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# **UNIT 1 PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES: NATURE AND SCOPE**

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## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Peace is generally conceived of as equivalent to the absence of manifest violence. In the Explanatory Phonographic Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language (1850), peace is defined as a list of synonyms which include "respite from war", "quiet from suits and disorders", "rest from any commotion", "freedom from terror", "silence", "suppressions of thoughts" etc. Most of these are definitions by exclusion and peace here has been defined by the absence of "non-peace". Juergen Dedring spines that the traditional assumption regards peace as the counterpart to the state of war and hence peace is defined as "absence of war". According to Linus Pauling, the editor-in-chief of World Encyclopaedia of Peace (1986), "As history progress, peaks of joys and troughs of pain are experienced by the human beings populating the system, peace studies are usually concerned more with the avoidance of the latter, than with obtaining the former". Peace is thus largely identified as a lack of conflict of any serious kind. More often the term "peace-making" is associated with conflict resolution without the use of violence.

## 1.2 PEACE TRADITIONS

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The concepts of peace have been rich in content across various religious and philosophical traditions. From the early period of human thinking, there has been a clear understanding that war is neither a natural phenomenon nor the irreversible will of Gods. A peaceful world belongs to a society where people can work and live together in harmony and friendship and the domination of one group over another is a major obstacle to peace.

In Eastern religions, there is a strong emphasis on links between a spiritual life and action for social justice. The Buddhist traditions emphasise justice, equity, non-violence, concern for the well-being of others and compassion among living beings. They also reflect a well-ordered state of mind, inner peace and harmony within a culture. Tranquillity in the inner state of mind and harmonious interpersonal relationship contribute to universal peace.

The practice of non-exploitation of nature exists in Native American and African tribal cultures. Peace with the planet represents the need for humans to live in harmony with nature rather than conquer it. The earth constitutes a web in which humans are part, and by destroying living and non-living forms of existence on the planet humans threaten even their own survival.

Many Western religious traditions have delivered the message of natural goodwill, unconditional love, wholeness and individual well-being as well as cessation of hostilities. The passages of the Old Testament of the Bible state that swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. In early Christian social utopia, there was a strong emphasis on a community of love. Greek philosophers conceptualised a peaceful world in terms of a lack of civil disturbances. These philosophical traditions are also linked to unity based on the moral substance of humanity in each person and the principle of world citizenship. The vision of a world without war was embraced as the core approach to peace in the Hellenic civilization. In the Roman and Medieval periods, peace implied stable relationship among units of society that lead to the control of **organised** violence.

In Enlightenment thinking, violence and conflict, seen as the greatest evils in history, are ascribed to a disorderly world. Political philosophers such as John Locke in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the 18<sup>th</sup> century viewed war as unnecessary and believed that social contracts could prevent violence.

Given their focus on individual autonomy and freedom, ideas in anarchist utopias oppose government and legal institutions that impose an artificial order. According to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian thinker Tolstoy and other pacifist anarchists who considered peace as a cherished human value, the state power apparatus is responsible for the organisation of both oppression and violence. War can be abolished with the elimination of a political structure attributed to social oppression and exploitation.

With their goal to realise powerful changes in improving human conditions, socialist movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century stipulated that peace could be obtained in a classless society. The primary causes of human misery are **economic** inequality and a repressive political system associated with social injustice. Peace has a **firm** social **dimension**

in which equity and consideration of others' well-being are crucial for a harmonious community life. People from different cultural and political traditions would be united by the achievement of an equal society.

## 1.3 PEACE AND VIOLENCE

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Though the central core of peace studies includes the study of peace as the absence of violence, there has been disagreement as to what constitutes "peace" and "violence". The major debate has been whether to define peace simply as the absence of war often called 'negative peace' or whether the concept encompasses both the absence of war and the presence of social and economic justice, often **called** positive peace. Those who argue that peace should be defined narrowly, hold that broadening the concept reduces its clarity. Those who favour the broader conception, argue that the violent, life-threatening characteristics of various forms of systematic repression and underdevelopment approach or exceed that of overt warfare. The two individual researchers most often associated with the poles of this debate are Johan Galtung of Norway who is credited with inventing the term 'Positive Peace' in the mid-1960s and Kenneth Boulding of the United States of America whose "twelve friendly quarrels" with Galtung include this one. In practice, however, there is more consensus than this conceptual schism would seem to suggest. Few scholars would contest the argument that there is a relationship between the absence of war and the presence of other social values such as justice and freedom. According to Karl Deutsch, a security **community** is one in which there are "dependable expectations of peaceful change" for the foreseeable future.

## 1.4 FORMS OF VIOLENCE

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The concept of peace is more clearly understood in comparison with the concept of violence. An understanding of different forms of violence present in various social relations is, therefore, necessary to understand the concepts of peace. .

### 1.4.1 Direct and Structural Violence

Direct violence is the popularly understood meaning of violence and is referred to in terms of physical injuries and infliction of pain such as killing, beating and verbal abuse whether they happen in war or in inter-personal situations. Direct violence is personal, visible and manifest, whereas violence in inter-personal relations may be employed as an instrument for robbery, revenge or honour and states use organised violence for political purposes. **The** capacity for violence is institutionalised in prison systems, concentration camps, military **forces and** militia. Nazi Germany killed millions of European Jews and other ethnic minority groups. Pol Pot decimated at least a million Cambodians in the late 1970s to consolidate his rule by imposing fear. Genocide is a major form of **direct** violence that is inflicted on one **group** by the other with very little reciprocal violence by the weaker side.

Structural violence consists of inegalitarian and discriminatory practices causing human misery like poverty, hunger, repression, and social alienation. Structural violence is apparent social systems maintained by exploitative means. Discrimination results in denying people **basic living standards like decent education, housing and an opportunity to work. The**

gross violation of human rights and dignity prevents the optimum development of each human being. The 'lack of an opportunity for self-fulfilment can be based on race, religion, gender, economic status or age. If a young female's need for education is not provided adequately because of gender differences, it constitutes inequitable life conditions. In many societies, some people are dying from a lack of protein or health care while a few enjoy a luxurious way of life. Given its indirect and insidious nature, structural violence most often works slowly in eroding human values and shortening life spans.

As war is only one kind of peaceless condition, the opposite of peace is more than the existence of manifest violence. The absence of direct violence does not necessarily mean the satisfaction of conditions for maintaining decent human life. The concept of structural violence helps us understand deep causes of conflict ingrained in political oppression and economic despair. Given that gross social injustice can be maintained by personal violence, structural violence is more easily noticed in a society that is governed by fear and repression. When coercive mechanisms are effective, structural violence is not challenged for a long time. However, prolonging exploitative conditions eventually produces violent resistance like liberation movements during the Western colonial domination in Africa and Asia.

Certain cultural elements like religion, ideology and art that touch upon 'the symbolic sphere of our existence' can be possible sources of direct and structural violence through their value justification and legitimisation of their instruments. In religion, there is a sharp distinction between chosen people and outsiders beyond its accepted boundaries. Nationalism justified through state ideology or ethnicity has been an instrument for promoting war. Some categories of structural violence such as authoritarianism or discrimination based on gender and race are typically condoned by cultural norms. A socialisation process maintains distortion of knowledge and images about other people. As both manifest, and latent violence have a cultural layer, cultural practice is not strictly separated from the two main types of violence. Minimisation of cultural violence goes along with reduction in structural and direct violence.

#### **1.4.2 Negative and Positive Peace**

Negative peace is focussed on the absence of manifest violence such as war, which could be realised through negotiation or mediation rather than resorting to physical force. It recommends the use of non-violent means, total disarmament and social and economic interdependence to avoid the physical violence and discourage the use of force in conflict situations. In a negative peace approach, preventing war also requires a large array of international agreements and institutions that can support stable relations among nations. The idea of improving peace has also been reflected in many international agreements and in the mechanisms of collective security included in the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Negative peace policies may focus on a present, short or near future time-scale. Due to the fact that stability and order can be maintained by an oppressive system, negative peace is compatible with structural violence. In such a situation, absence of physical violence can derive from deterrence strategies to punish enemies. Lasting conditions of peace are not synonymous with the preservation of intervals between outbreaks of warfare. War can not be eradicated as long as militarism remains a prevalent value.

The concept of positive peace, based on a broad understanding of social conditions, means the removal of structural violence beyond merely the absence of direct violence. According to Johan Galtung, positive peace would not be obtained without the development of just and equitable conditions associated with the elimination of inequitable social structures. Equality is an essential element of peace because its absence perpetuates tensions of all types. All groups of people ought to have equitable access to the economic benefits of society as well as enjoying social, cultural and political development. For marginalised groups of people, equality means overcoming obstacles related to institutional, cultural, attitudinal and behavioural discrimination. According to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former Secretary General of the UN, the elimination of repression and poverty is an essential element of peace. Equal opportunities allow people to develop their talents and skills so that they can participate in various aspects of development.

The comprehensive notion of peace touches upon many issues that influence quality of life, including personal growth, freedom, social equality, economic equity, solidarity, autonomy and participation. According to the UN Document No.84 1996, on **The United Nations and the Advancement of Women 1945-1996**, peace entails, beyond violence and hostilities at the national and international levels. "the enjoyment of economic and social justice, equality and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms within society". Conditions for harmonious relations derive from minimisation of all forms of exploitation. As the earth is recognised as the object of exploitation, positive peace is also extended to embrace the notion of respect for nature.

Negative peace thinkers argue that, in considering human nature and the power structure of the world, it is unrealistic and thus, meaningless to equate peace with social justice. A narrow focus on the control of symptoms of violence has a more tangible effect than a broad-based struggle for improving the quality of living. During Cold War, peace researchers like Kenneth Boulding raised concerns that a broadened notion of peace would divert attention away from the problems of disarmament toward 'a grand, vague study of world development'. Those who are mainly interested in the reduction and elimination of warfare consider justice a less essential requirement for peace. Thus, popular topics in this research tradition have been control of violent social behaviour and the arms race. Priority has been given to investigating various methods relevant to reduction of the risks of war, disarmament, prevention of accidental war, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and negotiated settlement of international conflicts.

Scholars in the positive peace research tradition, most prominently Johan Galtung, assert that the structural roots of violent conflict have to be more seriously studied than particular cases of avoiding and limiting war or such narrow issues as reduction in particular weapons systems. Knowledge for conditions to achieve peace has to explain strategies to overcome institutional form of violence. The study of positive peace identifies conditions threatening human survival which include environmental issues as well as poverty and economic disparity. Given that these problems are not likely to be solved in the world's current economic and political structure, the analysis of shortcomings of the present system naturally leads to a search for policy and institutional changes that can serve human welfare.

In the areas of non-violence, some people are mainly concerned with logistics and tactical issues involved in unarmed struggle against enemies without much regard to changes in

**structural** conditions for oppression. Peace thinkers like Gene Sharp view non-violent action as merely an effective strategic instrument to achieve specific political objectives and score victories with non-lethal means. Other thinkers, such as Geoffrey Ostergaard who follow the traditions of Mahatma Gandhi, emphasise non-violence as a principle capable of preventing the origin or existence of unjust social and economic system. Non-violent social structure in turn can be acquired by **establishing** egalitarian social relations.

Though the focus of anti-war movements during the Cold War period was to prevent the worst scenario of having a nuclear war, many peace groups working in the negative peace traditions, at the same time, shared the ideal of pacifist communities that a peaceful order requires social justice. If the study of peace is designed **for policy** changes and action, its ultimate goal is to create social conditions for the betterment of the life of all humanity. Building positive peace should thus be complementary to practicing negative peace. Preventing the use of physical, manifest violence is more successful under certain social **structural** conditions. There is no need for the use of violence if there is justice in society. Institutions of war are based on domination, and they play an important role in maintaining the culture of violence. In that sense, peace is synonymous with the elimination of the institution of war.

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## 1.5 CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

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Conflict emerges from the pursuit of incompatible goals which can **intensify** struggle between opposing forces, especially in the absence of collaborative problem solving mechanisms. In conflict situations, resources are **mobilised** to force the other party to change their behaviour according to one's own **wishes**. Mismanaged conflict turns into violence causing mass destruction.

Peace, as already mentioned, does not necessarily mean absence or suppression of conflict. Rather peace theorists accept conflict as a normal part of human life and international relations. The goal of peace analysts is to determine how to manage and resolve conflict in ways that reduce the possibility or the level of violence without diminishing other values such as justice or freedom.

### 1.5.1 Structural Conditions

Many lasting internal and international conflicts have their roots in structural injustice. Serious conflict is embedded in an inequitable social and economic system, reflecting prolonged exploitation supported by coercion. The destruction of cultural identities, political autonomy and economic sustainability for the weak has been associated with the imposition of dominant power situations. This was reflected in the rule of European empires in many colonies in Africa and Asia with their superior military power in the past centuries.

Due to their **different** power status, **parties** have opposing interests in maintaining **the** system. Those in a disadvantaged position demand a new set of relationships when they begin to perceive the situation as unjust and exploitative. However, until some form of serious challenges is made either violently or non-violently, **those** benefiting from the status

quo have little incentive for taking the issues raised by the underprivileged seriously. While reform may be proposed to meet some of the concerns, conflict can also be suppressed by the use of physical violence, consequently reinforcing one party's will over another. Maintenance of coercive instruments is legitimised by the state by citing or even manipulating public fear of disorder. Threats of punishment and adversarial institutions become major characteristics of an elite-controlled society, suppressing the collective identities of marginalised peoples who attempt to pursue self-esteem and autonomy. Hegemony is maintained by institutionalisation of power relations and maintaining values which serve the interests of elites.

Restlessness in modern society arises out of various forms of alienation derived from social control in everyday life. The absence of legitimised structures and policies, along with increasing inequalities of income and opportunity, serves as the primary source of conflict. Once basic assumptions about the traditional concepts of law and order as the common good are questioned, the right of the government to rule and to expect obedience is itself at the root of the conflict.

### **1.5.2 Traditional Management Strategies**

In the traditional management of conflict, a judicial system and the wider public administration system are mostly concerned with the preservation of the status-quo and the maintenance of existing institutions. Because those in power tend to interpret challenges to their authority in terms of enforcement of order, conflict management is largely seen in terms of social control designed to minimise the challenge to the core values of the system. Efforts are made to frame conflict behaviour within the recognised sets of rules of social order. The existence of underlying conflicts can even be effectively denied for legitimising power inequality.

Conflict management in a traditional setting helps reinforce coercive policy by conforming to dominant social norms. In politically oppressive societies, demands for autonomy are answered by coercive responses rather than negotiation of new relationships. The legitimacy of the existing order is eventually challenged by the refusal to accommodate alienated communities where participation is denied because of social categories. In the long run, deterrent strategies relying on threats and punishment have limited value in maintaining social control with resistance triggered by the repression of aspirations for cultural identity, security, and recognition:

### **1.5.3 Dispute Settlement and Conflict Resolution**

Dispute settlement approaches are based on legal mechanisms and conventional negotiation to settle disputes by finding compromise solutions. By sorting out difference within an existing system, dispute settlement contributes to the stability of society with the confirmation of legitimate roles of accepted norms, values, and institutions in everyday life.

Dispute settlement mechanisms could not be applied effectively to the resolution of value and identity conflict. It is entirely possible to resolve an incompatibility without touching the actors and their relations. Compromise can be accomplished without regard to examining the conflict formation process itself. The actors continue to remain with their structure basically untouched.

In contrast to dispute settlement that focuses on ~~...ing~~ suspicion and distrust between adversaries, conflict resolution goes through a far more complex process. In adversarial bargaining, conflict is often considered by antagonists as a zero-sum situation in which ~~the~~ gain of the one is the loss of the other. Collaborative problem solving approaches can be adopted to find a solution that benefits both parties.

Analysing the roots of problems reveals complex behavioural relationships. Discovering the substantive matters beneath underlying issues can be an initial step towards collaborative problem solving. Conflict resolution prevents the recurrence of future conflict by evolving satisfying conditions to be acceptable to all parties.

#### **1.5.4 Conflict Transformation and Peace Building**

For a constructive transformation of conflicts, it is necessary to identify and consolidate support structures that ~~tend~~ to strengthen peace. Positive opportunities can be enhanced through the awareness of mutual dependence on one another. Changing psychological dimensions of adversarial relationship supported by the opportunities to understand ~~different~~ views is undoubtedly an inevitable part of the movement toward conflict de-escalation. Moreover, efforts to end hostile, competitive and coercive processes would be fruitless if one party's domination continues to be allowed. Newly forged relationships have to be supported by structural transformation of social conditions.

In a transformative framework, identity and power relations continue to be re-negotiated in an on-going process of resolving conflict. Dynamics of conflict are not likely to be transformed toward resolution by an attempt to protect existing interests. Re-establishing a status quo would not dramatically change conflict relations. In transformative perspectives, roles and relationships have to be redesigned in the process of re-structuring the patterns of transactions and interactions. .

Resolving conflict in transformative perspectives has to be geared toward helping the underprivileged break out of the discriminatory social roles assigned to them within the status quo. The existence of injustice in asymmetric conflict structures requires strategies to deal with power imbalanced situations. Social change for promoting justice, by which conditions for decent human life can be established, is the most appropriate means for peace building.

Thus, peace building is largely equated with the construction of a new social environment that ~~advances~~ a sense of confidence and improves conditions of life. Leaving an abusive and dependent relationship intact is incompatible with peace building. Conflict transformation can underscore the goal of peace building through empowering a marginalised population exposed to extreme vulnerability in such a way to achieve self-sufficiency and well-being. The successful outcome of conflict transformation therefore contributes to eliminating structural violence.

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### **1.6 SOME APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PEACE**

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The study of arms control and the management and prevention of violent conflict has remained the ~~most~~ traditional area of peace studies. Peace education at its beginning,

focussed on arms race, disarmament and deadly conflict and war. However, in the past few decades, peace studies have become more directly connected to the activities of many ordinary people who want to change the world. Peace studies today are inclusive of a vast range of approaches and experiments. Many innovative ways of thinking have been developed out of ordinary citizen's endeavours to make the world become a more peaceful place.

### **1.6.1 Feminist Approach**

The occurrence of both manifest and latent violence against women has emerged as an important concern of peace studies in the last three decades. Images of women have been historically associated with pacifism. Feminine values of caring, compassion and nurturing have enriched the conceptions of peace. Moreover, the application of feminine values to the radical transformation of an oppressive social order serves as an important principle in the struggle for achieving peace.

#### **Violence against Women**

While both women and men are victims of sexism, racism, human rights abuse, and poverty, there are particular types of violence that afflict women more than men. Family violence and sexual and emotional abuse of women are major concerns in many parts of the world. Direct violence against women includes rape and unorganised random physical abuse as well as attacks on women in organised war. It was admitted by the Japanese government in 1992 that during World War II, the Japanese Army forced young women from Korea, the Philippines, and other places in Asia to serve Japanese soldiers as so called 'comfort women'. The rape and deliberate impregnating of thousands of women, namely Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, was a form of ethnic cleansing conducted by Serb nationalists. In many other countries having anti-government insurgencies, like Peru, Columbia, and other places, there have been reports of assault on women by the security forces. Yet, most governments failed to condemn or punish those who committed rape and killings.

Since time immemorial, structural violence has severely affected women in many impoverished countries. Among the poorest of the poor are young widows and elderly individuals with little capacity to manage household economies. The high level of poverty as well as harsh working conditions have put a particularly heavy burden on female heads of household who do not have adult males to help them. Even in contemporary times, young women provide a hard working labour force for multinational corporations but are paid low wages. Women in certain regions of the world form the majority of subsistence farmers. In particular, women in Africa produce 80 per cent of the food. However, the introduction of a market oriented economic system deprives women's income by assigning low monetary value to their economic activities.

#### **Gender Identities and Values**

Individuals born into the biological categories of male or female are assigned to the stereotyped social categories of men and women through the acquisition of locally-defined attributes of masculinity and femininity. Thus, gender has a lot to do with the social behaviours and characteristics.

The construction of masculine and feminine categories is linked to power relations arising from the practice of attaching meaning to gender identities. Emotion, body and nature have been historically associated with the identity of female gender. It has been regarded as inferior to the male gender identity characterised by reason and mind. Men are supposed to kill and die on behalf of the state to prove their manhood while women have to be properly subservient to satisfy the demand of military comprised largely of men.

Competitive, organisational and exclusive masculine values support a model of hierarchical human relationships. These values are often reflected in the bureaucracies of states, churches, corporations, political parties, and the military. State building is a masculine project that encourages a willingness to engage in violence. Men, considered as an aggressive biological class, are given license for engaging in wars and are motivated to fight. The arms race and other national security priorities are the main factors in the subordination of the women. Social welfare is traded for military spending and it further exacerbates female poverty.

Growing entry and success of women in politics and other institutional arenas have been enhanced by women's adoption of masculine values as a strategy to be accepted for an authority role. As the prime minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher undermined than advanced social services for women and children. Several prominent women at the highest governmental decision making positions do not remain as peacemakers, but as war-heroines. Golda Meir won the Six Day War against the Arabs, Indira Gandhi did not flinch from waging a war with Pakistan, and Margaret Thatcher sent military forces to re-occupy the Falkland Islands in the dispute with Argentina. The masculinisation of women is an attempt to prove that women can perform most tasks reserved for men. This supports the small masculine elite groups who control institutions and conduct state affairs. But this disables their and society's ability to question the standards and the systems that have long despised feminine values.

Recently, professional military careers have become one of the new frontiers open to women. Especially in the United States of America. women have been joining the armed services in unprecedented numbers. They proved an indispensable part of the recent US military operations in various wars. Major feminist organisations in the USA have supported the move for women to be eligible for combat on the grounds of professional equal opportunity. They believe that portraying them as natural peacemakers perpetuates women's subordination. Thus, in order to change their pacifist image, they should participate in the armed forces and this key arena of control and power should not be left in the hands of men.

However, the opponents of a greater role for women in the military remind us that women have been victims of militarism. State militaries are organised to maintain the system of inequality. Ironically thus, women are more likely to be transformed by militarization. Feminist goals can be better achieved through non-violent practices.

### **Shared Goals of Peace and Feminism**

Their vulnerability to the structure of violence and deprivation places women in a better position than men to appreciate the value of peace. They have played the role of nurturers, mothers and natural peacemakers throughout most of the history of human civilization.

Feminist thinkers find a logical linkage between feminism pacifism and socialism. By challenging the inevitability of dominant social order and war, the feminine notion of peace elegantly exposes the hierarchical nature of our society. Domination and violence are caused by a hierarchical system such as military institutions that depend on superior and inferior relationships between certain members. The elimination of violence in both private and public spheres is essential to achieving peace. The goal of the liberation of women from violence can be promoted by disarmament and the campaign against war. .

Feminist conceptions of peace are extended to the conditions of social justice, economic equity, and ecological balance. Equity and democracy have to be transformational values for forthcoming social changes. Equal relations between men and women can serve as the foundation for equality among all peoples and an end to racism and ecological destruction. The struggle against all types of violence is supported by promotion of women's rights so , as to attain an equal distribution of resources and the right to express oneself freely.

Women's access to land, employment and other resources is an indicator to measure the welfare of a society. Poverty and underdevelopment cannot be overcome in a social structure that generates inequality and violence. In trying to alter power relations, women redefine their roles against their oppressors and raise consciousness of their identity. Social justice and development require the full participation of women.

### **Reconceptualisation of Security**

National security, defined as the defence of sovereignty is built into the constructions of masculinity. National security reflects the impulse that produces the military dominant structures of organised violence controlled by the state. The history of nuclear weapons development is an excellent example of a few men exercising power over many. The atomic bomb project is ripe with the images of masculine power and destruction. The public under the influence of patriarchal military culture generally accepts the arms race and other national security priorities. In the name of national security, governments are allowed to manufacture and mismanage weapons without public knowledge as exemplified in testing nuclear weapons on human populations.

Feminist values broaden the concept of security by including in it all peoples and all nations based on a notion of kinship extended to the entire human family. Secondly, the conceptual framework aims to embrace a broad, holistic definition that advocates the protection of life and enhancement of the quality of life. Thirdly, in the feminist view, an adversarial state-centric security system negatively affects the conditions for protecting the most fundamental roots of survival embodied in health and a decent quality of life. The military-dependent present world security system itself is seen as a major threat to humanity. The high cost of military spending puts a strain on meeting social and economic needs. Feminist security agenda seeks protection from organised state violence and the fulfilment of fundamental needs of human harmony.

#### **1.6.2 The Political Economy Approach**

The Political Economy approach draws attention to the political and economic structures of the international system, which create conditions for inequitable distribution of wealth

among and within nations. The structural domination of capitalism leads to the exploitation of the impoverished by the rich. The inability of the existing structures to accommodate the demand for improvement in material well-being generates divisions in society. The political economy approach examines the nature of the modern political economy and its implications for social and international conflict.

## Economic Disparities

The world is divided by income gaps between the rich and the poor. The share of the income for the richest 20 per cent of the world population expanded from 70 per cent to 85 per cent between 1960 and 1991. Some 1.3 billion people on the earth have incomes of less than US \$ 150 per capita a year. Rich industrial countries have less than a quarter of the world's population but consume over three quarters of the goods produced in the world. However, the need for food and other basic economic necessities has not been met in many parts of the world. The number of people suffering from nutritional deprivation has steadily increased. In many poor countries, the populations also have a high level of illiteracy and lack a proper level of education. These miserable life conditions are attributed to the failure of economic systems.

## Free Market Economy and Class Relations

To produce opportunities for the marginalized, an equitable global economic order is essential. However, there have been arguments about the means for narrowing gaps between the poor and the rich.

In the classic economic liberalism, a universally valid rule is that the good of all could only be achieved by self-regarding individualism and the pursuit of wealth. Market exchange is supposed to satisfy the self-interests of individuals while providing a medium for benefiting all. The role of government is to nurture a political environment for promoting a free market society and to protect the rights of private property. With the control of market values over economic activities, there is no concern about exploitation. It is often ignored that open competition favours those who set up the rules and have the ability to influence the system. Moral dimensions are not prominently reflected in the social calculus of capitalist society.

In Marxist interpretation, capitalist classes — free market mechanism is not just a way of organising an economy but it also dominates. It controls state, cultural and religious institutions to reinforce its superior economic position. Marxism analyses social structure in terms of relations between two antagonist classes, the proletariat, comprised of workers who earn wages for their physical work and the bourgeoisie who monopolise capital needed to make investment in production. By paying less to workers than they deserve, the capitalist class takes the surplus value created by labour. The causes and driving forces of conflict are inequality in society and violence is the manifestation of the struggle between these classes. Class antagonism can be resolved through the achievement of an equal society that does not have an exploitative economic relationship. Since individual actions would be ineffective in fighting against a ruling class, building solidarity among the masses is important. The proletariat is recognised as the most critical social force in the struggle for achieving a classless and harmonious society.

## **International Capitalism and War**

The relationship between economic growth and international conflict has been explained by the necessity of industrial states to look for foreign markets and raw materials that are crucial for continuing prosperity by liberal thinkers themselves. John Hobson, the 19<sup>th</sup> century liberal British economist concluded that the saturation of domestic economic activities produces pressures for expansionist policies in capitalism's defence. The imperative to find markets for surplus goods arising from uncontrolled capitalist production and the necessity to compete for increased productivity result in imperialism. From this perspective, competition between colonial powers in pursuit of foreign markets and raw materials is a driving force behind international conflict.

**Marxist-Leninist** thinkers also attribute imperialism to the economic structure of capitalist states. The crisis of low domestic consumption that inevitably arises from iniquitous economic relations compels these states to seek external markets for surplus products and investment of capital. According to Lenin, an external outlet for surplus goods and financial investments is needed for the survival of capitalism. Imperialism is thus an inevitable outcome of the expansion of capitalism on a global scale. With the rise of international capitalism, the contradictions inherent in capitalism, particularly, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few reproduces itself on a global scale resulting in international economic inequalities and the enrichment of one state at the expense of another. According to Lenin, war will be ended in a classless society to be created by world revolution.

## **Economic Integration and Globalisation**

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the last two decades is a trend toward global economic integration. The internationalisation of capitalism, creation of new political alignments, transformation of social values, and the acceleration of scientific and technological advances have facilitated this process. The promotion of free market economy at both the national and international levels through privatisation and liberalisation programmes has accelerated the global economic integration. Thus, global economic integration puts a further premium on the perpetuation of capitalism-oriented socio-economic disparities globally.

Economic globalisation reduces the role of states to adjusting national policies to the dynamics of an unregulated global economy. The state mainly remains to enforce legal and political framework for a free market mechanism. Industrialised states have supported private enterprises by enforcing contracts and using an instrument of political leverage to impose market rules world-wide. On the other hand, the vulnerable elements of society have been further marginalised by the privatisation of many public economic functions. Distribution has not been a major concern in the process of economic globalisation based on a free market system.

Globalisation has produced both prosperous and marginalised economic sectors. In the technology sectors, capable of producing a great variety of value added products, skilled core work forces have secure employment with excellent pay. However, traditional economic sectors hire many unskilled, low-paid labour forces located in a multitude of production units spread across the globe. Poor women and children are working for multinational corporations whose production facilities moved to the Third World to avoid

minimum wage requirements and other labour standards in their home countries. The comparative advantage of cheap labour is found in the most aggressive and repressive states such as China, Malaysia and other newly industrialised countries that are leading exporters of consumer goods sold in North America and Europe. In these countries, labour discipline is tightly enforced, with severe limitation on workers' rights, to maintain political stability and support capital accumulation.

### Social Transition

Many poor countries in the world today are former European colonies and share experiences of years of **exploitation** and **frustration** with the dominant structure of international political economy. In bringing about modern transformation, capitalism as a dominant institutional nexus has destroyed indigenous economies. In the Third World, traditions of self-sufficient economies have been pushed aside, local exchange relationships dissolved and collective forms of ownership broken-up. The spread of markets into the domain of traditional life increased the number of households losing control over subsistence means in the process of being **integrated** into new economic relations. Commodity production pushes impoverished peasants, pastoralists, and women to unproductive land.

Global economic expansion created conditions of social segregation and fragmentation within countries. Economic decisions are disentangled from family, gender and social relations as well as cultural traditions. The incorporation into a cash economy leads to the devaluation of traditional productive activities of women. The costs of economic marginalisation include social polarisation and destruction of internal linkages.

### 1.6.3 The Environmental Approach

The environmental approach to the study of peace points out that the unbalanced relationship of humans to bio-environmental system is a source of threat to human survival. Human beings have a unique capacity to damage the planet that supports life –support systems of all species. **Harm** done to the earth and its enveloping environment forms an important area of investigating the conditions of peace. Growing attention has also been paid to the scarcity of environmental resources as a source of violent conflict.

The global environmental degradation has led to the deteriorating **quality** of life in many parts of the planet. Greenhouse effects, river and ocean pollution, deforestation and distortion of biodiversity are **related** to the expansion of human activities which threaten life-supporting ecosystems. Global warming associated with the greenhouse effect is caused by an accumulation of carbon dioxide, methane and nitrogen in atmosphere. This results mainly from the burning of fossil fuels by automobiles and industry. It is increased by the destruction of world's forests that have the capacity to naturally remove carbon from the atmosphere. Gases such as chlorofluorocarbons (**CFCs**) used as coolants in refrigerators, solvents in industry and propellants in aerosol sprays contribute to the destruction of stratospheric ozone, resulting in the increased levels of **harmful** solar rays. The ozone layer above the Antarctic has become thin and has a larger hole. The impact of deforestation, **desertification**, pollution, overfishing, and overgrazing on the ecosystem threatens our planetary biodiversity. The loss of forests directly affects the world's biological diversity, causing mass extinction of huge numbers of plants and animals. The scarcity and misuse of fresh water pose

another serious threat to human health, welfare, food security and the entire ecosystem. Today, about one-fourth of world's population lacks clear and safe water. Toxic chemicals and waste as well as atmospheric pollution have a major impact on the quality of water, as do agricultural use and deforestation.

The rapid increase in population, especially in the Third World countries outstrips economic growth, deteriorates living standards, and results in severe environmental degradation. Hundreds of millions of poor people are forced to overgraze land and plunder forests. The carrying capacity of land, that is, the number of people an area can support without compromising its ability to do so in future, has been rapidly deteriorating in the Third World countries. The planet is gradually moving towards overloading the carrying capacity with a rapid growing population. Present consumption and production seriously hamper the long-term ability to support the regions' resource base for future generations.

The movement of water and air does not differentiate between national borders. Often the irresponsible use of these common resources has created damage to the environment that belongs to others. For example, Scandinavian forests and lakes suffer from acid rain caused by industrial pollution in other parts of Europe.

Unregulated resources tend to become over-utilised, and it leads to the destruction of conditions for sustainable management. If community members pursue their own self-interest in seeking to maximise advantage, soon nothing will be left. The unregulated hunting of whales in the oceans until recently has led them to virtual extinction. Access to 'commons', that is, commonly shared resources like the oceans and the outer space, have to be regulated to put a limit on private greed to protect the common good.

## **Resource Scarcity and Conflict**

Competition for limited or inequitably distributed resources may lead to violent conflicts. Threats to subsistent life caused by resource scarcity increase the probability of social unrest and war. The peasant majority is pushed to the most ecologically vulnerable land while the top two per cent of the total population controls more than 60 per cent of land in Brazil. In many regions of the world where resources are not able to support the population, efforts to assert or prevent control over fertile cropland, forests and water create conditions for intra-state and inter-state conflict. The water conflict between Israelis and Arabs is related to the use of the river Jordan and is part of the larger context of the conflict.

Deteriorating resource bases coupled with rapidly growing population produces a volatile social situation for group conflict. Population dislocation can be caused by such environmental changes as deforestation, desertification, drought, soil- erosion and floods. In Africa, for instance, desertification has been a driving force behind the movement of ecological refugees across national borders. The population influx exceeding the capacity of the host environment contributes to group competition along with unequal access to scarce resources.

Intense group identities are felt with the rising level of grievance. The weak state capacity to handle economic problems deepens fragmentation between groups. Increases in demands

of various groups put pressure on financial resources of the government. Failure or incapacity of the government to respond to demands from marginalised groups lends support to insurgencies that challenge the legitimacy of the state.

## **Environmental Security**

In recent years, 'mitigating the social and political impacts of environmental scarcity of resources' has become an important national security concern. However, adding an environmental pillar to a national security agenda does not imply that policymakers have abandoned the traditional notions of security based on the use of force, if necessary, to preserve vital interests.

While the conventional concept of security has exclusive concerns for the national level, security for the planet depends on the structure of the whole system. Peace on earth cannot be realised without ecological balance. Any attachment to the nation-state and the conventional doctrine of security prevents an obstacle to sustainable management of the environment. In fact, the environment was brutalised by such violent tactics of warfare as scorched earth campaigns and weapons-testing programmes. Both the consumption-oriented wealth of the industrialised world and the poverty of the developing world are leading to environmental destruction. The destroyed environment, in turn, can ruin prospects for the future development of the rich and poor alike leaving aside the prospect of global equality.

The protection of the local as well as global environment must be integral to the development process throughout our increasingly interdependent world. Sustainability cannot be achieved in one country, since ecological problems do not recognise any borders. Sustainable development becomes a goal, not just for the developing nations, but for industrial ones as well

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## **1.7 SUMMARY**

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We have examined the nature and context of peace and conflict by focusing on the two dominant conception of peace and conflict and three dominant approaches to the study of peace: the feminist, the political economy and the environmental approaches. As we saw, in the negative conception of peace, peace is the absence of direct violence (physical, verbal, and psychological) between individuals, groups, and governments. In the positive conception of peace, peace is more than the absence of violence: it is the presence of social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources, equal protection and impartial enforcement of law. Thus, while the negative conception of addresses the immediate symptoms, conditions of war and the use and effects of force and weapons peace, positive peace involves the elimination of the root causes of war, violence, and injustice. It also involves conscious efforts to build a society reflecting these commitments.

Accordingly, the efforts of the adherents of these conceptions of peace to achieve peace differ. The former focus their efforts on managing interpersonal and organisational conflict in order to control, contain, and reduce actual and potential violence. In the international arena, they seek to reduce the incidence of war or prevent war through arms control and disarmament measures. Adherents of positive peace focus their efforts on establishing peace through world order by supporting international law, compliance with multilateral

treaties, use of international courts, and non-violent resolution of disputes. participation in international organisations. trade, and communication. They also emphasise on establishing social equality and justice, economic equity, ecological balance and eliminate indirect violence by meeting basic human needs.

The unit ~~also~~ examined the feminist, political economy and environmental approaches to the study of peace. While the three approaches chosen for discussion differ in their emphasis on core concepts and concerns, they all assume the interconnectedness of all life and therefore can be categorised as alternative models of positive peace.

## **1.8 EXERCISES**

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- 1) Bring out the distinction between direct and structural violence with suitable examples.
- 2) Explain the concept of positive peace with particular reference to the course of action suggested to achieve peace.
- 3) Critically examine the traditional conflict management strategies
- 4) Critically analyse the main features of feminist approach to peace
- 5) What are the main sources of conflict from the point of the environmental approach to peace?

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# **UNIT 2 CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF PEACE AND CONFLICT**

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## **Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Human Nature
- 2.3 Peace
- 2.4 State, Society and Peace
- 2.5 State as an Instrument of Peace
- 2.6 The Civil Society Dimension and Peace
- 2.7 Negative and Positive Conceptions of Peace**
- 2.8 Summary
- 2.9 Exercises

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## **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The terms Peace and Conflict are paired opposites, like light and shadow, and many other such paired opposites. However, there is one very important difference between Peace and Conflict on the one hand and Light and Shadow on the other. In the case of the latter pair there is no doubt as to which comes first. For it is light that comes first producing the shadow. This cannot be said of peace and conflict with any certainty. Ordinarily, talk of peace only follows in the context of pre-existence of violence or conflict. There may be praise or benediction for the prevalence of peace and prescriptive norms come to the forefront when conflict and its external manifestation constantly disturb the consciousness of a human being on the social order.

