitration, negotiation, etc. whereby a dispute could be resolved outside the court itself.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Write the meaning of arbitration.

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Q.4: Write the meaning of negotiation.

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13.5 LET US SUM UP

- Broadly, there are two ways of conflict resolution provided in international law, namely, Peaceful means and Coercive means.
- Peaceful means of resolving conflict try non-violent means to settle dispute. According to Article 33 of UN Charter 'any dispute that is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should be first be addressed through negotiation, mediation or other peaceful means, and states that the Council can call on the parties to use such means to settle their dispute'.
- The second means of conflict resolution is coercive which uses force as a means but only when all means of conflict resolution fail completely. The methods that have been established as coercive are retaliation, reparation, closure of territorial borders, boycott, suspension or expulsion from international organization, and the breaking of diplomatic relations.
- The peaceful or pacific means of conflict resolution in international law are as follows: Extrajudicial dispute resolution or Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR); Negotiation; Good Offices; Mediation; Conciliation;Inquiry;Arbitration;Adjudication;Online Dispute resolution;Role of the UN.
- The coercive means of conflict resolution are as follows : Pacific blockade, Embargo, Retaliation,Reprisal, Reparation, Closure of territorial borders, Expulsion from international organization, Retortion, Limited war, Total war.

- Essentially, there is no fixed way of resolving conflict among the nations. It depends upon the extent and depth of the conflict. National interest also plays an important role in choosing the method of conflict resolution. Diplomacy at different strata of the government plays a key role in diminishing the outbreak and spread of conflict among the nations. The role of the UN is also significant in leveraging the warring tendencies of the nations.
- Municipal law implies the national or domestic law of a sovereign nation. At the domestic level, conflict resolution may need the intervention of the state . In such a scenario, several techniques may be resorted to. These include: Filing of lawsuits or litigation; Arbitration; Conciliation; Negotiation; Facilitation.
- Conflict resolution in municipal law provides for legally enforceable conflict resolution mechanisms like filing of formal lawsuits in a court of law. At the same time, there is also a scope for extra-judicial mechanisms like arbitration, negotiation, etc. whereby a dispute could be resolved outside the court itself.



13.6 FURTHER READING

1. Sridhar, Madabhushi. *Alternative Dispute Resolution- Negotiation and Mediation.* Lexis Nexis, 2010.
2. Keshav, Krishan. *Alternative Dispute Resolution (Arbitration, Conciliation Negotiation and Mediation)*. Singhal Law Publications, 2017.



13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: Negotiation and Role of the UN

Ans to Q. No. 2: Reprisal and Retortion

Ans to Q. No. 3: Arbitration is a form of alternative dispute resolution. It is

a way to resolve disputes outside the courts. In case of arbitration, the disputed matter is looked into by an impartial person or the arbitrator for decision. The "arbitration award" is enforceable in the courts.

Ans to Q. No. 4: Negotiation refers to discussions aimed at resolving the dispute through discussion and compromise so that the best possible outcome is reached on both sides.



13.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Discuss the means of conflict resolution in international law.

Q. 2 : Explain the peaceful means of conflict resolution in international law.

Q. 3 : Explain the coercive means of conflict resolution in international law.

Q. 4 : Write about any four coercive means of conflict resolution in international law.

Q. 5 : Discuss the means of conflict resolution in municipal law.

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UNIT 14: ROLE OF DIPLOMACY IN PEACE MAKING

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objective

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Track 1, Track 2 and Track 3 Diplomacy

- 14.3.1 Track 1 Diplomacy
- 14.3.2 Track 2 Diplomacy
- 14.3.3 Track 3 Diplomacy

14.4 Role of Media in Peace Making

14.5 Peace Journalism

14.6 Let Us Sum Up

14.7 Further Reading

14.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.9 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- discuss diplomacy as an important tool of foreign policy
- explain Track 1, Track 2 and Track 3 diplomacy as instruments of foreign policy
- examine the strengths and weaknesses of Track 1, Track 2 and Track 3 diplomacy
- outline the role of media in peace building process
- conceptualize the term 'peace journalism'

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of states. Diplomacy is the main instrument of foreign policy, which consists of the broader goals and strategies that guide a state's interactions with the rest of the world.

Traditionally, the term 'diplomacy' referred to interaction between nation-states. More recently, however, scholars have delineated several levels of diplomacy. Track 1 Track 2 and Track 3 diplomacy are the most frequently used terms. Track 1 diplomacy refers to official discussions typically involving high-level political and military leaders, while Track 2 diplomacy is unofficial dialogue and problem-solving activities aimed at building relationships. On the other hand, Track 3 diplomacy is people-to-people diplomacy undertaken by individuals and private groups.

The chapter further focuses on media and its role in the process of peace building. Media is the means of public communication reaching to the large, scattered, heterogeneous and anonymous audience of the society at the same time. Media play a very significant role in the society. Media also play a central role in the promotion of peace. Media and journalism can be a great assistance in conflict management and peace building. Peace Journalism as one of the new concepts of journalism and its acceptance to the audience as one of the tools for world peace. Peace journalism can contribute a lot to enhance the process of peace-building. Peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict.

14.3 TRACK 1, TRACK 2 AND TRACK 3 DIPLOMACY

14.3.1 Track 1 Diplomacy

The term "Track 1 Diplomacy" refers to official governmental diplomacy, or "a technique of state action, which is essentially a process whereby communications from one government go directly to the decision-making apparatus of another". Track 1 Diplomacy is conducted by official representatives of a state or state-like authority and involves interaction with other state or state-like authorities: heads of state, state department or ministry of foreign affairs officials, and other governmental departments and ministries. Track 1 Diplomacy

is official discussions involving high level political and military leaders and focusing on cease-fires, peace talks, and treaties and other agreements. In these discussions, heads of states meet, have high-tea, discuss issues and release joint statements etc. Track 1 Diplomacy may also be referred to as "First Track" or "First Tier" diplomacy.

