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Peace and Conflict Studies

SEMESTER VI

BACHELOR OF SOCIAL WORK

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This is the first course of the BSW Sixth Semester Programme of KKHSOU in Political Science. The course 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. These 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 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. An important aspect related to the concept of peace and conflict studies is that of development and un development in the context of political 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. Since Terrorism 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.

UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION TO 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 MODEL 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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[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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[8]S. Ryan, Ethnic Conflict and International Relations, Aldershot, 1990, p-27

[9]https://courses.lumenlearning.com/wm-organizationalbehavior/chapter/types-of-conflict/)

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UNIT 2: THEORIES OF PEACE AND CONFLICTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Meaning of Peace Movements

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

2.4 Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement

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

2.6 Anti-Apartheid Movement led by Nelson Mandela

2.7 Check Your Progress

2.8 Let Us Sum Up

2.9 Further Reading

2.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.11 Possible Questions

2.1 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.

2.2 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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2.3 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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2.4 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)

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

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2.5 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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2.6 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 ?

.....



2.7 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.



2.8 FURTHER READING

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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.

2.9 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



2.10 MODEL 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 3: ARMED CONFLICT AND 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 delegated to the domestic realm nurturing, homemaking, child rearing etc. According to this reasoning, women cannot be good 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?

.....

.....

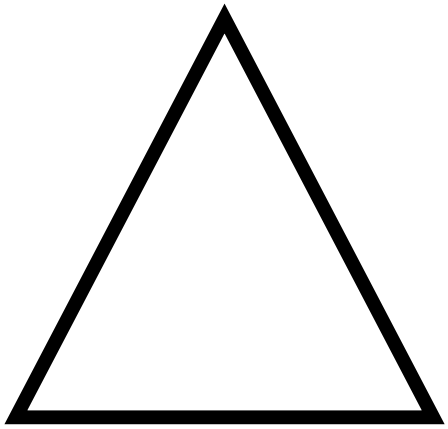
3.4 CONCEPT OF CULTURAL VIOLENCE

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.

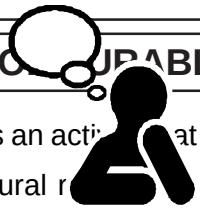
ACTIVITY 3.2

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 root 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 MODEL 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.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 4: TECHNIQUES OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Concept of Conflict Management

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

4.5 Let Us Sum Up

4.6 Further Reading

4.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.8 Possible Questions

4.1 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

4.2 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.

4.3 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.

'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 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?

.....

.....

.....

.....

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.

.....

.....

.....

.....

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

4.4 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 ?

.....

.....

.....

.....

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)

.....



4.5 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.
- 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.
- Conflict resolution simply is conceptualized as the methods and processes which involve facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution. It is a 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.
- 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.

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- 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.



4.6 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.

4.7 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 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



4.8 MODEL 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 5: STRATEGIES OF PEACE MAKING

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Peace Making- Meaning and Methods

- 5.3.1 Concept of Peace-making
- 5.3.2 Methods of Peace-making

5.4 Peace building- Reconstruction and Transformation: Actors and Processes

- 5.4.1 Concept of Peace building
- 5.4.2 Peace building-Reconstruction: Actors and Processes
- 5.4.3 Peace building- Transformation: Actors and Processes

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 Further Reading

5.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.8 Possible Questions

5.1 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

5.2 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.

5.3 PEACE-MAKING: MEANING AND METHODS

5.3.1 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.

5.3.2 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.

.....

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

5.4.1 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.

5.4.2 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.

5.4.3 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.

.....

.....



5.5 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.



5.6 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.

5.7 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



5.8 MODEL 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 6: CHALLENGES IN NORTH EAST INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objective

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Militarization in India

6.4 Conflict Situation in North East India

6.4.1 Impact of Conflict on Women

6.4.2 Impact of Conflict on Children

6.5 Let Us Sum Up

6.6 Further Reading

6.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.8 Possible Questions

6.1 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.

6.2 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.

6.3 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)

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Q.2: Write briefly about militarization in India.

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.....

6.4 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.

6.4.1 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.

6.4.2 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)



6.5 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.



6.6 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, Dr. H.O., Human Rights (Allahabad: Central Law Publication).
2. Choudhury, Sanghamitra, Women and Conflict in India, Routledge, 2016
3. Hazen, J.M., Armed Violence in Asia and Pacific: An Overview of the Causes, Costs and Consequences, UNDP 2008
4. Protection of Children's Rights in Areas of Civil [illegible] ICPCR, 2010
5. A Study on Impact of Armed Conflict and Viola[illegible] Child Rights, MACR, 2010, Imphal.

6.7 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



6.8 MODEL 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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UNIT 7: TERRORISM, WAR AND MILITARISM: IMPACT ON PEACE

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives
7.2 Introduction
7.3 Military and the National Security Paradigm
7.3.1 War and Militarism
7.3.2 Causes of Militarism
7.3.3 Military and the National Security Paradigm
7.4 Impact of Militarization
7.4.1 Militarization its Socio-Economic impact
7.4.2 Impact of Militarization on Peace
7.5 Let Us Sum Up
7.6 Further Reading
7.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
7.8 Possible Questions

7.1 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.

7.2 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.

7.3 MILITARY AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY PARADIGM

7.3.1 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.

7.3.2 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.

7.3.3 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)

.....

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

.....

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

.....

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 ?

.....

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.

7.4.2 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.

.....

.....

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

.....

.....



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.



7.6 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).



7.8 MODEL 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 8: LEGAL MEANS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Means of Conflict Resolution in International Law

8.4 Means of Conflict Resolution in Municipal Law

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 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

8.2 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.

8.3 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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8.4 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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8.5 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.



8.6 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.

8.7 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.



8.8 MODEL 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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