The desire for peace and prayers for its prevalence and preservation has been the common theme of all spiritual or religious traditions since ancient times. "Om Shantih, Shantih, Shantih" is the restrain of Hindu prayers down from the Vedic times. "Peace on Earth, and goodwill towards to all mankind constitutes the noble aspiration of the Semitic faiths, the Jewish, the Christian and the Islamic alike. The quest for inner and external peace is the quintessential feature of Buddhism and Jainism.

Even so, it can be questioned whether such invocations of peace are descriptions of the human condition circumscribed all around by human nature (and even nature itself) or only prescriptions for the human beings to aim at. Theories about human nature and its propensity , for peace and conflict are ridden with disagreements. Even on the basic question whether "there is some 'true' or innate nature of human beings.... Or there is no such 'essential' human nature?" there is no agreement among religious thinkers, philosophers and psychologists.

Thus, since time immemorial when humankind began to reflect on the human condition, the

problems of peace and conflict have continuously posed a challenge to thinkers. One could even say that it is the all-pervading presence of conflict that prompts the desire for peace and promotes the efforts for securing peace in human affairs.

Significantly enough, corresponding to the invocation of peace, all spiritual traditions also recognise the counterforce of evil as a perennial problem in human existence. In Christian theology this is called the problem of Theodicy. Why should there be violence and suffering in the world? Why should this arise as much from human agency as from natural causes? Can this be overcome in the human condition? Other religious and cultural traditions raised identical questions. All of us realise that these are the questions that go side by side with the ascriptions and prescriptions for Peace on Earth.

It is not only the religious thinkers that were seized with this conflicting pair of peace and conflict. Even in secular thought this problem occupies a central place. For example, in ancient India, the Lokayata theories (that rejected the religious quest as irrelevant to the human condition) grappled with the theme of the woes and tragedies of human being's existence. Likewise, other philosophical traditions while dismissing religion-based explanations of evil, sin and conflict, have all the same concentrated upon the human predicament of conflict and the prospects for peace in humanity's existence. With much of contemporary philosophy on the problems of peace and conflict distancing itself from the religious explanation, secularisation of thought in this field has become the primary paradigm. In this quest, Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology and Political Science have joined hands.

One can go to the extent of saying that the secular schools of thought replaced the spiritualist-oriented explanations as the latter, in many cases, have come to be regarded as neither useful in ameliorating the conflict condition, nor effective in bringing peace on earth. Some of the secular critiques have gone beyond being merely being sceptical about the spiritual standpoint. They hold religion and religious concerns themselves responsible for fostering conflict and thus acting as obstacles to peace. However, the scope of concern and the extent of diversity among the ideas relating to peace and conflict in the secularist paradigm are as varied and intense as they are in the religious discourse on the theme.

The two concepts, peace and conflict, remain enmeshed and it is difficult to identify which of the come first in the matrix of the human condition.

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## **2.2 HUMAN NATURE**

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While human nature is too broad and too general an explanation of human behaviour, a brief discussion does afford a good starting point to understand peace and conflict. Broadly, there are three views on human nature in the academic disciplines of psychology, anthropology, sociology and political science. These hold that human nature is: 1) essentially good and peaceful, 2) essentially bad and aggressive, and 3) transformed by social relationships. Though it is not possible to discuss the diverse aspects of these views, it is necessary at least to touch upon them briefly.

### **i) Human Nature is Essentially Peaceful**

The main source of this view lies in the fact that in all creation the human being is unique.

Endowed with a developed mind that is capable of thinking and 'knowing' that it can think, the human being is also gifted to think in terms of 'good' and 'bad'. This is usually called the capacity for **discrimination**, by which the ethical sense inheres in the humankind. Qualities like altruism (doing good to others), sympathy for others in distress, and pity for the suffering of fellow creatures are quite naturally attributed to our nature as human beings. It is in the context of possessing these 'noble' features that the human being is called a benign being. The notion of spirituality is strongly attached to this idea of the benign nature of the human being. Spirituality and its related idea of religion, trace all creation to a Divine power holding that the human being occupies a special place in God's creation. And it is this special bond between the human and the divine that provides the foundation for the benign view of human nature. What is important to note is that all religious traditions endorse this notion.

Even those that do not subscribe to the religious point of view acknowledge that the qualities of love, mercy and kindness are inherent to human nature. The ethical and altruistic nature, according to them, is in fact traceable to the process of the biological evolution of life and in particular to the evolution of man from the animal world.

As against the religious origins of the role of ethics in human relations, these secular critics argue that religion leads to conflicts and wars in the name of dogma and competing gods. What is called Humanism is closely associated with this critical thinking. According to it, Man by his very nature shapes his own destiny. The well-known formulation of the ancient Greek thinker, Protagoras, that "Man is the measure of all things", is regarded as expressing this humanist viewpoint. A further development of this idea was contributed by the idea of Progress, which gained great prominence in the eighteenth century Europe as a result of the weakening of the monopolistic hold of Christianity and the rise of modern science.

Humanism of this epoch enunciated that humankind is evolving constantly towards progressive stages in human thought and conduct and that the present is better than the past and the future will be better than the present. It can be seen how Humanism confirms, in an important sense, the role of the innate goodness in the thinking and doings of the humankind. Some prominent humanists held that the complete perfectibility of the humankind is possible by the sole efforts of themselves without the intervention of any supernatural / spiritual agency.

That this notion has very strong links to the role of the ethical spirit is further shown by the fact that this theory is also called Ethical Humanism or Rational Humanism.

## **ii) Human Nature is Essentially Aggressive**

Paradoxically, some aspects of the religious traditions as well as secular traditions also occupy the common ground that human nature is inherently aggressive.

In the religious traditions that notion exists side by side with the notion about man's benign instincts being endowed by God's grace. Religions seek to explain this coexistence of the two incompatible tendencies by diverse theories. Yet common to the notion that human nature is prone to exhibit 'conflict' is the concept of Evil in all existence. How can evil exist at all in God's creation is the challenge all religions grapple with. The common theme in

grappling with this challenge is that Good and Evil are in constant conflict though the hope of all religions is that ultimately Good will triumph.

The concept of Sin is closely connected with the notion of Evil. The Semitic religions (derived from the Jewish religion) explain Sin with reference to the Original Sin that God's first human creations, Adam and Eve committed in defying God's commands as a result of which He banished them from Paradise (which can be called the Realm of Pure Goodness) till Redemption is granted by God. Hinduism, on the other hand, explain sin **and** suffering broadly in terms the doctrine of Karma which holds that the conduct of men and women in their previous births **determines** their way of life and conduct in their current existence. As virtue and vice coexist, humankind should strive to follow the path of virtue. This is the main theme of the Hindu tradition.

Buddhism holds that 'Desire' is the source of constant human dissatisfaction, causing pain and conflicts within **human** relations. Curbing of desire is the way to avoid pain, conflict and suffering. It is also significant that Buddhism lays stress on non-violence as the supreme **dharma** or **duty**. The liberation of the soul **essentially** consists in attaining a state of abstinence from & **sire** and commitment to non-violence.

Thus we can note that the religious paradigm is greatly concerned with problems of peace and conflict. Their explanations in terms Sin, Karma, Desire, however, are concerned in **terms** of 'mysterious' origins not easily understandable in purely rational or secular terms.

**The** secular theorists say that it is precisely the existence of suffering and its '**unexplainable**' nature that should make us sceptical about the role of the supernatural, or God.

However, the point is that even the secularists and the **scientific** psychologists have to explain human beings' bad propensities. The latter hold that the human mind is so constructed (as it evolved) that various types of instincts and urges drive or motivate human beings to **external** acts which we call by the names of good and bad acts. Aggression in its various forms is the result of the latter condition of human living.

The theory of evolution propounded by Charles Darwin in the nineteenth century has, more or less, demonstrably **confirmed** this truth. Darwin further explained the role of aggression as a necessary aspect of evolution of living species by which some species survive and others perish. We have come to accept almost as truth his formulation that evolution progresses through the mechanism of the survival of the fittest. Aggression, thus, is a given condition in all evolution.

One point should be noted in this context. While evolutionary theory does state that the animal nature of man is a reality, the theory also states that the very process of evolution also leads to the development of certain organs' and through them certain 'faculties' in higher living organisms—the highest among them being the human being. The development of the 'brain' and its main faculty, 'thinking', is perhaps the most important manifestation in this process. In its turn, this faculty also carried with it the accompanying endowment, which is the power of discrimination and the capacity for love, mercy and compassion. Of course, the opposite qualities of hate and revenge are **also part and parcel** of the **human** kind. However, the capacity for discrimination **between** good and evil **also** holds out the **hope that in human behaviour the Good will exceed the Evil**

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the ideas about human nature are integrally related to the problem of the existence of peace-oriented and conflict-oriented conduct of men and women. While for the sake of analysis we treated the two subjects –human nature, and peace and conflict separately, in reality they are one and the same.

A closely connected issue is the problem of violence as a part of human nature. Here again there are diametrically opposed views among thinkers and experts. Some hold that by nature human being abhors violence and that violence is 'unnatural'. This is expressed both as a statement of 'fact' and as a normative or moral norm statement (or an 'ought' statement), that is, how human nature ought to be. Thinkers belonging to the 'pacifist' school of thought belong to this category. The emphasis on Shanti as the condition of human existence, for that matter universal existence in the ancient Indian tradition and Jesus Christ's preaching of non-violence, peace and good will are good examples and provide the foundations for peace and non-violence. Thinkers like Mahatma Gandhi built their thoughts and actions on these principles.

On the other hand there are thinkers that believe violence to be the 'natural' state of the human condition. Not only that. Some of them even state that violence is not only natural but that is moral also. To them the inherent tendencies in life's process cannot but result in violence. Violence is spontaneous and is constantly manifested. The French thinker, Georges Sorel, is a good instance of this category of thinkers. He differed from other thinkers like Karl Marx, who also did not condemn violence as 'immoral' but even assigned it a positive role in bettering the human condition. For Marx, the question of the morality or immorality of violence was irrelevant since the moral category in human life is in itself a false category. Sorel differed from Marx in holding that violence in human affairs is positively moral. We refer to Georges Sorel to highlight the intricate way in which the concept of violence is related to the concepts of good and evil and those of morality and immorality.

### **iii) Human Nature is Transformed by Social Relationships**

In one sense, this school of thought need not be separated from the two earlier ideas and should be treated as a continuation of the above two. Broadly speaking, this idea expresses the view that quite apart from the innate feature of human nature; it is the actions of men and women that give rise to the external manifestation of inherent natural tendencies in human beings. This is of course true, though it cannot always be the case that an action we normally regard as 'bad' is necessarily the result of the manifestation of a bad human nature, or that a 'good' action is due to a good aspect of human nature. As human beings we act, react to the actions of others and then assess or evaluate the actions of others (and, for that matter, our own actions) and designate them as 'good' or 'bad'. Thus, it is only when at least two human beings are involved in interaction that both the processes of evaluating actions for their good or bad consequences and of connecting them to individual human natures occur.

Purely from the 'social relations' point of view, then, human nature in the 'pure' sense of the individual nature is at best irrelevant or at worst illusory. Does individual human nature matter in the case of a person living all alone say, like a Robinson Crusoe as a castaway on an island? Does being 'good' or 'bad' matter in such a case, his actions being of no

consequence to another individual human being? How do his mental qualities – like kindness, love, cruelty, etc. matter when their effect on other human beings is not there to be evaluated?

Yet the objection to the above scenario suggests itself. Human nature has relevance even beyond the context of human-to-human inter-personal relationships. Love, kindness, cruelty, which we ordinarily designate as innate, do manifest in ~~relationships~~ with non-human environment. These qualities do get projected in man's dealings with animals and plants too. Nor is it a sentimental imagination to talk about human being's nature in its relationship with non-human life. Philosophers, and eminent naturalists do take cognisance of the inter-relationships and inter-actions between human beings and their non-human colleagues on this planet drawing very relevant conclusions about the nature of human nature, and even about the nature of the animal world.

## **2.3 PEACE**

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The state or condition of peace covers a very broad spectrum in human life (personal and social). Here we will not dwell upon all the aspects, but confine ourselves with the idea of peace in social relations both local and global, and the various solutions that seek to preserve peace.

### **i) Peace as Social Harmony**

The ultimate notion of peace would signify that every human being lives in peace with himself or herself, that is, without inner tensions. But inner peace for individuals is itself normally dependent upon peace in relations with others in social or natural domain. So also, peace in a society is, in its turn, conditioned by peace in and with neighbouring communities.

In actual practice; neither an individual nor a society lives in total harmony. Conflicting emotions and inter-personal tensions of one sort or another constantly disturb harmony. Therefore, the aspiration for peace is in a way automatically pegged at a lower level of expectation. For the same reason spontaneous prevalence of peace without attempts to sustain it by conscious effort is also almost impossible.

### **ii) Peace as avoidance of inter-personal conflict**

The aim of peace thus is containment of conflict. The strategies to limit conflict range from **peaceful methods** of conflict-resolution to the use of force by some sort of collective will of the community. We will examine this aspect in the next section. Here it would be useful to distinguish between 'avoiding' conflict and 'containing' conflict. In both cases, of course conflict between interacting individuals is taken as inevitable. In the case of conflict avoidance, efforts are made to avoid the causes of conflict as far as possible. In the second case, since avoidance of conflict altogether is not always possible, conflicts are sought to be contained or restricted. By this a society (small or big) through various degrees of collective strength, including the use of force, tries to limit the spread of conflict. Thus, social organisation is the most important step in preserving peace.

We know that forms of social organisation are many. Family, community, class, caste, tribe are good illustrations. One feature of all of these organisations is that they have a common function – that of maintaining peace within the organisation. One can even say that to organise is to preserve peace internally. In one manner or another, the institution of the family does that function and so do other larger social institutions like the tribe or the village. But it is also necessary to realize that these social institutions do not always succeed in maintaining peace. More so, they may come into conflict with each other. It is precisely to meet such situations that higher forms of social institutions originated, the highest among them being the political state which exercises wide-ranging authority and power.

## **2.4 STATE, SOCIETY AND PEACE**

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How the state came into being is the subject which constitutes a significant core of political and social theory. What is important to note for the purpose of our discussion is that the state, generally defined as "a society which is politically organised, has for its main purpose the preservation of peace, commonly expressed in terms of maintaining law and order.

It is also well to remember that the political state enjoys a monopoly in performing this function as no other institution or association in a given society has similar power and function to be the ultimate agency in maintaining peace. This general idea is expressed in legal terminology of sovereignty, which means that the state alone possesses the highest legitimacy, and other organisations in a society are subject to state control.

But the concept of the sovereignty of the State has been under challenge for a number of reasons. Chief among these are: (i) that in making the state so conceptually powerful, the concept ignores the role of other associations in contributing to the peace and welfare of the society and (ii) it does not recognize the need for external control over the state in its dealings with other states and thus the concept of state sovereignty promotes the occasion for inter-state conflict and hinders the promotion of international peace. We will elaborate on this later. Here it suffices to note that the concept of sovereignty is still strong, continuing to endow the political state with strong authority and power.

The first objection regarding the over powering authority that sovereignty attributes to the state can itself be analysed in different ways. Other associations within a society do also perform functions that promote amity and peace among the people. Some of these are sanctioned by custom and some directly authorised by the state itself. But if social groups can themselves get involved in quarrels, the State as the upholder of law and order steps into the picture as almost the only agency to preserve peace in society as a whole. As modernity advances, with faster rates of change in social relations, social structures become more complex bringing new challenges to the fragile fabric of peace. And the modern state has to cope with them.

The process of modernisation may generate other forces which put a premium on economic and social tensions. The demands, of workers for job security and better wages, of hitherto backward classes for greater opportunities for economic and social advancement, and in general of diverse other social groups for justice and advancement constitute the primary drive for competition expectations and claims of groups. The increasing demands of social and economic groups which is generally called as the 'revolution in rising expectations' has

been both the cause and consequence of the well known idea of the Welfare State. We all know that the welfare state typically means a state with largely expanded functions. Whereas in the past the function of the state was deemed to be limited to the task of maintaining "law and order" only. the Welfare State which came into being in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with varying degrees. undertakes the broader tasks of promoting health, education and well-being of the members of the society. While it is true that the idea of the welfare state has begun to recede in many parts of the globe in the last decade or so, the older notion that the state's role was strictly confined to maintaining law and order has vanished. Even countries that publicly oppose or withdraw from various welfare functions cannot, in practice. do away with a great many of such functions. Thus, in one manner or another, welfare-state has now come to stay.

The debate over the welfare state has a very significant bearing on the concept of peace and the state's role in preserving and promoting it. If earlier maintenance of 'law and order' was equated with peace in society, then that concept of peace can itself be regarded as a minimal concept of peace. And in contemporary times when the essence of the welfare state is made an inherent part of the state's function the state's role in the preservation and promotion of peace has undergone a great change. That being peace is no longer conceived as containing conflict. On the contrary, 'peace' now is conceived as creating positive conditions that contribute to avoiding and even totally eliminating conflict. To be sure, this is nowhere totally realizable, but the important point is that society and state are now entrusted with new responsibilities in the task of promoting peace.

It should also be recognized that as the state has assumed, whether explicitly or implicitly, more and more functions, the very same social dynamics that caused the expansion of the state also pushed the other institutions in society to assert themselves. One way of interpreting this process is to understand that often the State alone is at a loss to cater to all the needs of society. Given this situation other structures in society step in to perform some of the important functions. In recent decades society has come to assert its primary authority over state. Political and social theorists call this development as the emergence (or even resurgence) of Civil Society. In this trend, once again we can identify the quest for peace in society. The critique against the state is that it has either failed to deliver the prospects for peace or, worse, its nature of functioning is in fact engendering conflict and endangering peace. Civil Society theorists affirm that non-state actors in the shape of diverse social groupings are standing forth increasingly in attending to the appropriate rearrangement of social needs and relationships with the aim of bringing about a more just social order and peace. The critics do concede that the diverse institutions. that are rather loosely designated as constituting Civil Society, can and do act at cross purposes and that consequently the lofty purpose of achieving a just social order may be self-defeating. There is no definitive consensus on this issue.

It is in this connection that we should turn to describe the methods by which the traditional State on one hand and the contemporary Civil Society on the other seek to achieve peace, either by controlling or avoiding conflict.

## **2.5 STATE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE**

The state has gradually evolved to provide a framework to orderly organisation of society

Views differ whether the 'orderliness' is only in the interest of a single segment of society (like the rich, the strong, etc) or in the general interest of the society as a whole. Whatever may be the degrees of truth that such contending views may contain, it cannot be denied that the state provides a binding framework to hold the society together. And this framework is justified ostensibly to maintain law and order.

This is the reason why that the state's functions centres around 'Law'. In fact, whatever the state does it does so through law. Lord Bryce, a famous constitutional and political theorist characterised the state as King Midas, in that whatever it touches it converts into law. The three organs of the state- the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary- have the law creating, law implementation and law interpreting functions. It needs to be mentioned that in the long history of human society and the state a distinct division of the three organs had not always been there. Such a division had only been conceptual. It is only in modern times that political philosophers not only specifically identified these three functions, but further concluded that for the better ordering of the State and society the three functions be performed by three separate and distinct structures.

We have already mentioned that the purpose of the State is to hold the society together. Since policies of persuasion, the role of custom and tradition and the hold of morality in human relationships play a very significant part in keeping society, the state very much relies on their role. However, it is when tensions and conflicts overtly threaten social order that state which has an exclusive right to the use of force, resorts to the use of force on behalf of the society. Viewed thus, the state's role in regulating society seems to be not so much in promoting peace as much with containing conflict.

The following devices accomplish the task of containing conflict:

- 1) By passing a framework of laws, rules and regulations. These laws and rules attempt to lay down the limits for actions of individuals and groups with a view to ensure that such actions do not disturb social peace
- 2) By the establishment of a vast network of administrative mechanism to execute the above mentioned laws and regulations. Prominent among the executive branch is the police branch, which is entrusted with controlling and apprehending crime in society. It is well recognized everywhere that crime is the most explicit and visible manifestation of disturbance to peace. Prevention of crime is therefore recognized as the maintenance of minimal peace in any society. The other branches of the administrative network implement, oversee and monitor the observation of other laws and rules.

## **Positive Functions**

The activities of the State are not confined to prohibiting and compelling the activities of the individuals in a society. Many of them also relate to promoting human activity conducive to peaceful living. For the purpose of analysis such state activity may be divided into two categories.

- 1) Promoting individual activities that contribute to social peace like creating conditions for mutual tolerance of differing ways of thinking and living in a social order. The spread of

health and education is essential for the generation of such a social environment. The mobilisation of individual disposition to be tolerant towards each other and show their good will for the social good thus constitutes a very important element in preserving peace.

- 2) The State has also the obligation not merely to persuade the citizens to act to promote social good but also to undertake positive functions, such as promotion of environmental protection for social health and peace through an ecologically safeguarded environment.

Closely connected with the above-mentioned trend of the modern state with enlarged conception of peace is the commitment to human rights. This commitment, as we know, is a more recent one, being an offshoot of the progressive development of democratic theory and practice. Human Rights guarantee the citizens not only protection from the excesses of the state and society but also positive entitlements and facilities for individual growth. Here lies a further endorsement of the incorporation of the maximal or optimal concern for peace by the State. For instance, the Indian constitution, which should be considered as the philosophical and socio-political framework for the Indian state incorporates as its main commitment the chapter on **Fundamental Rights** which provides for guarantees against state interference with basic individual rights as well as positive commitment from the state to ensure a just social order in which these rights can be accessed by all sections of the society—including those that are socially and educationally backward. Further, the constitution also incorporates a chapter on **Directive Principles of State Policy** which direct or enjoin the State to pursue policies that promote a healthier natural and material environment as well as ensure a just distribution of the material resources of the society. Even though the Fundamental Rights provisions and the Directive Principles provisions slightly differ in the degree of their enforceability, they can together be regarded as one great charter embodying the commitment to a broad conception of peace in society.

## **2.6 THE CIVIL SOCIETY DIMENSION AND PEACE**

In the preceding pages the role of the political state as the final agency dealing with conflict in society is discussed. Its efforts towards restoring peace through the gradual evolution of diverse institutional devices are also analysed. Yet, the fact remains that conflict in society is always present and the state it seems, always has to cope with this given situation. There are, however, other institutions in the society which also play a role in containing conflict and restoring peace. This set of institutions, sometimes networks of institutions, is called Civil Society.

The theory of the relationship between the state and civil society is a changing one. Over the last three centuries there have been varying theories about this relationship. We will examine this in some detail in the next unit dealing with intra-societal and inter-societal conflict. Here it suffices to note that in recent decades the civil society, as an entity distinct from the state, has emerged as a strong force reckoning with conflict-resolution. Partly this is due to the perception among some sections of the societies within states that the latter are not capable enough to cope with conflict, or are themselves pursuing socio-economic policies directly or indirectly contributing to conflict. Whatever be the precise reasons, the point is that diverse associations, groups and organizations now operate attending to various functions in the social sphere. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community welfare organisations, and other such institutions, undertake many programme? of work ranging

from public health promotion, minority rig its protection, providing legal aid to poor people, making people aware of their rights, acting as watch-dogs on governments, to promoting national integration. They are mostly non-profit-making institutions deriving funding from charitable trusts both from within the country and abroad. In this role, some of the NGOs act as complimentary organs to government. Some others do pursue programmes in competition to governmental agencies and some even act as adversary institutions challenging the state's institutions. These issues will be examined further in the next unit.

## 2.7 NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE

In the foregoing pages the terms peace and conflict are clarified. It would bear some repetition to state that ideally peace is a much wider concept than the absence of conflict. At the same time, there is the big constraint that conflict, whether pertaining to the individual innerself, or to conflict between individuals, or to conflicts between communities, cannot be totally eliminated. What can be done is to contain conflict. Towards this goal all civilizations have made variety of efforts either through religious prescriptions or other ideological and institutional devices.

It is in the context of the ineradicability of conflict that a theoretical distinction between negative and positive conceptions of peace arises. Kenneth Boulding, one of the pioneers of Peace Research, makes a significant analysis of the positive and negative aspects of peace. He says, "on the positive side, peace signifies a condition of good management, orderly resolution of conflict, harmony ~~associated~~ with mature relationships, gentleness, and love. On the negative side, it is conceived as the absence of something –the absence of turmoil, tension, conflict, and war."

It will be observed that Boulding is not identifying positive peace with a state of affair! where all tensions and conflicts are eliminated. On the contrary it is his idea of negative peace that is conceived as the absence of turmoil and conflict. It is to be noted that to him positive peace is identified with "good management of conflict." Here, the adjective "good", is very critical to analysis. For even in negative peace, there is the task of management of conflict. But this management can also take the form of ruthless suppression of conflict by the state. After all, often the word 'pacification' is used to connote establishment of peace by militarily suppressing conflict. Or, conflict is also managed by pacification through appeasement of the enemies. At the farthest extreme is the peace of the grave. Boulding himself reminds of the fact that the phrase, Rest in Peace, engraved on tombstones connotes the "peace of emptiness" or one of "withdrawal from reality". Thus, neither ruthless pacification, nor appeasement, nor the peace of emptiness can remotely be equated with peace in the positive sense. In other words, it is the way of managing conflict that is central to the distinction between positive and negative conceptions of peace and not simply the presence or absence of conflict.

Another way of distinguishing negative and positive peace, slightly at variance with Boulding's analysis is to regard that the negative concept refers to minimalisation of conflict at all levels

if not its complete elimination. Positive peace, on the other hand would refer to a condition where concerted efforts are made to circumvent the manifest and latent effects of conflict conditions. It should be realized that even this distinction between negative and positive peace does not resemble a zero-sum game situation because ever, under the positive category the total absence of conflict is not categorically implied. Given this conceptual difficulty, it would be proper to say that negative and positive conceptions of peace resemble a mini-max game situation wherein under the negative category a more restricted scope for containing conflict is implied. whereas under the positive category a far more comprehensive successful endeavour is implied in tackling conflict. The examples of the laissez faire state, popularly called the 'law and order' or 'police state' on the one hand, and the 'welfare state', on the other, illustrate our point well. The first category denotes the negative conception of peace, while the second denotes the positive conception.

The dichotomy is even more relevant at the inter-state or international plane. If instead of the words 'conflict' and 'peace' we employ the words 'war' and 'peace' the dichotomy becomes more apparent. It is already noted that mere absence of war does not result in the sustained prevalence of peace, though the former is the necessary condition for the latter. The latter needs a more sufficient set of conditions. This aspect of the problem will figure in the following unit, where the subjects of intra-state and inter-state conflicts are discussed.

## **2.8 SUMMARY**

We began this unit by examining the origins of the concern with peace and conflict and the interconnectedness of these concepts. As we saw, it is rather difficult to state which concept – peace or conflict – comes first. While citing broad instances of spiritual and religious thinking linking peace and conflict with the concepts of good and evil, virtue and vice we have also referred to the relationship between peace and conflict in the individual mental processes and their manifestation in the interactions among individuals in societies – large and small.

The second section analysed peace and conflict as pertaining to the social order. It focused on the various methods by which society copes with the challenges of peace and conflict. As we noted, both the state as well civil society have a role in controlling and even prevention of social strife. The state (also loosely called the government) as the chief regulatory agency has been in existence since time immemorial in almost all societies. As we noted, the state has been more concerned with containing conflict than in avoiding or preventing conflict. And containing conflict is expressed in terms of the very familiar phrase, maintenance of law and order – which also is characterised as the minimalist or minimal conception of peace. With the rise of the welfare state, the functions of the state have expanded. With this, there has been a broadening of the conception of peace and conflict.

The unit also discussed the concepts of negative and positive peace and their varying meanings. What emerges from the analysis is that in actual practice 'peace' can best be discussed in terms of absence or prevention of conflict – though the phrase prevention of conflict is itself a very broad term open to narrower or broader stand points.

## **2.9 EXERCISES**

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- 1) Explain how the nature of state has a bearing on the conception of peace and conflict.
- 2) Analyse how the state in its historical development functioned in managing with conflict **and** promoting peace in society.
- 3) Explain the role of civil society as an agency of conflict resolution.
- 4) Describe Kenneth Boulding's conception of negative and positive peace.
- 5) Explain the various meanings of the concepts of negative and positive peace.

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# **UNIT 3 NATURE AND FORMS OF CONFLICT: INTRA-STATE, INTER-STATE AND GLOBAL**

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## **Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Intra-societal Conflict
  - 3.2.1 Inter-personal Conflict
  - 3.2.2 Causes of Intra-societal Conflict
- 3.3 State and Management of Intra-state Conflict
- 3.4 Categories of Conflict at the Intra-societal Level
- 3.5 Civil Society in Conflict Containment and Resolution
  - 3.5.1 The Contextuality of Civil Society
  - 3.5.2 Contemporary Civil Society Theory and Practice
  - 3.5.3 Civil Society and Conflict Resolution
- 3.6 Inter-State Conflict
- 3.7 Reflections on the Phenomena of War
  - 3.7.1 Waltz's Analysis of War
  - 3.7.2 Clausewitz's Theory of War
  - 3.7.3 Other Philosophies of War
  - 3.7.4 The Doctrine of Just War
- 3.8 Global Wars
  - 3.8.1 The Qualitative Dimension of Global Wars
  - 3.8.2 Nuclear Weapons and Cascades of Consequences
  - 3.8.3 International Terrorism – A Threat for Global War
  - 3.8.4 Clash of Civilizations and Global Wars
- 3.9 The Persistence of Uncertainty about its Existence
- 3.10 Summary
- 3.11 Exercises

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## **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The preceding Unit dealt with Peace and Conflict as concepts, their intricate relationship and the efforts human beings made in limiting conflict in various ways. In this Unit we will proceed to discuss more concretely the efforts made to cope and deal with conflict in

human relations. Before we do so. it is useful to clarify the two phrases Nature and Forms of Conflict.

**Forms** of conflict usually refer to levels of **conflict**. For example, intra-state conflict relates to tensions and quarrels that occur within a state whereas inter-state conflict signifies quarrels, at times leading to wars between **states/countries**. Here the two types of conflicts are at two distinct levels. The term global conflict is a **new** term which can be understood as meaning somewhat different from inter-state **conflict** though it partakes of many characteristics of inter-state conflict. The word 'nature' on the other hand refers to a qualitative dimension. The qualitative nature of inter-state conflict is entirely different from the nature of intra-state conflict. Wars. for instance, are far more serious than violent quarrels that often take place within a country, even though some of them (insurrection and civil war) more or less resemble a war situation.

When it is said that the nature or quality of inter-state conflict is far more serious than intra-state conflict we are not saying that the former is quantitatively more than the latter. As a matter of fact, intra-state conflict is much more frequent than inter-state conflict. Yet, it is recognised that wars are infinitely more dangerous than crimes committed in societies, however serious they may be. This is **essentially** the qualitative difference between the two. And this qualitative difference relates to diverse factors, some of which can be mentioned. First, intra-state conflict has for long **been** under organised control, whereas inter-state conflict still largely remains without effectively organised control. **Secondly**, the extent and intensity of inter-state conflict is vastly more threatening to societies **than** ,nus-state conflict usually **inflicts**. Wars. for instance, cause horrendously high damage to society—the most important being the loss of human life and property (whether public **or** private). Modern wars have become even more destructive with the increased **geographical** reach and destructive power of weapons. It is not surprising that eminent **historians** and thinkers since ancient times regarded organised war **as** unnatural.

## **3.2 INTRA-SOCIETAL CONFLICT**

As we saw in the previous unit, conflict at the inter-personal level constitutes the more immediately relevant factor, as distinct from purely **intra-personal** level of conflict (i.e. conflicts that go on within individuals). Though such intra-personal **conflicts** do have their external manifestations in the shape of **inter-personal** tensions **often** times boiling out into conflicts, the psychological, physical. and pathological causes of internal conflicts within individuals cannot be discussed at length for our present context of analysis. We will confine our attention to inter-personal conflict as a conditioning **factor** to the larger canvass .of intra-societal conflict.

### **3.2.1 Inter-personal Conflict**

Internal personal conflicts can be regarded as the basic **form** of intra-societal conflicts. They are-the most common recurrences in all societies. It has already been noticed how this occurs either due to innate human nature or due to the clash of human natures when individuals enter into relationships either at the family or wider community levels. This can be regarded as the basic form of intra-societal conflict. Even at this plane of interaction, **issues** of sharing available resources like food, water, property and **sharing** of affections

and mutual respect play an important role in creating these conflicts. Whether inequalities in access to resources (material or non-material) are real or perceived, they are the very critical causes acting and provoking human nature in its interactions with others. It should be noted that this factor as a source of conflict pervades the entire gamut of human relationships from inter-personal to intra-societal to inter-societal.

Inter-personal conflicts do frequently escalate from being claims to property to violent quarrels. The latter assume, sometimes, criminal proportions. As the interaction among groups grows larger and wider obviously, the role of the unequal access factor increases. In that event, conflicts assume sharper dimensions. For this reason, intra-societal tensions and conflicts impinge on societal peace in a more pronounced manner. And this fact has a bearing on the nature of conflict-resolution or containment.

At the family and domestic levels, conflict resolution ordinarily is managed at those levels itself through the intervention of the elders or relatives. When disputes become more intense and intractable for settlement within the family the role of the state enters into the picture. In the previous unit it is mentioned how the establishment of the legal and the judicial systems by the state since ages past is a mechanism for conflict resolution. The 'law' so established is itself a combination of custom, usage and tradition and codified laws. The last category is what we call formal legislation made by legislatures, whether in the shape of all-powerful kings in ancient times or democratically elected legislative assemblies in modern times. The coming of democracy and the democratic legislature constitutes an important step in the participation of common men and women in making laws and through them participating in the process of conflict-resolution in their society.

### **3.2.2 Causes of Intra-societal Conflict**

Family quarrels and feuds in the context of the larger social functions can be regarded as low-level areas of conflict. In larger groupings like villages and tribes, quarrels pertaining to water-resource, sharing of pastures or wells and river waters assume a high level of conflict. Even in hunting societies, disputes about the spoils of the hunt frequently result in violent clashes. And at the stage of settled agricultural societies, quarrels about landed property become the stock-in-trade of societal conflict. It is these type of conflicts that are generally regarded as the widely visible manifestation of intra-societal conflict encompassing in a vertical manner family disputes, community and group conflicts that affect the peace and stability of a society as a whole.

It is in view of this function of private property in causing conflict that Rousseau in his work *The Social Contract*, expressed the radical view that the person who fixed poles around a piece of land and called it his own was really the prime originator of social conflict. Later, Proudhon voiced the even more radical view that 'property is theft'. Of course, not all thinkers are as vehemently critical of private property as source of conflict. Yet there can be no doubt that in spite of positive contribution to civilization's progress, the institution of private property is a major factor in conflict generation in society.

Along with property, there are other important causes of conflict. Human groups acquire diverse types of identities. The phenomenon of the function of separate identities in societies is well recognized. Identities based on religion, caste, language are the most common

phenomenon. Affiliation with these identities and contradictions between rival centres of loyalty often generate competition, tension and conflict between different identity groups.

It is not as if these separatist loyalties do not coexist in the larger societies. As a matter of fact, many of the societies in the past and present have experienced the phenomenon of large multiple communities living within the fold of a single state. The state adopts diverse devices to hold itself together, devices ranging from adopting policies of **accommodating** competing claims of these social groups to using coercion of various degrees to contain the divisive effect of these claims. It is important to **recognise** that separatist and competing loyalties can sometimes threaten the very survival of the state. The state's capacity for conflict resolution at this plane, therefore, assumes critical importance.

In discussing the role of a society organised as a state in coping with the various interests, purposes and group loyalties of its constituent individuals, the theoretical formulation of David Easton, a renowned political scientist needs mention. Easton in describing the nature of the activity, usually called politics, which the state exists to perform, defined politics as the activity pertaining to 'the authoritative allocation of values in society'. The implication of this definition is very instructive of the nature and limits of the state's role. Firstly, the state is an agent for a society as a whole and second, its role is the 'authoritative allocation of values' among the members of the society. The use of the words 'authoritative' and 'values' is most significant. 'Authoritative' suggests finality in deciding who gets what in a state. 'Values' refer to the various things that a human being wants, desires, and aspires for. These desires range from material things to emotional and intellectual wants like affection from those near-and-dear and respect from other sections of society as well as, in many cases, spiritual or moral satisfactions.

The pursuits of these values result in **some** getting more satisfactions and rewards and some less. Usually not all get what all they want. This process, without ever our noticing it, goes on and on. In fact, when we reflect closely— all societal intercourse throughout history consisted and consists in the pursuit of these values by human beings. The family, the tribe, the village, larger communities informally and in different ways have been discharging this function of distributing values. It is important to remember that there has always been unequal 'distribution' among people. Some feel dissatisfied that they get less of some values and **some** throughout history were denied most of these for generations. What we today call the deprived sections were and are a common feature at all times and places. Still the larger society manages to run, or oversee, the distribution system.

But at certain points of time, protests reach a level when some authority has to settle the issue by force or persuasion and impose a solution. This is what can be called the 'authoritative allocation of values' as different from informal allocations going on. And this task of authoritatively settling claims, protests, violent clashes, even revolutions, is performed by the State—on behalf of society. Easton's definition has the merit of emphasising the point that while the state is a society politically or legally organised its function of maintaining law and order consists in managing conflicts in society so as ultimately to decide or accommodate social arrangements under which people pursue values with different degrees of success. That is why Harold J. Lasswell, a well known social scientist called politics as the study of who gets what, when and how.