Track One Diplomacy or Official Diplomacy has a long history whose roots lie in the remote history of humankind. De Magalhaes (1988) describes Official Diplomacy as, "an instrument of foreign policy for the establishment and development of contacts between the governments of different states through the use of intermediaries mutually recognized by the respective parties". The most important feature that distinguishes Track 1 diplomacy from all other forms of diplomacy is its formal application at the state-to-state level. It follows a certain protocol to which every state is a signatory. Track 1 Diplomacy is usually considered to be the primary peacemaking tool of a state's foreign policy. It is carried out by diplomats, high-ranking government officials, and heads of states and is aimed at influencing the structures of political power.

Track 1 Diplomacy may take place bilaterally between two states, or multilaterally when several states interact together, and even regionally or globally through inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). For example, when Estonia and Russia negotiated over issues related to the Russian-speaking people living in Estonia, these negotiations were examples of bilateral track-one diplomacy. Much of the work of the United Nations could be classified as global Track 1 Diplomacy.

The purpose and intentions of Track 1 diplomatic efforts may vary greatly. This type of diplomacy may be used coercively and may involve sanctions, ultimatums, and psychological intimidation. It may also be used persuasively and involve argumentation or compromise. It may further be used as a means of adjusting states' relationship to and views of one another. Track 1 Diplomacy may be a tool for reaching mutual agreements, which may themselves reflect elements

of persuasion or coercion. Track 1 Diplomacy may be used by a third-party state to help bring about an agreement between other states.

Track 1 Diplomacy varies not only according to the different roles played by the states, but also according to the manner in which these Track 1 roles are carried out. Official interactions may be at the senior head-of-state level, ministerial level, or involve lower-level officials. In negotiations, states may shift the levels of officials sent to negotiations as a signal of the level of commitment to the negotiation.

Track 1 Diplomacy can be categorized in various types. The Institute of World Affairs outlines the following types of Track 1 diplomatic activities -

- Informal consultations
- Good offices
- Special envoys
- Mediation
- Negotiations
- International condemnations
- Fact-finding missions
- Diplomatic and economic sanctions

It is to be mentioned that war, peace-keeping and other military and development initiatives are often not included in traditional definitions of official diplomacy. However, such initiatives are led by official representatives of states or state-like authorities like Track 1 Diplomacy. Track 1 Diplomacy takes place as part of the regular interactions of states and also throughout the life cycle of conflicts.

- ***Strengths of Track 1 Diplomacy***

Track 1 Diplomacy was developed as a foreign policy tool to specifically improve relations among nations. This type of diplomacy has numerous strengths. The following are some of the strengths of Track 1 Diplomacy -

i) Track 1 Diplomacy has the ability to use political power to influence the direction of negotiations and outcomes. This power might include using the threat of military force if a party decides to go against international treaties.

ii) Track 1 Diplomacy has the capacity to access material and financial resources that give high leverage and flexibility in negotiations.

iii) Track 1 Diplomacy can employ in-depth knowledge about the parties' interests because of the use of various intelligence sources.

iv) Track 1 mediators have the competence to use broad knowledge of their states' foreign policies, and also the foreign policies of the conflicting parties.

❍ ***Weaknesses of Track 1 Diplomacy***

Regardless of the strengths outlined above, Track 1 Diplomacy has several weaknesses also. Some of the weaknesses of Track 1 Diplomacy are -

i) The first weakness of Track 1 Diplomacy is that its conflict resolution approaches are corrupted by power. State power can be a liability to durable peace, rather than a facilitative tool. Power can suppress underlying issues of weaker parties, thereby undermining the sustainability of a peace agreement.

ii) Diplomatic missions, an asset to Track 1 Diplomacy, are normally closed down at the peak of conflicts between countries thereby reducing communication when it is needed most.

iii) Officials cannot, of course, speak against their country and, as a result, may either be too rigid or delay negotiations through consultations with their leaders at home.

iv) Track 1 Diplomacy is affected by electoral cycles.

14.3.2 Track 2 Diplomacy

Track 2 Diplomacy or 'backchannel diplomacy' is the practice of non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called non-state actors. Track 2 Diplomacy is unofficial dialogue and problem-solving activities aimed at building relationships and encouraging new thinking that can inform the official process. It contrasts with Track 1 Diplomacy, which is official, governmental diplomacy that occur inside official government channels. However, Track 2 Diplomacy is not a substitute for Track 2 Diplomacy. Rather, it is there to assist official actors to manage and resolve conflicts by exploring possible solutions derived from the public view and without the requirements of formal negotiation or bargaining for advantage.

Track 2 diplomacy is unofficial, non-structured interaction. It is always open-minded, often altruistic and strategically optimistic. Its underlying assumption is that conflicts can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and reasonableness. Scientific and cultural exchanges are examples of Track 2 Diplomacy.

Montville (1991) defines Track 2 Diplomacy as, "unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aim to develop strategies, to influence public opinion, organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict". Montville emphasized that Track 2 Diplomacy is not a substitute for Track 1 Diplomacy, but compensates for the constraints imposed on leaders by their people's psychological expectations. Most important, Track 2 Diplomacy is intended to provide a bridge or complement official Track 1 negotiations. Examples of organizations engaged in Track 2 Diplomacy are Search for Common Ground, West African Network for Peace-building (WANEP), European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ECCP), and many others.