The above discussion, firstly, makes clear the source of intra-state or inter-societal conflicts; secondly, it points to the fact that in the daily course of human activity in society, dissatisfactions and conflicts keep arising in matters relating to distribution of property, wealth and social status, recognition etc.; and thirdly, that the state comes into the picture at the stage when the conflicts become so serious as to call for state (legal) intervention.

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### **3.3 STATE AND MANAGEMENT OF INTRA-STATE CONFLICT**

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In this context, we should also remember that the state's role is really directed towards correcting or making readjustments in social conflicts. The state indeed protects the status-quo for most of the time. In this role, one can even say it is the agent of a section of the society (the section that wield power and influence in it) to maintain law and order. But, then, the state also steps in at times to readjust the socio-economic order or reconcile rival claims to religious, cultural and ethnic recognition.

The state has a wide infrastructural network to deal with intra-state conflict situations, ranging from the ones like family quarrels assuming violent proportions, the ubiquitous crime as commonly understood, to group violence, to **insurrection** and revolutionary violence. For, the executive branch, the legislative wing and the judicial system are but integral parts of this network.

The Executive branch is the immediate agent of conflict resolution. It contains intra-state conflict through the instrumentality of existing law. In this sense, it is the status-quo maintenance organ. And the police are its monopoly sub-agents, with the civil service having the role of overall supervision. The Legislative branch has the function of making laws. In a democracy, say of the liberal democratic nature, it is regarded as the primary organ of the state to create the framework for curtailing, reducing and avoiding conflict. Very roughly, this function can be sub-divided into two parts. The first one relates to changing laws to ensure that they are capable of curtailing conflict. The second relates to the more important role of changing the laws to ensure better social and economic environment conducive to the avoidance of social conflict. The Judiciary has a complex role in conflict resolution. The most common instances of conflict-resolution are the settlements of cases between private individuals which are mostly of the civil nature. It should be remembered that the origins of this function as part of the state function was itself a revolutionary step in societies organising themselves as accredited agents of conflict resolution. It also has the narrower function of deciding criminal cases in which the state prosecutes criminals. In addition, in the very process of interpreting authoritatively the laws and a host of rules and regulations flowing from them, the judiciary has an in-built role of not only clarifying what the laws are but also, to some extent, altering the import of the words used in the laws. This the courts do to make the laws suit altered social circumstances. The courts do not always make this intention so clear because their role is traditionally confined to the reading of the words of statutes, and rules and regulations. But, all the same, this type of adaptive interpretation is recognised to be an accepted practice in our times.

However, situations do arise when the overall economic and social resources redistribution mechanisms of the state may not be able to contain conflict-engendering situations. It is in such situations, serious crisis in state and society can be said to occur. Even in such situations where pockets of dissent, resistance to the state can continue to exist, the state can, in general, survive. But when these sources of conflict, like religious or ethnic strife, economic struggle among the rich and poor, reach very severe levels, intra-societal conflict can become uncontrollable. Such cases of strife are called by different names like Insurrection, Revolution or Civil War depending upon the level of conflict.

In recent years, the idea of a 'failed state' has come into use. Scholars cannot agree how to define the term, but most concur that state failure is one of the many challenges that the world order faces. Broadly speaking, states that have lost control or losing control over their own territory and are incapable of providing even the most basic services to their people fall under this category. In old-fashioned language, this is one aspect of failing to keep law and order. But it is much more than that. One way or another, it is linked with the state failing to sustain the authoritative allocation of the societies resources or even in appearing to be attempting to do so. This becomes a breeding ground for various types of intra-societal conflicts like insurrection and civil wars.

The World Bank lists about 30 "low-income countries under stress". The phrase 'fragile' state is also used to describe states severely challenged in sustaining themselves. States can fail because of external shocks, or they can decay from within or both. For example, Afghanistan and Angola collapsed when the external powers controlling them suddenly withdrew. In Sierra Leone and the Congo, the state was subjected to loot and thugery mostly by internal disorder thus generating rebellion and ultimately a collapse. Civil war, in one form or another is the final symptom of state failure.

How to mend a failed state? In the past, the failed state attracted intervention usually from a relatively powerful neighbour. International law had no definite norm to judge the legitimacy of such intervention. However, due to increasing recognition of the international community's responsibility towards its members, United Nations and regional organisations intervene (like the Organisation of African States in the case of crisis-ridden states like Liberia, Sudan and Somalia) both with military force to stop civil war and with financial aid to build up the basic infrastructure of the state. Other international humanitarian aid and human rights agencies are making efforts to provide relief and restore law and order

Even more important is the international community's recent initiatives in punishing perpetrators of intra-societal conflict. Internal rebellions and civil war conditions are both the cause and consequence of ruthless military leaders or civilian dictators resorting to genocide on their antagonists. Those responsible for perpetrating social conflicts, as in Rwanda, Serbia and Kosovo in the last decade are tried by international criminal courts. The setting up of the International Criminal Court at the Hague in 1998 is a new precedent in the international society's role in the process of intra-societal conflict resolution. This is a far-reaching development because intra-societal conflict, until recently, was regarded as an exclusive concern of the state and outside intervention as quite inadmissible. The doctrine of state sovereignty strongly buttressed this attitude.

## **3.4 CATEGORIES OF CONFLICT AT THE INTRASOCIETAL LEVEL**

From the above discussion on how the intra-societal conflicts impinging on societal peace and mechanisms adopted by states to cope with them, we may conveniently divide the nature of conflict in the intra-societal plane into two categories: micro-level conflict and macro level conflict.

### **Micro-Level Conflict**

The micro-level category constitutes endemic and continuous tensions, quarrels and low-intensity violence. Family disputes, group-clashes and crimes like theft, infliction of injury and even murder can be classified under this category. Even in this regard, in contemporary times, forms of family conflicts not taken cognizance of in the past are noticed. Ill-treatment of women by men-folk and neglect of physically and mentally challenged persons by families are now regarded as unacceptable. Hence society takes measures to prevent these injustices. Micro level conflicts, though constituting less of a threat to the survival of society itself, occupy considerable part of the society's attention and action. This fact can be understood from the fact that a large section of the state's apparatus is devoted for resolving or containing the micro-level conflicts. The police, the various types of courts, the executive authority of the state and the countless number of laws and regulations the state enacts are intended to serve this very purpose. In fact, all these problems and the intended solutions are regarded as rather routine in nature.

### **Macro-Level Conflict**

The macro-level category of intra-societal conflict is less frequent in a normal society's existence. Examples of this category are: frequent clashes between large sections of people, endemic labour unrest, inter-religious, inter-ethnic and inter-linguistic disputes. Here also the instrumentalities of the state mentioned above play a crucial role in avoiding, resolving or containing the conflict. But the macro-level category of conflict is more of a challenge to the society and the state. Such is the importance attached to this conflict that a state's health and strength is measured by its effectiveness to deal with this. However, states in dealing with this category of conflicts may themselves be tempted to resort to harsh measures in suppressing, violence Terms like 'state violence' or 'state terrorism' which have entered into common use underscore this aspect of societal violence. In fact, Human Rights activists are concerned that retaliatory violence by the state is as reprehensible, or even more so, than conflict generated by anti-late sections within the larger society.

While 'mature' or developed societies are credited with the ability to successfully tackle this, they have not been entirely effective in doing so. For example, the United Kingdom (Britain), which is a mature society, has not been able to solve the problem of Northern Ireland, a problem of conflict between Protestant and Catholic communities, which is in existence for well over half a century. Of course in new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America these conflicts are more intense and problematic. While societies here are quite old in terms of their existence, they are quite new as political entities, i.e. as states. That is why some sociologists call them as 'old societies and new states'. Almost all these new

states which are witnessing rapid socio-economic changes have to reckon with assertion of identities (religious, ethnic, linguistic and such other) among their people often leading to intra-societal conflicts. The manifestation of these identify conflicts in different ways and the stages of escalation of these conflicts are dealt in a separate unit.

## **3.5 CIVIL SOCIETY IN CONFLICT CONTAINMENT AND RESOLUTION**

The assertion of different segments of the society representing diverse public interests is the phenomenon we have Identified as a major developmefit in recent decades. This is what has come to be called the emergence of Civil Society, as distinct from the state. As David E. Apter points out civil society "refers to those net-works of society (such as voluntary organisations, non-governmental organisations, private educational and religious facilities, etc). How it intervenes, and the way its power is delimited defines the type of character of the state (democratic, authoritarian, etc.)... To the degree to which government intervenes in civil society we speak of the strong "state",... that is, one where government accepts a high level of responsibilities for the welfare of its citizens. Where the responsibilities are fulfilled by bodies outside the state we speak of a 'strong civil society'. There is, however, no clear or even necessary correspondence between government intervention and social benefit." John Keane, a renowned authority on civil society, gives even a broader definition of civil society when he says that "... it properly refers to a dynamic non-governmental system of interconnected socio-economic institutions that straddle the whole earth..."

These networks supplement and complement the role of the state. Some times, they would even have a conflicting role vis-a-vis the state. Some of them perform welfare activities as complementary to the states' policies. Some others enter fields of activity not covered by governmental agencies. There are yet others, particularly those NGOs which seek to promote human rights, whose objects and activities may constantly challenge the policies of the political state.

### **3.5.1 The Contextuality of Civil Society**

The evolution of civil society in its relationship with the state – has undergone major transformations in the modern period itself. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the phrase civil society was coterminous with the word 'state'. Thus, different European language terms, like *societas civilis*, *societate civile*, *bürgerliche gesellschaft*, were interchangeable terms with the State. In this phase, the ancient Roman (and the earlier Greek) identification of *societas civilis* with the state provided a continuity.

This concept of civil society began to implode after the middle of the eighteenth century when civil society and the state were seen as different entities. Civil society was identified more with the sphere of economic-social relations and the state with the political (and legal) sphere. It should be remembered that this was the period when economic capitalism emphasising free-trade philosophy came into play and the state was expected to keep away from this sphere. This phase extended for over a century.

Then, by about the middle of the nineteenth century the anti-slavery movement of the

distinction between civil society and the state was weakened. The reinstatement of the state's pre-eminence can be witnessed in the popularisation of the legal concept of sovereignty as an attribute solely belonging to the state conferring it with the power to control all other parts of the social sphere. The 'state' therefore became the supreme institution in and of the society. In one sense this phase has its hold right upto the contemporary times. For instance, the Welfare State concept and the authoritarian concept of state power, endow the state with over-arching power and influence over society.

However, it is not as though the civil society did not react to a rear guard action against the state concept. What in political theory is called 'pluralism', for example, formulated that the state is just one among many other social institution, though, at best, it maybe regarded as the 'first among other equals'. The late nineteenth and the twentieth century saw state power and pluralism in constant contests for theoretical and practical dominance. The contest on the whole went in favour of the state. In the last decade of the Twentieth century, however, civil society projected itself with a new sharpness.

### **3.5.2 Contemporary Civil Society Theory and Practice**

The immediate occasion for the projection of civil society in the contemporary decades could be traced to the recession of the state from some of its earlier functions. To a great extent, this is a trend accompanying the globalisation process. It is well known that globalisation promotes the expansion of private sector and puts pressure on the political state to withdraw from the economic aspect of society. This trend, in its turn left large groups of people vulnerable to socio-economic distress. It is to cater to these interests that NGOs have emerged in a big way.

But apart from globalisation, another important cause for civil society's rise to prominence is the success of its challenge against the communist totalitarian states in the Eastern European countries. There the communist states so completely dominated society that it gave rise to the joke that under communism instead of the state withering away, it is the civil society that was made to wither with a vengeance. Trade unions banned by the states, groups of intellectuals persecuted by the governments rose against the communist system with courage and perseverance and ultimately succeeded in dismantling the system. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, inaugurated this era. The Soviet Union, the dominant power in the system; itself slowly opened up primarily due to the policies of Perestroika (restructuring) and Glasnost (openness) pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev. These loosened the stranglehold of the communist system over Eastern Europe. Thus, the liberation of Eastern Europe by late 20<sup>th</sup> century is regarded as the triumph of the civil society over the state.

It should be understood that the recent resurgence of the civil society is not only due to the over reaching totalitarianism of communist state; Popular reactions to the regimes of right-oriented authoritarian dictatorships are as much responsible to this trend. In Latin America, in particular, the frequent presence of military dictatorships produced strong resentment among diverse segments of those societies resulting in the formation of human rights groups, many led by Church leaders and other organisations, as a manifestation of the civil society dimensions. These are the over-arching responses of civil society in challenging the state.

In liberal democracies, civil society plays even a more sustained role though it does not have the same anti-state projection as it did in former communist Europe or authoritarian Latin American regimes. An important study (Keane, 1998) says that 'the' civil society became the refuge of liberal theory and that the civil society perspective constitutes the basic consensus of enlightened democracies'.

The significance of civil society in contemporary political and social theory has become so pervasive that in the sub-discipline of Comparative Politics within Political Science studies, it became a major topic. It is viewed as a major institutional device in participatory democracy. So much so, "civil society and allied social movements are theorised as politicising some of the activity of the state from a position outside the state institutions." It is also regarded as an answer to state activity becoming largely technicalised beyond the comprehension of the average citizen.

### 3.5.3 Civil Society and Conflict Resolution

From the above discussion of civil society it could be inferred how civil society institutions perform a significant role in conflict prevention, containment and resolution. It is worthwhile to refer to this point at some length.

Ordinarily, it is the state that has near monopoly in ultimately prescribing and implementing conflict resolution. But because the causes of conflict keep on increasing and the state, even otherwise, cannot always effectively function in this regard, civil society institutions entered the scene in a big way. In particular, the very spread of the idea of participatory democracy introduces, among other things, two important claims for participation of the people. The first is for the claim for more equitable sharing of society's resources and for access to the enabling rights and privileges that present day states are obliged to concede to people. The second claim refers to the very demand for participation in society's governance. Both of these points can be well illustrated from the Human Rights claims in society and the wide popularisation of democratic decentralisation.

The result is an open invitation for increased role for non-governmental institutions. They play a role in making these people aware of their entitlement to these claims. The effect of this is an even more extensive role in conflict avoidance, containment and even in conflict resolution. Public health and educational entitlement are good examples in this regard. The preservation of environmental balance is another instance. These entitlements, as is by now well known, sometimes bring the people and governments in conflict. Yet in the final analysis, the intervention of the voluntary non-governmental agencies also brings about an adjustment of claims and counter claims. A few examples will illustrate this trend. The NGOs' role in the promotion of minority-rights invoking the rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution and the UN Declaration of Human Rights and by bringing pressure upon the government to implement these go a long way in containing long-term potential for conflict and, above all, in achieving just ends for society's peace. Similarly, in issues relating to displacement of thousands of people when large irrigation and other developmental projects bring large-scale disturbance to their natural habitat, the NGOs concerned perform the whistle-blowing function and much more in helping avoid damage to larger public interest.

Another important aspect of the civil society's intervention in conflict resolution is that it is also a counter-wailing power to the play of market forces in society. It has been noted

how economic liberalisation and globalisation make the state less salient in the social process and project the market (the economic sphere). Given this trend, NGOs and allied institutions are now concerned as much with protecting larger social purposes from the free play of the market as from the policies of the state.

Having said all this, civil society theory is riddled with doubts about its democratic proclivities along with its potentialities for generating conflict also. However, the present purpose of our discussion is to spotlight the nature and extent of its role in attending to social interests as a parallel organ to the state as also realise that both civil society and the state converge at points as also diverge into even opposite direction. Yet both claim to be resolvers of intra-societal conflict.

Let us now examine inter-state conflict, whose extreme manifestation is war.

### **3.6 INTER-STATE CONFLICT**

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It can be stated that ordinarily wars can always be said to arise from inter-state conflict though not all inter-state conflicts may result in war. The primary method by which inter-state conflicts are resolved is politics. It is only when inter-state politics which is conducted through diplomacy fails that states resort to war. In the famous words of Carl Von Clausewitz, war is "the continuation of politics by other means". In one sense, this definition implies that war is a part of diplomacy. But in a more important sense, it means that war cannot be an end in itself and that 'diplomacy' still has to play its critical part during the war and even after it terminates. In many instances, diplomatic activity is intensified either directly between the parties to the war or through the intervention of 'third parties' like international organisations, regional organisations or friendly nations.

As we noted in the previous unit, there is an essential difference between intra-state conflict and inter-state conflict. In the former case, the state itself resolves the conflict, in which process, judicial settlement of conflict forms a significant part. Yet, this process becomes less effective when intra-state conflict assumes larger scale rebellions, insurrection or civil war. The point is that in inter-state conflict judicial settlement of disputes has come into vogue only in very recent times, and even now its role is rather marginal. Arbitration and adjudication of disputes between states now play only some part in resolving inter-state disputes. Therefore, after diplomacy, mediation, arbitration, conciliation and adjudication of intra-state disputes are the important methods by which disputes are settled.

Let us now reflect on war as the outgrowth of disputes.

### **3.7 REFLECTIONS ON THE PHENOMENA OF WAR**

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Usually, in this context the cause of war forms the subject of discussion. Since the causes of war are being dealt with in a separate unit, here some of the philosophical aspects of war are taken up for consideration. Here it will be appropriate to mention the views of some eminent thinkers who have enquired into the deeper motivations of war. Two categories of analysis will be presented. The first deals with a conceptual analysis of the foundations

of conflict (and war) as theorised by an eminent contemporary political theorist, Kenneth N. Waltz. The second is the analysis of the famous theorist of modern warfare, Carl von Clausewitz. The latter analysis more directly relates to war as the conscious choice of states, its objects and nature, leaving aside other causes that motivate wars. Other important philosophies and approaches of war are also examined in this section.

### **3.7.1 Waltz's Analysis of War**

Kenneth N. Waltz makes the most comprehensive analysis of the causes for international conflict and war in his book *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. Examining the theories of conflict propounded by eminent thinkers from the beginning of history, Waltz classifies the three major sources of war as arising from a) Human Nature and Behaviour b) The Internal Structure of States, and c) International Anarchy. He describes these three factors as three 'images' of international relations behaviour.

#### **1) Human Nature and Behaviour**

"According to the first image of international relations, the focus of the important causes of war is found in the nature and behaviour of men's. Wars result from selfishness, from misdirected aggressive impulses, from stupidity – other causes are secondary and have to be interpreted in the light of these factors".

#### **2) The Internal Structure of States**

"It is society that is the degrading force in men's lives, but it is the moralising agency as well". This image concedes that while human nature has a lot to do with conflict (Image 1), it is the very nature of the organisation of the people into a society (a state) that introduces the more critical element of collective will that makes conflict more manifest. Thus the second source of conflict is the internal character of the state-the public beliefs and practices, opinions and expectations, political systems and institutions of government that frame human behaviour. Waltz's illustrates the point thus: "The state plagued by internal strife may then, instead of working for the accidental attack, seek the war that will bring internal peace". What is to be noted here is that intra-societal conflict is sought to be resolved or diverted by resorting to inter-societal (inter-state) conflict.

#### **3) International Anarchy**

If the structure of the state and its system of governance shapes human behaviour, then the structure of the international system must also shape state behaviour. "With many sovereign states, with no system of law enforceable among them, with each state judging its grievances and ambition according to the dictates of its own reason or desire, conflict, sometimes leading to war is bound to occur....Because each state is the final judge of what is necessary for its own cause, any state may at any time use force to implement its policies. Because any state may at any time use force, all states must constantly be ready either to counter force with force or to pay the costs of weakness. The requirements of state action are, in this view, imposed by the circumstances in which all states exist."

Waltz's three images are three distinct ways of locating the causes of war, While Waltz has separated the three for analytical purposes, they are indeed overlapping, as none of the

three is in itself sufficient to fully explain the causes of international conflict. Some thinkers laid emphasis on one, some on the second, and some on the third.

In fact the three images explain the cause of all human conflict, not merely international conflict. For instance, the first two images explain the causes of intra-societal conflict as well. The innate aggressiveness of human nature combined with the nature of the organisation of society (or state), the latter of which may itself be considered as a product of human nature, contributes to the external manifestation of conflict. The third image, International Anarchy, can be considered to be the immediate cause of international conflict.

### **3.7.2 Clausewitz's Theory of War**

It is Waltz's last image, International Anarchy, under which political states are sovereign unto themselves and freely use force against other states, that figures prominently in theorising on war in general. Carl Von Clausewitz the celebrated nineteenth century German author of "Von Kriegen" ("On War"), brought out this factor with great emphasis.

His well-known definition of war as "the continuation of politics by other means" is already mentioned. More important for present analysis is his view that war is a rational instrument of national policy, that is, state policy. In the final analysis, therefore, the 'state' is the primordial actor in the process of war. And the 'object' of war is further summarised by Clausewitz thus: "War is an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will."

From this definition it follows that every war ought to end in a complete victory of one side over the other, and that 'moderation in war is an absurdity' since failure to utilise all the force at one's disposal defeats the purpose of war. War conceived in this way Clausewitz calls 'war in abstract' or 'absolute war'. In real terms, this is close to total war, which the First and Second World Wars of the last century approximate to. However, it should also be mentioned that Clausewitz himself says that real wars differ from abstract war, because idealised conditions are never realised. So, in real experience, there is always the discrepancy between real wars and idealised mechanical processes of War.

### **3.7.3 Other Philosophies of War**

Anatol Rapoport, the editor of one of the English editions of Clausewitz's book classifies the philosophies of wars into three categories.

**The Eschatological philosophy of War:** This theory is based on the idea that history, in many cases, will culminate in a 'final' war signalling the unfolding of a hidden grand design – divine, natural or human. Examples of this view are the Crusades and Holy wars which were waged as means of unifying some portions of the world under a single faith or single ruler. In modern times, the American doctrine of manifest destiny (propounded during the late nineteenth century) and the Nazi doctrine of the Master Race, represent two different types of belief in messianic missions.

**The Cataclysmic View:** This theory views war as a catastrophe that befalls some portion, or the entire human race. No one in particular is held to be responsible for war and no one in particular is expected to benefit from it. Leo Tolstoy's, *War and Peace*, depicts war

in this manner. Tolstoy attributes wars to the action of unknown historical forces and holds actions of kings and strategies of military commanders to be quite irrelevant to either the outbreaks, or the outcomes of wars.

**The Political Philosophy of War:** Clausewitz is the outstanding proponent of the political philosophy of War. It is called 'political', because it considers the institution of war as an instrument of national or state policy. In the idealised view of this, war 'ought' to be rational, i.e. based on estimated costs and gains; it 'ought' to be instrumental, in that it should be waged to achieve a definite goal (never for its own sake) and finally it ought to be national, in the sense that its objective should be to advance the interests of the nation-state. Machiavelli, the Fifteenth century thinker, had advanced a similar theory, but Clausewitz's restatement is significant because it synchronised with industrialisation of society and warfare (with the development of new weapons, recruiting mass armies and adoption of new strategies of waging war).

The Eschatological and Cataclysmic theories philosophise about war in terms of either divine or historical causes. Clausewitz's theory finally traces war to the intention and will of nations. It can be seen that his theory is in consonance with the manifest causes of war because one cannot rationally establish the operation of intangible and 'divinely' imposed reasons for war. Clausewitz himself provides the explanation why idealised total war cannot always be a reality. However, even small-scale wars can be explained in terms of Clausewitz's theory.

While the greatest claim of Clausewitz's theory is to reflect reality based on the notion of the sovereign will of the nation or state, that notion of sovereignty of the state has itself been challenged over the last century and half. The slow erosions of the right of a state to do whatever it pleases has been compromised first in the area of conduct of war itself and later in many other spheres of international conduct. Both the League of Nations and later the U.N. imposed severe limits on the states' right to go to war. As we shall see later, the rise of global civil society movement has further contributed to limiting states actions in the arenas of conflict and peace. Many writers have therefore modified Clausewitz's philosophy of war in the light of changing nature of international relations.

### 3.7.4 The Doctrine of Just War

Despite the general revulsion for war, the institution of war survived unabated. Even the pacifist orientations of religious discourse could not deter societies from going to war against each other. One of the important developments of the compromise between religion's aversion to war and the compulsions of states to resort to wars is the origin of the doctrine of Just War. This doctrine is particularly associated with Christianity though other religious traditions also recognised the concept of just war. The ancient Indian idea of Dharma Yuddha is an example. It is necessary to advert to the Just War doctrine briefly as it developed in the West.

Just war doctrines abounded during the Middle ages in Europe as a dimension of Canon Law (Church-established law). They resulted from the attempts to accommodate the pacifism of Christian teaching with the spread of Christian domination of Europe and beyond. As the church had gained space in the secular realm, justification for organised war was thus integrated into the realm of human activity.

In his reputed treatise on Just and Unjust Wars, Michael Walzer, treats the subject of Just Wars more in the context of a state resisting aggression than that of a state initiating aggression. Walzer encapsulates the theory of aggression in six prepositions that constitute the core of Just War. They are:

- i) There exists an international society of independent states
- ii) This international society has a law that establishes the rights of its members – above all the rights of territorial **integrity** and political sovereignty.
- iii) Any use of force or imminent threat of force by one state against the territorial integrity or political sovereignty of another constitutes aggression and a criminal act.
- iv) Aggression justifies two kinds of violent response: a war of self-defence by the victim and a war of enforcement by the victim and any other member of international society.
- v) Nothing but aggression can justify war
- vi) Once the aggression has been militarily repulsed, it (aggression) can also be punished.

From the above, it is clear that in an international society of independent states, the right of sovereignty and territorial integrity is inviolable. Propositions iii – v define aggression, which alone justifies a victim resorting to war. The crucial aspect of the exposition of just war is that it is conceived as defensive war and nothing is mentioned about when an initiation of a war can be regarded as just. Presumably, it never is. Thus, pre-emptive wars logic is ruled out.

However, it is necessary to recall the simple truth that war is a two-way process and the party that retaliates, as well as the one that initiates, almost always justify their actions on some legitimising 'facts'. And the latter's justifications are not unalloyed with pre-emptive logic. Ancient Indian Jaitra Yatras for expansion of territory by a powerful monarch were not always regarded as unjust. Sun Tzu, the ancient Chinese writer on War is most reticent about discussing the justness or unjustness of war. Perhaps, the most telling example was that of the conduct of Athens at the height of its power and glory during the Peloponnesian War, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The chief antagonists were Athens and Sparta. Athens proudly called itself the School of Hellas (teacher of Greece), but yet committed aggression against the tiny neighbouring city state of Melos, which though a colony of Sparta, chose to remain neutral in that war. The Athenian leaders unabashedly told the Melians that Athens had the right to subdue innocent Melos because of the exigencies of the war, that might makes right, and that a nation concerned with defending its interests should not take into account moral considerations. Athens subdued Melos and put to death all its able bodied males and taking all its women and children into slavery.

The Greek historian Thucydides analysed the Athenian conduct as establishing a new way of looking at politics, though he regarded it as a lien to Greek temper and ethos. A modern historian of Greece, regarded the Melian episode as showing that "the principle of force forms a realm of its own, with laws of its own", distinct and separate from the laws of moral life that govern individual human conduct. Even though the coming of the Christian era brought scruples like the Just War doctrine, soon these scruples vanished as the

Church leaders and the European emperors themselves resorted to wars against each other. Just War doctrines became exercises in sophistry. Then, as the Middle ages waned and the Renaissance dawned, thinkers like Machiavelli boldly separated the spheres of individual morality and 'morality' of states. This practically ended any pretence of testing wars on the just-war touchstone. Even though the idea of avoiding war among states recurs often, the attention was diverted to other methods than on referring to the just war doctrine.

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## 3.8 GLOBAL WARS

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The concept of global conflict can be understood in different ways. Since we have focused on war which is the extreme manifestation of inter-state conflict, a similar treatment is accorded to this concept. Accordingly, our focus is on global war which is treated as a quantitative extension of a local war into continental proportions and then its spread beyond. Just as the wars of Europe in the 18th and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries shaped into the First and Second World Wars, so the prospective conflagrations of this century have the potential to become global.

While the threat of superpower Armageddon was itself a possibility during the Cold War years, the transfers of nuclear and other highly destructive weapons, the extension of Cold War alliances into local and regional quarrels, posed the challenge of local wars getting out of control. In the case of the Korean and Vietnam wars, each of the superpowers were almost directly aligned with the original belligerents and wider ideological confrontation was a factor that foreboded a global war. Fortunately, the very fear of a globalised conflict restrained the superpowers from directly joining these conflicts. The superpower 'balance of terror', as founded on the deterrence doctrine, was instrumental in this process of restraint.

In many other instances too, the alliance relationships of the big-powers with local powers, provided the probability for local wars like the Israel-Arab conflicts, the anti-colonial conflicts in northern and southern African regions and the Sino-Indian War-escalating into global wars. This is also termed as the outcome of 'new post-war linkage patterns'.

### 3.8.1 The Qualitative Dimensions for Global Wars

Apart from the extension of local or regional war, the stage for global war is much more directly set by the nature of contemporary weapons. Simply put, this is an outcome of 'Global Weapons' and 'Global Strategies'. For, the devastating capacity of nuclear weapons and the global strategies devised to take advantage of these capabilities followed as an inevitable corollary. One can easily understand how any war could quickly become global, at least one with direct global effects.

One should add to this the assumption of 'global interests' by the superpowers. Because of the fear of reciprocal reach of the enemy, the superpowers frequently extended their 'security perimeters' – almost making the ends of the earth as coming under their defence interests. Thus, US strategists claimed "that the USA has world-wide vital interests, and should ensure that it has the capacity to protect them all."

### 3.8.2 Nuclear Weapons and Cascades of Consequences

Because the factor of nuclear weapons is the independent variable in the conversion of

wars into global wars, as the number of nuclear weapons states increase defacto, the global war phenomenon is brought all the more near. Jonathan Schell, in his recent volume, *The Unfinished Twentieth Century*, highlights this point thus: "A global drama, in which decisions regarding nuclear arms in any part of the world touches off cascades of consequences throughout the world..." That is, as nuclear weapons are accrued by states involved in regional conflicts so do global war threats increase.

Even though the Cold War scenario may no longer be as relevant as before, the very emergence of a single superpower – the USA only further engenders the claim for global interests. Many critics say that the USA now affirms such claims with the self-proclaimed role of the world policeman. Especially after 9/11, its assumption of the leadership of the war against international terrorism confers some credibility to this claim. But this claim is now joined to another claim of installing democratic regimes in other parts of the globe. Now the U.S. defence and foreign policies are unabashedly based on the assertion that as the single major power, its paramount interests are global and its economic and military capabilities have the necessary global reach to protect its claims and interests.

### **3.8.3 International Terrorism – A Trigger for Global War**

Even though international terrorism did not originate only with the Al Qaeda perpetrated attack on the US locations on Sept 11, 2001, it did symbolise the high watermark of the phenomenon – as constituting a true global threat. The U.N. General Assembly defined global terrorism as "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes – whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them". Given this definition from the world body itself, the global potential of terrorism can be clearly assessed.

The operations of terrorism are mostly anonymous but its effects are manifest. The nature of international terrorism can be described as one with centre anywhere and circumference everywhere.

Two rather paradoxically opposite implications for global war flow from this threat. First, the imminent possibility of terrorist groups acquiring nuclear devices and either using them or black-mailing with threats of their use create horrendous prospects. Secondly, the response to this threat should also cause concern. The U.S. response to 9/11 has been one of a mix of motives in which exploiting the threat of international terrorism has been conspicuously evident. The vital complexities of global war are thus further complicated by terrorism.

### **3.8.4 Clash of Civilizations and Global Wars**

A new perspective on global scale confrontations appeared in the shape of the idea of clash of civilizations. Propounded by Samuel Huntington in 1993, this idea holds that the economic and ideological antagonisms of the 19th and 20th centuries will be overtaken by antagonisms over culture and cultural identity. "Nation-states will remain the most powerful actors in the world...but the principle conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of civilizations." He further stressed that "The clash of civilizations will dominate

global politics. The fault lines between Civilizations will be the battle lines of the future." Huntington may have derived this idea from the increasing hostility between the Islamic world and the U.S. led Western states as underscored by the Gulf War (1990) and the rise of China as a candidate-superpower perceived as a potential challenge to the U.S.

The cultural and civilizational dimensions of contemporary regions are no longer the same as centuries ago and Huntington is severely criticised for over-stating his theory. His critics have argued that the world's future fault-lines will fall not between the major states or civilizations, but between the growing nexus of democratic market-oriented societies and those 'hold out' states that have eschewed democracy or defied the world community in other ways. In this view, it is these holdout states that have access to weapons of mass destruction which are likely to trigger wars with global ramifications. This reading of the cause of future wars formulated by the U.S. during the Clinton Presidency, is now extended by the neo-conservatives in the Bush Administration, targeting international terrorism and the so-called rogue states, and seeking to deliberately install democracy world-wide, if necessary by war.

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### **3.9 THE PERSISTENCE OF UNCERTAINTY ABOUT ITS EXISTENCE**

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The foregoing analysis of the origins and theories of war only bring to the fore the grand dilemma of war as an organised human institution. On fundamental issues there can be no finality as to the precise causes or solutions. Perhaps, as in the case of all major issues pertaining to the human condition, only approximations to truth are possible. The prevailing uncertainty can be illustrated by referring to two apparently diametrically opposite views by eminent scholars.

Michael Howard, the foremost historian and theoretician of war, in his recent book, *The Invention of Peace* (2000), says that the pursuit of peace is an artificial pursuit, with no certainty of final success. Yet with the values of humanism and enlightenment this pursuit can only hope to succeed.

Margaret Mead, the renowned anthropologist, on the contrary says that it is war, not peace that is a human invention. Putting the insights gathered from studying diverse human communities, she poses the question in her book *War is only an Invention -Not a Biological Necessity* (1940), whether war is a biological necessity, a sociological inevitability, or just a bad invention? With refreshing hope, she concludes: ".... If we despair over the way in which war seems such an ingrained habit of most of the human race, we can take comfort from the fact that a poor invention will usually give place to a better invention."

Is human-kind now nearer the goal of that 'better invention' which Mead mentioned, and Michael Howard too did not despair of?

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### **3.10 SUMMARY**

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In this unit, we have discussed the nature and forms of intra-state, inter-state and global conflicts. In our discussion on the sources of intra-state or intra-societal conflicts we

observed that in our daily course of **human** activity; dissatisfactions and conflicts keep on rising in matters relating to distribution of property, material resources, social status or recognition.

While most of the intra-societal conflicts are resolved within social groups, when they assume serious dimensions, the state, the highest organisation within a society, steps in to manage and resolve them. The states have a wide infrastructural network to deal with a range of intra-societal conflicts, from family quarrels which **assume** violent propositions to the group violence, to insurrection and revolutionary violence. As we saw, the state relies on various mechanisms, including the use of force, to cope with such conflicts. Some macro-level conflicts may become uncontrollable and threaten **the** very existence of the state. Such challenges are more frequent in the developing countries, though developed or 'mature' societies are not altogether free from severe intra-state conflicts. States which are incapable of sustaining are described as 'fragile states' or 'failed states'.\*

The civil society has an important role in conflict prevention, containment and resolution. Apart from the fact that the state cannot always function effectively in managing conflict, what gives a push and legitimacy for the activities of the civil society networks is the spread of the idea of participatory democracy. As we noted, there has been a major transformation in the civil society-state relationship in the last three centuries. In recent times, the recession of the state from some of the earlier functions leaving large number of people vulnerable to social and economic distress has led to the assertion of the civil society, both in theory and practice.

The unit also examined inter-state conflict, particularly focusing on the extreme manifestation of such conflict, that is, war. This section reflected on some of the important approaches for the understanding of study of war. While the thrust has been on the comprehensive analysis of conflict by Waltz and of war by Clausewitz, other important philosophical approaches and theories of war find mention here.

The unit also examines global conflict, a new **term** that has acquired currency in recent times. While the concept has varied connotations, here it is treated as a quantitative extension of the extreme form of inter-state conflict war. The main **theories** and causes of global war find mention here.

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### **3.11 EXERCISES**

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- 1) What according to the author are the main sources of intra-societal conflicts?
- 2) Examine the role of state in the management of conflict.
- 3) What is civil society? **Why** has it gained prominence in the recent past?
- 4) Comment on the role of civil society in the resolution of conflicts.
- 5) Describe the basic motivations of war as analysed by Waltz.
- 6) What are the various explanations and theories on the prospects for global war?

# **UNIT 4 THEORIES OF WAR**

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## **Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 What is War?
- 4.3 Theories of Causes of War
  - 4.3.1 System-level Analysis
  - 4.3.2 State-level Analysis
  - 4.3.3 Individual-level Analysis
- 4.4 Idealist View of War
- 4.5 Realist View of War
- 4.6 Marxist Approach to War
- 4.7 The Just War
- 4.8 Changing Nature of War
- 4.9 Summary
- 4.10 Exercises

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## **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

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War, like diplomacy, propaganda, etc., is an instrument of national policy. It has been used by states to achieve their national goals and aspirations and fulfil their national interests. Questions of war and peace are central to the understanding of international relations; these are questions that involve the problem of survival.

Today the term 'war' is used in many different ways. We speak of cold war, hot war, limited war, total war, conventional and unconventional war, civil war, guerrilla war, preventive war, and so on. Wars have also been labelled as imperialist wars or wars of national liberation depending on the perceptions of the users. A variety of statistical studies will tell you about the repeated recurrence of war in the world over the past several centuries. In the twentieth century, despite the horrors of the two world wars and the nuclear holocaust, the incidence of war has not diminished. Although there has been peace between the great powers in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of regional or civil armed conflicts has continued to grow, reaching a peak of 68 in the year 2000. A majority of these were low-intensity and intrastate, and mostly confined to the developing part of the world. In 1968, historians Will and Ariel Durant calculated that there had been only 268 years free of war in the previous 3,421 years. It is most likely, that they undercounted the wars. Certainly there has been no year without war since.

This unit examines two aspects of war: what is war and what are the causes of war by examining the different theories or conceptions of war. The next two units of this course will look at the various types of wars and understand why they are classified in the way that they are.

## **4.2 WHAT IS WAR?**

Today the spectrum of war has expanded from the traditional military dimension to areas like political and economic warfare, psychological warfare, etc. But the traditional definitions of war still use the narrow point of reference. Hoffman Niclerson in the Encyclopaedia Britannica states that 'war is the use of organised force between two human groups pursuing contradictory policies, each group seeking to impose its policies upon the other'. Yet another scholar, Malinowski defines war as an 'armed conflict between two independent political units, by means of organised military force, in pursuit of a tribal or national policy'.

A mention must be made of Karl von Clausewitz's argument that war 'is only a part of political intercourse, therefore by no means an independent thing in itself... war is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse with an admixture of other means'. This definition helps in understanding the broader setting in which war is located.

Quincy Wright accepts that war is waged on the diplomatic, economic, and propaganda fronts as well as on the military front and that the art of war coordinates all these elements to the purpose of victory. Yet he argues that in the narrower sense the art is confined to the military aspect. This embraces the organisation, discipline, and the maintenance of morale of the armed forces; the invention, development and procurement of weapons; the provision of transport and movement of forces; strategy of campaigns and tactics of battles etc. The larger problems of military policy, such as, determination of national policy, national public opinion, economy; diplomacy, etc., lie in the realm of international politics.

## **4.3 THEORIES OF CAUSES OF WAR**

There has been a lot of study devoted to analysing the causes of war, but no consensus has emerged on the matter. Some of the confusion lies in the inability to distinguish between immediate and long-term causes or underlying causes. In some cases the analysis is cast in ideological terms and then only a single cause is focussed upon. Some causes are immediate and some are basic; some refer to specific events and acts committed by countries while others may look at various forces and underlying trends. Each of this cause needs to be explored and there can be no one final answer to the question what is the cause of war.

Generally the causes of war are classified under political, economic, social and psychological causes. Quincy Wright points out that causes of war can be looked at from different angles. War has politico-technological, juro-ideological, socio-religious and psycho-economic causes. For Marxists, the roots of war are located in capitalism and imperialism. They also distinguish between certain kinds of wars like imperialist wars, revolutionary wars, and wars of national liberation. Others look for psychological causes and stress on the feeling of insecurity that nations feel. The causes of war are related to war as an instrument of national policy since wars are fought for the safeguard of national objectives, goals and aspirations. This may relate to territory, to identity, or to the very survival of the nation-state.

It is convenient to discuss the theoretical approaches that seek to understand the causes of war at the following levels of analysis: 1) System-level causes, 2) State-level causes, and 3) Individual-level causes.

### 4.3.1 System-level Analysis

System level analysis adopts a 'top down' approach to the study of world politics. The central argument of this approach is that state and non-state actors operate in a global social, cultural, economic, political, geographic, environment and that the features of the system determine the behaviour of the actors. Four factors determine how a system functions: **structural** characteristics of a system; power relationships of the members within the system; economic realities that impinge upon the system and the norms and conventions that are likely to 'govern' the behaviour of the actors.

The structural factors of a system refer to the organisation of authority **within** the system, the actors and the level of interaction. The **international** system does not have a vertical system of authority. It may best be described as 'anarchic'; where anarchy implies a lack of a **centralised** international authority and the existence of sovereign nation-states pursuing their individual national interests. Traditionally, students of international relations have looked at nation states as the central actors on the global scene. Today one has to **recognise** the existence of non-state actors as having an important role to play in international relations. Some **NGOs** such as the Amnesty **International** or Green Peace have played an important role in international relations. So have some multinational corporations (**MNCs**). Today terrorist organisations would also be classified as non-state actors. Other prominent non-state actors may include such inter-governmental and regional bodies like the **WTO** or **regional economic/trade** blocs **like** the APEC, European Union, etc. The level of interaction between both, the state and non-state actors has increased over the years. The intensity of this interaction is seen mainly in **non-military** areas like human rights, economic relations and social sectors.

The power relationship within the system refers to the distribution of power. We have moved from the age of European domination in the pre world war era to US-Soviet bipolarity of the cold war years. Today one talks of the age of American dominance in the post Soviet era. These changing power relationships and the resultant changes in the balance of power in the world have been a continuing reality of international relations.

The economic reality refers to the natural resources that a country has and the level of its economic and industrial development. The North South divide in the world is based on economic realities of a developed world in the North and a developing (or less developed) world in the South. While it is true that we live in an economically interdependent world, the realities of the dominant developed world cannot be wished away. Conflicts are not only over scarce resources, they are also over control of the available resources in the world. The history of colonialism has been understood in terms of economic realities of control; in modern times, oil, for example, has emerged as one of the key economic instruments.

How important are norms and conventions in governing the world order? This is a topic that has been debated by many. The general presumption is that nations would not seek to disturb the order in international relations unless there are some really compelling reasons. The debates over the Iraq war (2003) focused on whether the US and Britain violated

international norms as represented in the United Nations when they went into war against Iraq.

At the system level analysis therefore the following issues are focused on as causes of war:

- i) The distribution of power: Relative power postures and power vacuums, the balance of power politics alliance politics, etc are mentioned as possible causes of war.
- ii) The anarchical nature of the system is also considered a cause of war. The insecurity that is caused amongst nations due to a lack of a centralised authority may lead to an arms race that eventually may spill into a war. One may explain the need for pursuing nuclear weapons policy by the developing world as a means to overcome this sense of insecurity.
- iii) At the economic level, oil and natural gas, strategic minerals are looked as possible sources of conflict in the modern world. The Iraq-Iran war, American action in Iraq is sometimes looked at within the framework of politics of oil.
- iv) Samuel Huntington's thesis of Clash of Civilizations is yet another systemic perspective of wars. The central argument made refers to the key causes of future wars to be ethno-religious and therefore civilizational and not state centric.

### 4.3.2 State-level Analysis

State-level analysis focuses on the nation-state and the internal process of the state as the key determinant of world politics. This is a state-centric approach to international relations. While the earlier system-level analysis believed that the state behaviour is a product of the compulsions of the system, this approach believes that states have a far greater independence in their decision-making.

There would be both structural and non-structural determinants to making of policy. The structural would refer to the nature of government while the latter to the history and political culture of the state. Authoritarian governments and democratic governments would differ in the way policy is formulated. Similarly, policies in times of crisis and in times of peace would also be different.

At the state-level analysis causes of war are located in the following situations:

- i) Supremacy of national interest has been considered as a central driving force at this level. National interest would operate at two levels: One is a war to ensure the survival of the nation-state if attacked by the enemy. A second level is that of an expansionist national interest where extending of frontiers is considered a security related national interest. Israel has seen both the situations. The 1948 war may be described as a war for survival while the latter wars of 1967 and 1973 saw the expansion of territory for security reasons.
- ii) A linkage is sought to be established between domestic politics and foreign policy. It is sometimes argued that nations go in for war to divert domestic attention elsewhere.
- iii) There is yet another analysis that focuses on the linkage between the type of country

and the likelihood of becoming aggressive. It has been argued that democratic societies are less likely to opt for war than authoritarian ones,

### **4.3.3 Individual-level Analysis**

The motto of UNESCO is 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'. Individual level analysis focuses on human nature and therefore the psychological factors that contribute to decision-making. It also focuses on the biological factors to understand the aggressive tendency of man. Whether human beings are naturally aggressive is a question that is asked quite often. Biopolitics examines the relationship between physical nature and political behaviour. Mention must be made of the Feminist approaches to international relations that argue that the aggressive human behaviour is essentially a male trait.

Yet another dimension of the individual level analysis is related to group behaviour. Why do mobs turn violent? It is argued that individuals as individuals may not show aggressive behaviour. But when they are part of a riotous mob they are likely to commit atrocities that they in their individual capacities would have never committed.

Perhaps the most significant contribution to this level of analysis is done with reference to leadership behaviour. A study of John F. Kennedy during the Cuban Missile crisis, of Lal Bahadur Shastri during the 1965 Indo-Pak war, or Indira Gandhi in the context of Bangladesh war are part of an attempt to understand leadership behaviour. Similarly, peace initiatives such as that of Anwar Sadat towards Israel, the opening up of a dialogue with China by President Richard Nixon, or the shuttle diplomacy of Henry Kissinger are all examples of leadership behaviour.

Causes of war at the individual level analysis are located in the following:

- i) A rational decision taken by the leader, a conscious decision to go for a war for the protection of national interest is cited as one of the important reasons. The argument here is that even if the situation is ripe for a war in the final analysis the decision is made by an individual leader. As President Kennedy would have argued, 'the buck stops here'.
- ii) The opposite of this is a theory that would question the rationality argument. A decision to go for a war may be an entirely irrational decision of the leadership.
- iii) Some biologists seek roots of war in human aggressive tendencies. Much of the reasoning in this realm is based on animal experimentation. There has been a lot of literature in this area since the time of Darwin's writing on the subject.
- iv) Psychologists look to frustration, misperception and attitude change to understand stimuli that leads to aggressive behaviour. Freud, for example, stresses his belief in human instinct for violence or destruction, an instinct balanced by one for love or life.

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## **4.4 IDEALIST VIEW OF WAR**

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Political idealism came to dominate international relations during the interwar years. Political

idealists believed in the inherent goodness of human beings and argued that human beings generally sought welfare of others as well as themselves. The idealists believed that bad structural and institutional arrangements on a world wide basis created bad human behaviour. War, according to them was not inevitable, but was a product of the bad structural arrangements.

The idealists therefore argued that war could be prevented through the creation of proper international structures. These structures were cooperative international institutions; the League of Nations had been one of the most important of them to be established after the First World War. The principle of collective security was the operative methodology through which it would be possible to avoid wars. The principle of collective security required joint action and a commitment on part of all the participating states. Some idealist thinkers argued in favour of the rule of international law as a means of avoiding wars. In this scheme, nations would renounce war as an instrument of national policy. Still other idealist thinkers looked at arms race as the source of conflicts. Consequently they favoured a systematic dismantling of the arms race and supported the policy of disarmament.

## **4.5 REALIST VIEW OF WAR**

The failure of the League of Nations and the slow but inevitable march towards yet another world war brought about a critique of the idealist approach. While the Idealist approach had focussed on the role of international law, international organisation, interdependence and cooperation as the key features of international relations, the Realists focussed on power politics, security dilemmas of the nations, aggression, conflict and war.

Hans Morgenthau's six principles of realism present the most clear articulation of the realist position. These well-known principles, briefly are:

- politics is rooted in a permanent and unchanging human nature which is basically self-centred, self-regarding and self-interested.
- The essence of politics is the struggle for power. Similarly, international politics is characterised by the struggle for national power between states.
- While the forms and nature of state power are not fixed but vary in time, place and context, the concept of interest remains consistent.
- While individuals are influenced by moral and ethical implications, states are not moral agents, since their action has to be judged by the criterion of national survival.
- Though states will endeavour to cover their behaviour in ethical terms, it is designed to confer advantage and legitimacy and to further the national interests of the state.
- **The political sphere is autonomous from every other sphere of human concern. It has its own standards of thought and criteria for analysis of state behaviour.**

Morgenthau argues that the concept of national interest presupposes neither a naturally harmonious world nor the inevitability of war. If all nations pursued their national interest,

the system would be relatively stable with the 'balance of power' mechanism keeping potential problems in check. The realists advocate the maintenance of capable military force and emphasise on nationalism. Realism asserts the primacy of the nation-state and argues that national security was the most important international issue.

The difference between realism and neo-realism was that neo-realism argues that states are power seeking and security conscious but not because of human nature in itself but because the structure of international system compels them to be so. Thus, while state leaders and their subjective valuations of international relations are at the centre of attention in realist theory, the neo-realism focuses on the structure of the system, in particular the relative distribution of power. Actors are less important because structures compel them to act in certain ways.

## 4.6 MARXIST APPROACH TO WAR

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Marxist framework for study does not consider states as autonomous units. Ruling class interests drive the state and capitalist states are primarily driven by interests of their bourgeoisies. This implies that conflict between states must be seen in the economic context of competition between capitalist classes of different states. Marxists consider class conflict more fundamental than conflict between states, per se as the real cause of war.

The Marxist analysis argues that politics is determined by vital interests of different classes evolved by the socio-economic system of the exploiter state. It is this system that gives rise to wars. The First and Second World wars were a result of social antagonisms inherent in capitalism and contradictions between the bourgeois states that led to the division of the capitalist world into hostile coalitions. After the world wars the main contradiction was between the two opposing social systems: capitalism and socialism. These were basically class contradictions. Thus, from the Marxist perspective, class contradictions leave a mark on all international events.

The expansionist nature of capitalism is another feature that the Marxist focus on. Such expansion had taken the form of imperialism and colonialism during the earlier century. Today, in the postcolonial age it has taken from of economic globalisation led by transnational corporations.

## 4.7 THE JUST WAR

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When is a war justified? Under what circumstances do legal, ethical and moral principles justify aggression? Michael Walzer presents the theory of aggression in the form of six propositions:

- a) There exists an international society of independent states. These states are sovereign entities. These states and not private citizens are members of this international society of nations.
- b) This international society has a law that establishes the rights of its members –above all rights of territorial integrity and political sovereignty.
- c) Any use of force or imminent threat of force by one state against the political sovereignty or

territorial integrity of another constitutes aggression and is a criminal act. The focus here is on boundary crossings: invasions and physical assaults (in modern times this would also include low-intensity conflict situations, like insurrections and dissent movements turning into localised conflicts).

- d) Aggression justifies two kinds of violent response: a war of self-defence by the victim and a war of law enforcement by the victim and any other member of the international society. The presumption here is that the retaliation against the aggressor may or may not come from the aggrieved party; it may come from any other state that feels compelled to return to the stability of the international society.
- e) Nothing but aggression can justify a war. The central purpose of the theory is to limit the occasion for a war. There must have been a wrong committed and a wrong received by the recipient to justify use of force.
- f) Once the aggressor state has been militarily repulsed, it can also be punished. The conception of just war as an act of punishment is old, but the procedures and forms of punishment have never been established in customary or positive international law. The purposes of such a punishment has also not been spelt out – whether it is for retribution, deterrence against any other state or reform of the original aggressor.

## **4.8 CHANGING NATURE OF WAR**

Two factors have contributed to changes in the approaches to understanding of war: role of nationalism and the revolutions in technology. The former addresses the theoretical concerns about war while the latter addresses the tools used for war. The changes in technology, have had an immediate impact on the strategy and tactics of war and as such are not a matter of discussion in this chapter.

The right to self-determination based on ethnic nationalism had been the source of continuous conflict across Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The inter-war years saw the concept of self-determination being used with the explicit recognition given to it by Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points. This concept has secured a renewed legitimacy in the post-Soviet world with new states emerging on this very-theoretical construct. The process of disintegration of the Soviet state and the granting of legitimacy to the new states was done on the basis of the principle of ethnic nationalism and right to self-determination. This construct was also used both for legitimising the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and the integration of Germany. A variety of secessionist movements across the world use this as a theoretical foundation for describing their struggle as national liberation.

The concept of nationalism cuts across the system, state and individual level analysis of war. It has been a force to reckon with and is likely to dominate the approaches' to understanding war in the years to come.

At another level, a war to overthrow an unjust social and economic order is also justified. In this case aggression is not limited to a direct military attack but with internal matters also. This right is legitimate only if it seeks to remedy injustice. Injustice is defined mostly in

terms of violation of human rights. Just Cause theories are based on the need to remedy injustice. They have a strong connection with right to resist tyranny. There is a strong internal connection between right to resist tyranny and self-determination. The right to self-determination is provided for in the framework of human rights. The basis for the exercise of this right is as follows: (a) A group is victimised, systemic discrimination or exploitation takes place, (b) Territory is illegally occupied, (c) There exists a valid claim to the territory, (d) Culture of the community is threatened, (e) Constitutional remedies do not exist.

Some of the approaches mentioned above may be useful in explaining the underlying causes of conflict; others may explain the crisis behaviour. These theoretical approaches provide some understanding of the nature of war.

## **4.9 SUMMARY**

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War is conflict between relatively large groups of people, which involves physical force inflicted by the use of weapons. Starting out with the basic premise that war is an instrument of national policy, we observed that while war is waged on the diplomatic, economic, propaganda fronts, the traditional military aspect of war has continued to dominate the discourse in peace and conflict studies. In this unit, we have examined the causes of war at system, state and individual levels of analysis. At the systems level, the focus of analysis is on the global social, cultural, economic, political, geographic, environment within which the state and non-state actors operate. State-level analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the nation-state and the internal process of the state. The individual level analysis focuses on human nature and therefore the psychological and biological factors that contribute to decision-making. Cutting across these different levels of analysis is nationalism, which remains a powerful force to reckon with. Ethnic nationalism and right of self-determination that became prominent in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century remain powerful forces and have secured renewed legitimacy in the post Cold war period, both because of the collapse of the Soviet Union as well as because of economic integration of the globe. The idealist, realist and Marxist approaches to war examined in this unit are useful in explaining the underlying causes of war or explaining the crisis behaviour of states.

## **4.10 EXERCISES**

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- 1) Define war.
- 2) What are the system level theories about the causes of war?
- 3) What are the state level theories about the causes of war?
- 4) What are the individual level theories about the causes of war?
- 5) How do Idealists view war?
- 6) How do realists view war?
- 7) What is the Marxist approach to war?
- 8) Describe the importance of nationalism.

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# **UNIT 5 TYPES OF WAR: CONVENTIONAL WAR, LIMITED WAR AND NUCLEAR WAR**

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## **Structure**

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Wars in the Nuclear Age: An Historical introduction
- **5.3 Conventional War in the Nuclear Age**
- 5.4 Regional Conflicts
- 5.5 Limited War
  - 5.5.1 Determinants of Policy
  - 5.5.2 The Limitation Process
  - 5.5.3 The Concept of Escalation
- 5.6 Nuclear War
  - 5.6.1 Understanding Key Concepts
  - 5.6.2 Strategies
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 Exercises

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## **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Discussion about contemporary warfare in the nuclear age is usually done at two levels: One that seeks to explain the continuation of conventional warfare that continued to dominate the pattern of conflicts after the Second World War. In this discussion one sees the manner in which conventional warfare continued despite the induction of the nuclear weapons that were supposed to make conventional warfare obsolete. Discussion is also focussed on the way in which nuclear weapons did, however, seek to put limitations on the concepts of total war that had been the feature of the two great wars. This brought forward the concept of 'Limited War'. Further one would also have to look at the concept of nuclear war. While one may recognise that in the post Hiroshima-Nagasaki day's nuclear weapons have not been used, one would have to look at the reasons as to the avoidance of the use of these weapons of mass destruction. In seeking answers to this question, one would have to look at the concepts of nuclear strategy that made this peculiar situation of building up of a nuclear arsenal for its non-use a reality.

Thus, when we seek to categorise wars we make a distinction between 'total' wars and 'limited' wars. The basis of this categorisation was the position of the two superpowers, USA and USSR on concerned war. A total war was one which involved attacks on the homelands of the two superpowers. It was total because there was no limitation placed on either the objectives of war or the means used to conduct it. A limited war on the other hand was a conflict in which the homelands of the two superpowers were not involved in

the conflict. The war was limited both in the objectives of the war and the means used to fight it: The alternative **terms** used to describe these wars are 'general war' for the term total war and 'local war' for the **term** limited war.

The second level of discussion focuses on an entirely new pattern of warfare that has emerged in the post-war era. This warfare is within the broad ambit of 'internal security' and covers such types of wars like revolutionary wars, civil wars, insurgency, and the modern era asymmetric warfare of and on terrorism. This unit focuses on the first level of 'thinking on warfare and as such discusses the following types of warfare: Conventional war (in the nuclear age), Limited War, and Nuclear War.

## 5.2 WARS IN THE NUCLEAR AGE: AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Approaches to understanding warfare in the immediate years after the Second World War had a residual impact of the experiences of the two Great Wars. These wars were 'total wars' that the **countries** had put in all their productivity into the war effort and the war was waged almost globally. Theories of air power and mechanised warfare were most significant during the inter-war years. General Arnold of the United States had argued that atomic energy had made air power all-important. The Finletter Report (USA, 1948) also focussed on air power as the base of military security. One of the first books on nuclear strategy published in 1959 by Bernard Brodie had emphasised the links between World War theories of strategic bombing and post-war nuclear strategy. In fact, until the appearance of the hydrogen bomb in 1952, the victors of the Second World War had continued to train **their** forces in the traditional patterns of air, sea and land campaigns.

But the introduction of nuclear weapons in the United States and the Soviet Union **had led** to two beliefs: that conventional land warfare had now become obsolete and that the possession of the atomic bomb conferred immunity from attack or exceptional power base to the countries concerned. The Korean War (1950-53) shattered both these myths. The Americans sought to keep the war limited for two reasons. They wanted to avoid a direct **confrontation** with the Soviets and also avoid a long drawn out war with China. Consequently the Korean War was fought on traditional lines – the war stabilised around the **38<sup>th</sup>** Parallel with both sides seeking to gain and consolidate their positions along the parallel. Still, it is the lessons of Korea and related developments around the early 1950 that led to an effort to integrate nuclear weapons in military strategy.

The developments of the 1950s were to contribute to a rethinking on **the** way countries **were** to use their armed forces in the future. The Americans were determined to ensure that **they** would now not get bogged down in an outdated **form** of warfare and suffer casualties as they did in Korea. On the European front, the Americans faced Soviet reluctance to withdraw their forces from Eastern Europe. The **communist** revolution in China brought Mao Tse-tung to power, while the imperial powers were fast losing their colonies in Asia. The Soviets entered the atomic age and within a short period the Americans were confronted with a reality of nuclear weapons on both sides of the ideological divide.

In 1950, Liddell Hart, in his collected essays titled, 'Defence of **the** West', argued that nuclear weapons had not **made** other weapons obsolete. He also cautioned that the West

must not place too much reliance on the nuclear weapons. He argued that the Soviets were far less vulnerable to nuclear attacks than the Western countries. In any case, the possession of nuclear weapons by both the sides had ensured that they would deter the countries from using them. Hart disagreed with the perception of Field Marshal Montgomery who had talked of an Allied victory in a possible World War III. He recognised that an all out total war with nuclear weapons would be disastrous. He argued in favour of trying to limit war.

The mid fifties provided some other experiences that were to contribute to the understanding of war in the nuclear age. The Korean War had proved that possession of nuclear weapons had proved irrelevant to the direction that the war eventually took. In Vietnam, the French suffered a humiliating defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The eventual withdrawal of the French from Vietnam and the entry of Americans did not see the use of nuclear weapons here. The considerations that had led President Truman to avoid the deployment of nuclear weapons in Korea and those that persuaded President Eisenhower to desist from using them in Vietnam in 1955 were essentially the same. Both sought to limit the war for strategic reasons: in order to avoid a direct confrontation with either Soviets or a long drawn out war with China. In the Suez war of 1956, the Anglo French forces were under similar constraint. They could not use nuclear weapons; they also could not direct air strikes against civilian targets due to domestic and international pressures.

### **5.3 CONVENTIONAL WAR IN THE NUCLEAR AGE**

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Conventional warfare has witnessed three important watersheds in its evolution during the last three hundred years. The first generation warfare reflected the tactics of the era of the smoothbore musket, the tactics of the line and column. These tactics were a product of the technology of the days – the line maximised the firepower. The second-generation warfare was a product of the rifled musket, breechloaders, barbed wire, machine gun and indirect fire. Tactics were based on the ability of movement that the new technology provided. There was an increased reliance on artillery in the second generation, as compared to the infantry that had been the mainstay of the first generation. **Firepower** had replaced manpower. The third generation warfare continued to use the technological base of the earlier period. Its reliance on massive firepower continued to become more sophisticated with better technology. The real change in the third generation came in the concepts and ideas of warfare. The Germans for example developed radically new tactics based on manoeuvre rather than attrition: the blitzkrieg is one classic example.

Today, we are entering into the fourth generation warfare methods. This era is likely to see the battlefield include the entire society rather than the restricted battlefield of the earlier generations. It would also see a decreased dependence on centralised logistics. The military machine is likely to be leaner and technologically sophisticated as compared to the mass armies of the earlier days. Another important tactical change is the efforts made at collapsing the enemy internally rather than defeating in an all out war. This warfare will see an advance in both ideas and technology.

It is in the late 1950s that a perception about the status of conventional war in the age of nuclear weapons starts to become more articulate. The Americans and French were frustrated with their experiences in the East. The British were equally frustrated in their attempts to retain influence in the Middle East. The growth of national liberation struggles

and the spread of the anti-colonial movements had an impact on the perception of the Western powers. This was further complicated by the overt and covert support that these movements received from the Soviets and the Chinese.

The British position was that large forces raised through conscription on the lines of the world war experiences had now become obsolete. Military forces of the day were not meant to win wars but to prevent them. The campaigns of the earlier days and the concept of total war were no more relevant today. Liddell Hart was to argue that if war could not be prevented by deterrence it was best kept limited so as to avoid total destruction. Henry Kissinger had argued that a nation's military strength was to be employed to support its policy. He had favoured the concept of limited nuclear wars; but eventually argued in favour of limiting the scope of war. American policies regarding nuclear war and the strategies designed to tackle the Soviet threat were to evolve over the years. These are discussed in greater details in the section on Nuclear War.

Andre Beaufre in his book, *Introduction to Strategy*, has listed five choices of total strategy. He advocated that the West pursue a 'total' strategy that would embrace the political, economic, and diplomatic activity, backed by the threat to use force or the actual use of it. The five choices were as follows:

- i) Direct threat may be employed when one has ample resources and objective is not of overwhelming importance. Such a threat may be exercised by a nuclear power on a non-nuclear power, though in reality this may not be practicable(as was seen in Korea).
- ii) The second choice is of indirect pressure. This is used when the objectives are of relatively less importance and the resources available to exert a threat are also not adequate. This is done by a sustained diplomatic, political, and economic pressure backed by the threat of use of force. Beaufre cites Hitler's example in this regard.
- iii) The third choice is a series of successive actions, a nibbling process against one's adversary. The presumption here is that the resources available are relatively less and an all out action may be suicidal.
- iv) A low intensity protracted struggle that is long drawn is the fourth choice. The revolutionary wars of the Third World have used this strategy. Mao Tse tung's approach to war may be one of the best example in this context. Here there is a recognition that the resources are really limited and that they have to deal with the adversary in a low intensity conflict and not with a direct confrontation.
- v) Finally there is the choice of an all out battle. The aim is military victory, the presumption is of total force superiority and here the fear of nuclear confrontation or risk does not exist.

Beaufre maintained that the objective of strategy was to achieve and maintain freedom of action and to try to limit that of the enemy.

The Soviet position after the 1917 revolution was influenced by ideological debates of the times. The need of the time was a disciplined, trained, professional army; but this went against the fundamentals of the revolution that called for a proletariat army. Eventually, the urgency of the need of the hour prevailed and Czarist officers were called back into service.

The Soviet view of conventional war has traditionally stressed on the utility of offence as the best form of strategy. The ability and the willingness to take the offensive in order to pre-empt the enemy had been a consistent theme in Soviet thinking. Until Stalin was alive, the traditional concept as symbolised by the Great Patriotic War continued to dominate; nuclear weapons did not seem to alter this perception. The Soviet concept of strategic culture is used to discuss specific national approaches. It is grounded in geopolitical and historical circumstances. It views the Soviet Union as having faced aggression over past several centuries and today being surrounded by hostile powers.

## 5.4 REGIONAL CONFLICTS

One of the important dimensions of conventional war in the nuclear age is the concept of regional conflicts that were either supported directly or indirectly by the superpowers. One may look at two types of such conflicts: one that have seen an indirect intrusion by an extra regional power and one that has a Super /Great power in direct confrontation with the regional power.

One may consider some selective cases in this context. At the first level one may include wars of the Middle East and wars fought by India (with China and Pakistan). At another level, one would have to consider wars fought by Super/Great powers against smaller powers like the Falklands conflict and Iraq war (1990 and 2003).

Middle East has seen several wars between the Arab states and Israel. The first of the war took place at the time of the creation of the state of Israel in 1948; followed by the wars of 1967 and 1973. The United States has been a traditional supporter of Israel. This support has come in terms of armaments, logistic support and finances. The Arab states have had Soviet support during the wars. Egypt and Syria in particular had benefited from Soviet support in their fight against the Israelis.

The case of Indo-Pakistani wars is in a sense similar. While one may not have seen an explicit American and Soviet support in the wars of 1947-48 and 1965; the 1971 war did see a clear positioning of the Americans and the Soviets. The American 'tilt' towards **Pakistan** as articulated by Resident Nixon of the United States and the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation (1971) symbolised respectively the interest of the superpowers in the subcontinent. But India had also benefited from American help in the 1962 war with China.

At another level are wars fought by great powers against small powers. The Falklands war between the British and Argentina is one such example. The issue at stake was the island of Falkland that was under the British trusteeship and was taken over by Argentina. The Argentinean argument had been that it was a part of the process of decolonisation: while the British argued that the Falkland islanders were to be given the right to self-determination and eventual independence.

The key feature of all these wars was the local/regional nature of its geopolitical scope. The wars did not spill over into a global confrontation within a cold war framework.

## **5.5 LIMITED WAR**

Ever since the world wars it was assumed that war would always be a total war. In the age of nuclear weapons, especially during the years of nuclear monopoly of the United States, this perception was expressed as a policy of 'massive retaliation'. (See next unit for details of this and related concepts). Eventually, with both the United States and the Soviet Union having emerged as nuclear weapons powers. 'deterrence' became the key to security policy of these countries. The logic of deterrence was based on the idea of mutual vulnerability to attack. To put it simplistically, a possible strike by one country would be countered by a retaliatory strike by the other. This capability of a retaliatory strike was to prevent the first country from striking in the first place.

However, the Korean War (1950-1953) showed that the existence of nuclear weapons and deterrence on both sides of the Cold War leaders did not prevent a conflict between the two cold war rivals. It was true that the conflict did not involve the two superpowers in a direct state of confrontation, but their attempts at exploring and testing the determination of each other with limited rather than unlimited manner as would have been the case in the age of the world wars. The war was fought with restraint and with channels of communications open to ensure that it does not escalate into a major confrontation. Thus the age of 'limited war' had begun.

The concept of limited war as it originally developed focussed on the conflicts between the two superpowers that were fought, not on their soil or directly fought in other areas of the world. Therefore, when one tries to understand the 'limited' nature of limited war, the focus is on of the abundant military power that both the superpowers have but do not actually use in such a war.

How is a limited war different from a general war? The most important feature that makes limited war different from a general war is the deliberate restraint that is exercised by the warring parties in the conduct of the war. This restraint is directly related to the capability of the nation to fight a war. In case the capability is limited then the restraint is not a deliberate one, it is a product of the limited capability. It is precisely because of this that the concept of limited war was used mainly in the context of wars in which the great powers were involved – they had the capability to fight an unrestricted war but they decide not to do so for a variety of reasons that we shall see later. Logically, the nuclear doctrines that called for strategic bombing of cities would also not be applicable here. The best description would be calling it a deliberate hobbling of oneself in the conduct of war.

The logical questions to ask are why this limitation and how is it achieved? The first focuses on the determinants of policy while the second on the actual process of limitation.

### **5.5.1 Determinants of Policy**

The Seminar on Capabilities and Techniques of American Armament for Limited War, held in 1957, defined the war as follows: 'A limited war is fought to achieve a limited objective.' In the achievement of this objective a nation may be expected to plan to expend a limited

amount of its national resources and in carrying out the war it may be expected to plan to hold the war to a limited geographic area'.

Therefore, limited war is one that is fought to achieve limited objectives. One must understand that the restraint necessary to keep the war limited is on **means** and not so much on the **ends**. One must also understand that there is a willingness to limit the objectives because of the need to keep the war limited and not the other way round. These limitations are not because of the feeling that the objectives to be pursued through the war are relatively less important and hence the willingness to limit them. The rationale is in the problems that may arise if the war is not limited and it eventually escalates into a bigger war.

It is this fear of a general war that had been a matter of great concern amongst the Western powers in the 1950s. This fear was referred to as the fear of 'escalation'. The desire to avoid a general war that may have been a product of escalation of a limited local conflict was the central theme in keeping to the limited nature of objectives and the deliberate restraint that was sought to be exercised.

One of the debates that came to be conducted in the context of the objectives of limited war was the role of force in international relations in general. The Americans argued that force should not be used offensively by the United States to alter boundaries and that only that much force should be used to resist opposing forces as was necessary. The Soviets and the Chinese, on the other hand, have considered force as a legitimate instrument of policy and have justified its use for expanding the area of socialist control. These different perceptions have had an impact on the approach to limited war.

Another factor that has an influence on the objectives of a limited war is domestic public opinion. In case of both, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, domestic public opinion had an impact on the American approach to these wars. One may argue that Soviet action in Afghanistan after 1979, American actions in Iraq during 1990 and 2003 had seen a similar deliberate restraint. In all these events, domestic compulsions had played a role in varying degrees.

## 5.5.2 The Limitation Process

The limiting process of a limited war focuses on the operative dimensions of the war. The limitations of policy are seen in real terms in the limitations placed on the geography, targets, weapons and the extent of participation by the great powers.

The geographic limitations refer to the area that comes under conflict. The Korean War was restricted to the Korean peninsula; the Vietnam War to Indochina; the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq to those countries. These wars also did not impinge on the homeland of the superpowers. Further, there was a limitation on the targets of attack. The targets were either military installations or industrial and infrastructure facilities. Except, perhaps, in some cases in Vietnam, the targets were not civilian population. The targets were also not

beyond the geographic area of the conflict. They did not include the homeland of the United States, Soviet Union or China.

There has been a lot of debate on the question of use of nuclear weapons in a limited conflict. At one level there was a realisation that the domestic public opinion would have been extremely critical of their use in the post Hiroshima-Nagasaki period. There was also the fear of escalation into an entirely uncharted arena of weapons system. Three reasons have been given for the non-use of nuclear weapons by the United States in Korea. First, was the American military assessment that Korea was a diversionary tactic encouraged by the Soviet Union and that the real battle was to be fought elsewhere. Second was the ground assessment made that stated that there were no clear-cut target for the use of such weapons. Such an assessment had depended upon the perception of nuclear weapons use as ultimate weapons of mass destruction and not as tactical weapons of small intensity. Third, was the strong opposition from its ally the United Kingdom. Today, with the emergence of tactical nuclear weapons and the possibility of restricting the fallout of a nuclear bomb to a specific geographic area, the relevance of nuclear weapons in such a conflict is bound to be discussed as a probable reality.

On the issue of participation by different states, it needs to be pointed out that in so far as the two superpowers are concerned their participation has ranged from indifference to support on to actual combat. In Indo-Pakistan wars these countries have participated only in an extremely indirect way. This may include diplomatic pressure or economic sanctions. On the other hand, Americans have committed troops in Korea, Vietnam and Iraq and the Soviets in Afghanistan.

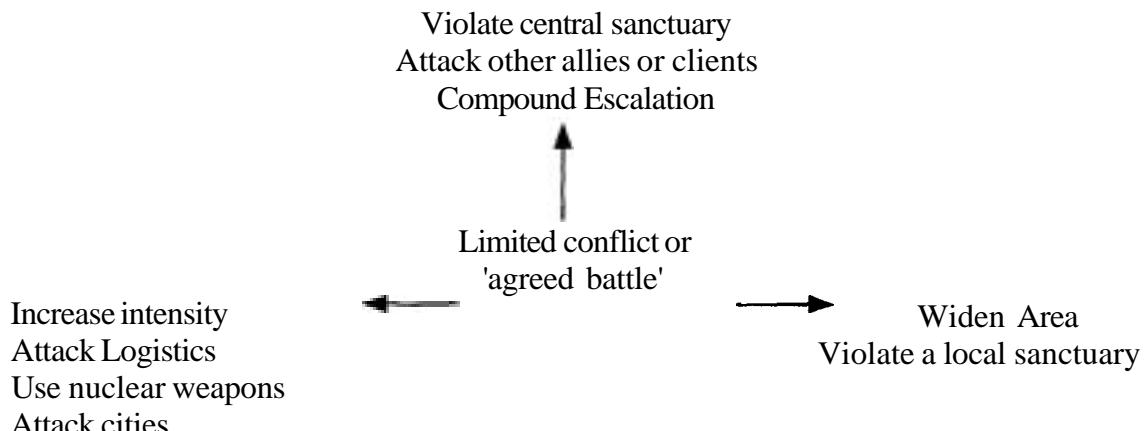
### **5.5.3 The Concept of Escalation**

It is true that the central concern of a limited war is over the degree of restraint that can be exercised as has been discussed above. Yet there are many reasons why a nation may want to escalate a limited conflict. Escalation may be used as a threat to the other side of an all out war; it may be done for preventing a total defeat; or simply as a reaction to the possibility of the other side escalating.

Herman Kahn has presented a diagrammatic pattern of escalation of a limited conflict. There are three ways to escalate:

- i) Increase the intensity of the conflict by a quantitative increase like attacking logistic centres, use of nuclear weapons or attack cities. These would be stages by which the intensity of a limited war may be increased in terms of the intensity of the battle.
- ii) The second way would be to widen the area of conflict. This refers to the geographic expansion of the area of conflict.
- iii) The third way is to compound escalation by creating a new crisis. This would include attack on allies or attacking establishments of the enemy that are outside the boundaries of the enemy state or states.

### Three ways to escalate a limited conflict



**Source:** (Kahn, 1970).

Is there a victor in a limited war? This would be a difficult question to answer. Since both sides are fighting with limits on their objectives and with deliberate restraints, such wars are unlikely to have 'final' results. General Douglas MacArthur had remarked in the context of Korean War that there was no substitute to victory. However, this statement fails to reflect the pattern of conflict in today's times.