- ***Strengths of Track 2 Diplomacy***

The strengths of Track 2 Diplomacy have been discussed in detail, but separately by Montville (1991), Ury (1999), Sanders (1991), Ryan (1995), and Lederach (1997). Some of the strengths of Track 2 Diplomacy are mentioned below -

i) Track 2 parties are not inhibited by political or constitutional power. Therefore, they can express their own viewpoints on issues that directly affect their communities and families.

ii) Track 2 officials do not have the fear of losing constituencies because they are the constituency.

iii) Track 2 Diplomacy empowers the socially, economically, and politically disenfranchised groups by giving them a platform from which they can air their views on how peace can be achieved in their own communities or nations.

iv) Track 2 Diplomacy is effective both at the pre-violent conflict and post-violent conflict stages. It is a very effective tool for violent conflict prevention and post-conflict peace-building.

v) Track 2 Diplomacy involves grassroots and middle leadership who are in direct contact with the conflict.

vi) Track 2 Diplomacy is not affected by electoral cycles.

- ***Weaknesses of Track 2 Diplomacy***

Although there are number of strengths or advantages of Track 2 Diplomacy, yet it has several weaknesses too. Some of the weaknesses of Track 2 Diplomacy are listed below -

i) One of the main weaknesses of Track 2 Diplomacy is that Track 2 participants have limited ability to influence foreign policy and political power structures because of their lack of political power.

ii) Track 2 interventions can take too long to yield results.

iii) Track 2 Diplomacy has limited ability to influence change at the war stage of a conflict.

iv) Track 2 participants rarely have resources necessary for sustained leverage during negotiations and for the implementation of agreements.

v) Track 2 Diplomacy is not effective in authoritarian regimes where leaders do not take advice from lower level leaders.

vi) Track 2 Diplomacy actors due to their lack of political power, are in most cases not accountable to the public for poor decisions.

vii) Because of their multiplicity, Track 2 actors and organizations often function without having proper coordination.

14.3.3 Track 3 Diplomacy

Track 3 Diplomacy is people-to-people diplomacy undertaken by individuals and private groups. It is also known as sociological public diplomacy, grassroots diplomacy and even citizen's diplomacy. Track 3 Diplomacy involves the interface between civil society and official and non-official diplomacy processes. Without the consent and cooperation of the commoners , each and every agreement made by elites - official or not - would be a mere skeleton without flesh.

The lack of people's involvement in the struggle to build a new social order makes any peace-making process unstable, fragile and vulnerable. Track 3 Diplomacy is therefore an initiative that operates and mediates in the field within a divided society, trying to reconcile it. It does not aim specifically to resolve the wider conflict but instead focuses on the concepts of contact and understanding as a way of setting the table for resolution.

Track 3 actors represent a dense array of grass roots groups, enlightened persons, cultural minorities, networks and popular movements who have marginal clout on decision making power and are unable to achieve requisite social change without external help. This form of diplomacy tries to influence indirectly by transitional media advocacy, lobbying and citizen activism. Conflict transformation at

the grassroots level lies with the peoples and communities directly affected by it.

Track 3 Diplomacy requires people to people interactions involving creativity, compromises and innovation of brave individuals and groups who have refused to surrender in their struggle for peace. Its efforts are manifested through different structures, initiatives and programs seeking to bring people together in order to give a human face to the other and hopefully generate sufficient momentum and pressure from below to bring about the long overdue political will to move forward towards a peace agreement.

Track 3 Diplomacy represents the most profound force in promoting security. For instance, security relations between the US and Taiwan has improved and Track 3 diplomacy has played a stronger role in enhancing overall ties.

Track 3 Diplomacy has been embraced by a few countries. For instance, in the India-Pakistan cross-border security relations Track 3 Diplomacy was initiated by individuals and groups within the civil society. The objective was to promote mutual understanding through people to people contacts, to diffuse existing and latent tensions by creating an informed public opinion and to use public pressure on governments to restructure their relations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Track 1 Diplomacy is conducted by official representatives of a state. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Mention any two types of Track 1 diplomatic activities.

.....

Q.3: Track 2 Diplomacy or 'backchannel diplomacy' is the practice of non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called non-state actors. (True/False)

.....

Q.4: Mention the name of an organizations engaged in Track 2 Diplomacy.

.....

Q.5: Which kind of diplomacy is also known as grassroots diplomacy and even citizen's diplomacy.

.....

14.4 ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACE MAKING (PEACE JOURNALISM)

In this age of information explosion, media assumes a position of immense importance as it is the vital means of sharing information with the people at large. Media is the means of public communication reaching to the large, scattered, heterogeneous and anonymous audience of the society at the same time.

Information given to the cross-section of people in the society is mass communication and the media used for the purpose is mass media. In other words, mass media is the means of communication that reach large number of people in a short time, such as television, radio, movies, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet.

There is no denying the fact that communication is universal to all human beings and is central to our lives. In fact, it regulates and shapes all human behavior. On the other hand, media is the most powerful tool of communication. It helps promoting the right things at the right time. It gives a real exposure to the mass audience about what is right or wrong.

Media plays a very significant role in the society. Mass media, both print and the electronic perform many crucial functions that include influencing public opinion, determining the socio-political agenda, providing a link between the government and the people, acting as a government watchdog, and affecting socialization.

We must recognize that media also play a central role in the promotion of peace. The media can emphasize the benefits that peace can bring, they can raise the legitimacy of groups or leaders working for peace, and they can help transform images of the enemy.

Media and journalism can be a great assistance in conflict management and peace building. However, the power they have is also limited, as they will never be able to eliminate armed conflicts altogether. The media can be a good tool in a healthy and functioning environment but more is needed than ethical and responsible reporting to ensure lasting peace and safety. The role of the media is twofold. On the one hand, the media report and reflect on pressing issues and can help to question established concepts and ideas. On the other hand, they can be used for propaganda purposes and instead of revealing truths, try to cover things up and by this curtail people's freedom and right to information.