## 5.6 NUCLEAR WAF?

Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been, as of today, the only instances when nuclear weapons were actually used in war. They were used at a time when the Americans had a monopoly of such weapons. The Soviets were to develop their first nuclear weapon in 1949, followed by the British in 1952, then the French in 1960 and the Chinese in 1964. Of the recent countries that entered openly this nuclear weapons club are India and Pakistan in 1998. Today, Israel and North Korea are suspect of having nuclear weapons and some other countries like Iran of aspiring for them.

While atomic weapons have not been used since the end of the Second World War, there has been a significant improvement in their design, their destructive power and their sophistication of design. Given the phenomenal destructive capability of such weapons if used by the warring countries, and a realisation that any conceived nuclear war would only end up destroying both the warring countries along with a general destruction elsewhere, strategic thinking about nuclear war has revolved around their non-use rather than their use. Earlier theories of deterrence and brinkmanship have evolved into sophisticated arguments on how to avoid a nuclear confrontation.

This section on nuclear war focuses on the evolution of nuclear strategy, with special reference to American and Soviet strategies, wherein nuclear strategy is really a study of the non-use of nuclear weapons.

## 5.6.1 Understanding Key Concepts

Before we examine the nuclear strategy of these two superpowers it is necessary to **understand** some of the key concepts that are used in the discussion on nuclear strategy.,

Deterrence: The advent of nuclear weapons changed the perceptions about approaches to security. Traditional approaches to security had argued for a strategy of defence or offence. Thus a nation could **achieve** security through its ability to defend itself from an attack or take an offensive posture to repel an attack. The introduction of nuclear weapons changed the strategies to be used for security of the **nation**. The presumption here was that both the parties to the dispute possessed nuclear weapons and had the ability to use them against the adversary. .

Defence as a strategy simply meant that **one** would deny the opponent what he seeks to gain from the conflict. Deterrence was a different strategy. If the opponent was seeking for some gain then one would **thwart the** opponent from using force by projecting a possibility of some sort of reprisal for the original action. Simply put, it meant that the opponent would have to pay a price for the action that he has planned. This is a threat that one gives to the opponent to desist from use of force. One would argue that if the opponent was seeking territorial gains he would have to pay a price for that; it was a sort of a punishment for the action that he would take. What is more important is that one would have to be clear in communicating to the opponent what price he may have to pay for his proposed action. This price **that** one is asking from or the punishment that one would impose on the opponent would have to be credible. The threat has to be credible. The opponent must believe that if any action is taken he would have to pay the price and that the threat that is issued is not a **bluff** or a hoax. Finally, one would also have to keep certain options open for the opponent to seek a face saving solution. This process consists in influencing the mental **calculations** of the opponent. The entire process is conducted prior to actual action being taken by either party. One establishes a psychological relationship with the opponent. This psychological relationship is called deterrence. It is useful only before the actual breakout of war. Deterrence seeks to avoid a conflict; a war breaking out is a failure of deterrence.

In a sense deterrence has two contradictory concepts ingrained in it. At one level, both the opposing countries are in a state of readiness, **armed** with nuclear weapons. Both have the capability to strike and destroy the other; and also to retaliate if struck in the first place. Both are aware of each other's capabilities as these are not hidden but are well exposed and exhibited. The communication between the rivals is kept open to indicate all the possible scenarios of threat that may be used. Yet at another level, simultaneously to all of this, both seek to avoid the very conflict for which they are preparing. This is because both are unwilling to pay the massive 'price' for their original actions. They are aware of the **mutual** vulnerability that they live under. They **are** thus prepared for a war that they both would **try** to avoid. If war does break out, deterrence would have failed and then defence would have to take over.

Brinkmanship: The term brinkmanship draws its origin from the analogy of a glass of water. Any glass of water has a limit to which water can be filled. That limit is its brink. If one continues to pour water beyond its **capacity** the water would overflow. Similarly, any

- . two nations have a certain limit up to which they can contain mutual tensions. If tensions continue to increase beyond a certain **limit**, which is beyond the brink, they would overflow into a war.

There is an implicit meaning as also an assumption in the concept of brinkmanship. Both the opposing nations are **aware** of the rise in tensions. Perhaps, both are interested in increasing them for their own benefit. Both are aware of the brink up to which they can raise the tensions. At the point that they would reach the brink they would ensure that tensions are de-escalated to **avoid** a possible war.

The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) presents a classic case of brinkmanship. Both the **Americans** and the Soviets were in confrontation with each other over the naval blockade that the Americans had imposed over Cuba. Both took the tensions up to the brink. At that point they suspected and feared that a war was likely to break out – and such a war would conceivably have been a nuclear war. Then the process of de-escalation was initiated.

**Coercive diplomacy:** There are four elements in coercive diplomacy:

- a) Punishment: Raise the cost of resistance to one's demands by inflicting direct or indirect **suffering on civilians**.
- b) Risk Target civilian economy and society. While punishment may involve a sudden **attack** on the enemy, risk strategy is a gradual punishment that one inflicts over a **period of time**.
- c) Denial: This is a demonstration of one's ability to defeat the enemy in a battle.
- d) Decapitation: This is a strategy to kill or overthrow top leadership or destroy the command and control system of the enemy.

**Compellence:** The strategy of compellence is used if and when deterrence fails. This strategy is the use of force to make the **opponent** take some a specific course of action. Deterrence requires that the opponent desist from initiating a **particular** action. Compellence comes as a strategy to force the opponent to change the course of action initiated by him. Compellence optimally requires positive compliance by the enemy. This is **different** from deterrence as deterrence simply calls for inaction, while compellence calls for positive action, as one wants it. Compellence also calls for inflicting punishment if the compliance does not occur.

## 5.6.2 . Strategies

What are the various strategies that can be used to either fight or deter a nuclear war? The following strategies have been identified for this purpose: (i) Minimum deterrence; (ii) credible first strike and (iii) assured destruction. The last strategy has various versions to it that depend on the capability of a nation.

The strategy of minimum **deterrence** implies that a small strategic nuclear force is to be used to attack the enemy population centres. The purpose of this attack is to convince the enemy that if the enemy commits the first strike, retaliatory force would be used. This

implies that the country must have a capability to strike back if attacked in a first strike. This capability means that the nation must be able to absorb the first strike and survive to be able to strike back in retaliation. This retaliatory capability is the key to the creation of a minimum deterrence situation.

The capability of **first strike** calls for a large strategic force that will be able to inflict a significant damage on the enemy in the first attack itself. The country must be able to destroy most of the strategic forces of the enemy in its first strike. The utility of the first strike is to convey to the enemy that any grave provocation will lead to such a strike that would destroy the strategic forces of the enemy.

**Assured destruction** strategy is based on the assumption that if the enemy makes a first strike attack, one must have the ability to absorb the strike and conduct a retaliatory strike that would destroy the enemy's society. This retaliatory strike is not a minimal strike as mentioned above, but a large-scale strategic attack. In other words it is the ability to absorb a surprise attack and survive with sufficient power to inflict unacceptable damage on the aggressor.

The US believed that the vague threats of the possibility of use of nuclear weapons had finally ended the Korean War (see details of Korean War in earlier section) and brought the Chinese to the negotiation table. President Eisenhower later had sought the use of deterrence strategy to tackle the problem of security. In 1954, John Foster Dulles of the United States spelt out his doctrine of **massive retaliation**. The goal of this strategy was to maximise deterrence at bearable cost. The argument had been that local defences need to be reinforced by the fullest deterrent of massive retaliation so that the potential aggressor cannot choose the place of aggression. Thus, in the event of another proxy war like Korea, the United States would retaliate with the use of nuclear weapons against the Soviets or the Chinese.

But the doctrine of massive retaliation had its critics. The most important criticism came from the Europeans who questioned the credibility of this treat that the United States was posing to the Soviets. Would the Americans risk an all out nuclear war if a local conflict did start in the European sector? This rethinking was to result in the revision of the original doctrine. Robert MacNamara did this revision in his strategies of **assured destruction, damage limitation, and flexible response**.

The concept of massive retaliation had but limited options. Now MacNamara argued that it was necessary to plan strikes against various other assets and not strike the cities as the massive retaliation had planned for. There was also the need to look for a flexible response to the initial attack. Such a flexible response would involve a conventional and a nuclear retaliatory strike and not simply a massive retaliation against any suspected aggression. Given the fact that both the Americans and the Soviets had second-strike (retaliatory) capabilities, this strategy of assured destruction was spelt out. By 1970s, the Americans also conceded that they no longer posses superiority over the Soviets in the nuclear field. This became the starting point of discussions on limiting nuclear weapons, and the dialogue culminated in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

The Soviet nuclear doctrine and strategy had four basic components to it:

- a) The general balance of political, economic and military power and socio-psychological characteristics of the society and population are to be considered as important determinants of strategy. This is based on the ideological basis of Soviet policy. Soviet understanding of socialism as interpreted by Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev or Brezhnev, would be material in understanding how strategy is crafted.
- b) The military doctrine and strategy had certain important tenets. The Soviets believed that the war between the US-led NATO forces, and the Soviet-led Warsaw forces, would be a third and decisive war between the socialists and the imperialists. It would be a 'just' war for the Soviets. The Soviets would not initiate it or indulge in a surprise attack. At the same time revolutionary movements and other just wars would continue to gain Soviet support. Soviets had the capability of deterrence; but war is not considered as inevitable. Especially Khrushchev's arguments of peaceful coexistence had changed the Soviet perspective about the inevitability of war. To Khrushchev, given the nuclear scenario in the world, any war would be mutually destructive. He had argued in favour of the two systems coexisting peacefully with each other. This, however, did not rule out the Soviet need to continue to work for the spread of socialism and towards that goal use the benefits of strategy.
- c) The Soviets argued that the war was likely to begin with a surprise attack on the Soviet Union and not result in a protracted conflict. Soviets would go for a pre-emptive strike only if there is a clear warning of a NATO strike, or the Soviets could rely on their second strike capability. The targets would remain military centres or communications bases and not population centres. Given the nuclear threat, the Soviets would continue to prepare for a qualitative and quantitative superiority in nuclear weapons.
- d) In terms of military balance, the Soviet objective had always been 'superiority', both qualitative and quantitative. It is only with the SALT dialogue that the Soviets were willing to give up the position of superiority vis a vis the US.

The basic difference between the American and Soviet perceptions of nuclear war and doctrine were on the definitions of what constituted 'victory'. To the Soviets, victory encompassed the military, the political and economic objectives. It stood for limiting the damage to the Soviet Union, defeat the NATO / United States and dominate the post-war world. American perception of 'victory' had more of status quo overtones. It sought to retain the global balance as it was, with an inherent American superiority and work for global order through the policy of deterrence.

In a widely publicized speech in 1983, American President, Ronald Reagan, questioned: "Would it not be better to save lives than to avenge them?" He called for a long term research programme that would lead the United States to the goal of eliminating the threat posed by offensive strategic nuclear weapons. Since the time the Soviets had become nuclear, both the US and the Soviet Union had been vulnerable to nuclear attack. The logic of first strike and of the capability of second strike had ensured that stability is achieved through deterrence. Now the Americans planned to devise means of defence against a possible missile attack from the Soviet Union by creating a high-tech space-based defence capability based on entirely new technologies. By asking the scientific community to provide the means of rendering the attacking nuclear missiles obsolete, Reagan was in fact questioning the very basis of deterrence as a security strategy in the nuclear age. The new American

argument was that deterrence based on the ability to defend rather than retaliate with a predictable devastation of the enemy was a better option. This research programme has come to be called the **Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI)**, otherwise called as the Star Wars programme.

SDI was a research programme that was to investigate the feasibility of new defensive technologies based in space. The new technologies aimed to detect, track and destroy the Soviet missiles. The detection would be done from the point of its takeoff; the tracking would continue throughout its flight path and the destruction of the attacking missile would be done any time from its take off until its last stage of zeroing onto the target. This entire mechanism was to be achieved through space based detection systems and the weapons to do this would be non-nuclear; including laser beams, high energy particle beams, kinetic energy, etc. This programme was much more ambitious than the Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty, 1972) that had sought to protect the command and control centres of the US and the Soviet Union with anti-ballistic missile defence systems. The ABM had formally recognised the development and the deployment of defensive systems for one command and control centre in each country; the SDI was aiming to protect the entire nation.

The Soviets appeared to take the U.S. programme very seriously and felt that with this the Americans were trying to regain the monopoly of the 1950s. The technological advances claimed by the proponents of the programme did not materialise and eventually the programme was reduced in scope and size. Eventually, the SDI programme was to lead the United States to develop the **Theatre Missile Defence System** and the **National Missile Defence System**. The former defence system looked after the defence of specific geopolitical theatres like Western Europe while the latter was to look to the defence of the mainland United States and Canada.

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## 5.7 SUMMARY

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More than half a century after the introduction of nuclear weapons, weapons which were supposed to make conventional war obsolete, conventional warfare continues to dominate the pattern of conflicts. In the context of the two superpowers, nuclear weapons, however, did place limitations on the concept of total war that had been the feature of the two great wars. This brought forward the concept of 'limited war<sup>7</sup>'.

The unit also examined the place of conventional war in the nuclear age. As we saw, conventional warfare has evolved along with the technological changes. We have entered into the fourth generation warfare methods where unlike the earlier generations of warfare, the entire society is seen as a battlefield. In this phase, there is a decreased dependence on centralised logistics and use of leaner and technologically sophisticated armies. The objective of this warfare is on collapsing the enemy internally rather than defeating it in an all out war.

We have also examined the thinking on nuclear weapons, particularly focusing on the concepts and elements of nuclear strategy that made the peculiar situation of building up of a nuclear arsenal for its non-use a reality. It should, however be noted that, despite the emergence of new nuclear weapons states and the spread of nuclear capability, nuclear

strategists continue to debate on the methodology of use of nuclear weapons in time of war. The modern day sophistication that has come in the weapon systems has meant that these weapons have a 'tactical' use. One can predict the degree of destruction in terms of geographic limits to some certainty. Yet, one may not, perhaps, be able to quantify the subsequent ill effects of the bombing. What happens if deterrence fails? The fundamental dilemma of nuclear strategy remains –that with the failure of deterrence one may have to turn to conventional rather than nuclear weapons as the next option. In the next unit, we will focus on an entirely new pattern of warfare that has emerged in the post-war era. This warfare is within the broad ambit of 'internal security' and covers such types of wars like revolutionary wars, civil wars, insurgency, and the modern era asymmetric warfare of and on terrorism.

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## **5.8 EXERCISES**

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- 1) Trace the evolution of conventional war over the ages.
- 2) Write a note on Andre Bsaufre's choices of total strategy.
- 3) What is Limited War? How does a limited war escalate?
- 4) Explain the following concepts: Deterrence; brinkmanship; coercive diplomacy and Compellence.
- 5) Write a note on American Nuclear strategy since 1945.
- 6) What are the key features of Soviet nuclear doctrine?

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# **UNIT 6 TYPES OF WAR: REVOLUTIONARY WAR, CIVIL WAR, GUERRILLA WAR, INSURGENCY AND COUNTER INSURGENCY, PROXY WAR AND ASYMMETRICAL WAR AND TERRORISM**

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## **Structure**

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Revolutionary War
  - 6.2.1 History**
  - 6.2.2 Features**
- 6.3 Civil War
  - 6.3.1 Operational and Structural Aspects**
- 6.4 Insurgency and Counter Insurgency
  - 6.4.1 Major Forms of Insurgency**
- 6.5 Guerrilla War
- 6.6 Asymmetric War and Terrorism
  - 6.6.1 Terrorism**
- 6.7 Proxy War
- 6.8 Summary
- 6.9 Exercises

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## **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

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In the earlier chapter on types of war we saw that the discussion of 'war' is done at two levels. At one level, the discussion concerned the conflicts between nation-states. War, as is normally understood, is 'international'; where two or more nations fight on issues of differing national interests. These interests may focus on ideology, power, territory or simply perceptions of each other. At another level, one can see that the discussion centred on conflicts that occur within nations. These conflicts may arise to oust those who hold the reigns of power; they may arise to seek redressal of grievances, or arise out of certain rights that have been denied to a section of populace of a particular nation. In some cases, the internal uprisings may get support from outside powers, on some they may not. They may seek change within the nation-state in terms of change of government or regime; they may seek more powers through decentralisation; or they may eventually lead to a call for self-determination and the creation of a new nation-state itself. In either or all of these

cases the problem is of **internal** security in a broad sense. The labels, however, may vary from revolutionary wars, civil wars, guerrilla war, insurgency, asymmetric warfare or terrorism.

One must also make a difference between types of war as they have come to be classified and the methodology used to fight them. The term **revolutionary war** or **civil war**, for example, has over the years come to be classified as a type of war in view of the political objectives that it carries. **Guerrilla war, terrorism, low intensity conflicts, proxy war**, on the other hand, are tools, means, or methods of conducting such a struggle. All of them are methods of warfare used in revolutionary war or civil war. These methods, that is, guerrilla warfare, terrorism and low intensity conflict, together may be considered as **insurgency** in a broad sense of the term. Insurgency is primarily a political phenomenon that uses violence as a 'legitimate' tool. The tool of violence is manifest in forms like guerrilla war, terrorism, and low intensity conflicts. This system of warfare that is a product of such tools of violence is also called **asymmetric warfare**. It is asymmetric not only because of the differential in the force-capabilities of the two sides, but also because the war is fought without any 'ground rules'. In this type of warfare, little distinction is made between combatants and non-combatants. No value judgement is attempted to be made in the use of terrorism and the destruction that it carries. **Proxy war** as a tool or means of conducting a struggle has a slightly different connotation. Proxy war has an underlying political motive to it; it is generally associated with an indirect support given by any country for a political struggle in another country or against another country.

#### Non-Traditional Forms of Conflict

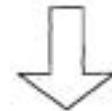
##### Revolutionary War



Against the State to capture political power

##### Objectives

##### Civil War



Internal societal turmoil to retain or capture power

##### Method of Warfare

Politico-Military

Politico-Military and Social

##### Description of the methods of Warfare

Asymmetric warfare / Insurgency  
Proxy war

##### Tools used in Warfare

Guerrilla war, terrorism, low intensity conflicts

## 6.2 REVOLUTIONARY WAR

A very simple definition of Revolutionary War would be a war that seeks to capture political power through use of armed force. There are several implications to the capture of political power that are implied in the definition. Firstly, there is a well-articulated and

well-propagated political programme for which a significant number of the people are fighting against the **regime** in power. There is also an undercurrent of feeling of having been deprived or violated against as justification for the struggle **against** the ruling classes. There is, further, an argument that peaceful change has not worked, hence the people taking to arms. The struggle is usually not a short battle but a prolonged struggle against the repressive rule. In most cases this **struggle** is likely to be a violent one (though not all revolutions are violent). Essentially, there is a degree of consciousness about the objectives, the goals and the methods used to conduct the struggle. The objective **must be** revolutionary, in the sense it seeks a fundamental change in the existing system of power.

Revolutions shake the politico-social order in the society. Leon **Trotsky**, once actually argued that the final **revolution** in the world would consist of a series of small and violent upheavals going on everywhere, lasting perhaps for generations. The Americans have never experienced a modern political revolution, which is the overthrow of an established government to form a new society (not just a new government). The American Revolution was really a war of independence, it gave America freedom and a new government, but it left the essentials of the American society unchanged. It was the French Revolution that gave the word its first modern meaning. Revolution was more than making right the things that were wrong, it was an apocalyptic **programme** of a total social **transformation** and rebirth of a new society and with it a new polity.

Revolutionary war is essentially a domestic phenomenon; it is not an international war in the sense of a war between two states. Historically, revolutionary wars have been episodes in the time span of nation-states. They may have their own bodies of thought, ideologies, myths and legends; they may also have their own successes and failures. If a revolutionary war fails it may be dubbed as a revolt or rebellion by the ruling regime; success would classify it a liberation struggle. The 1857 episode of India was a 'mutiny' for the British; historians of independent India have looked at it as the first war of independence. These struggles are usually **carried** out in secrecy, hence there would be very little of archival data available, except for either subaltern or oral history of the period.

**Language** has always played an important role in revolutionary wars. It is the presentation of ideas, the 'selling' of revolutionary ideas to the public at large, the **demonisation** of the ruling class, the creation of hate figures, etc. that are keys to the approach to such a war. The polemics is part of the game played to win support. Thus the government forces become 'occupation forces'; 'enemies of the people'; 'puppet regimes'; 'fascist'; and in modern times, 'violators of fundamental human rights'. There cannot be a political or neutral vocabulary as language itself is used as a weapon.

### 6.2.1 History

Many students of strategy have always looked to the **Chinese** military philosopher, Sun Tsu (or Sun Wu) as one of the first strategists who formulated the principles of revolutionary war. Sun Tsu put great stress on overcoming the enemy by stratagem and not by brute force. It meant submitting the enemy to one's will by **non-military** means involving struggles in the field of politics, economics, diplomacy and science and technology. **Chanakya** (Kautilya) accomplished a similar task in India. Chanakya presented his perceptions on

how to wage a battle. Both Sun Tsu and Chanakya focussed on the strategy to be adopted for success in battle. In a sense they do not constitute the core of the conceptual debate of revolutionary war as is understood in modern times as a struggle within a nation-state.

The French revolution of 1789 was not planned or instigated by conspirators. It was a spontaneous uprising of the masses, the peasants in particular, who demanded more land and fewer burdens, and of the urban folk who were sick of the poverty and degradation they were reduced to. It was partly a struggle of the middle classes excluded from political power by the feudal society. At the time of the revolution, France was not a poor country. Power was in the hands of the privileged nobles and the aristocracy, trade and industry were growing. Yet there existed a vast deprived class, those who sought political power and those who sought relief from hunger. The middle class revolution finally transformed France from a feudal to a bourgeois society.

The revolution of 1848 started in Paris when troops fired into a crowd of demonstrators. College students played an important part in the 1848 revolutions. In Berlin, they manned barricades; in Vienna students led brigades of workers in fighting the Imperial forces. The French King Louis Philippe was driven onto exile in Britain; Prince Metternich of Austria fled from the collapsing Habsburg Empire; in Prussia King Fredrick William was forced to promise wide ranging reforms; the Hungarians, Czechs and the Austrians were in revolt. It looked as if Europe had crossed the divide that the France had crossed in 1798. However, within a year these revolutions had been crushed. The armies had refused to join the revolution. But more important was the growing public fear of the new working class which had taken part in several uprisings. While the middle class were demanding civil rights, the working class sought a far more radical transformation of the society.

It was this cause of radical transformation of society that came to be championed by Karl Marx. It was in the Paris Commune of 1871 that Marx's proletariat made their debut as a revolutionary class. The Parisians' first act of defiance was in declaring themselves independent of the rest of France, the idea of a single city taking on the entire country never seemed odd to the revolutionaries. The rapid and decisive military action taken by the French nationalist government eventually left more than twenty-five thousand dead. Once threatened by an armed people, the ruling class had stopped at nothing to disarm them. There could not be a compromise. Yet the memory of the Paris Commune remained indelible. Karl Marx was to write in his dispatches 'the workingmen's Paris with its Commune will forever be celebrated as the harbinger of a new society'.

It was in Russia that the proletariat finally succeeded in realising the Commune's promise nearly forty years later. The Russian revolution of 1917 began spontaneously as an urban uprising against the monarchical and feudal regime doomed by its past and by the First World War. Yet Lenin knew that the proletariat could never win without a dedicated elite to lead them. It was the Bolshevik Party that swept him into power; it was this party, not the proletariat that was to finally taste the fruits of victory.

Still later, it was the victory of the communists in China in 1949 and the writings of Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) that was to provide a contemporary relevance to the concept of revolutionary war in modern times. Mao Tse-tung realised that the Marxist approach to a

purely proletarian revolution may not work in the agrarian society of China, hence he looked to the peasantry as the main support of the revolution. The Chinese doctrine of revolutionary warfare was built around peasant based guerrilla war. Mobilising the support of the peasant class was a political not a military task and primacy of the political over the military concerns was the hallmark of Mao's idea.

In Mao's perception the army's role shifted from merely politicising the people to relying on the people. Since reactionaries and imperialists occupied the cities, it was necessary to build a base in the villages. Such bases would provide the means for carrying out the strategic tasks of acquiring control over the country. Mao's reliance was on the villages, on the regional forces and not the main army, on human motivation and not military technique, and warfare and not political action alone. Political power to him grew out of the barrel of the gun. Mao expected the revolutionary leader to fuse knowledge, intellect, passion and discipline into a single directed purpose. No gap existed between theory and practice, theorising about revolutionary strategy was itself part of revolution.

## 6.2.2 Features

One can identify the following general features of Revolutionary war:

**Political Features:** Revolutionary war is conducted for certain specific political objectives with a political leadership at the helm of the affairs. While the 'military' wing of the revolutionary warfare is important it would be under political control. It is through the political activities along with simultaneous revolutionary war that one can keep contact with the people at large who constitute the support base of the revolutionaries.

**Military Features:** Guerrilla warfare is an important element of revolutionary warfare. Since the revolutionaries have to face the might of the State they cannot afford to take on the State forces in direct confrontation. The skilful use of terrain, and designing the strategy to suit the requirements of the times are essential for the strategists of revolutionary warfare.

**Socio-Economic Features:** Revolutionary warfare is always fought against actual or perceived injustice. Efforts are made to keep the objectives of the struggle as those that benefit the oppressed population and those that would provide the population a relief from the burden imposed by the State. The logical target areas remain the socio-economic sectors where several promises could be made.

**Ideological Features:** Ideology forms a key element in revolutionary warfare. It provides the rationale to recruit persons and sustain interest in a long drawn struggle. It acts as a binding force and a motivator for taking risks that may prove to be suicidal at times.

**Psychological Features:** Revolutionary warfare seeks to capture the imagination of the people; it is a struggle for the mind of the people. One of the common means used to do this is propaganda. At another level, it is also a struggle to maintain the commitment of the revolutionaries who may be weary of a long and sometimes an unsuccessful struggle.

## **6.3 CIVIL WAR**

Civil war is a societal conflict that occurs within a country. It may occur to either retain power and authority and therefore the legitimacy to govern or it may occur to snatch the same from those holding on to it. The means used to either retain power or snatch it are essentially extra legal in the sense that violence is a key element of the struggle. It is due to the use of violence that it is called a war. It is 'civil' because it is located in the society and deals with the future of the society concerned – it is not a war that is international or one that involves two or more nation-states.

Civil war may either be a spontaneous phenomenon or a deliberately planned one. In a number of states where there is instability in the political systems spontaneous uprisings may result in the sudden overthrow of governments. One or the other groups may fill up the resultant power vacuum and fighting may rage between them for several years. A **planned civil war**, on the other hand, is a systematic struggle that is deliberately structured.

Why does a planned civil war take place? Two reasons have been given for such an occurrence. Both these reasons assume that the ultimate objective of the fight is to seek a change in government, capture authority (not just power) and gain legitimacy. These reasons are: (a) there do not exist normal and effective channels for grievance redressal in an existing system of governance. It is also likely that any attempt to express one's grievance may be construed as opposition to or a revolt against the authority and be crushed by use of force. (b) a slow but certain feeling takes shape amongst the people that the only way to get the authorities to redress their grievances is to revolt since all peaceful means have proved futile.

### **6.3.1 Operational and Structural Aspects**

Three stages have been identified as stages in the organisational development of a long range planned civil war. These stages may be considered in terms of the stages required for planning and execution of a civil war or in the context of the escalation of already existing violence.

The first stage is the building up of a structure of resistance movement. In such a stage the degree of violence may be sporadic and uncoordinated. There are several considerations that go into the building of a structure of resistance. Such a structure is usually a clandestine one. The density and the distribution of population would be one important consideration, especially in terms of deciding whether one has to conduct an urban or a rural operation. One part of the consideration of population is the ethnic composition of the people. The local customs and traditions have also to be noted, as they would determine the support base from the community at large. Along with the population, the geographic layout of land would also have to be considered to plan the method of operation.

Given these considerations the structural elements that take shape would include the following: the civil leadership; military headquarters; intelligence; communication; propaganda; cadres; logistic support; fighting arms (the guerrillas); and service providers like medical care, documentation, etc. The question of centralisation or decentralisation of the command

structure is also a matter of consideration. The LTTE in Sri Lanka, for example, has a relatively well-developed structure that has a centralised command structure.

The second phase is the application of violence. At this stage the structure is usually in place and the **guerrilla** activities including underground movements and sabotage start. The targets are usually centres that represent the authority of the State like the communication centres, police stations, government offices, etc. The techniques used by these fighters are usually organised along military lines. One of the critical elements in the method of creating terror is the way in which the population responds. The selective use of terror and the counter insurgency operations conducted by the State need to be understood. The success of the civil war is to get the population to oppose and hate the counter-insurgency operation through means of propaganda and violence. People constitute the key support to the fighters. If they lose that base they have lost the war. Hence the revolutionaries or insurgents have to ensure that the people are likely to turn against the State rather than the fighters. In modern times most insurgent operations have blatantly used the cause of human rights violation as a weapon to target the State apparatus. Insurgents are able to gain sympathy internationally if they cry out against real or imaginary human right violations by the state. There are several instances in **Kashmir** and the North East insurgent activity where the call for human rights has been misused by terrorist outfits through proxy.

The third phase is a crucial phase. Now the insurgency comes out in the open, it's the last stage to now gain power and is done publicly. The civil war may end successfully by gaining control of the government or may get destroyed in the bargain. However, success may bring its own problems. The revolutionary zeal that constituted the core of the struggle may not help in the future **governance** of the state, for governance is more of a status quo activity.

In South Asia, the civil war in East Pakistan eventually led to the successful takeover of power by the **Mukti Bahini**, which went to form the government of independent Bangladesh. The current **Sri Lankan** crisis is a civil war fought by the Tamils with the LTTE as the key organiser of the struggle.

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## 6.4 INSURGENCY AND COUNTER INSURGENCY

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An insurgency is a rebellion by an irregular armed force that rises up against an established authority, government, administration or occupation. It is an organised movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through use of subversion and armed conflict. Insurgency is an activity. Though some forms may appear passive, insurgency is "action." An insurgency is usually directed at changing the policies of the government, its personnel, or the governmental structure, by non-legitimate means. Insurgency lies between politics and international war. If war, as Clausewitz declared, is "diplomacy by other means," then insurgency is certainly "politics by other means."

### 6.4.1 Major Forms of Insurgency

**Non-Violent Resistance:** Non-violence is to deprive a government of any popular support, to deny the government the sense of legitimacy it needs to exercise power. Despite being

termed as 'passive resistance' it is an active, not a passive, method of waging insurgent war by defying the authority of the state. The police and army are the usual targets of non-violent attack. The objective of such a form of warfare is not always to seek extensive changes in the overall structure and policies of government. It is a demonstration of dissatisfaction. People show they feel change is needed, but are willing for a compromise.

Some of the methods of non-violence include Non-violent Protest, Non-violent Non-cooperation and Non-violent Intervention. Non-violent protest is symbolic action. Protest marches, demonstrations, are some of the means used for protest. Its purpose is to create awareness in the minds of the authority about the discontent in the minds of the people. Non-cooperation was one of the classic methods employed during the freedom struggle under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. Strikes and slow downs in the work place are some of its methods. Non-violent intervention involves fasting, sit-ins, obstruction, even forced entry into buildings or restricted areas, and installation of parallel governments. It directly challenges the government. The most important condition in this form is to remain non-violent--even when faced with violence from opponents.

There are many familiar examples of non-violent insurgency: Mahatma Gandhi's resistance to the British; U.S. Civil Rights marches; the refusal of American colonists to buy goods from England; an outstanding recent example was the 1968 Czech people's response to the Soviet invasion.

**Coup:** The coup differs from revolution in that the power base of the country is not destroyed, and generally is not even damaged. It is usually done by the take over of the civilian authority by the military. Power in the society is simply transferred from one group in the power structure to another group in the same structure. Some scholars use the Samuel Huntington thesis of political order in post-colonial states to explain this phenomenon. The central argument is that poverty, ethnic, regional and linguistic conflicts, etc., do not by themselves create instability. Institutions are weak to cope with the conflicts over scarce resources arising out of socio-political mobilisation. It is the resultant gap between the State and the Society that becomes the basic cause or even pretext for military rule.

**Guerrilla Warfare:** Guerrilla war is comprised of combat operations conducted in enemy-held territory by predominantly indigenous forces. The operations use military or para-military methods and aim to reduce the combat effectiveness, industrial capacity, and morale of the enemy.

**Terrorism:** Terrorism has been defined as a sub-state application of violence or the threat to use violence with an intention to create panic in the society. US State Department defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience".

**Revolution:** Revolutions shake the politico-social order in the society. Revolution, as we observed, is more than making right the things that were wrong, it was an apocalyptic programme of a total social transformation and rebirth of a new society and with it a new polity. (Details of this have been discussed elsewhere).

**Civil War:** Civil war, as we saw, is a societal conflict that occurs within a country. It may occur to either retain power and authority and therefore the legitimacy to govern or it may occur to snatch the same from those holding on to it.

Broadly, there are four types of insurgent groups. The first are the ***Regime*** Loyalists who are people who consist of the old military and security forces of the previous regime who oppose an existing regime. Second are the ***Disaffected Citizens***. They are untrained, leaderless, delinquents and criminals for the most part, who will do anything for money, anything in the hope of making an illegal profit, and may or may not be genuinely angry about the occupation of their country. The third type is the ***Terrorists*** who may have been operating in the country beforehand, or terrorists who have come into the country after the occupation. Finally, there are the ***Foreign Fighters*** who would either be mercenaries or ideologically (religious or otherwise) motivated fighters.

Insurgency is a resistance movement that aims at challenging the duly constituted government. Insurgencies benefit from prevailing conditions of chaos, mob violence, societal breakdown, and psychological turmoil. Leaders gain prestige trying to mobilise people into action, and most groups use collective leadership since the movement would end if there is only single leader and he is killed. Such a movement also has some ideology that has popular appeal. Insurgency and counter-insurgency are asymmetric forms of non-traditional warfare. The insurgents are fighting for the most effect with limited resources, and the counter-insurgents are fighting to thwart their attempts; yet both sides are fighting for the hearts and minds of the population. In this sense, both sides are engaged in psychological warfare. A Psychological warfare campaign is a war waged by and for the minds, and involves the use of diverse communication devices: television, radio, loudspeakers, leaflets, newspapers, books, magazines, music, and posters to deliver a message that secures loyalty to the objectives of those in power.

The goal of counter-insurgency operations conducted by the existing government or **militias** is to stop insurgency. At times, these operations also help the opposing sides to agree to a cease fire or disarmament and restore some sense of civil law and order. Counter-insurgency operations are different from conventional warfare and other actions. In this case, counter-insurgency is like peacekeeping operations and nation re-building. It involves both activities, that of the military and police forces, and negotiation and conflict resolution by civilian authorities.

#### Difference between Traditional War and Counter Insurgency

	Traditional War	Counter Insurgency
Objective	Defeat of the enemy	National Security and Development
Target	Enemy forces	Legitimacy
Means	Police or Armed forces	Police force, Armed forces or Political initiative
Method	War	Limited use of armed forces as anti-insurgency campaign to break the insurgency. Initiation of developmental programmes at the socio-economic level: industrialisation; and initiation of the political process of representation.
Nature of the Methods used	Use of force	Psychological; Political and even use of force.
Planning	Traditional	New and Innovative planning
Areas of operation	Geopolitical field of the battle/war	Geopolitical; political and social

## **6.5 GUERRILLA WAR**

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Guerrilla operations do not necessarily have a revolutionary political aim, though their actions always contain a revolutionary potential. The U.S. Army explains guerrilla war as "combat operations conducted in enemy-held territory by predominantly indigenous forces on military or para-military basis to reduce the combat effectiveness, industrial capacity, and morale of the enemy. Guerrilla operations are conducted by relatively small groups employing offensive tactics."

Guerrillas attack legitimate governmental and military targets. Guerrilla tactics consist of hit and run tactics, avoiding pitched battles, eluding the enemy pursuit by hiding in hills or forests or amongst the populace. These are simple tactics of conducting a revolutionary war. Guerrilla targets are military personnel (or police) rather than civilians. Guerrillas, by the nature of their offensive, must rely on significant popular support for their activities.

Guerrillas employ mobility, elusiveness and surprise to compensate for their weaknesses in men and equipment - and they usually comply with the recognised rules of warfare. By following those rules they earn the right to be treated as soldiers, not criminals. Under the most recent internationally accepted version of the rules of war, guerrillas must have a responsible commander who will answer for the conduct of subordinates; operations must be carried out in ways that comply with other customs and rules of warfare.

Guerrillas hold on to little or no territory; attack when and where they consider the opposition weakest, and withdraw when the enemy gains strength; and derive the bulk of their support from the people of the area where they are operating — though there may be some outside help.

Mao Tse Tung argued that guerrillas were like fish — in that they needed the water of popular support to survive. He defined three stages of guerrilla operations. The first phase is an organisation, consolidation and preservation stage. This is the stage when the infrastructure is developed; use is made of small-scale hit-and-run raids for propaganda, morale and training. In this phase attacks are allowed only when the insurgent guerrillas have overwhelming superiority in firepower, good position and surprise. The second phase is of "progressive expansion." In this phase, the guerrilla moves from small-scale operations to more ambitious attacks. While the hit-and-run tactic is still used, the guerrillas expand the base area and strengthen their control over that section of territory. Government-controlled areas that previously were immune to attack now come under attack. The third phase of guerrilla operations is a decisive stage. The insurgents have grown large enough, to oppose the government in conventional ways. Guerrilla-type hit-and-run tactics are now abandoned. Mao considers this phase to be like a Civil War.