In general, media can have four inputs on any peace process. First, they help in defining the political atmosphere in which the peace process takes place. Second, the media has an active influence on the strategy and behaviour of the stakeholders to the conflict. Third, the media has an important influence on the nature of debate about a peace process. Fourth, the media can strengthen or weaken public legitimacy of the stakeholders involved in the peace process.

A peace process is usually long and complex, and the direction it takes is often open to interpretation. Journalistic norms and routines, which dictate the selection of sources and construction of story lines, can have a significant effect on which interpretation appears to make the most sense. News reports provide citizens with important clues about the political climate surrounding the peace process.

14.5 PEACE JOURNALISM

Peace journalism, as the name suggests, is a form of journalism committed to exploring root causes of conflict in order to "create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict".

Peace journalism is a set of journalism practices that emerged in the 1970s. Norwegian sociologist, peace researcher and practitioner Johan Galtung proposed the idea of peace journalism for journalists to follow to show how a value bias towards violence can be avoided when covering war and conflict.

Peace journalism has been developed from research that indicates that often news about conflict has a value bias toward violence. It also includes practical methods for correcting this bias by producing journalism in both the mainstream and alternative media, and working with journalists, media professionals, audiences, and organizations in conflict. This concept was proposed by Johan Galtung.

Its operational definition of peace journalism is "to allow opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict". This involves picking up calls for, and articulations of, non-violence policies from whatever quarter, and allowing them into the public sphere. The broad definition of peace journalism include the terms like conflict solution journalism, conflict sensitive journalism, constructive conflict coverage, and reporting the world.

Peace Journalism is now a globally distributed reform movement of reporters, academics and journalists. It aims to shed light on structural and cultural causes of violence, as they impact upon the lives of people in a conflict arena as part of the explanation for violence. It aims to frame conflicts as consisting of many parties and pursuing many goals rather than a simple dichotomy. An explicit aim of peace journalism is to promote peace initiatives from whatever quarter and to allow the reader to distinguish between stated positions and real goals.

Peace Journalism as one of the new concepts of journalism and its acceptance to the audience as one of the tools for world peace. Peace journalism can contribute a lot to enhance the process of peace-building. Peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. The journalists do not try to exploit the loss and suffering but make sure that the reporting is balanced and also demonstrate how easily news can be manipulated. Part of the ethical guidelines for this kind of reporting is to bring out people that use peaceful measures and speak out against war and violence and document the suffering and loss on all sides. Possible solutions and trying to prevent further escalation of the conflict are at the centre of peace journalism as well. A suggested framework used by peace-building

media can employ different strategies such as, (i) Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism; (ii) Peace-promoting entertainment media; (iii) Media regulation to prevent incitement of violence, and (iv) Peace-promoting citizen media.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: Write briefly about peace journalism.

.....

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.....



14.6 LET US SUM UP

- Diplomacy is the main instrument of foreign policy, which consists of the broader goals and strategies that guide a state's interactions with the rest of the world.
- Track 1 Diplomacy is official discussions involving high level political and military leaders and focusing on cease-fires, peace talks, and treaties and other agreements.
- Track 1 Diplomacy may take place bilaterally between two states, or multilaterally when several states interact together, and even regionally or globally through inter-governmental organizations (IGOs).
- Track 1 Diplomacy can be categorized in various types.
- Track 2 Diplomacy is unofficial, non-structured interaction.
- Track 2 Diplomacy is intended to provide a bridge or complement official Track 1 negotiations.
- Track 3 Diplomacy is people-to-people diplomacy undertaken by individuals and private groups.
- Track 3 Diplomacy represents the most profound force in promoting security.
- Media assumes a position of immense importance as it is the vital means of sharing information with the people at large.

- Media and journalism can be a great assistance in conflict management and peace building.
- Peace journalism is to allow opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict.
- Peace Journalism is now a globally distributed reform movement of reporters, academics and journalists.



14.7 FURTHER READING

1. Galtung, Johan, *"On the role of the media in worldwide security and peace,"* In Tapio Varis (ed.), Peace and Communication, pp. 249-266, San Jose, Costa Rica: Universidad para La Paz.
2. Lederach, P. J. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies.* Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.
3. Lynch, J. & McGoldrick, A. (2005). Peace Journalism. Gloucestershire: Hawthorn Press
4. Montville, J. (1991). Track Two Diplomacy: The Arrow and the Olive Branch: A case for Track Two Diplomacy. In, V. D. Volkan M.D., J. Montville, & D. A. Julius (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relations:* Vol. 2. *Unofficial diplomacy at work:* Massachusetts: Lexington Books.
5. Nan, A.S. (2003). *Track I Diplomacy.*



14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : True

Ans to Q. No. 2 : (a) Informal consultations

(b) Good offices

Ans to Q. No. 3 : True

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Search for Common Ground

Ans to Q. No. 5 : Track 3

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Peace journalism, as the name suggests, is a form of journalism committed to exploring root causes of conflict in order to "create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict".

Peace journalism is a set of journalism practices that emerged in the 1970s. Peace journalism has been developed from research that indicates that often news about conflict has a value bias toward violence. It also includes practical methods for correcting this bias by producing journalism in both the mainstream and alternative media, and working with journalists, media professionals, audiences, and organizations in conflict. This concept was proposed by Johan Galtung. Its operational definition of peace journalism is "to allow opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict". This involves picking up calls for, and articulations of, non-violence policies from whatever quarter, and allowing them into the public sphere. The broad definition of peace journalism include the terms like conflict solution journalism, conflict sensitive journalism, constructive conflict coverage, and reporting the world. Peace Journalism is now a globally distributed reform movement of reporters, academics and journalists. It aims to shed light on structural and cultural causes of violence, as they impact upon the lives of people in a conflict arena as part of the explanation for violence.An explicit aim of peace journalism is to promote peace initiatives from whatever quarter and to allow the reader to distinguish between stated positions and real goals.