In India, the tactics used by Chhatrapati Shivaji in Maharashtra were a classic form of guerrilla warfare. Shivaji's '*Adyapatra*' spells out, the methods of guerrilla warfare. He made excellent use of the lay of the land that was essentially hilly and mountainous and with forest cover to harass the enemy. Given a relatively small army at his disposal and far lesser resources than the Mughal and Nizam empires, he avoided direct confrontation with the enemy forces, instead used hit and run tactics. He also made use of various hill forts as both, means of conducting warfare and also as sanctuary at times of siege.

## **6.6 ASYMMETRIC WAR AND TERRORISM**

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The concept of 'asymmetric war' has gained currency in the post-Cold war period, though it is as old as war itself, because it is about a confrontation between the powerful and the weak. In the asymmetric conflict, the militarily disadvantaged power, usually a non-state actor presses its special advantages or exploits its enemy's particular weakness to achieve its objective. In other words, this type of conflict eludes the internationally accepted rules of war that entered into force with the League of Nations first, and then with the United Nations. The tools or methods of asymmetrical warfare range from guerrilla tactics to propaganda and other varieties of low intensity conflicts. Since the Cold War, say analysts, examples of asymmetric war have included the struggles of the separatist Chechens against the Russian army and the Palestinians against the Israeli army. India now faces a virulent form of asymmetric warfare conducted from sub-state players based in Pakistan.

### **6.6.1 Terrorism**

Asymmetric warfare is not synonymous with terrorism though terrorism is sometimes used as a tactic by the weaker side in an asymmetric conflict. Terrorism has been defined as a sub-state application of violence or the threat to use violence with an intention to create panic in the society. It may appear to use guerrilla tactics, but it differs from guerrilla warfare in that terrorists do not hold on to territory like the guerrillas do at some stage of their operations. The US State Department defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience".

The word 'terrorism' was coined during France's Reign of Terror in 1793-94 following the French Revolution. Originally, the leaders of the Revolution attempted to weed out "traitors" among the revolutionary forces. They praised terror as the best way to defend liberty. But as the Revolution progressed, the word soon came to be associated with state violence by the Revolutionary State itself and with the guillotine. The dawn of modern day terrorism is considered to begin with the attack on the Israeli Olympic team at Berlin in 1972. Since then there have been airplane hijackings and bombings; assassinations like that of Rajiv Gandhi; and in, perhaps, one of the most daring of episodes, the using of aircraft by the terrorists in the September Eleven destruction of the New York World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. Today, most terrorists eschew the label, preferring to perceive themselves as irregular military forces and even as freedom fighters.

The terrorists of the earlier century had strong ideological moorings. Terrorist groups traditionally contain strong quasi-religious, fanatical elements that form the core of the fighters. But a distinction needs to be made between state sponsored terrorism or state terrorism and non-state terrorism. Americans have for long identified Libya and Iran (during Khomeini rule), as cases of state sponsored terrorism. States that provide a haven for terrorist activity or sanctuary for terrorist groups would also be in this category. Today, much of terrorist activity is in the nature of ethnic separatist movements. In some cases, the ethnic groups are supported by pan religious linkages that cut across borders. The many-branched Muslim Brotherhood would fall in this category while groups like the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Kurdish extremists, the Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA) of Spain fall in the ethnic movement category.

One can identify four different types of terrorism. First, there is the **Nationalist-Separatist Terrorism** which is violence undertaken by those seeking to establish a separate state for their own national/ethnic group. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), Basque Homeland & Liberty (ETA), the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are some of the terrorist groups that fall in this category. Then there is **Religious Terrorism** or the use of violence by those fighting for abstract religious ideologies, seeking to further what they conceive as divinely commanded purposes, often targeting broad categories of 'enemies' in an attempt to bring about sweeping changes. Aum Shinrikyo, Al-Qaida, Hezbollah, Hamas etc are some of the terrorist groups that fall under this category. **Left-Wing Terrorism** is another type of terrorism. It refers to violence undertaken by those seeking to destroy capitalism and replace it with a communist or socialist regime. Some of the terrorist groups in this category are the Red Army Faction (RAF), German Red Brigades, Prima Linea, the Weather Underground/Symbionese Liberation Army, etc. Closely related to this category is the **Right-Wing Terrorism** practiced by those seeking to dispense with liberal democratic government. Finally, we have **State sponsored terrorism**. Here the State itself either uses terrorist tactics to achieve its objectives or harbours or supports terrorist groups by providing them with a variety of support structures.

There has always been a debate about ethnic movement-based terrorism that one needs to mention here. If the ethnic movement seeks the right to self-determination and is using terrorist means to achieve it, would they be classified as terrorists or freedom fighters? Academic literature on the concept of right to self-determination presents several theories that seek to understand the morality of secession. 'Just Cause' theories present a strong link between the right to resist tyranny and the right to self-determination and by doing so it grounds the right to self-determination in the framework of human rights. Therein comes the big question, can one man's terrorist be another's freedom fighter?

The case of Kashmir in the Indian context has been presented in this framework. Pakistan has always referred to the terrorism in Kashmir as the freedom movement of the **Kashmiris** (with or without support of Pakistan). India has criticised it as terrorism that has been sponsored by external forces. Perhaps an answer lies in the approach that one takes on the issue. One can look at the situation from two perspectives. One perspective is that of national integration of India. Any legitimate demand made by the people within the framework of national integration would be a legitimate demand even if the means border on terrorism. At another level, if terrorism is conducted in the name of abstract ideological considerations by elements that have no concern for the indigenous people and their legitimate concerns, such a struggle cannot be a legitimate one. Much of the 'Jehadi' struggle in Kashmir is of the latter variety, hence the concern about terrorism in the region.

How does one protect oneself from terrorism? Long established democracies have today to face the reality that some loss of civil liberty is inevitable if one has to institute measures to protect the people. This would include curbs on free passage of people across borders; greater surveillance on suspect individuals; suspension of some civil rights in affected areas; etc. The fight against international terrorism cannot be conducted by individual nations; it has to be a coordinated effort. A sustained effort by the intelligence and law enforcement agencies across the world would be necessary to anticipate, identify, track and destroy terrorism. In the long run one would have to fight the mindset that is likely to generate terrorism and not simply try to contain it by force.

## **6.7 PROXY WAR**

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The term proxy war carries two crucial meanings that make it different from being a 'type of war' to just a 'tool' or a 'method' of conflict. The first is the state centric perspective about the war. Here the primary conflict is between two or more States; the method of conflict is not conventional war. Since the conflict is essentially between States, the objective of the conflict may be described as essentially 'political'. The second meaning of proxy war arises out of the indirect nature of involvement by the adversaries to the conflict. At a simplistic level this is a conflict between two or more states; the 'war' is not fought directly by the two states but through some other **intermediaries**. Such an intermediary may be another State or a group (terrorist/militant/etc) that would fight against the adversary (another state or government) by taking a variety of support from the first State. This support may come in form of weapons, finance, sanctuary for the fighters, global propaganda to support the struggle against the adversary, etc. One must note that despite the 'political' nature of the objectives of such a war, this war does not get classified as a different 'type of war' because of the nature of the war. It remains a 'tool' or a 'method' of warfare because the fighters who are involved in the war are essentially 'mercenaries'. They by themselves carry no concrete political agenda of their own since they are fighting some one else's war for a variety of benefits.

This term was used during the Cold war days in a specific context. During the days of US-Soviet rivalry, this term was used to describe the indirect involvement of either superpower in regional or local conflicts **around** the world. In the post-Soviet era, this term has acquired a new meaning. Today, it is loosely used to describe any indirect level support to either a country or a militant (or terrorist) group. The underlying purpose of this war has remained political. Thus one **talks** of a 'proxy war' that Pakistan is conducting against India in **Kashmir** through support given to a variety of militant groups. Such a support comes in form of finance, weapons, training, and provision of safe sanctuaries to militants in one's own country.

## **6.8 SUMMARY**

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Whereas previous wars were between armies and nations, and largely fought over spheres of influence, in the recent past a new type of **warfare** has gained prominence which involves more shadowy players with very different motives. Falling within the ambit of internal security, it involves marginalised and other groups which seek to oust the government or regime, redress grievances or independence. In some cases such intrastate conflicts may get support from outside powers. This unit focused on revolutionary wars and civil wars which have over the years come to be classified as a type of war associated with the political objectives that they carry. As we saw, revolutionary war is a war that seeks to capture political power through use of armed force. It is essentially a domestic phenomenon; it is not an international war in the sense of a war between two states. Civil war is also a societal conflict that occurs within a country. It occurs to either retain power and authority and therefore the legitimacy to govern or it may occur to snatch the same from those holding on to it. Civil war may either be a spontaneous phenomenon or a planned one. Insurgency, which is another type of war aimed at overthrow of constituted government

through the use of subversion and armed conflict.

Apart from discussing the different types of wars that fall within the ambit of intra-state conflicts, we have examined the means, tools and methods employed in these conflicts—guerrilla war, terrorism, and proxy war. In the subsequent units of this course, we examine the various approaches to deal with armed conflict and build peace.

## 6.9 EXERCISES

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- 1) What is revolutionary war? How does it differ from civil war?
- 2) Define insurgency and examine the various forms of insurgency.
- 3) What are the features of asymmetric warfare?
- 4) Describe the features and **types** of terrorism.
- 5) Critically examine the meaning of proxy war.

# **UNIT 7 UN SYSTEM: PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

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## **Structure**

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Modes of Peaceful Settlement of Disputes
  - 7.2.1 Negotiation
  - 7.2.2 Other Modes
- 7.3 The UN System: Goals, Policy and Principles
- 7.4 The UN System: The Principal Organs
  - 7.4.1 The Security Council
  - 7.4.2 The General Assembly
  - 7.4.3 The Economic and Social Council
  - 7.4.4 The Trusteeship Council
  - 7.4.5 The International Court of Justice
  - 7.4.6 The Secretariat
  - 7.4.7 Sub-organs and Commissions
  - 7.4.8 Specialised Agencies
- 7.5 Settlement of Disputes within the Framework of the UN family
  - 7.5.1 Parliamentary Diplomacy
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 Exercises

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## **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

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In a community if occurrence of violence is to be minimised, if not eliminated, there should exist practices or procedures by which disputes and conflicts that arise from time to time may be resolved. Otherwise the people involved in them will come to feel that recourse to violence is the only method available to settle them. Within a state, the legislature resolves major social conflicts by enacting laws. The judiciary settles the disputes between individual members of the community by applying the law. Some disputes, such as those between employers and the labour, are considered as not amenable to settlement by the judiciary, and so they are left to be resolved by collective bargaining between the groups concerned and by procedures such as conciliation. Some are submitted to adjudication also. In the international community, there are only two major non-violent methods available, the diplomatic methods and the adjudicative methods of settlement of disputes.

The use of diplomatic and adjudicative methods within the United Nation's system forms

the subject of this and the next unit. Before we examine the role of the UN system in facilitating the settlement of international disputes, it will be useful to introduce you to the various modes of peaceful settlement disputes as well as the objectives, principles, and functions of the UN.

## **7.2 MODES OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

The modes of peaceful or non-violent settlement of international disputes can be broadly divided into two; those marked by direct communications between the concerned parties and the others where the intermediary or a third party plays a vital role in resolving the issue.

### **7.2.1 Negotiation**

Negotiation is direct communication between the parties with a view to reach an agreement concerning mutual claims between the parties. If each party tries to accommodate, in part if not wholly, the claim of the other party, then the parties might be able to arrive at a mutually satisfactory settlement of their respective claims. If either party or both stand firm on their demands, negotiation cannot proceed. A bona fide negotiation requires that each party tries to understand the other party's concerns and accommodate the other latter's demands to the extent possible. The outcome of negotiation may be a settlement of the dispute or no settlement.

Negotiation has this feature that each party feels that it is dealing with the other party on a footing of equality. Indeed, the political reality is that often the negotiating parties are unequal. There are in the world community now, big powers, small powers and mini-powers. When a big power negotiates with a small power, there is scope for the former to use its superior position to coerce the latter to accept a particular solution. If the small power feels the impact of such coercion, it may terminate the negotiation.

Under international law, there is no obligation for a party to negotiate to settle a dispute, unless such an obligation was undertaken under a treaty or agreement. And an obligation to negotiate does not imply a duty to reach an agreement.

Negotiations may be on a bilateral basis, and also on a multilateral basis. When a large number of States are interested in a particular issue they may meet at a conference and conduct negotiations to resolve the issue. It is frequently seen in newspapers now reports of conferences concerning various matters. For example, the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III) met from 1973 to 1981 and arrived at a comprehensive treaty on the law of the sea. Conferences or Congresses are convened whenever there are a number of issues to be settled by multilateral negotiation.

### **7.2.2 Others Modes**

When negotiations break down there might be complete termination of communication between the parties concerning that dispute, unless a third party steps in to revive and

promote communication for reaching a settlement. Let us briefly examine the different procedures by which an intermediary may help the parties to reach a settlement.

## Lending Good Offices

A third party interested in the settlement of the dispute may lend its good offices to influence the disputing parties to resume their dialogue. Lending good offices means recommending and encouraging the parties to reach an agreed solution.

## Mediation

In mediation the intermediary functions more or less as a medium of communication between the parties. Before the First Hague Peace Conference, 1899, the stepping in of a third party to mediate was liable to be considered by the parties to a dispute as an impermissible intervention in their affairs. But the Hague Convention I, reached at that conference, provided that the signatories to that Convention had a right to offer good offices or mediation even during the progress of hostilities over a dispute, and such offer should not be regarded as an unfriendly act. The intermediary may promote communication between the parties and help them to settle their dispute.

## Conciliation

In international legal terminology, conciliation differs from mediation in that in the former the intermediary not merely functions as a medium of communication between the parties, but also plays an active role of suggesting to the parties the terms of settlement. Even in mediation or extending good offices, the intermediary may play some active role of suggesting to the parties the terms of the settlement. In some conciliation procedures provided under treaties, the procedure of conciliation resembles judicial procedure. The parties are required to state their cases in writing and permitted to make oral presentations, and the conciliator, or a body of conciliators, recommends a set of terms of settlement. It is then open to the parties either to accept or reject the terms, unlike in arbitration or judicial settlement, wherein the parties are bound to accept the award or judgment.

In mediation or conciliation, the intermediary exercises , une power over the parties to the dispute. The intermediary may choose what to communicate to the parties, what to omit, in what language to communicate, and how to time the communication. But the proposals given for settlement may not always be fully impartial, and sometimes may be designed to serve the interests of the intermediary. That is the reason why often parties to a dispute are averse to accepting mediation or conciliation. Without the consent of the parties neither extending good offices, nor mediation, nor conciliation is possible.

To be successful the conciliator should possess some skills. First, he should be able to conduct himself in such a manner that he appears to both the parties as quite impartial and objective. Second, he should be able to present to the parties different alternatives of settlement out of which the parties may make their choice.

There is the possibility that a mediator or conciliator may be so placed that he can offer something in return for what a party is asked to give up. A good intentioned big power mediating between two small powers may be able to do that. The World Bank was able

to bring about a settlement between India and Pakistan regarding the sharing of the Indus waters offering a big loan for some irrigation projects. .

## **Enquiry**

At the First Hague Peace Conference, 1899, this procedure was devised as an alternative to arbitration, so that those who may not be willing to accept arbitration may accept this procedure. In this procedure the parties agree that the intermediary will investigate the disputed questions of fact between the parties and give his finding. They may also agree that the intermediary will supply clarifications on questions of law. In the light of such findings and clarifications, the parties may reach an agreement to settle the dispute; or they may reject the findings and clarifications. In the past this procedure did help to solve ~~som~~ disputes.

## **Arbitration**

Arbitration as a method of settlement of disputes can be traced back to 600 B.C. in the practice of Greek States. It has had a troubled history in the Islamic world. In modern times, the practice developed in a significant way from the second half of the 19th century. The Alabama Claims Arbitration (1872) brought a serious dispute between Great Britain and United States to peaceful settlement. The Hague Convention I, 1899, adopted at the First Hague Peace Conference, and The Hague Convention II, adopted at the Second Hague Peace Conference, 1907, provided detailed rules concerning international arbitration.

During the time of the League of Nations, when there were serious discussions to plug the holes in the League system by adopting the triple formula of arbitration, disarmament and security, the League Assembly recommended to the members the adoption of the treaty, The General Act (Pacific Settlement of International Disputes), 1928. The General Act provided rules for arbitration. In 1949, the UN General Assembly adopted the Revised General Act for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This Act comes into force among such States as accede to it and become parties. However, as very few States have acceded to it, the effort of the International Law Commission of the UN has resulted only in drafting model rules on international arbitration.

The chief characteristics of arbitration are: First, the obligation to submit to arbitration arises from the consent given by the parties. Such consent may be under a special agreement (called *compromis*) concerning the particular dispute, or under a treaty provision which requires a particular category of disputes to be submitted to arbitration. Second, the constitution of the arbitration tribunal or its composition is as agreed to by the parties, unlike a judicial tribunal regarding the composition of which the parties have no choice. Third, the jurisdiction of the arbitral tribunal is limited to what is specifically conferred on it by the agreement. But the tribunal has competence to interpret the agreement and determine its jurisdiction. The judicial tribunal's jurisdiction is as conferred on it by the instrument by which it is established. Fourth, the law and procedure which govern the proceedings before the arbitral tribunal are as agreed to by the parties. In the absence of such an agreement, the tribunal may apply international law and the procedure commonly adopted by arbitral tribunals. The arbitral tribunal is unlike a judicial tribunal: the former applies the law and procedure as prescribed by the instrument by which it is established.

The decision given by the arbitral tribunal is binding on the parties. Usually States do abide by arbitral awards, but sometimes the losing party may set up the plea that the award is a nullity. When such a plea is put forward, the successful party may have to negotiate for a settlement, or adopt compulsive measures to secure compliance with the award. Such measures should now be in accord with provisions of the UN Charter. Possibly, the successful party may bring the non-compliance of the award before the UN Security Council as a matter threatening international peace and security.

The possible grounds on which the plea that an award is a nullity may be put forward are: (i) the agreement to submit to arbitration is itself invalid; (ii) the tribunal acted beyond its jurisdiction; (iii) the award is not supported by any reasoning or adequate reasoning; (iv) the award is vitiated by fraud or corruption on the part of the tribunal; (v) the tribunal committed an "essential error" or a "manifest error" of law, as when it fails to apply a clearly governing treaty. .

Arbitration remains now as a useful alternative to the parties when they do not desire to go to a court but want to abide by a third party decision. The relative flexibility in arbitration in the choice of the members of the tribunal, and of the law and procedure of the tribunal, may provide an attraction to the parties to prefer arbitration to judicial settlement.

### **Judicial Settlement**

Either party to a dispute may approach a judicial tribunal vested with jurisdiction or power to decide the dispute and draw the other party to it. The tribunal decides on the disputed questions of fact, applies the relevant law and gives its judgment. It is obligatory for the parties to carry out the decision. .

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## **7.3 THE UN SYSTEM: THE GOALS, POLICY AND PRINCIPLES**

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The Preamble to the UN Charter, the treaty instrument by which the Organisation was established, affirms the determination of the members of the UN "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war... ." War is used here in the general sense of an armed conflict of large scale between States. There is also the grand affirmation in the Preamble of the faith in the dignity and worth of human person. The Preamble expresses the members' resolve to establish conditions under which justice and respect for international law can be maintained, and to promote better standards of life in larger freedom. The policy to be adopted to attain these goals is stated as: to practice tolerance and live as good neighbours, to unite the strength of the members to maintain international peace and security, to accept principles and institutions by which armed forces shall not be used except in common interest, and to employ international machinery for promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples.

Articles 1 and 2 state more elaborately the purposes of the Organisation and the principles to be followed by it. Article 1(1) states the purpose of the Organisation to be the maintenance of international peace and security, and towards that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. The second part of the Article 1(1) mentions another

objective of the Organisation, viz., to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes, which might lead to a breach of the peace. Here two points may be noticed: First, maintenance of international peace and security is the prime objective of the Organisation, and peaceful settlement of disputes is stated as an objective contributing to the prime objective. Second, the settlement of disputes must be in conformity with the principles of justice and international law and not by way of appeasing an aggressive power by unjust and unlawful settlements.

The second objective is to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to strengthen universal peace (Article 1(2)). The third objective is to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social and cultural character and encouraging respect for human rights. The fourth and the last objective is that the UN should serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the three former objectives.

The principles on which the Organisation should act in attaining the above purposes are stated in Article 2. First, Article 2(1) states that the Organisation is based upon the principle of sovereign equality of all its members. Second, the principle of good faith requires that all members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, should fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them under the Charter (Article 2(2)). Third, Article 2(3) states that the members shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. This provision prohibits recourse to non-peaceful means to settle disputes.

The fourth principle, a very important one, is stated in Article 2(4). It states that all members shall refrain in their international relations from threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the Charter. "Force" here refers to physical or armed force. "Political independence" signifies freedom of the government of the State to reach decisions concerning the State, and this principle prohibits threat or use of force against a State to adopt any particular policy.

The fifth principle (Article 2(5)) requires that when the UN is taking preventive or enforcement action against any State, the members shall give every assistance to the UN and shall refrain from giving any assistance to the State against which the action is being taken. The sixth principle (Article 2(6)) requires that the Organisation shall ensure that States which are not members of the UN shall act in accordance with the previously stated five principles so far as it may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security. Thus, non-members shall not be allowed by the Organisation or its members to plead that they, being not parties to the UN Charter, are not bound to act in accordance with it, if the matter concerns the maintenance of international peace and security is concerned.

The seventh and the last principle states (Article 2(7)) that nothing in the UN Charter shall authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter, and adds that this principle shall not prejudice the enforcement measures taken under Chapter VII by the Security Council. This principle expressly excludes enforcement

measures from the scope of the prohibition of intervention in matters of domestic jurisdiction. Furthermore, it is well known that matters of "domestic jurisdiction" and of "international concern" are at once two polar and complementary groups of concerns. With the advancement of international relations, matters of domestic jurisdiction become matters of international concern. To illustrate, if any matter comes to be governed by customary international law, by a treaty, or by a general principle of law recognized by civilized nations (the three sources of international law), it ceases to be a matter within domestic jurisdiction. How a State treats its subjects was a matter within its domestic jurisdiction in the 19th century, and with the rise of human rights treaties and customary law in the 20th century, the State's treatment of its subjects violating human rights has become a matter of international concern.

## **7.4 THE UN SYSTEM: THE PRINCIPAL ORGANS**

The structure, powers and functions of the UN organs may be studied in order to learn how they contribute to the settlement of disputes. The UN has six principal organs and for the sake of convenience we shall start with studying the Security Council.

### **7.4.1 The Security Council**

The Security Council initially consisted of five permanent and six elected members. In 1965 the number of elected members was increased to ten, making a total of fifteen. The increase was prompted by the increase in the membership of the organisation. The five permanent members are the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia and China. Half of the non-permanent members retire every two years and their places are filled by election by the General Assembly. In electing, by convention, a pattern of geographical distribution is observed.

Under Article 24 of the Charter, the members of the Organisation conferred on the Security Council "primary responsibility" for the maintenance of international peace and security. By Article 25, the members agreed to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

Each member of the Council has one vote, and on procedural matters the Council reaches a decision by a simple majority. On all other matters a resolution can be adopted by a majority of nine votes (before 1965, seven votes), including "the concurring votes" of five permanent members." "Concurring votes" is interpreted in practice to mean votes of those who are present and vote. Absence from the meeting or abstention from voting of a permanent member does not prevent the Council from adopting a resolution. Only a negative vote cast by a permanent member prevents the adoption of the resolution. Thus the permanent members are given the power to veto any resolution. The veto power was given to permanent members taking into account the reality of world politics. If, for instance, a decision is taken against a permanent member it is difficult to enforce that decision. And that member may leave the Organisation causing the Organisation immense damage.

Chapter VI of the Charter, comprising Articles 33 to 38, sets out the powers of the Security Council concerning peaceful settlement of disputes. Article 33, Clause (1) states: "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." Clause (2) adds, "The Security Council shall when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means." Clause (1) more or less elaborates the principle set out in Article 2(3).

Article 34 empowers the Security Council to investigate any dispute, or situation that might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Such investigation is preliminary to deciding whether to take action under Article 33 (2).

Article 35 gives power not only to the disputing parties but any member of the UN, any non-member if it accepts the obligations of pacific settlement of disputes under the Charter, to bring to the attention of the Security Council any dispute or situation the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Under Article 36, the Security Council may, at any stage of the dispute or situation likely endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, recommend to the parties appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment, taking into consideration the procedures that have already been adopted. In making the recommendation, the Security Council should also take into consideration that disputes on questions of law, as a general rule, must be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the statute of the Court. According to Article 37, if the parties to a dispute fail to settle any dispute by following the procedures mentioned in Article 33, they are bound to refer it to the Security Council, and the Security Council, if it deems that the continuance of the dispute is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, may decide to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment under Article 36, or such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate under Article 37. The recommendation under Article 36 concerns procedures or methods of adjustment and under Article 37 the terms of settlement.

If the dispute or situation is of such nature that its continuance is not likely to endanger international peace and security, the Security Council is not competent to take any action. However, under Article 38, if all the parties to the dispute so request, it may make recommendations with a view to peaceful settlement of the dispute. This is in general an unlikely contingency, the reasons for which will be noticed below. However, it always is open for the parties to request the Security Council, or any international organ, to give a binding decision, i.e., one in the nature of an arbitral decision.

It will be noticed that the power given to the Security Council under Chapter VI is only a power to recommend. It is in the nature of "soft" power, the power of persuasion. A party is not bound to carry out a recommendation. But a recommendation is not totally devoid of effect. First, there will be always an expectation that if a recommendation is totally ignored by a party, further decisions of the Council on the dispute are likely to be adverse to such the party. Second, the party to which a recommendation is made is bound to take note of the principle of good faith stated in Article 2(3). The party may have liberty to consider when, in what manner, and to what extent the recommendation may be carried out, but it cannot totally disregard the recommendation. Third, a party complying with the

recommendation is unlikely to be considered as having acted illegally and thus the recommendation may **legitimise** the action taken in compliance with it.

The Security Council is not like the Cabinet of a national government. The members of the Council **will** be acting always taking into consideration, **first** their respective national interests, then the interests of their client States, and next the functions of the Organisation. The Council is not a judicial organ, it and its **members** are influenced by political considerations. For this reason the parties to a dispute will generally be inclined to avoid bringing the dispute before the Council, and likewise third parties. There should be sufficiently **compelling** reasons to bring a dispute before the Council, such as when a small power faces coercive measures from a powerful adversary. The plurality of the members of the Council having different interests might **neutralise** to some extent the power of the more powerful adversary.

Chapter VII, comprising Articles 39 to 51, deals with disputes or situations that present a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or an act aggression. It may be seen that the competence of the Security Council to intervene extends from disputes or situations the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security to situations of threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. At any stage in this wide range of situations the Council may intervene and take appropriate and feasible measures.

It is the Security Council that has the power to determine the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression under Article 39. After making the determination, the Council may make recommendations, or decide on measures to be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42. Before taking any measure under Article 41 or 42, it may call upon the parties to comply with any provisional measures that it may consider necessary or desirable (Article 40). The provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the parties' rights, claims or positions, but the Council is bound duly to **take** into account the failure to comply with the provisional measures.

Under Article 41, the Security Council may decide what non-violent measures may be taken and may call upon the members to take such measures. The measures may include economic sanctions, **termination** of communications, and even severance of diplomatic relations. If the Council finds that the non-violent sanctions applied are inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such military action as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security under Article 42. In order to take military action, the Security Council should have at its disposal military forces. Articles 43 to 47 provide **for** members placing at the disposal of the Council military forces in accordance with the agreements reached with them. However, as a matter of fact, due to disagreement among the permanent members on the proportion in which forces should be contributed and their location, these provisions have remained a dead letter. Though a Military Staff Committee was appointed, it exists only as a formality. Article 48 provides that the action to be taken for the maintenance of international peace and security may be required by the Security Council to be taken by all or some members of the **Organisation**. While participating in the measures decided to be taken, the members are required to extend mutual **assistance** (Article 49). If while taking preventive or enforcement action, a State, whether a member or not, faces special economic problems, it may consult the Security Council regarding the solution of the problems (Article 50).

Article 51 is designed to harmonise the State's right to self-defence with the power of the Security Council to take enforcement action. The Article states four propositions: (1) Nothing in the Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations. (2) This right subsists until the Security Council has taken measures to maintain international peace and security. (3) Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right shall be immediately reported to the Security Council. (4) Such measures shall not affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council to take such action as it deems necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 51 introduces the expression "collective self-defence." This is to permit the operation of regional arrangements or agencies for maintaining international peace and security. Chapter VIII, consisting of Articles 52 to 54, makes provision for the creation and operation of regional arrangements or agencies for maintaining international peace and security, such as the Organisation of American States, the Arab League etc. Article 52 permits the establishment of regional arrangements or agencies to deal with matters relating to international peace and security appropriate for regional action if such regional arrangements or agencies are consistent with the Principles and Purposes of the UN Charter. Members of such arrangements or agencies are required to have recourse to them for pacific settlement of disputes before referring them to the Security Council. And the Security Council is required to encourage settlement through such arrangements or agencies. Article 53 requires the Security Council to utilise such arrangements or agencies, when considered appropriate, for enforcement action under its authority. But the regional arrangements or agencies are barred from taking enforcement action without the authorisation of the Security Council. Article 54 prescribes that the regional arrangements or agencies shall at all times keep the Security Council fully informed of the activities undertaken by them to maintain international peace and security.

The right of self-defence under Article 51 arises if an armed attack actually occurs. Under traditional international law, the right of self-defence can be exercised if an armed attack is imminent, even when it has not actually occurred. Has the Charter now restricted the traditional right of self-defence so as to preclude anticipatory action? There are two views concerning this question. First, the right is exercisable only if armed attack occurs. Support for this position is drawn from the text of Article 51 and from Article 2(4), which bar threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of a State. The argument against this position is that under the modern condition of nuclear weapons and missile carriers, the first attack on a State may as well be a fatal blow with little scope for the exercise of the right of self-defence. So an anticipatory action in self-defence cannot be ruled out. The International Court of Justice, in its advisory opinion of July 8, 1996, on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons found it difficult to give a clear answer to this question.

The right of self-defence mentioned here is the defence against an attack by a State. However, there are now non-State actors, such as Al Qaeda, which engage in terrorist activities. A day after September 11, 2001, when the World Trade Centre towers in New York and the Pentagon came under terrorist attack, the Security Council in its resolution 1368 of 12th September 2001, declared that such attacks are a threat against international peace and security. The implication is that enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter

can be taken against them, and that self-defence against terrorist attacks is permissible under Article 51.

One of the assumptions underlying the framing of the UN Charter was that the cooperation between the Allies during World War II would continue, and the five permanent members of the Security Council would be able to keep the peace of the rest of the world. But soon after the starting of the functioning of the UN, serious differences among the Allies surfaced. The Soviet Union (USSR) on the one side and the West on the other became fully opposed to each other and the era of Cold War started. They formed into two blocs. Each side became interested in safeguarding its own interests and the interests of the members of its bloc. To safeguard those interests they used their veto power. For this reason most of the time the Council remained paralysed except to provide a venue for acrimonious debate to publicize their respective positions and expose the aggressive intentions of the other side. Overall, from 1946 to 1991, the USSR used the veto on 114 occasions, the US on 69, the U.K. on 30 and France on 18. From 1946 to 1980, the Security Council acted only when the veto was not used. But in 1980s, the Soviet Union took a less strident position and the Council was able to play an active role. In 1991, the Soviet Union broke up into several parts, and the successor to the Soviet Union showed restraint in using the veto power in order to have good economic relations with the West. China too was similarly restrained for promoting better economic relations with the West. And so, from 1991, the Security Council has been playing a more active role.

#### **7.4.2 The General Assembly**

All the members of the UN are members of the General Assembly. Each member can have five representatives, but only one vote (Articles 9 and 18). In 1945, when the Organisation came into being, there were only 51 members, but their number now stands at 191. The number increased, first, as former colonies and Trust Territories attained independence and became members. The Soviet Union got split and 12 new States emerged, and of them three were already members and nine States became new members. Several micro-States, such as Monaco, San Marino, became members. Yugoslavia got split into four new States. Admission of a new member is by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. Admission is thus necessarily subject to the veto of the permanent members.

The Assembly reaches its decisions on important matters by a majority of the two-thirds of the members present and voting. Article 18 lists matters which are regarded as important, and the list includes recommendations with respect to international peace and security, election of members to various organs of the UN as provided by the Charter, admission to, suspension or expulsion from membership of the UN, and the budget. Other questions may be decided by a simple majority of those present and voting. Whether any question other than those mentioned should be regarded as important is to be decided by two-thirds majority.

The powers of the General Assembly are stated in Articles 10 to 14. Article 10 gives power to discuss any question or matter which is within the scope of the UN Charter or the powers and functions of any organ provided for in the Charter, and make recommendations to the members of the UN or the Security Council or both on such

questions or matters. But an exception is made as provided in Article 12. It is that when the Security Council is exercising in respect of any question or situation the functions assigned to it by the Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with respect to such question or situation. In practice this exception is understood as limited to recommendations involving coercive action. Other recommendations are often made after discussion in the General Assembly even while the Security Council is considering the matter. The Secretary General keeps the General Assembly informed of the matters relating to international peace and security that are being dealt with by the Security Council; and informs the General Assembly or its members if the Assembly is not in session, when the Security Council ceases to deal with the matter. Article 11 gives power to the General Assembly to consider the general principles concerning international cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including of disarmament or regulation of armaments and make recommendations with regard to such principles to members or to the Security Council or to both. The General Assembly may discuss any question brought before it by any member or by the Security Council or by a non-member under the conditions prescribed in Article 35, i.e., accepting the principles of the Charter regarding peaceful settlement of disputes, and make recommendations to the States concerned or to the Security Council. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to any situation likely to endanger international peace and security. The powers under Article 11 are without prejudice to the very wide general power given under Article 10. Article 13 gives the power to promote studies and make recommendations concerning international cooperation in economic, social, educational and health fields and realisation of human rights. Article 14 gives power to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which the Assembly deems likely to impair the general welfare of, and peaceful relations among, nations, including any situation arising from the violation of the Purposes and Principles of the UN. Articles 10, 11 and 14 thus create competence to discuss matters concerning international disputes and make recommendations, but subject to the exception provided by Article 12, i.e., while the Security Council is discussing the matter the General Assembly shall not recommend any coercive measures.

As the composition of the General Assembly changed with the admission of new members, issues that were discussed as important ones in the Assembly also changed. When the Organisation was founded, the West was in a position to command at any time two-thirds majority. But with entry of new members this command was lost. In the first decade after the founding, when it was found that the Security Council was paralysed by the veto, the West brought the matters before the General Assembly to attain its purpose. From 1960 onwards, the new independent States and the socialist countries pressed for independence of the colonial possessions and Trust Territories. The South, i.e., the underdeveloped countries which are mostly former colonies, brought before the Assembly issues such as a new international economic order, sovereignty over natural resources of a State, human rights. Both the North, i.e., the rich industrialised countries, and the South brought environmental matters for discussion. At the beginning of each annual general session of the Assembly, each member so desiring brings to the attention of the Assembly the matters that it considers as important and urgent.

An important development took place in 1950, during the adoption of the Uniting for Peace Resolution. At that time, for a while the Soviet Union boycotted the Security Council, in protest over the occupation of the seat of China in the Council by the Nationalist

China based in Taiwan and not the Communist China based on the mainland. And in 1950, the Communist North Korea invaded South Korea, which was under the protection of the United States, with a view to unify both Koreas. The United States at once sent forces to defend South Korea. The Security Council met and decided that the North Korean attack constituted a "breach of the peace" and called for immediate cessation of hostilities. As North Korea did not comply with the demand, the Council in a resolution called upon the members of the United Nations to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea, ie. South Korea, as may be necessary to repel the attack and to restore international peace and security in the area. All the members providing forces were requested to place them under the unified command of the United States. There was authorisation to use the flag of the United Nations and of the members contributing forces. The Security Council was able to take these steps because the Soviet Union was absent from the Council. The Soviet Union realised its mistake and returned to the Council, and any further action by the Council was not possible.

At this juncture, the United States took the initiative to introduce the Uniting for Peace Resolution in the General Assembly. According to this Resolution, if the Security Council is unable to act due to the exercise of the veto by any permanent member, the General Assembly may meet in an emergency special session and make recommendation for use of force to preserve international peace and security. The emergency special session may be called by a resolution passed by any seven members (later nine) of the Security Council or by a simple majority in the General Assembly.

Acting under this Resolution, the Assembly called for stability throughout Korea and establishment of a unified Korea. As the forces led by the United States started pushing into North Korea, China intervened on a large scale and repelled the invading forces. An armistice took place as a result of negotiations between the delegations of United States, North Korea and China. The armistice line, which is around the 38th parallel, continues to be now the dividing line between the two Koreas. The Soviet Union challenged the legal validity of the Uniting for Peace Resolution. But in later times, under this Resolution the Assembly met several times and acted.

The argument in support of the legality of the Uniting for Peace Resolution is that the Security Council is given "primary" responsibility for maintaining international peace and security but not exclusive responsibility. The General Assembly, on the other hand, has competence to discuss any matter coming within the scope of the Charter and to make recommendations. In the Advisory Opinion on Certain Expenses of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice expressed the opinion that in the division of powers between the Security Council and the General Assembly, the General Assembly was not excluded from adopting measures designed to maintain international peace and security. The Court stated that the expenses incurred for peacekeeping in pursuance of a resolution of the General Assembly acting under the Uniting for Peace Resolution were expenses properly incurred by the United Nations and therefore members should contribute to them under the budget.

#### **7.4.3 The Economic and Social Council**

The function of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is to initiate studies and

adopt reports on economic, social, educational, health and cultural matters and make recommendations to the General Assembly and to Specialised Agencies. It has 18 members elected by the General Assembly. Each year 6 members are elected in the place of the retiring members.