Peace Journalism as one of the new concepts of journalism and its acceptance to the audience as one of the tools for world peace. Peace journalism can contribute a lot to enhance the process of peace-building. Peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. The journalists do not try to exploit the loss and suffering but make sure that the

reporting is balanced and also demonstrate how easily news can be manipulated. Part of the ethical guidelines for this kind of reporting is to bring out people that use peaceful measures and speak out against war and violence and document the suffering and loss on all sides. Possible solutions and trying to prevent further escalation of the conflict are at the centre of peace journalism as well. A suggested framework used by peace-building media can employ different strategies such as, (i) Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism; (ii) Peace-promoting entertainment media; (iii) Media regulation to prevent incitement of violence, and (iv) Peace-promoting citizen media.



14.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Explain the meaning of Track 1 Diplomacy. Write any two strengths and any two weaknesses of Track 2 Diplomacy.

Q. 2 : Explain the meaning of Track 1 Diplomacy. Write any two strengths and any two weaknesses of Track 2 Diplomacy.

Q. 3 : Explain the meaning of Track 1 Diplomacy. Write any two strengths and any two weaknesses of Track 2 Diplomacy.

Q. 4 : Explain the meaning of Track 1 Diplomacy. Write any two strengths and any two weaknesses of Track 2 Diplomacy.

Q. 5 : Explain the meaning and significance of about peace journalism.

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UNIT 15: WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN CONFLICT SITUATION IN NORTH EAST INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objective

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Militarization in India

15.4 Conflict Situation in North East India

15.4.1 Impact of Conflict on Women

15.4.2 Impact of Conflict on Children

15.5 Let Us Sum Up

15.6 Further Reading

15.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.8 Possible Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of 'militarization'
- discuss the process of militarization in India
- discuss the conflict situation in North East India
- explain the impact of conflict on women and children in North East India.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

Militarism has been a significant element of the imperialist or expansionist ideologies of several nations throughout history. Militarization is a difficult term with many interpretations and definitions. It is related to militarism, which is an ideology that reflects the level of militarization of a state.

The north-east of India is a magnificent and tragic tapestry of people, events and nature. There is strength and fragility in its immense diversity - 350 communities in eight states with a population of about 35 million people.

The conflict in the North Eastern Indian states has been studied, defined and given different terminologies such as armed conflict, militancy, insurgency, ethnic conflict, political violence, armed movement and so on. Conflicts in the Northeast India range from insurgency for secession to insurgency for autonomy, from 'sponsored terrorism' to ethnic clashes, to conflicts generated as a result of continuous inflow of migrants from across the borders as well as from other States.

The armed conflicts in the northeastern States have taken their toll on women, who find themselves subjected to physical and mental abuse and get caught in killings and clashes. The clashes affect whole communities, but women are the hardest hit, a situation that has got a lot to do with their position in society. In clashes between communities and ethnic groups, violence against women of the enemy community or group is a common tactic.

Children also face tremendous problems including risks to the security of their lives in armed conflict situations. They are subjected to arrest, detention, torture, rape, disappearances and extrajudicial executions by the law enforcement personnel. Children have been forced, lured, motivated to join in the armed groups in North East India. Children are forced to join the armed groups due to different circumstances such as economic condition of the family, breakdown of law and order, fast changing social order, destitution, hopelessness, false notion of power and position, etc. Children in the region have also been denied justice under the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Act. Children have been regularly apprehended, detained and subjected to torture while many were killed in fake encounters.

15.3 MILITARIZATION IN INDIA

Militarism has been a significant element of the imperialist or expansionist ideologies of several nations throughout history. Militarism is the belief or the desire of a government or a people that a state should maintain a strong military capability and to use it aggressively to expand national interests and values. It may also imply the glorification of the military

and of the ideals of a professional military class and the predominance of the armed forces in the administration or policy of the state.

Militarization is a difficult term with many interpretations and definitions. It is related to militarism, which is an ideology that reflects the level of militarization of a state. Militarization is the act of assembling and putting into readiness for war or other emergency. It is the process by which a society organizes itself for military conflict and violence.

From a more qualitative perspective, militarization means to gear a state or a society toward the needs of a military environment or to subject a community to military requirements. In quantitative terms, militarization means that a state or an area is furnished with military personnel or military equipment and the necessary funds for this.

The rise of militarism in India dates back to the British Raj with the establishment of several Indian independence movement organizations such as the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose. The Indian National Army (INA) played a crucial role in pressuring the British Raj after it occupied the Andaman and Nicobar Islands with the help of Imperial Japan, but the movement lost momentum due to lack of support by the Indian National Congress, Battle of Imphal and Bose's sudden death. After India gained independence in 1947, tensions with neighbouring Pakistan over the Kashmir and other issues led the Indian government to emphasize military preparedness. After the Sino-Indian War in 1962, India dramatically expanded its military prowess which helped India emerge victorious during the Indo-Pakistani War of War 1971 India became third Asian country in the world to possess nuclear weapons, culminating in the tests of 1998. The Kashmiri insurgency and recent events including the Kargil War assured that the Indian government remained committed to military expansion. In recent years the government has increased the military expenditure across all branches and embarked on a rapid modernization programme.

At Indian independence in 1947, the country's founders worried that the army India inherited- conservative and dominated by officers and troops drawn disproportionately from a few "martial" groups-posed a real threat to

democracy. They also saw the structure of the army, with its recruitment on the basis of caste and religion, as incompatible with their hopes for a new secular nation. However, India has successfully preserved its democracy, however, unlike many other colonial states that inherited imperial "divide and rule" armies, and unlike its neighbour Pakistan, which inherited part of the same Indian army in 1947.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Militarism has been a significant element of the imperialist or expansionist ideologies of several nations throughout history. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Write briefly about militarization in India.