Conflicting interests of nations, which have not yet resulted in clear disputes, come before the ECOSOC and may get resolved in the course of ensuing discussions in the Council, in the General Assembly and in the concerned Specialised Agencies.

#### **7.4.4 The Trusteeship Council**

The function of the Trusteeship Council is to consider the reports of the administering powers on the administration of the Trust territories and make recommendations to the General Assembly. The object of the Council is to help the peoples of these territories to attain independence. By now all Trust territories have attained independence, and also all the non-self-governing territories.

#### **7.4.5 The International Court of Justice**

The International Court of Justice was established as one of the principal organs of the UN and its statute was made an integral part of the UN Charter. All members of the UN are ipso facto parties to the statute of the Court. Under Article 94, the Members had undertaken to abide by the decisions of the Court. If any member fails to perform its obligation to abide by the decision of the Court, the Security Council, if it deems necessary, may make recommendations or decide on measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment of the Court.

#### **7.4.6 The Secretariat**

The Secretariat comprises of the Secretary General and such staff as the Organisation may require. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. This implies that the person to be appointed must be acceptable to all the permanent members of the Council. Article 98 states that by virtue of his office the Secretary General acts in that capacity at all the meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. He is also under a duty to perform such other functions as may be entrusted to him by these organs. He is required to make annual reports to the General Assembly on the working of the Organisation. In these reports he may draw attention to any question or situation that, in his opinion, is likely threaten international peace and security. He may visit any part of the world to study the situation there or send his representative to study and report to him.

#### **7.4.7 Sub-Organs and Commissions**

The General Assembly under Article 22 and the Security Council under Article 29 are given the power to establish such sub-organs as they deem necessary. The Economic and Social Council is given the power to establish Commissions, such as the Commission on Human Rights that the Council may consider necessary for the performance of its functions (Article 68).

## **7.4.8 Specialised Agencies**

Ever since the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of specialised international agencies have been established to promote international cooperation in various fields. Examples are the Universal Postal Union, International Telecommunications Union, International Labour Organisation etc. These Organisations have been brought into relationship with the United Nations through agreements entered into by the Economic and Social Council and the particular Specialised Agency. The Economic and Social Council coordinates the activities of the Agencies through consultations with and recommendations made to the Agencies, and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the members of the UN (Articles 57 and 63). The Economic and Social Council receives regular reports from the Agencies on the steps taken by the members of the UN on the reports received by it, and on the recommendations made by the General Assembly on such reports to the Agencies. The Specialised Agencies are not parts of the UN; they belong to the larger family of the UN.

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## **7.5 SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN FAMILY**

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A dispute arises between two rival contenders if they claim the same subject matter. In the course of interactions between States conflicts of interests do arise. For example, the interest of a major navigating State is that it should have extensive sea space to navigate. A coastal State with small naval power favours a wider territorial sea so that it may defend itself better. States having raw materials desire better prices from the industrialised States which prefer to import the raw materials at lower prices. A dispute arises when a State asserts its right against another. If a State prevents the ships of another State from passing within a certain distance from its coast, a dispute arises. A dispute arises also when the raw materials producing country imposes heavy export duties. A situation threatening peace arises when one or more States do something that may occasion a threat to cause loss to others. These are only some examples. Many more disputes do arise between States in the contemporary world.

When a conflict of interests arises, there are a number of forums in the UN system to which the conflict may be brought for the purpose of reconciliation. It may be brought to the General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, or to the concerned Specialised Agency. The General Assembly may, after the study of the issues by its Sixth Committee and the International Law Commission (a sub-organ), convene an international conference to discuss and harmonise the interests. In this manner a new law arises to resolve the conflicts of interests. The Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III) solved many issues involving conflict of interests arising out of the claim of a maritime nature.

### **7.5.1 Parliamentary Diplomacy**

If a dispute arises, the continuance of which is not likely to endanger the international peace and security, it cannot be brought before the Security Council, but may be brought to the attention of the General Assembly. The dispute is resolved by what is called parliamentary diplomacy. Even if a dispute is brought before the Security Council, even then, it is dealt with by parliamentary diplomacy.

The characteristics of parliamentary diplomacy within international bodies may be stated thus: (a) Parliamentary diplomacy is a form of multilateral negotiation. (b) The forum of negotiation is not ad hoc but a continuing international organ, with interests and responsibilities broader than the particular question that is under consideration. (c) Regular public debate, exposed to mass media of communication in the world, capable of influencing world public opinion, takes place in this process. The debate proceeds in accordance with the prescribed rules of procedure that are amenable to manipulation in order to advance or oppose a particular view on the subject. The debate is concluded by the adoption or rejection of a resolution, by a simple or qualified majority, of votes of equal or unequal weight, subject to or free from veto. The proceedings before any organ considering a dispute take place more or less on these lines: First, the complaining party make a speech strongly defending its position and attacking the opponent's position as unjust and illegal. The opponent replies in a similar manner in an equally acrimonious manner. The complainant may exercise the right of reply, and likewise the opponent. After the series of replies end, the other members of the organ, who may so desire, explain their Governments' stand in relation to the dispute. After the list of speakers is exhausted, the presiding officer adjourns the proceedings. Then the members start consultations among themselves, and with the parties to the dispute, to find out whether a widely acceptable view can be adopted on the subject. If it is the Security Council that is considering the subject, invariably the permanent members will be consulted or some of them might take the lead in finding a consensus. When a group finds that it has sufficient support for the position it has taken, it will present a draft resolution to the organ. The organ considers any amendments that might be proposed in the meeting of the organ, and finally votes on the resolution, accepting or rejecting it. More or less similar procedure takes place at an international conference considering different issues.

In the light of resolution adopted, the positions taken by different members of the organ, and the world public opinion that is generated, the parties may review their respective positions, restart negotiations or admit mediation by third parties. The end result may be settlement of the dispute, or no settlement. The dispute however remains on the agenda of the organ until it is removed by a resolution. If at any time the dispute becomes intense presenting a danger to the peace, it comes up again for discussion.

It was noted at the outset while considering the structure of the UN that the primary purpose of the UN is to preserve the peace. If a dispute does not present a danger to the peace, it is allowed to remain unresolved because any attempt to settle the dispute prematurely might occasion tension, endangering the maintenance of the peace. An enforcement action to resolve a dispute may involve high cost in terms of men and material resources. In the highly decentralised international community, it is considered expedient to leave the parties to a dispute to settle it by themselves by peaceful means or procedures. When the dispute creates a threat to the peace or breach of the peace, collective action is taken to remove the threat or restore the peace. In that process the dispute might get resolved. If it does not it is left to get settled at some future indefinite date or remain dormant. As has been noticed above, a solution is left to be found either by a procedure agreed to by the parties, with or without the help of an intermediary, or by the decision of a third party according to law, given after the parties had agreed to be bound by the decision. The Security Council or the General Assembly is more concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security than with settlement of disputes as a priority.

## **7.6 SUMMARY**

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The United Nations has three primary goals: to achieve and maintain world peace, to promote and develop good relations among all nations and to work together with other nations on solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. To achieve these goals the UN Charter has envisaged a system that encourages states to settle **their** disputes by developing the process of conflict resolution by peaceful means of their own choice and accords to the organs responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security a wide range of choice to achieve their desired ends.

In this unit we have described the features of the **important** diplomatic and adjudicative methods for resolving conflict. The essence of diplomatic method is that parties to the dispute, after discussing the issue involved in the dispute, either themselves directly or with the help of an intermediary, agree upon how the dispute may be resolved. It is the agreement between the parties that settles the dispute. In contrast, there are the adjudicative methods where the third party is invested with the power to decide the dispute. Whereas in diplomatic methods, the solution reached is usually a sort of adjustment of the differences between the parties, each gaining in part and losing in **part** in the process, in adjudication the decision may be completely in favour of one party and against the other.

## **7.7 EXERCISES**

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- 1) How do arbitration and judicial settlements differ from other modes of peaceful settlement of disputes involving an intermediary?
- 2) Critically examine the powers of the Security Council with respect to maintenance of international peace and security.
- 3) Bring out the **significance** of the Uniting for Peace resolution.
- 4) Briefly describe the characteristics of **parliamentary** diplomacy within the framework of the United Nations.
- 5) Critically examine the position of the UN charter on the right of self-defence.

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# **UNIT 8 UN SYSTEM: PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING AND ADJUDICATION**

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## **Structure**

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### **8.4 Adjudication**

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8.4.4 Inter-American Court of Human Rights

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### **8.5 Summary**

### **8.6 Exercises**

## **8.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The UN's Agenda for Peace can be broadly separated into four groups: preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding. Preventive diplomacy tries to put an end to a conflict by getting the concerned parties to resolve the conflict before it becomes violent. Peacemaking tries to resolve the conflict diplomatically but after the bout becomes violent. It tries to get the involved parties to cease-fire. Peacekeeping role of the UN comes into play at this stage to make sure that the ceasefire is honoured. Peacebuilding is the last stage that promotes peace and order by raising social structures, legal systems and sometimes even setting up a new government.

The principal focus of this unit is on methods of peaceful settlement of disputes which are not purely diplomatic: peacemaking, peacekeeping, and adjudication. While peacemaking may involve the traditional or diplomatic modes of settling disputes described in the preceding unit, peacekeeping goes beyond these, though it falls short of military or enforcement provisions in Chapter VII. It is non-aggressive use of military force to help nations in conflict reach a settlement. Other non-diplomatic methods of resolving disputes are the adjudicative methods where a third party is invested with power to decide the dispute. The method by which the decision is reached is not, as in diplomacy, by persuasion, but by determining the question of fact on which the parties are in disagreement and reaching a decision on the dispute by applying the applicable law to the facts. The unit also bestows attention on the adjudicative functions of the International Court of Justice and other judicial tribunals.

## **8.2 PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING AND PEACE BUILDING**

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### **8.2.1 Peacekeeping: Characteristics**

"Peacekeeping" as an operation does not find mention in the UN Charter. It has grown out of the practice of the UN. It has been described fairly accurately in the Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping, thus: "As the United Nations practice has been evolved over years, a peacekeeping operation has come to be defined as an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict. These operations are voluntary and are based on consent and cooperation. While they involve the use of military personnel, they achieve their objective not by force of arms, thus, contrasting them with the 'enforcement action' of the United Nations under Article 42" (UN, 1999).

By and large, peacekeeping forces are employed to act as a buffer between two parties which had been at armed conflict, but which have accepted a ceasefire. In some situations, it may be considered that an Observation Mission would satisfy the purpose of observing whether the ceasefire is being kept. In 1947, for example, the Security Council appointed UN Observation Team in Indonesia in connection with the conflict between the Dutch Colonists who attempted to maintain the old colonial order as against Indonesian nationalists.

No member of the Security Council was prepared to support the Dutch colonial order. The Observer Team was to observe and report to the Security Council the observance of the various ceasefire lines and sporadic fighting. The Security Council considered the reports from the Observers and acted towards Indonesian independence. In 1949, the Security Council appointed the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) to observe whether the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in Kashmir was being kept, and that Group exists even now. The parties agreed to ceasefire and what was needed was observance of the compliance by the parties. Observation Groups were employed in some other cases also.

An Observer Group may not consist of more than 100 members. A peacekeeping force, on the other hand, consists of several thousands of lightly armed soldiers. An Observer Group simply observes and reports, but a peacekeeping force should first of all secure a ceasefire, and possibly ensure the withdrawal of the forces to the positions occupied before the adoption of the ceasefire. The model of a peacekeeping force may be found in the UN Emergency Force (UNEF-I) established in 1956-57. Britain, France and Israel were involved in armed conflict with Egypt, following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Egypt. The UN General Assembly met in Emergency Special Session acting under the Uniting for Peace Resolution, called for a ceasefire, and directed the Secretary General to deploy a peacekeeping force to secure the observance of the ceasefire.

Peacekeeping operations are based upon the following principles: First, the parties to the conflict must agree to ceasefire and withdraw troops to agreed positions, and to the presence of the peacekeeping forces on their soil. The UNEF-I was inducted with the express consent of Egypt. When in 1967 President Nasser of Egypt withdrew the consent for stationing the peacekeeping force, Secretary General U Thant ordered the withdrawal of the force. The peacekeeping forces are contributed by willing members of the UN, and in accordance with the agreement reached by the Secretary General and the contributing member. Generally a conflicting party does not agree to emplacement of forces on its soil if the State to which the forces belong has a vested interest in the outcome of the conflict.

Second, the peacekeeping force must act with impartiality and neutrality between the rival parties. If they do not, the State wherein the forces are situated might create difficulties to the functioning of the forces. In 1974, the Security Council established the UN Observer Force (UNDOF) pursuant to the agreement on disengagement between Syria and Israel following the Israeli occupation of Golan Heights. This Israeli occupation has been an obstacle to permanent peace between Syria and Israel, but the UNDOF has been successful in maintaining calm on the Syria-Israeli front ever since it was established, and one of the contributing factors to the success has been the UNDOF's neutrality and impartiality.

Third, the peacekeeping forces are authorised to use force only in self-defence. Peacekeeping forces are supplied with rifles and transport vehicles. They are not capable of carrying out an enforcement action. If peacekeeping forces are unlike forces that take enforcement action, they are also unlike observer missions, which are not likely to be engaged in self-defence. Peacekeeping forces may have to patrol the buffer zone or other demilitarised zones. Very lightly armed observer groups are incapable of performing peacekeeping.

## **8.2.2 Peacemaking**

Peacemaking is defined in *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, Report of the Secretary General*, as "action to bring hostile parties to agreement essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter." (International Legal Materials (ILM), 1992, p. 956). But in actual practice, it has gone beyond this. It may include coercive and forceful action, unlike the consensual operation of peacemaking.

## **8.2.3 Peace Building: Characteristics**

In the Agenda for Peace, the Secretary General Boutros Ghali proposed "peace building" as a way of preventing resumption of civil conflicts by the parties which for the time being have stopped fighting as a result of peacemaking efforts. There is every chance of such resumption, resulting in the whole fabric of the civil society collapsing as a result of an intensified civil war. The objectives of peace building stated by him include "disarming the previously warring parties and restoring order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating the refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming and strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation" (Wedgwood and Jacobson, 2001, p. 1). The objectives of peace building are wide ranging, some of short term and some of long term. Just as peacemaking may present problems of taking coercive action, peace building is likely to entail using some coercive measures. Therefore, peacemaking may include some peace building as well. In the cases studied below, it will be observed that peacekeeping, peacemaking and peace building have occurred in different combinations and sequence.

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## **8.3 PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING AND PEACE BUILDING IN PRACTICE**

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After World War II no major war has occurred. This may not have been entirely due to the UN presence. It may have been due to nuclear deterrence, mutual assured destruction on a practically unacceptable scale. But there have been minor wars, such as between India and Pakistan, Iran and Iraq, Great Britain and Argentina, Israel and its neighbours, etc. Civil wars and internal conflicts have, however, taken a very heavy toll. According to an estimate, civil wars have scarred the world's poorest countries, leaving more than a million dead, many more driven out of their homes, billions of dollars of resources destroyed and economic opportunities wasted (White, 1997, p. 277). The Security Council had to respond by peacekeeping, peacemaking and peace building operations in reference to such situations. In some cases, the Council was quite successful, in others it was partial success and in some it was failure. In civil war situations peacemaking is difficult. There may be more than two groups at conflict. The lines of conflict may not be clear for there could be guerrilla warfare. For this reason arranging a ceasefire line and maintaining it is difficult. There will now be a study of several situations of civil conflict, besides conflicts of an international character.

### **8.3.1 The Congo**

The Congo attained independence from Belgium in 1960. Before and after independence, the Congo remained a collection of tribes rather than **an** integrated nation. Belgium intervened in inter-tribal conflicts in the name of humanitarian assistance. President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba sent a cable to the Secretary General, Dag Harnmerskjold, requesting military assistance to protect their country against "external aggression which is a threat to international peace." The Secretary General invoked Article 99 of the Charter and asked the President of the Security Council to convene a meeting of the Council. The Council met, barely two weeks after the independence of Congo and passed a resolution calling upon Belgium to withdraw its'forces, and to authorise the Secretary General to provide the necessary military assistance, in consultation with the Government of the Congo, until the Congolese forces could discharge their tasks. The Secretary General initiated the UN operations in the Congo (ONUC).

But the situation deteriorated as the internal conflict became intense, and Tshombe, the President of Katanga province of the Congo declared secession, and Belgian troops did not withdraw. Again on the initiative of the Secretary General, another resolution was passed, which recognised the unity of the Congo, called upon the Belgian forces to leave the Congo, and authorised the Secretary General to take all necessary action to this effect. The resolution requested all States to refrain from interference in the Congo, as it might undermine the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo.

Belgium refused to withdraw its forces from Katanga, and ONUC did not have authority to enter Katanga. The Council again passed a resolution authorising that ONUC to enter Katanga, declaring that ONUC would not be a party to or influence in any way the outcome of **the** internal conflict. The Council called upon members to carry out its decisions in accordance with Article 25 and 49 of the Charter.

The situation further worsened as President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba **dismissed** each other from office and the army chief of staff, General Mobutu staged a revolt. At this juncture, the Soviet Union vetoed a resolution proposed by the Secretary General. By this time the Soviet Union's support got crystallised towards Lumumba, and the U.S. support in favour of Kasavubu. The U.S. proposed that the question be transferred to the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution. The General Assembly adopted a resolution stating that in order to safeguard international peace it was essential for **the** UN to assist the Central Government of the Congo and towards this end requested **the** Secretary General, Dag Harnmerskjold, to take "vigorous action" to restore law and **order** to preserve the unity, integrity and political independence of the Congo. It called upon all members not to intervene in the conflict and reminded them of their obligation **under** Articles 25 and 49 of the Charter. Shortly after this Dag Hammerskjold died in an air crash while travelling in the Congo.

The General Assembly could not proceed further as the requisite majority could not be obtained for any resolution. Then the matter was taken back to the Security Council which was able to adopt a resolution which consisted of two parts: The first part characterised the situation as a "threat to international peace and security" and as "serious civil war situation". It called for UN measures to prevent civil war, to make arrangements for

ceasefire and to halt all military operations, and to use force, if necessary, as a last resort. It urged the withdrawal of all Belgian troops, advisers and mercenaries. It decided to investigate into the death of Lumumba also in an air crash, allegedly because the army closed an airport where he was to land. The resolution noted violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It rejected the claim of sovereignty of Katanga, and authorised the Secretary General to take "vigorous action" including the use of force if necessary to expel foreign military personnel not under UN command.

Here it may be seen there was an authorisation for the UN forces to use force to restore the Central Government's authority in Katanga. But there was no authorisation to impose any political solution to end the conflict. But various measures were authorised to help the parties to reach a political settlement. The use of force to end the secession of Katanga came very close to enforcement action. Eventually a relatively stable State emerged called Zaire. It was an UN peacekeeping operation with fringes of enforcement action. Perhaps it is now apt to call it as peacemaking.

### **8.3.2 Peacekeeping in Iraq and Kuwait**

Peacekeeping combined with power to take limited enforcement action was a feature of the task entrusted to UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) established in 1991 by the Security Council. In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait, and the Security Council acted first with non-violent sanctions. When they failed, the Security Council authorised the U.S. led coalition to evict Iraq from Kuwait. After Kuwait was freed, the Security Council adopted a resolution laying down the conditions for a ceasefire. Iraq accepted the conditions and a formal ceasefire came into effect. UNIKOM was established to monitor the demilitarised zone and in 1993 increased its strength to prevent violations of the demilitarised zone.

### **8.3.3 Peacekeeping in Cyprus**

The UN played in Cyprus a peacekeeping role of a neutral or limited character. In 1963, violence broke out between the Greek and Turkish communities over a constitutional amendment proclaimed by the President Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus. The Security Council adopted a resolution in March 1964, which noted that the situation was likely to threaten international peace and security, and called upon members to refrain from any action likely to worsen the situation or endanger international peace, and asked the Government of Cyprus to take all measures to stop violence, and recommended the creation, with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, a UN Peacekeeping force (UNFICYP). The function of the force is to preserve international peace and security. Between 1964 and 1974, the UNFICYP did not act as a buffer between two fighting forces, but acted only as a police force to maintain and restore law and order. In 1974, there was Greece-backed coup against President Makarios and there was imminent Turkish invasion in response to the Greece led coup. The Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, and the Cypriot representative requested a meeting of the Security Council. On July 20, 1974, the day on which Turkey invaded Cyprus in support of its Moslem population, the Security Council adopted a resolution declaring that there was a serious threat to international peace and security and demanded the end of the foreign military intervention. The implied invocation of Article 39 of the Charter, in the peremptory language used, was taken as a provisional

measure under Article 40. The Secretary General suggested in his report that the UNICYP should create a security zone between Turkish forces and Greek Cypriot forces. The Security Council requested the Secretary General to implement the report. The Cypriot case conformed to the consensual peacekeeping operation, with the difference that the force acted for some time as a police force, bordering on peacemaking.

### **8.3.4 Nicaragua**

In 1980s, the United States adopted the then President, Ronald Regan's doctrine that the United States should extend support to anti-Communist forces, whether governmental or non-governmental, anywhere in the world. Pursuant to this policy, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the U.S. extended support to the contras in Nicaragua fighting against the government. In 1987, there was a regional peace arrangement, the Guatemala Agreements, which called for cessation of aid to irregular forces and of the use the territory of one State for attack on other States. By a resolution adopted in November 1989, the Security Council emplaced in 1990 a military component of the peace effort. There were two groups, the UN Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) to supervise elections, and a military component of peace effort to supervise the observance of the Guatemalan Agreements. In the elections held in 1990 in Nicaragua, a right wing opposition secured majority. Following this, the contras agreed to be demobilized. The rebel camps in Honduras were disbanded; the contra rebels assembled in specified places in Nicaragua. The ONUCA, with more military men added, exercised the responsibility to take the delivery of weapons and other military equipment, including the uniforms. The progress of disarmament was difficult, but the commander of the ONUCA and the UN Secretary General expressed satisfaction with the disarmament and demobilisation. This operation was in the nature of peacemaking.

### **8.3.5 Haiti**

In 1991, President Aristide, elected President of Haiti in 1990, was deposed by a military coup. The Security Council imposed oil and arms embargo, and it caused the military rulers to agree to restore the President to authority. The sanctions were lifted, but the military leaders failed to implement their undertaking. In 1994, the Security Council passed a resolution authorising the U.S. to take military action to restore democracy. The threat of military action influenced the military rulers to step down, and to consent to a UN force to oversee the return to democracy. The sanctions were lifted after democracy was restored. This is an example of peacemaking between the democratic forces and the military opponents.

### **8.3.6 West Irian**

Though the Indonesian independence issue was settled in 1950s, disputes between the Netherlands and Indonesia continued over some islands in the archipelago. One such island was West Irian. The Indonesians airdropped some men in jungles who got engaged in guerrilla warfare with the Dutch forces. In 1962, the Netherlands and Indonesia agreed that the administration of West Irian be transferred to a UN Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) pending the transfer of the territory to Indonesia. A UN Security Force (UNSF) was to observe the ceasefire, after which the transfer should take place. The UNSF should police the island until transfer. The UN mission successfully achieved its task.

### **8.3.7 East Timor**

Until 1975, East Timor was a Portuguese colony and it was forcibly occupied by Indonesia. Following long drawn out negotiations, both Portugal and Indonesia agreed to ask the UN Secretary General to conduct a popular consultation to find out whether the people wanted autonomy within Indonesia or independence. A plebiscite was held. The **result** of the direct ballot was rejection of autonomy within Indonesia. Following the announcement of the result, there was intense campaign of violence by the military forces opposed to independence. Many were uprooted from their homes. The Security Council acted **under** Chapter VII of the Charter to establish a multinational force of about 11000 troops and civilians under Australian command. This UN Mission of Support in East Timor or **UNIMISET** was empowered to use all necessary means to restore order and **facilitate** humanitarian assistance. At the same time, as the civilian and judicial administration had collapsed, the UN Security Council established the UN Transitional Administration for **East** Timor (UNTAET) to administer the territory. Its mandate included building capacity for self-government. The UNTAET was to act under a special representative of the UN **who** was empowered to enact new laws and regulations, and to suspend, amend or abolish the existing laws. The UNTAET mission ended with the independence of East Timor in **May** 2002. The **UNIMISET**, however, continued its peacekeeping tasks even after East **Timor's** independence. Thus, the UN handled both peacekeeping and peace building tasks **here**.

### **8.3.8 Cambodia**

In 1980, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on Cambodia (**Kampuchea**) calling for an international conference on Kampuchea, and laying down the principles to form the basis of discussion at the **conference**, viz., negotiation with Vietnam for an **agreement** for withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, observance of human rights, free elections, **and non-interference** by outsiders. The Security Council in 1990 authorised a massive **peacekeeping** operation. The UN Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNITAC – 1991–1993) oversaw **the** elections. The Khmer Rouge, an intransigent party **in** the civil conflict, accused UNITAC of not being neutral, and not ensuring the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces, and **did not** give up its arms. The Security Council adopted a resolution asking the Secretary General to study the implications of Khmer Rouge not complying with the conditions for **free** elections. The Council decided that elections should be held in all areas **not under** the Khmer Rouge control. Only one-fourth of the Khmer Rouge forces were in **cantonment** sites for disarming. Despite these conditions elections were held. The presence of **significantly** large groups of Khmer Rouge forces prevented real peace emerging in the **country**.

### **8.3.9 Namibia**

South West Africa (later came to be called Namibia) was placed under the **Mandate rule** of South Africa by the League of Nations. The UN Charter brought all the **Mandate** Territories under its Trusteeship system. But South Africa refused to accept **the Charter** obligations. In 1966, the UN General Assembly terminated the mandate of **South Africa**. The South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) formed to fight **against the** continued rule by South Africa. In 1969, the Security Council declared that **the continued** occupation of South West Africa by South Africa was illegal and accepted a plan **proposed** by the Secretary General for elections under international supervision paving the **way for**

independence. The plan could not be implemented as South Africa did not cooperate. In 1988, an accord was reached outside the UN, which linked South African withdrawal from South West Africa with Cuban withdrawal from Angola. The Security Council decided to establish the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) to supervise the withdrawal of Cuban forces. The UN operations in South West Africa consisted of peacekeeping between South African forces and the forces of SWAPO, supervising the ceasefire, demobilising illegal forces and holding free and fair elections. The UN operation took a long time and was possible only because of an agreement reached outside the UN. The UN carried out its operations on a consensual basis.

### **8.3.10 Angola**

In Angola the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) fought for freedom from Portuguese rule. Another faction was also in the field with the same objective, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola (PFPLA). Cuban forces assisted UNITA. The 1988 peace plan, mentioned above in connection with Namibia, linked the withdrawal of the South African forces from South West Africa with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. The Security Council emplaced the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM-I) to verify the withdrawal of Cuban forces, and to conduct free elections. The elections were held in 1992 and a majority was secured by the PFPLA. The UNITA charged the UNAVEM-II, which supervised the election, that it did not conduct the elections in a free and fair manner and repudiated the result. It resorted to arms and captured many municipalities. In 1995, the Security Council established a larger mission, UNAVEM-III, on a peacekeeping mission, to use good offices to reconcile the factions, to monitor the extension of the administration throughout the State, to effect ceasefire and disengagement of fighting forces, to help demobilization and disarmament of UNITA, to effect the return of government forces to barracks, to supervise the Angolan police force, and to supervise the Presidential election. The mission was successfully achieved.

### **8.3.11 Rwanda**

Trouble started in Rwanda in 1993 when the Patriotic Front (RPF) of the Tutsi tribe started fighting against the Government then controlled by the Hutu tribe. The Security Council emplaced the UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) to observe whether the RPF was receiving aid across the Rwanda-Uganda border. The RPF and the Government reached an agreement, the Arusha Accords of 1993, for a comprehensive settlement, first by establishing a transitional government until elections, next integration of armed forces of the two sides, and then holding elections. A neutral international force was to be established to implement the agreement. On the Secretary General's report, the Security Council established the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to help achieving the peace process. However, on April 6, 1994, in an air crash near Kigali airport the President of Rwanda and the President of Burundi died. On the next day, barricades were raised in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, and the extremists of the Hutu started the massacre of the Tutsi people and the moderates among the Hutu who advocated reconciliation. About 200,000 died in the massacre which was genocide on a large scale. The resulting civil war caused the reducing of the role of UNAMIR to merely that of rescuing the civilians from the conflict area and rendering humanitarian assistance. The Security Council, instead of increasing the strength of UNAMIR to put down the civil war, reduced the strength to play

the role of an intermediary to effect reconciliation between the factions and to render humanitarian aid. In May, the Security Council decided to have a new force of 5,500 men to contribute to the security of displaced persons. But, it appeared that such a force would not be available until July. As a temporary measure, France was authorised to deploy its forces for enforcement action, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to provide security and protection for displaced persons. By August, the RPF gained control over the whole territory. However, a situation arose of massive flow of refugees to neighbouring countries. During the period of the disturbance about half a million died in the genocide, three million were displaced and two million fled to neighbouring countries. The refugee camps in the neighbouring countries presented the problem of inter-ethnic fighting, By February 1996, nearly 1.5 million people remained in the neighbouring countries. During 1994, the State was reduced to extreme disorderliness: no administration, no functioning economy, no judicial system, no educational system, no water or electricity supply, and no transport.

The next two years saw the things slowly returning to normalcy with the assistance of UNAMIR, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, other national agencies, and some non-governmental organisations. The presence of UNAMIR provided a measure of confidence among people. Canada, Britain, United States and France provided in 1996 a force to give humanitarian assistance. On the whole, the UN was unable to take effective enforcement action to stop the civil war; it did some peacemaking and peace building.

In November 1994. the Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR),invoking Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Several Hutu extremists who indulged in genocide and committed crimes against humanity were brought before the Tribunal, which was based in Arusha. The ICTR was established on the request of the new Government controlled by RPF, which desired that the trials should not appear as vengeance against the Hutu. The trials enforced the principle of accountability and helped to build peace.

### **8.3.12 Somalia**

In 1992 civil conflict broke out in Somalia, and the Security Council found that the civil conflict disturbed the stability and peace in the region and the continuation of it would constitute a threat to international peace and security. The civil war led to starvation of people on a large scale. An operation to provide humanitarian assistance (UNOSOM) did not provide the intended assistance. The Secretary General outlined three options before the Security Council: 1) To continue the presence of UNOSOM based upon the principles of peacekeeping. 2) To withdraw the military elements of UNOSOM and allow humanitarian agencies to negotiate with the fighting factions; 3) To use military force countrywide or in some limited areas by UNOSOM, or by a group of States under the Security Council's authorisation. He informed that the United States was willing to lead such an operation. The Security Council unanimously resolved, basing on Chapter VII of the Charter, authorising the Secretary General and the member States cooperating with the United States to use all necessary means to secure an environment congenial to providing humanitarian relief. The Council called upon the fighting parties to cooperate with the force so established. The operation under the U.S. leadership, the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), started with 28,000 men from the U.S. and 17,000 from other countries. It proceeded aggressively to disarm the various factions and extending humanitarian assistance. It did not limit itself to

action of self-defence. But in February 1993, the U.S. started reducing its troop strength. This was apparently due to the fact that several U.S. service men were killed and the growing sentiment in the U.S. was why should Americans get killed for the sake of a cause in some remote part of Africa. The Secretary General proposed and the Security Council approved the creation of a UN force, 28,000 strong, invoking Chapter VII of the Charter (UNOSOM-II). This force proceeded aggressively and in the process actually became one of the sides fighting the civil war, directing its action against Somalia National Alliance. In this situation, the Security Council decided in March 1995 to withdraw from Somalia, as the operation was going beyond the principles of peacekeeping. In his final report on UNOSOM II, the Secretary General stated that there was a need for a careful and creative rethinking about peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building in the context of the Somalia operation. It was a frustrating experience. It requires to be recognised that each civil war situation presents features unique to it.

### **8.3.13 Western Sahara**

After the cessation of the Spanish rule over Western Sahara, the question arose whether it should become part of Morocco, which staked a claim to it, or remain independent. In accordance with the agreement reached at the instance of the UN Secretary General and the Organisation of African Unity, the UN Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) was established in 1991 to supervise ceasefire and to conduct a referendum to decide whether West Sahara should become part of Morocco or remain independent. But the referendum was postponed on a number of occasions due to disagreement on who should be entitled to vote. The MINURSO continues to be in existence now.

### **8.3.14 Mozambique**

In 1992, the fighting between the two political parties in Mozambique caused deaths on large scale and uprooted many people. The UN Operations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) held elections in 1994 and brought an end to the conflict. The UN Secretary General described the operation in Mozambique as a story of success in peacekeeping, peacemaking and humanitarian and election assistance.

### **8.3.15 Yugoslavia**

The problems faced in Yugoslavia from 1990 to 2000 were varied and traumatic. Yugoslavia before its disintegration consisted of six Republics: Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia, and two autonomous regions, Kosovo and Vojvodina. The population is multi-ethnic. Slovenia had predominantly Slovenes, but there were minorities of Serbs, Croats and Hungarians. Croatia had Serbs who were concentrated in two areas. In Serbia, two-thirds were Serbs, but the autonomous Kosovo and Vojvodina were parts of Serbia and Vojvodina had a Hungarian minority. Kosovo had local Albanians 91 per cent. In Montenegro, besides Montenegrins, there were Moslems and Albanians constituting one-third of the population. Bosnia-Herzegovina had Moslem population of 40 per cent, 32 per cent Serbs, 18 per cent Croats and rest others. In Macedonia, 20 per cent were Albanians, 67 per cent Macedonians, and the rest other minorities. Presidential Council headed the Federal Government of Yugoslavia, and the chairmanship of it circulated among the Presidents of the six republics.

In December 1990, in Slovenia 85 per cent of people voted for independence. About the same time, Croatia declared the supremacy of the Croatian law over the federal law. Negotiations for preserving the federation failed as the Serbs insisted on a tight federation while others desired a loose federal system. In May 1991, the majority of voters in Croatia opted for independence. At this stage, the U.S., European Community (EC) and the Conference on the Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) supported the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. In June 1991, both Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. The Central authority (JNA) reacted to this by moving its army in Slovenia with heavy armour and attacked the Slovenian militia. Slovenian authorities declared that a state of war existed and appealed for international assistance.

EC and CSCE attempted to bring about a ceasefire but hostilities started in Croatia also. The Serbs in Slovenia and Croatia joined with JNA, and Serbia increased its military involvement. The EC took the position that the internal boundaries in Yugoslav federation should not be altered by force, and if done such changes would not be recognised. The EC managed to arrange for a ceasefire, monitored by observers in civilian clothes and carrying no arms, and called for a peace conference at The Hague. The conference laid down the following principles as the basis of settlement: no unilateral change of internal boundaries by force, protection of the rights of all in Yugoslavia, and due note to be taken of the legitimate concerns and aspirations of all.

The Security Council met in September 1991 and adopted a resolution stating that the fighting in Yugoslavia and its consequences in neighbouring States constituted a threat to international peace and security, and the resolution noted the efforts of EC and CSCE to secure peace. Thus Chapters VII and VIII of the UN Charter were brought into the picture. The Council appealed to those involved in the conflict to observe ceasefire. It called upon all members of the UN to impose an embargo on weapons and military equipment into Yugoslavia. It requested the Secretary General to use his good offices to have the differences resolved.

In the final event, the efforts of EC and CSCE in preserving the integrity of Yugoslavia did not succeed. The Security Council did not find the necessary consent to introducing a peacekeeping force forthcoming. In February 1992, the Security Council endorsed the creation of a peacekeeping force, United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). An advance party of it proceeded in March to the area, but it never became operational.

In January 1992, the EC recognised Slovenia and Croatia. This was followed by recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Serbia claiming as the successor state of the former Yugoslavia objected to the recognition. The EC imposed certain conditions for recognition: The desire to become independent must be demonstrated to be in accordance with the people's will, and the new State should undertake to respect human rights and humanitarian law. Even in December 1991, a Commission of the EC considered that the Republic of Yugoslavia was in a process of dissolution. In April 1992, Serbia and Montenegro affirmed that they would remain as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but the claim to be the successor of old Yugoslavia was disputed by the EC and United States.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina there was an agreement that the three main ethnic groups, Moslems, Croats and Serbs would be maintained as separate constituent groups, function as such in

central organs. But it was later repudiated by the Serbs, and there was outbreak of violence on large scale. Serb militia along with JNA units, including air force, gained control over a significant part of the territory. The President of Bosnia-Herzegovina appealed to the EC, CSCE and United Nations for protection against Serbian aggression.

The Security Council met in April 1992, and demanded that all parties to implement the ceasefire and facilitate humanitarian assistance. Due to the on-going violence, the refugees in the neighbouring Croatia reached the figure of 600,000. The Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina made a concerted attempt to create an ethnically pure region of Serbs. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina was such that the Security Council met in May 1992, called upon all the parties to stop fighting, demanded the JNA and Croatian forces to stop interfering in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and appealed to all to create conditions under which humanitarian assistance can be extended where needed.

The Security Council met in April 1993 and adopted a resolution commending the peace plan agreed to by both the parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina as reported by the Secretary General, called upon both the parties to observe ceasefire, condemned the violation of international humanitarian law, including the practice of "ethnic cleansing", the massive and systematic detention and rape of women. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the resolution stated that the measures envisaged in the resolution would come into effect if Bosnian Serbs renewed attacks or did not comply with the peace plan.