.....

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.....

.....

15.4 CONFLICT SITUATION IN NORTH EAST INDIA

The Northeast region of India comprising of eight states - Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Tripura and Sikkim - a region poorly connected to the Indian mainland by a small corridor, and surrounded by many countries such as Bhutan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and China, is the setting for a multitude of conflict that undermines the idea of India as a prosperous and functioning democracy.

The north-east of India is a magnificent and tragic tapestry of people, events and nature. There is strength and fragility in its immense diversity - 350 communities in eight states with a population of about 35 million people. While major interstate conflicts are on the decline, there are many prolonged, intractable conflicts within the state and across borders involving a variety of non-state actors. As political and social deprivation give birth to ethnic militancy, economic under development leads to regional militancy.

The conflict in the North Eastern Indian states has been studied, defined and given different terminologies such as armed conflict, militancy, insurgency, ethnic conflict, political violence, armed movement and so on.

For more than half-a-century, the Northeast has seen an unending cycle of violent conflicts dominated by insurgencies with demands ranging from outright sovereignty to greater political autonomy. Indirectly, insurgent movements also have spawned a variety of related conflicts in the region. Insurgency has taken a toll of thousands of lives, both of security forces and citizens.

- ***Types of Conflicts in the Northeast India***

Conflicts in the Northeast India range from insurgency for secession to insurgency for autonomy, from 'sponsored terrorism' to ethnic clashes, to conflicts generated as a result of continuous inflow of migrants from across the borders as well as from other States.

Conflicts in the region can be broadly grouped under the following categories -

(i) **National Conflicts:** Involving concept of a distinct 'homeland' as a separate nation and pursuit of the realization of that goal by its votaries.

(ii) **Ethnic Conflicts:** Involving assertion of numerically smaller and less dominant tribal groups against the political and cultural hold of the dominant tribal group. In Assam, this also takes the form of tension between local and migrant communities.

(iii) **Sub-regional Conflicts:** Involving movements which ask for recognition of sub-regional aspirations and often come in direct conflict with the State Governments or even the Autonomous Councils.

Besides, criminal enterprise aimed at expanding and consolidating control over critical economic resources also has, of late, acquired the characteristics of a distinct species of conflict in the region. It has been appropriately observed that- The conflicts in the North East have some

peculiar characteristics: they are asymmetrical; they are ambiguous, making it difficult to differentiate a friend from an enemy; they are fought in unconventional modes, deploying political and psychological means and methods; and the conflicts eventually tend to escalate into prolonged wars of attrition.

- ***State Specific Armed Conflicts in Northeast India***

While whole of the Northeastern region of the country displays a variety of conflicts, it needs to be noted that in its acute form, the problem is endemic in certain well defined areas. The variety of conflicts besetting the region will be evident from the short conflict profiles of the region.

Nagaland

The Naga insurgency, which started in the 1950s, known as the mother of the Northeast insurgencies, is one of the oldest unresolved armed conflicts in the world. However, following the cease-fire with the dominant Isak-Muivah faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), the State is virtually free from overt violent unrest although as already noted, it is the original hot-spot of insurgency. The minority Khaplang faction of NSCN does not approve of the cease-fire has also, on the whole, remained peaceful. But, the demand of 'Greater Nagaland' or 'Nagalim' may become an issue of enormous concern for more armed conflicts in the region.

Arunachal Pradesh

Although armed conflict was active in the Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh, the State has remained peaceful after the cease-fire with NSCN. There was some disquiet with the settlement of relatively more enterprising Chakma refugees from Bangladesh in the State in large numbers which appears to have subsided.

Manipur

Currently, Manipur is the most insurgency ridden State with about 15 violent outfits representing different tribes and communities active in the State. One fourth of Manipur (which is the valley), is home to more than 70 percent of its population which predominantly consists of the culturally distinct Meitei community. The State was ruled as a monarchy (later Princely

State) by the Meitei rulers. The Meitei influence declined in socio-economic spheres after independence with the tribals coming into the forefront largely because of reservations. There was also resentment in a section of the Meitei society about the merger of the State with the Indian Union, which led to the Meitei insurgency from the 1960s. Tribals account for around 30 percent of the State's population and broadly belong to Naga, Kuki-Chin and Mizo groups. Insurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram also spilled over to the State. The cease-fire between the Union Government and the NSCN has reduced violence in Naga areas of the State, but has given rise to fresh tensions as the NSCN insists on a greater 'Nagalim' which would include four districts of Manipur.

Mizoram

Mizoram, with its history of violent insurgency and its subsequent return to peace is an example to all other violence affected States. Following an accord between the Union Government and the Mizo National Front (MNF) in 1986 and conferment of statehood in the next year, complete peace and harmony prevails in Mizoram.

Meghalaya

Meghalaya is fortunately free from violence of the intensity that prevails in many other parts of the Northeast. Except violence against 'outsiders' particularly the Bengali speaking linguistic minority, there have been no major problems in the State. However, increasing inter-tribal rivalry and emerging tensions about infiltration from Bangladesh have been identified as some of the areas of concern for leading to conflicts.

Tripura

The State's demographic profile was altered since 1947 when mass migrations from newly emerged East Pakistan converted it from a largely tribal area to one with a majority of Bengali speaking plainsmen. Tribals were deprived of their agricultural lands at throw-away prices and driven to forests. The resultant tension caused major violence and widespread terror with the tribal dominated Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) emerging as one of the most violent extremist outfits in the Northeast. However, effective

decentralization in the non-scheduled areas, bringing tribal areas within the purview of an autonomous 'Sixth Schedule Council', successful land reforms and systematic promotion of agriculture have contributed to considerable conflict reduction. While the tribal-non-tribal clashes are on the decline in the State, the changing religious composition of tribal groups is giving rise to newer tensions with apprehension of increased inter-tribal conflicts.

Assam

A wide variety of conflicts prevail in Assam such as agitations against influx of foreigners, perceived inability of the Government to deport them, occasional tensions between religious and linguistic groups and escalating conflicts involving tribal communities who seek local autonomy etc. Undivided Assam had the longest history of insurgency. Naga and Mizo insurgencies were the earliest to flare up. Eve in the present truncated Assam, there are a number of extremist outfits led by the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). It has also been argued that there have been several contributing factors for the youth to join the cadres of ULFA such as unemployment, corruption in Government machinery, influx of illegal migrants, dominance of non-Assamese in the business sector, perception of exploitation of Assam's natural resources by the Centre and alleged human rights violation by the Security Forces. In addition, almost all tribal communities of the State have some armed outfits purportedly safeguarding their interests.

Thus, in total, Manipur, Assam, Naga land and Tripura have witnessed scales of conflict that could, at least between 1990 and 2000, be characterized as low intensity conflicts. However, it must also be mentioned that internal conflicts have been a permanent feature of the Asian political landscape since 1945, of which post-colonial India is no exception. Currently, most of the states in the region are affected by some form of conflict, expect for Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Sikkim in which the situation is at the moment relatively stable. The reasons for the respective conflicts are wide ranging from separatist movements, to inter-community, communal and inter-ethnic conflicts.

15.4.1 Impact of Conflict on Women

Women are directly and specifically impacted by conflict as women. They are the ones who do the daily tasks in everyday life in times of civil strife; they are responsible as mothers of the children, the hurt and the wounded, who are innocent hostages to the conflict not of their creation. They are the wives of injured, disabled or missing men, the soldiers of warring factions and the state. They suffer as civilians with their freedoms curbed and shackled. They are assaulted, beaten, humiliated, raped and murdered during conflicts. In fact, they face violence from three quarters - the State, the opposing community, and often in their own homes in the form of domestic violence.

Women are victims of war and conflict in a variety of other ways as well. The loss of family members, which includes husbands, brothers and children, has long-term psychological effects of women. The suffering endured by after conflicts and devastation results in emotional and mental stress. Their loss is not just emotional, it is also economic and most women experience a decline of social legitimacy. The loss of male family members often renders them completely poverty stricken since they form the bulk of the unemployed and illiterate they are ill equipped to take over the burden of being primary earners or sole earning member and head of the household. All too often destitution follows the loss of earning men.

Women and girls bear the brunt of many of the harmful consequences of armed violence. In the last two or three decades, the use of violence against women and girls during conflicts, and especially sexual violence, has become more visible. But aside from increased sexual violence, conflict exacerbates many inequalities that can last well after a war ends. Here are just a few examples.

Countless women and girls all over the world suffer from the trauma of war and conflict - often as widows or orphans, perhaps displaced from their homes, sometimes detained. Many times, they are separated from loved ones and become victims of violence and

intimidation. For the most part they are civilians caught in the crossfire. They show astonishing resourcefulness and resilience in coping with the disintegration of their families, the loss of their homes and belongings, and the destruction of their lives.

The vulnerability of women often derives from the fact that armed conflicts today have changed in such a way that civilians are increasingly caught in the fighting, and that women bear the brunt of the burden of ensuring the day-to-day survival of their families.

Women are especially susceptible to poverty, exclusion, and the sufferings caused by armed conflict when they are already subject to discrimination in times of peace.

The armed conflicts in the northeastern States have taken their toll on women, who find themselves subjected to physical and mental abuse and get caught in killings and clashes. The clashes affect whole communities, but women are the hardest hit, a situation that has got a lot to do with their position in society. In clashes between communities and ethnic groups, violence against women of the enemy community or group is a common tactic.

A case in point in this respect is the case of Manipur; where there is a massive protest is being staged against the allegedly draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) that has accorded tremendous unaccountable power in the hands of the armed forces. Owing to the vast unaccountable power it entrusts on the security personnel, the enforcement of AFSPA has resulted in innumerable incidents of arbitrary detention, torture, rape, and looting in the region in the garb of maintaining "public order". The Committee on Human Rights has documented 55 selected incidents of arbitrary killing by the security forces between 1980 and 1996 - none of which have been resolved so far.

Further, it has been found that it is the women who have to bear the brunt such a law, as they are the 'soft targets'. There are number of instances that bear testimony to this, the most blatant being the

alleged rape and killing of a young Manipuri woman named Manorama Devi by Assam Rifles, which led to such an upsurge of a defiant protest that saw number of Manipuri women shedding their clothes and challenging the soldiers to rape them that shocked the country and steered the conscience of every thinking Indian.

In case of the State of Assam, the ongoing insurgency movement and the presence of the armed forces in order to curb the movement has also seen rights of the women being violated and vitiated in many instances. What is most disturbing is that most such cases, despite being reported are not treated with the required urgency.

15.4.2 Impact of Conflict on Children

The human cost of any conflict, especially armed and protracted conflict, has been really devastating. It is more so with the children who hardly develop skills to deal with the intricacies of facing and living with conflict. Millions of children are caught up in conflicts in which they are not merely bystanders, but targets. Some fall victim to a general onslaught against civilians; others die as part of a calculated genocide. Still other children suffer the effects of sexual violence or the multiple deprivations of armed conflict that expose them to hunger or disease. Just as shocking, thousands of young people are cynically exploited as combatants.

Children in armed conflict situations face tremendous problems including risks to the security of their lives. They are subjected to arrest, detention, torture, rape, disappearances and extrajudicial executions by the law enforcement personnel. The disruption of food supplies, the destruction of crops and agricultural infrastructure, the disintegration of families and communities, the displacement of population and the destruction of educational and health services and of water and the sanitation system, all take a heavy toll on children.

The children who are at the transitional age from childhood to adulthood are more vulnerable due to the natural complexities and

confusion that they face during this period. It is more so in the conflict-affected societies due to fear, uncertainty, chaos and confusion that violence itself produces. Adolescents are at extreme risk during armed conflict. They are targets for recruitment into armed forces and armed groups; they are targets for sexual exploitation and abuse; and they are at great risk of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS.

Children have been forced, lured, motivated to join in the armed groups in North East India. Children are forced to join the armed groups due to different circumstances such as economic condition of the family, breakdown of law and order, fast changing social order, destitution, hopelessness, false notion of power and position, etc.

Bandhs (protest shut-downs) and blockades due to civil conflict are a frequent phenomenon in the region which have an adverse impact on children. Such a situation creates problems in the public service delivery system of food, water, medical and supplies of other essential commodities. As a result of curfews and boycotts, more than 80% of the schools with thousands of students in the entire region get affected badly.

Trafficking is seen as a manifestation of conflict for impoverished people in this northeastern region of the country. Many of the parents and guardians are lured easily by people who come promising to provide a dignified living to their children.

Children in the region have also been denied justice under the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Act. Children have been regularly apprehended, detained and subjected to torture while many were killed in fake encounters. Others were abused in fake surrender ceremonies organized by State Armed Forces. In these events children are being lured to attend and are detained as fake members of insurgent groups.

Children have been affected by internal displacement due to the conflict in North East India. Children are forced to live in the relief

camps in suffocating and sub-human living conditions. Children have also gone missing in large numbers in the region. The Assam State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (ASCPCR) reports that in the state of Assam alone, 4,234 children out of whom 2,819 are girls have been reported to be missing since 2011 and are still untraced.

Moreover, having parents killed due to insurgency-related activities, by armed forces or due to ethnic conflict, hundreds of children have become orphaned at an early age. The deprivation from parental care in turn threatens to cause other concerns for children in North East India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: The Isak-Muivah faction is associated with which insurgent group?

.....

Q.4: The vulnerability of women often derives from the fact that armed conflicts today have changed in such a way that ..... are increasingly caught in the fighting. (Fill in the Blank)



15.5 LET US SUM UP

- Militarism is the belief or the desire of a government or a people that a state should maintain a strong military capability and to use it aggressively to expand national interests and values.
- The rise of militarism in India dates back to the British Raj with the establishment of several Indian independence movement organizations such as the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose.
- India has successfully preserved its democracy, however, unlike many other colonial states that inherited imperial "divide and rule" armies.

- The north-east of India is a magnificent and tragic tapestry of people, events and nature. There is strength and fragility in its immense diversity - 350 communities in eight states with a population of about 35 million people.
- The conflict in the North Eastern Indian states has been studied, defined and given different terminologies such as armed conflict, militancy, insurgency, ethnic conflict, political violence, armed movement and so on.
- Conflicts in the Northeast India range from insurgency for secession to insurgency for autonomy, from 'sponsored terrorism' to ethnic clashes, to conflicts generated as a result of continuous inflow of migrants from across the borders as well as from other States.
- Women are directly and specifically impacted by conflict as women.
- The conflicts in the northeastern States have taken their toll on women, who find themselves subjected to physical and mental abuse and get caught in killings and clashes.
- Children also face tremendous problems including risks to the security of their lives in conflict situations.



15.6 FURTHER READING

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15.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: True

Ans to Q. No. 2: Militarism has been a significant element of the imperialist or expansionist ideologies of several nations throughout history. Militarism is the belief or the desire of a government or a people that a state should maintain a strong military capability and to use it aggressively to expand national interests and values. It may also imply the glorification of the military and of the ideals of a professional military class and the predominance of the armed forces in the administration or policy of the state.

Militarization is a difficult term with many interpretations and definitions. It is related to militarism, which is an ideology that reflects the level of militarization of a state. Militarization is the act of assembling and putting into readiness for war or other emergency. It is the process by which a society organizes itself for military conflict and violence.

The rise of militarism in India dates back to the British Raj with the establishment of several Indian independence movement organizations such as the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose. The Indian National Army (INA) played a crucial role in pressuring the British Raj after it occupied the Andaman and Nicobar Islands with the help of Imperial Japan, but the movement lost momentum due to lack of support by the Indian National Congress, Battle of Imphal and Bose's sudden death. After India gained independence in 1947, tensions with neighbouring Pakistan over the Kashmir and other issues led the Indian government to emphasize military preparedness. After the Sino-Indian War in 1962, India dramatically expanded its military prowess which helped India emerge victorious during

the Indo-Pakistani War of War 1971 India became third Asian country in the world to possess nuclear weapons, culminating in the tests of 1998. The Kashmiri insurgency and recent events including the Kargil War assured that the Indian government remained committed to military expansion. In recent years the government has increased the military expenditure across all branches and embarked on a rapid modernization programme.

Ans to Q. No. 3: National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN)

Ans to Q. No. 4: civilians



15.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1 : Explain the meaning of militarization in India.

Q. 2 : Discuss the conflict Situation in North East India.

Q. 3 : Explain the impact of conflict on women in North East India.

Q. 4 : Impact of Conflict on Children in the context of North East India.

*** ***** ***



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*** ***** ***

Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University
City Office: Housefed Complex, Guwahati-781006

Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781006
(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

.....

.....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

.....

.....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.