In May 1993, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, established an international criminal tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) for the trial of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. The Government of the Netherlands provided facilities at The Hague for the Tribunal to function, and for the **under-trials** to be kept in custody. There are two views about the wisdom of this measure. The first view is that the leaders of the fighting groups will not permit any agreement to be reached if there is a threat that the leaders will be criminally tried. And so the establishment of **the** Tribunal will contribute to the prolongation of the fighting. The second view is that **peace** is not possible if those who had committed grave crimes go about free and unscathed. Doubtless the establishment of the Tribunal will have some deterrent effect and contribute to implementing the principle of accountability of persons for their individual criminal acts.

In 1995, the Dayton, Ohio, peace talks resulted in reaching the General Framework Agreement for Peace (GFA) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The GFA was the final outcome of **several** conferences held earlier, The GFA was signed by the representatives of the **Republic** of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (represented by the President of Serbia, Slobodan Milosovic).

In 1998 crisis arose in Kosovo. It had autonomous status under Yugoslavia in the time of **Marshall Tito**, but that status was repudiated by President **Slobodan Milosevic**. The Albanian majority in Kosovo, facing discrimination in all fields, rose in insurrection. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) began to get arms, men and materials from across the Albanian border.

**The KLA** adopted the hit and run tactics. The Serbian response was a large scale attack on ethnic Albanians who left their homes and fled to hills. In October 1998, Serbia agreed

to the presence of international observers to guarantee that the state police action would not abuse civilians. In January 1999, the contact group with Serbia, consisting of the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russian Federation, convened a negotiation conference in France and presented a framework agreement between Albanians and Yugoslav Government for Kosovian autonomy. This settlement required Yugoslavia to withdraw its forces from Kosovo, the KLA to lay down their arms, NATO peacekeeping forces to enforce the agreement and a three year period to settle the political future. The Yugoslavian Government refused to accept the terms. Then the NATO undertook a seventy-eight day bombing campaign not limited to Kosovo but extending to the whole of the Yugoslavian Federation. The objective was stated to be to avert a humanitarian catastrophe. In June 1999, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, required that all military and para-military forces to withdraw from Kosovo, and authorised NATO military deployment, and a U.N. civil administration to develop provisional institutions for democratic, and autonomous self-government, until political settlement and holding of elections. The regime was of indefinite duration, though provisionally for 12 months. The NATO took the action, without authorisation from the Security Council fearing Russian or Chinese veto in the Security Council.

The Yugoslav crisis defused in the year 2000, when elections were held in Serbia and Montenegro and Vojislav Kostunica won in the Presidential election defeating Slobodan Milosovic. The attempt by Milosovic to call for second round of elections failed due to popular uprising in Serbia and Montenegro. Kostunica assumed the Presidency of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), comprising Serbia and Montenegro. The U.S. lifted the sanctions against FRY. FRY applied for membership of the UN and was admitted. The United States, France, Germany, and Britain established formal diplomatic relations with FRY.

Peace building in Kosovo was of high dimension. When the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) arrived, they found that there was utter chaos and anarchy. With the presence of UN Mission and the international force established by the NATO, refugees who fled to Macedonia and Albania started returning. They were nearly half a million, and they started seizing back their former belongings. There was organised crime and smuggling, and attacks on Serbs and non-Albanians and trafficking in women. Surpassing all the tasks of reconstruction, there was the need to establish a basic legal framework. The pre-existing law, with necessary corrections made to ensure the protection of human rights, was taken as the starting point.

There was also the task of promoting democracy, developing political and professional organisations, and strengthening the mass media. Humanitarian assistance had to be extended to those who lacked food and shelter. It was also necessary to build a market-based economy, to promote trade, to issue and facilitate circulation of currency and banking.

## **8.4 ADJUDICATION**

Adjudication, or judicial settlement, is the process by which a dispute is settled by a third party, who is invested with authority or jurisdiction to decide, by determining the facts at dispute between the parties and applying the relevant law, after giving each party equal opportunity to present their respective cases in accordance with the authoritative rules of

procedure. Within the State, the judiciary exercises a sovereign function, and adjudicates disputes between private parties, between private parties and the executive. It may also adjudicate challenges to laws enacted by the legislature testing them on the touchstone of the constitution. The international community is radically different from the State system. There is no centralised executive and States themselves perform the functions of obeying the law and enforcing the law. There is no centralised legislature, and laws come into existence by agreement, by practice followed with the conviction that it is obligatory to follow it. There is only a very rudimentary judicial system. Let us examine the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and other existing judicial tribunals.

### 8.4.1 The International Court of Justice

After World War I, the League of Nations was established and following it the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ). With the outbreak of the World War II, the League of Nations became practically defunct. The United Nations was established after World War II, with the ICJ forming one of its principal organs in place of the PCIJ of the League period. The statute of the ICJ was so designed that a continuation is maintained between the PCIJ and the ICJ.

The Court consists of 15 Judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, by simple majority, voting separately but simultaneously. Each Judge is elected for a term of nine years. Every three years five Judges retire and their places are filled by election. The qualification to be a Judge is that he should be of high moral character and qualified to be appointed to the highest judicial office in his country. Nominations of candidates for election are not made by Governments but by national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, established by First Hague Peace Conference, 1899. The ICJ consists of only a Registrar and a list of persons who might be appointed as arbitrators. Each party to the Convention establishing the Court is entitled to nominate four persons.

Only States can be parties before the ICJ. Under Article 96 of the UN Charter, the General Assembly, the Security Council and any organ of the UN and any Specialised Agency authorised by the General Assembly, may seek the Advisory Opinion on any legal question arising within the scope of their work. While an Advisory Opinion is given great respect, it is not binding on anybody.

The jurisdiction of the ICJ is based upon the consent of the parties to the dispute, the consent given in one form or another. The consent may be given expressly in respect of any particular dispute. If one party sues and the other does not raise any objection to jurisdiction, the Court gets jurisdiction (by virtue of the principle of forum prorogatum). The consent may be given under the UN Charter, or under any treaty in respect of any particular class of disputes. (Article 36 of the Statute of the ICJ).

There is the so-called compulsory jurisdiction under the "Optional Clause". A State may by a Declaration declare that it accepts ipso facto the Declaration, without the necessity of any further agreement, the jurisdiction of the Court, as against any State that similarly accepts the jurisdiction by Declaration. The Declaration may be unconditional or conditional. In order to encourage States to accept the jurisdiction of the Court, if not fully at least partially, it is provided that the Declaration may be with reservations stated in the Declaration.

Generally Declarations made by States are with conditions regarding the time when the dispute arises or the category to which the dispute belongs. Reciprocity is an essential condition; thus not only the State that makes a reservation regarding any particular type of disputes may claim the benefit of it but also its opponent before the Court. In other words, unless the dispute is within the scope of the Declarations of both the parties to the dispute the Court cannot have jurisdiction.

The judgment given by the Court is binding only on the parties and in respect of that particular dispute. The Court frequently cites its previous decision and follows, but this is as a matter of practice and in order to maintain uniformity in the standard of justice, but not as a matter of legal requirement as in the common law systems derived from English law. European systems of law derived from the civil law system have no such legal requirement.

Though the jurisdiction of the Court is limited, it has given judgments on a large number of cases, along with the opinions of dissenting judges. Many of these cases are not the ones in which the parties would have gone to war to settle them. They have indeed given quietus to the controversies involved. Parties rather seem to prefer adjudication in those cases where the Governments concerned do not feel the interests involved to be vital, but would need an authoritative decision to satisfy the domestic public for giving up a claim.

#### **8.4.2 European Community**

European Community has developed a special constitutional structure bringing about a certain degree of integration. It has established the Court of European Communities at Luxembourg, which adjudicates disputes arising from the obligations under the Community treaty.

#### **8.4.3 European Convention of Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights**

Under the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms adopted in Rome, 1950, the European Court of Human Rights was established and it started functioning from 1960. The Convention provided for the establishment of a Commission of Human Rights. Any party to the Convention may complain to the Commission that another party is violating human rights under the Convention. The Commission investigates the facts and tries to effect a "friendly settlement" between the parties and reports that a settlement has been reached. If no settlement is reached, the Commission makes and submits its report to the Council of Ministers of the parties to the Convention. The Council decides by a vote of two-thirds majority whether a violation has occurred and what measures should be taken. The parties are bound to act in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers. The Commission can receive complaints only from Governments, but if a party declares that the Commission is competent to receive complaints from individuals, groups of individuals and non-governmental organisations, then it can receive complaints from non-governmental agencies and individuals as well.

The European Court of Human Rights consists of as many judges of different nationalities as there are members of the Council of Europe, established in 1949. Only States and the

Commission on Human Rights can be parties before the Court. The jurisdiction of the Court is confined to following types of cases, (a) the cases which the parties submit by special agreement: (b) cases regarding which the parties have made declarations that would accept jurisdiction without special agreement, and (c) cases submitted by the Commission. If the Commission makes a report that it has failed to effect a "friendly settlement" between the disputing parties and submits the report to the Council of Ministers, and within three months from the transmission of the report to the Council of Ministers, submits the case to the Court of Human Rights, the Court decides the disputes. Then the Committee of Ministers can only supervise the implementation of the decision. The Court's decision is an alternative to the decision of the Council of Ministers when the Commission reports failure to effect "friendly settlement", and submits the case to the Court within three months of making the report.

#### **8.4.4 Inter-American Court of Human Rights**

The American Convention of Human Rights, 1969, which entered into force in 1978, established an American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. By 1990, ten State parties to the Convention accepted the jurisdiction of the Court, but not the United States. The Court has competence to decide contentious cases and gives advisory opinions on questions referred to it by any State accepting the Court's jurisdiction.

#### **8.4.5 The International Criminal Court**

During the 1990s, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, established The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). These were modelled after the international criminal tribunals that were established after World War II, such as the Nuremberg Tribunal. The UN convened a diplomatic conference at Rome in 1998, and it adopted the Rome Statute for International Criminal Court. Britain, France, Russian Federation and the United States, besides others took active part in drafting the Statute. However, later the United States refused to become a party to the Statute. The objection of the United States is that the U.S. service men, acting in different parts of the world may be brought under the jurisdiction of the Tribunal.

There are two principles underlying the Convention. First, the principle of complementarity, that is, the Court should assume jurisdiction only when the national legal system is unable or unwilling to exercise jurisdiction. Generally, only high officials of States commit the offence and the State would be unwilling to exercise criminal jurisdiction over them and other States would not be willing. Second, the Court should deal only with crimes of serious concern to the international community. These crimes are: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and the crime of aggression. The Statute of the Court defined these offences.

The Court is based at The Hague with three divisions. (a) The pre-trial division which is concerned with the gathering of evidence, the arrest of the accused, and the custody of the accused. (b) the Trial Division consisting of the registry, the prosecution and the trial judges, and (c) the Appellate Division to give the convicted accused the benefit of an appeal.

## 8.4.6 The World Trade Organisation

The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was converted into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) with some changes. The **GATT** had a dispute settlement mechanism and the WTO mechanism was patterned on it.

The Agreement establishing the WTO provides that its General Council, consisting of the representatives of all the parties to the **Agreement**, has the responsibility to form a Dispute Settlement Body (DSB). The membership of the DSB is the same as that of the General Council, but has separate **rules** of procedure, staff, and document series. Disputes that arise under the WTO Agreements are submitted to panels constituting in accordance with the Understanding on the Rules and Procedure Governing Settlement of Disputes (**DSU**). A panel is an **ad hoc** body constituted for the particular dispute. The Secretariat of the DSB maintains a roster of "well **qualified** persons", i.e., persons who were involved previously in dispute settlement either as panelists, or counsel, or those who served in trade office, or in GATT secretariat or who have been teaching and writing on international trade law.

When the Clause in the Agreement covering the dispute requires consultation, the complaining party must initiate the consultation with the other party and the other party must respond within ten days. All consultations must be completed within thirty days. If consultations do not fructify in a settlement, or the dates prescribed are not kept, a request may be made to the DSB to constitute a panel. The DSB constitutes a panel at its regular meeting or at a meeting called specially for the purpose.

The panel must adhere to the prescribed rules of procedure of receiving written statements, oral presentations, and written rebuttals within the prescribed time limits. The panel must prepare a report, containing a descriptive part of the dispute, the undisputed parts of the dispute and the rival contentions of the parties. The draft of the report must be sent to the parties for their response. After receiving the response in time, an interim report is prepared and submitted to the parties. After receiving the comments of the parties the Final Report is sent to the DSB. All this process up to the DSB receiving the report must be completed within fourteen to eighteen weeks. The Final Report goes into effect unless the DSB by consensus disapproves the Report. The panel is thus an effective third-party decision maker but a safeguard is provided against possible mistakes. There is the Appellate Body holding office for a period of four years. Continuity is maintained in the Appellate Body by staggering the appointments. An appeal may be made within sixty days of the issuance of the Final Report of the panel. The Appellate Body can review only on questions of law. The Appellate Body gives its report to the DSB.

If the report finds that there is no violation of the agreement covering the dispute, the case is over and the losing party cannot resort to any retaliatory action concerning the alleged violation. On the other hand, if the report finds that there has been a violation, the panel or the Appellate Body will "recommend to the aggrieved party to resort to retaliatory action. The losing party may inform the DSB that it will comply with the report in a phased manner or within" reasonable period ", subject to the approval of the DSB. The "reasonable period" has the prescribed time limits, which in any case do not exceed fifteen months. If the losing party takes measures to comply with the report of the panel or Appellate Body, the issue will then be whether there was full compliance, and this again will be a dispute to be submitted to a panel.

The above is a novel system of third-party dispute resolution created to deal trade disputes, especially those concerning restrictions on trade and tariffs.

## **8.5 SUMMARY**

As we observed; violent conflicts that require UN intervention generally have three phases. First, there is a ongoing violent conflict between two or more parties when the UN assumes the role of the peacemaker in an effort to end the violence. Once the ceasefire has been established, the second phase begins. Here, the UN takes the role of a peacekeeper to enforce the ceasefire. In the third phase, the UN's takes up peacebuilding efforts which seek to rebuild infrastructure, political institutions and trust in order to prevent future conflict. These phases can overlap. Though peacekeeping generally occurs after peace has been negotiated, however fragile that may be, as we saw in the numerous examples, peacekeeping and peacemaking can go on at the same time.

While the principal methods of peacemaking are negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement etc., in actual practice, it may include coercive methods and even violent interventions while some have suggested that judicial settlements can be effectively used for peacemaking, it should be noted that the international judicial system is still rudimentary. The jurisdiction of the ICJ is limited to States and that too to States which have consented to accept, in one form of the other, the jurisdiction of the Court. Moreover, there is no mechanism for the enforcement of the decisions of the ICJ. There are other judicial bodies such as the European Court of Human Rights, WTO etc.. but their jurisdiction is limited

## **8.6 EXERCISES**

- 1) How do observer groups differ from peacekeeping forces?
- 2) Examine the meaning and characteristics of peacekeeping. Give instances where peacekeeping has been successful.
- 3) Describe the procedure adopted by the WTO to resolve trade and tariff disputes between member states.
- 4) The International Court of Justice cannot be regarded as a Court for the World. Comment.

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# **UNIT 9 DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL**

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## **Structure**

- 9.1 Introduction**
  - 9.2 Disarmament**
  - 9.3 Arms Control**
  - 9.4 A Brief History of Arms Control and Disarmament**
  - 9.5 Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements**
  - 9.6 Descent in Hopes**
  - 9.7 Summary**
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## **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

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It is well known that the physical availability of weapons can trigger mental states of anger and hostility into violent conflicts. Weapons ~~and~~ armed forces have a similar role in triggering wars. Even though mankind did often realised the devastation that war causes and wanted to avoid war, countries almost *always* stopped short of giving up arms – because of the compelling need to protect themselves against external aggression. As we noted in the earlier units, states function in anarchy, that is, in the absence of a higher authority to settle disputes between them. They constantly face, what has been described as a security dilemma, ‘a structural notion in which the self-help attempts of state to look after their security needs, tends regardless of intentions to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets the its own measures as defensive and the measures of others as potentially threatening’ (Herz, 1950). The self-help measures largely took the form of formation of alliances with other states to counter the ‘enemy’ or acquisition of arms in larger and better arms than those of the ‘enemy’ state. With the other states responding in a similar manner, there ensured an arms race between states or group of states. The two military grouping that emerged after the World War II, the Eastern bloc and the Western bloc of countries became locked in an arms race. With each of the superpower, that is, the United States and the Soviet Union, the leaders of these two bloc of counties, seeking to acquire more and better weapons than the other, a dangerous arms race ensured. By the early 1960s, they had stockpiled enough weapons to destroy the earth many times over. Out of this frightening scenario grew a concern for an immediate, effective check on the mad arms race and a need to make serious and sincere efforts towards disarmament and arms control. This unit examines arms control and disarmament efforts ~~as tools~~ for conflict avoidance and containment. The unit first clarifies the significant distinction between the two concepts, arms control and disarmament, which are frequently used interchangeably as linked, compatible and sometime as synonymous concepts. Later, it examines and assesses the arms control and disarmament measure5 take up, in the post-war period which witnessed the development and deployment of new and highly lethal weapons.

## **9.2 DISARMAMENT**

As the word connotes, disarmament simply means denying oneself or a country from possessing weapons or certain types of weapons. Since the urge to resort to a violent fight is directly related to having a weapon at hand, be it a stick, or be it a ballistic missile, the best way to avert violent fights is to deny access to weapons. Thus, to people abjuring war or wishing at least to actively control its occurrence, disarmament becomes a high priority goal. The development and deployment of enormously destructive weapons—from field guns to high explosive bombs, from battle ships to submarines, from aeroplanes to rockets, from poisonous gases to nuclear bombs, made possible by the rapid advances in science and technology only increased the desire and urgency for disarmament.

World War I saw the coming into use of many of the weapons mentioned above and the scale of that war frightened the world about the very thought of war. As a corollary, disarmament as a device limiting war emerged as an urgent concern for the League of Nations.

However, simple and attractive disarmament appears to be a panacea for controlling wars; it is not a reliable method. Either denying some 'aggressive' states the right to maintain armies, or requiring nations to agree not to equip themselves with certain types of weapons (like naval ships, or aeroplanes) are not practicable means. It is equally difficult to ensure that armed forces are quantitatively limited. Therefore, disarmament became a very ineffective method. The sophistication of weapons which increased by leaps and bounds during and after the World War II placed further obstacles in the disarmament efforts. Particularly, the manufacture of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems during the cold war greatly lessened the enthusiasm for disarmament and the methods of arms control emerged as prominent alternatives.

Disarmament has been a goal of peace movements and individual peace leaders as well as out and out pacifists, since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century or even earlier. But the idea of stopping war by denying or destroying military weapons could only make sense in a context with a fairly high degree of military technology, because it requires specific single-function objects that can clearly be identified as weapons. So, it is the uniqueness of modern weapons as well as their destructiveness that has made disarmament seen as a way of controlling warfare. This idea has two separate foundations. Firstly, even if conflict is in human nature, a war fought without modern weaponry is clearly less dangerous for the human race. Secondly, the possession of rival complex of armaments and the consequent arms races can actively be seen as causing wars, which would not happen otherwise.

The first imperfect disarmament attempts occurred during the period between the two world wars. Among the different disarmament theories and methods adopted, weapons specific disarmament measures were the first to be adopted. These aimed at prohibiting or limiting certain categories of weapons which were then regarded as a prime cause for wars on a large scale. The League of Nations promoted the Naval Disarmament Conferences among the then big powers, the UK, the USA, France, Japan and Italy and fixed quota-like limitation on sizes of the naval ships and the armaments they carry. This was accomplished at the Washington and London Naval Conference in the 1920s. The other attempts related to 'general and complete' disarmament. Examples of this include denying Germany, the

right to maintain an 'air-force', as a disarmament measure. Other efforts were also initiated to-limit the size of armies to specific levels.

These initiatives only underlined the conviction during the inter-war period that armaments as a cause of war should be controlled. However, with the rise of fascism and Nazism in the third decade of the 20th century, rearmament, not disarmament, became a reality in Europe. .

The compulsion of disarmament re-manifested after the World War II with the appearance of the atomic bomb on the scene and the advances in weapons technologies like jet-propelled long-range missiles. These developments led to the UN adopting disarmament as a high priority item in discharging its primary function of maintaining peace and security in the world.

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### **9.3 ARMS CONTROL**

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While disarmament is based on the assumption that the existence of weapons is the fundamental cause of uncertainty and conflicts, arms control approach is based on the assumption that the existence of weapons is not a cause but a consequence of inter-state conflicts. While the former seeks to eliminate armaments, the latter seeks to regulate the armament race for the purposes of creating a measure of stability.

Typically, arms control policies aim at negotiating limits on the development, stockpiling and use of weapons. These policies can be broadly divided into three categories: arms reduction, arms limitation and arms freeze. Arms reduction policies seek to lower the arms level. This is sometimes called partial disarmament. Arms limitation policies attempt to limit the scope and destructiveness of warfare and to prevent its accidental outbreak. Arms freeze policies aim at placing a ceiling on the growth of certain categories of arms so that rival state can feel comfortable in their military parity.

Along with this way of controlling new weapons, another concept also emerged. This relates to the regulation of deployment of nuclear weapons systems, so that the overall use of these weapons will on the whole be less destructive or even avoided. Broadly, known by the name of nuclear strategic theory-this dominated the thinking of the superpowers during the Cold War period. For example, the well-known theory of nuclear deterrence that gained common currency during the Cold War years is a part of this thinking. It is generally believed that the very possession of nuclear weapons by a country will deter an enemy from attacking that country first. The fear of suffering unacceptable damage from the nuclear weapons country would restrain an enemy. From this flowed other complicated strategic theories like the first and second-strike capability and the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). This doctrine is based on the idea that since advanced nuclear weapons can inflict unspeakable extent of damage, rival nuclear weapons powers should 'deliberately' open themselves for destruction reciprocally (mutual destruction) so that this will keep the balance of nuclear terror among the enemies from unleashing nuclear war on each other. In its turn, this doctrine led to the bizarre, but arguably realistic hope, that 'arms control' should aim at limiting defensive weapons on both sides of the nuclear divide so that each side can remain open for an enemy offensive, if any one side is foolishly tempted to attack first. If such an attack was indeed to take place, then the 'victim' of

this first strike will retaliate with its offensive capability with such severity that the 'initiating' party will be totally destroyed. It is this prospect of total destruction that will not tempt the initiating country with its foolhardy initial strike. Accompanying this strategic doctrine is the theory that the superpowers should plan to destroy population centres (counter-city) rather than the centres where the weapons and forces of the enemy (counter-force). Many such theories and sub-theories emerged as arms control prescriptions. Strategic theorists like, Scheolling, Herman Kahn, Bernard Brodies, mainly from the US, advocated such 'arms control' measures. In this manner, arms controls supplemented disarmament as a device to control the incidence, or more realistically, the escalation of war in the nuclear war context.

The dominance of nuclear strategic theories does not, however, imply that nuclear disarmament, that is disarming the countries from nuclear weapons, was given up. But the point is that as the number of nuclear weapon countries increased, abolishing nuclear bombs was regarded as utopian. The US was the first to show its disillusionment with nuclear disarmament. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, from the start laid its hopes on complete nuclear disarmament. It is open to question how sincere the Soviet Union was in this regard.

The shift from disarmament to arms control is analysed by Lawrence Freedman in his *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* thus: "The drastic surgery of disarmament was rejected as being over-simple theorizing and a certain innocence as to the strategic facts of life. Once the opportunity to abolish atomic bombs...had passed it only became a matter of time before policy makers stopped pretending that they had any confidence in complete disarmament.... American negotiations accepted the bomb as a fact of international life whose influence must be controlled, rather than as an evil to be abolished...Unfortunately the lack of movement in disarmament negotiations renewed the terms associated with futility.... The term 'arms control', came to be adopted indicating a move away from attempts at total elimination of nuclear weapons with balanced reduction of conventional areas to the strengthening of deterrence and the guarding against surprise attack".

### **The continuing relevance of Disarmament**

However, it is not as though disarmament is given up as 'futile'. For that matter, the attempted abolition of the nuclear bomb fondly hoped for under the Baruch Plan and followed up by the Eisenhower administration in the late 1940s, though failed, finally took the shape of nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), in the 1960s. A very much watered down regime for nuclear disarmament, the NPT nevertheless is to be regarded as a vintage disarmament measure than an arms control measure. Similarly, the various nuclear test ban agreements and the regional 'nuclear weapons free zone' pacts are in the nature of disarmament devices. In the following pages, the important disarmament and arms control treaties will be briefly mentioned.

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## **9.4 A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT**

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Under the aegis of both the League of Nations and later under the United Nations, arms control and disarmament measures have been pursued and implemented with varying degrees

of success. Efforts at arms control and disarmament during the inter world war period did not yield any significant result. However, after the World War II, hopes about general **disarmament** increased. Initial efforts related to the control of atomic weapons and technology under the auspicious of the United Nations. In 1946, the US proposed the **Baruch Plan** for an international Atomic Development Authority involving inspection of all phases of production of fissionable materials, exclusive rights to conduct atomic tests and promote peaceful uses. This was to be followed by relinquishing of atomic power by states in stages. The Soviet Union rejected the plan and proposed the Gromyko plan for prohibition of nuclear weapons. This was rejected by the US. In 1952, the sixth General Assembly of the UN established the UN Disarmament Commission to prepare a draft convention for regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments and elimination of weapons of mass destruction. In 1953, President Eisenhower put forward the 'Atoms for Peace' proposal and suggested the creation of an international agency to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to inhibit its use for military purposes. Following prolonged negotiations, the Ninth Session of the UN General Assembly adopted a unanimous resolution for the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). During much of the Cold War, both arms control and disarmament measures have been opted for by the rival superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, to reduce tension and for strategic stability.

The following section delineates and discusses the **arms** control and disarmament efforts that have been made both by the UN and the two superpowers since 1945.

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## **9.5 ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS**

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Ever since the use of the atomic bomb in 1945, nations world over have been making efforts to control the **arms** race. However, due to the mutual suspicion and mistrust between the two superpowers, all disarmament efforts proved futile until the early 1960s.

**The Antarctic Treaty** was the first disarmament treaty to come into force in 1961. Signed by 26 states in 1959, the treaty bans military use of Antarctica and specifically prohibits nuclear tests being conducted there and nuclear waste disposal or storage in the Antarctic. The treaty declares that the Antarctic will be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. It prohibits establishment of military bases and fortifications or testing of any type of weapons in the area. The treaty entered into force in 1961.

Soon after the Cuban missile crisis (1962), the first breakthrough in arms control efforts was achieved in August 1963, when UK, USA and USSR signed the **Partial Test Ban Treaty** (PTBT) also known as the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Underwater. The treaty came into force on October 10, 1963. These states expressed their determination to achieve discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear **weapons** for all time and to put an end to the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances.

The parties to the treaty undertook to prohibit, prevent and riot to carry out nuclear weapon test explosions at any place under its jurisdiction or control. viz., in the atmosphere, beyond its limits,

including outer space or underwater, including territorial waters or high seas or in any other environment if such explosion caused radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the state under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted. The treaty, however, did not ban underground explosions unless they caused radioactive debris to be present outside the territory of state where such explosion was conducted.

The treaty was made open to all states and also contained a withdrawal clause. It was to be of unlimited duration. By 1987, the number of signatory states had risen to 116.

**Outer Space Treaty** was signed in 1967 by 83 states. Officially known as the **1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies**, the Outer Space Treaty banned nuclear weapons in earth's orbit and their stationing in Outer Space. It prohibited other kinds of weapons of mass destruction from being installed on celestial bodies or stationing them in outer space in any other manner.

The Outer Space Treaty propounds in effect, a first code of space law. Other agreements like the 1979 Moon Treaty augment the Outer Space Treaty.

**Tlatalelco Treaty**, also known as the Latin American Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, was signed in 1967, by 22 states, which bans testing, possession, deployment of nuclear weapons and requires safeguards on nuclear facilities. All Latin American states, except Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Cuba are parties to the treaty. The treaty provides for verification and inspections by IAEA. The peculiarity of the treaty relates to a provision for peaceful nuclear explosions under notification and supervision of the IAEA.

With the passage of PTBT in 1963, it was expected that other arms control measures would soon follow. One measure that has been discussed over five years and at last agreed upon by the nuclear powers participating in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Commission (ENDC) of the UN was the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The treaty of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, also referred to as **the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty** (NPT), obligates the five acknowledged nuclear weapon states (the US, Russian Federation, the former USSR, UK, France and China) not to transfer nuclear weapons, other nuclear explosive devices, or their technology to any non-nuclear weapon state. Non-nuclear weapons state parties undertake not to acquire or produce nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive devices. This must be done in accordance with an individual safeguards agreement, concluded between each non-nuclear weapons (NNW) state party and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Under these agreements, all nuclear materials in peaceful civil facilities under the jurisdiction of the state must be declared to the IAEA, whose inspectors have routine access to the facilities for periodic monitoring and inspections. If inspections are not sufficient to fulfil its responsibilities, the IAEA may consult with the state regarding special inspections within or outside declared facilities.

The treaty was opened for signature on July 1, 1968, and signed on ~~that~~ day by the US, the UK, the Soviet Union, and 59 other countries. The treaty entered into force on 5 March 1970.

The NPT is the most widely accepted arms control agreement. As of early 2000, a total of 187 states have become parties to the NPT. Cuba, Israel, India and Pakistan were the only states that remained non-members of the NPT. North Korea that once signed the Treaty withdrew from it in 2003.

The NPT was originally entered into force with a time limit of 25 years and periodic reviews of the treaty taking place every five years. At the NPT Review and Extension Conference held in New York in 1995 and 2000, the parties agreed to extend the treaty indefinitely without conditions. The NPT remains as an important framework for controlling the spread of nuclear weapons and expertise.

The treaty on the limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile systems, ABM Treaty of 1972, is a bilateral treaty, between the United States and the Soviet Union, signed in Moscow on 26 May 1972, and entered into force on 3 October 1972.

The ABM treaty prevented either side from using a ballistic missile defence as a shield to launch a first strike. In the Treaty, the two superpowers agree that each may have only two ABM deployment areas, so restricted and so located that they cannot provide a nationwide ABM defence or become the basis for developing one. Each country thus leaves unchallenged the penetration capability of the others retaliatory missile forces.

The treaty permits each side to have one ABM system to protect its capital, and another to protect one of its ICBM launch area. The two sites defended must be at least 1,300 km apart, to prevent the creation of any effective regional defence zone or the beginnings of a nationwide system.

Precise quantitative and qualitative limits have been imposed on the ABM systems that may be deployed. At each site there may be no more than 100 interceptor missiles and 100 launchers.

Both parties agreed to limit qualitative improvements of their ABM technology, for example, not to develop, test or deploy ABM launchers capable of launching more than one interceptor missile at a time or modify existing launchers to give them this capability. Systems for rapid reload of launchers are prohibited.

As more and more states acquired ballistic missiles, the United States planned development of a defensive system against ballistic missile. To facilitate the development and testing of such weapons, the United States withdrew from the ABM treaty in mid-2002. President Bush called the ABM treaty a relic of the Cold War. The ABM treaty thus, stands demolished. Russia and China have expressed serious concern over this development.

SALT-I or the first series of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks extended from November 1969 to May 1972. In a summit meeting in Moscow, after more than two years of negotiations, the first round of SALT was concluded on 26 May 1972, when the US President Nixon, and the General Secretary of Communist Party of Soviet Union Breznev, signed the ABM treaty and the Interim Agreement on strategic offensive arms. SALT represents the high point of 'detente' between the superpowers.

SALT-I is mainly a quantitative arms control agreement. The agreement essentially limits

the number of strategic ballistic missile launchers, (operational or under construction) on each side and also limits SLBM launchers and modern ballistic submarines to the numbers existing on the date of signature of the interim agreement. In view of the many asymmetries in the two countries forces, imposing equivalent limitations require rather complex and precise provisions. The US is to have no more than 710 ballistic missile launchers on submarines and no more than 44 modern ballistic missile submarines. The Soviet Union is to have no more than 950 ballistic missile launchers on submarines and no more than 62 modern ballistic missiles.

Considered as one of the most outstanding of the arms control measures adopted by the superpowers, the SALT-I is referred to as 'freeze' agreement. The first part of the treaty, an agreement of ABM was for unlimited period. The Interim Agreement on Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM) was for a five-year period.

The agreement on offensive weapons merely deals with long-range ballistic missiles and not the medium range ballistic missiles. SALT -I did not include nuclear warheads, which both the superpowers possessed in sufficient quantities, but only included launchers and ABM systems. The two superpowers agreed on a set of Basic Principles of Negotiation on further limitation of strategic arms.

**SALT-II** negotiations began in November 1972. The primary goal of SALT-II was to replace the Interim Agreement with a long-term comprehensive treaty on strategic offensive weapons systems. The principal US objective, as the SALT-II negotiations began, was to provide for equal numbers of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles for both sides to begin the process of reduction of these delivery vehicles, and to impose restraints on qualitative developments, which could threaten future stability.

At the Vladivostok meeting in November 1974, between President Ford and General Secretary Brezhnev, both sides agreed to a basic framework for the SALT-II Agreement. On 18 June 1979, President Carter and General Secretary Brezhnev signed the completed SALT-II Agreement in Vienna. The US Senate ratification was stalled following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. In May 1982, President Reagan stated he would do nothing to undercut the SALT agreements as long as the Soviet Union showed equal restraint. The Soviet Union also agreed to abide by the unratified treaty. Subsequently, in 1984 and 1985, President Reagan declared that the Soviet Union had violated its political commitment to observe the SALT-II treaty.

The agreement called for placing an overall ceiling of 2,400 (to be reduced to 2,250 by end of 1981) on the number of ICBM launchers, SLBM launchers, heavy bombers and ASBMs with over 6000 km range on each side. Within this overall ceiling, several sub-ceilings specified additional restrictions on particular types of nuclear systems. The first sub-ceiling limited each superpower to 1,320 launchers equipped with MIRVs (multiple independently re-targetable vehicles) plus heavy bombers equipped with long-range cruise missiles. The second sub-ceiling limited the total number of launchers of MIRVed ballistic missiles to 1200 and the third sub-ceiling restricted each nation to the deployment of no more than 820 MIRVed ICBMs.

Besides this, the accord also banned the construction of additional fixed ICBM launchers. It also limited the number of warheads permitted on ICBMs and anti-satellite ballistic missiles to ten and submarine-launched ballistic missiles to fourteen. This restriction would have the effect of inhibiting qualitative improvements in the payload delivery capabilities of the superpower missiles.

This treaty was to remain in force for five years. It still remains.

The treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests, also known as the **Threshold Test Ban Treaty** (TTBT) was signed in July 1974 in Moscow. It establishes a nuclear threshold by prohibiting tests having a yield exceeding 150 kilotons (equivalent to 150,000 tons of TNT).

For many years, neither the US nor the Soviet Union ratified the TTBT. However, in 1976, each party separately announced its intentions to observe the Treaty limit of 150 kilotons, pending ratification. Agreement on additional verification provisions, contained in new protocols substituting for the original protocols, was reached in 1990. The TTBT and the PNET entered into force on 11 December 1990.

Negotiations on the peaceful nuclear explosions treaty, contemplated in Article III of the TTBT, began in Moscow in October 1974, and after six negotiation sessions over a period of 18 months, resulted in the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (popularly called the **Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty** or PNE Treaty) in April 1976. The US and the Soviet Union exchanged instruments of ratification and the treaties entered into force on 11 December 1990.

The PNE Treaty governs all nuclear explosions carried out at locations outside the weapon sites specified under the TTBT. The parties agreed not to carry out any individual nuclear explosions having a yield exceeding 150 kilotons, and not to carry out any group explosion (consisting of a number of individual explosions) having an aggregate yield exceeding 1,5000 kilotons.

Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on limiting and reducing intermediate range nuclear forces (INF) began in Geneva in December 1981. The talks were stalled in 1982 when the Russians walked out. They were resumed in March 1985. After two unsuccessful summits in Geneva (1985) and Reykjavik (1985), the **INF treaty** was finally signed at the Washington summit meeting of President **Reagan** and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev on 8 December 1987.

The INF treaty entered into force on 1 June 1988, eliminated all nuclear-armed ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 km (about 3000 to 3400 miles) and their infrastructure.

The INF treaty is the first nuclear arms control agreement to actually reduce nuclear arms, rather than establish ceilings that could not be exceeded. Although it resulted in the elimination by May 1991 of 846 longer and shorter range US INF missile systems and 1846 Soviet INF missile systems, including the modernized US Pershing II and Soviet SS-20 missiles.

Negotiated and concluded during **The Cold War**, the INF treaty contains the most

comprehensive verification regime ever achieved upto that point. The on-site Inspection Agency was set up in 1988- to implement the treaty's unprecedented on-site inspection and escort inspection provisions, including baseline data inspections, inspections of closed-out facilities, short-notice inspections of declared sites and inspections to observe eliminations of the missile systems. It also established the first ever continuous monitoring operations at the portal and perimeters of former missile production facility in each country to confirm that production of prohibited missiles had ceased.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have conducted hundreds of INF inspections since 1988. The INF treaty assumes significance as a concrete step towards actual reduction of the nuclear weapon stockpile.

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty or START negotiations began in 1982. The United States sought a treaty that would provide for deep reductions' in US and Soviet strategic offensive nuclear forces, equal limits on the two sides and 'effective verification'. Talks were suspended in 1983, when the Soviet walked out in protest over US intermediately range missile deployments in Europe; they resumed in 1985 and concluded in 1991. The strategic arms reduction treaty I called for reducing the superpower's strategic arsenal by about 30 percent.

The central limits in START-I are a limit of 1,600 strategic offensive delivery systems (launchers for ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers) and 6,000 attributed warheads, with sub-limits of 4,900 warheads attributed to ballistic missiles, 1,540 warheads attributed to heavy ICBMs, and 1,100 warheads attributed to mobile ICBMs.

START-I is a very complicated and comprehensive arms control agreement to be negotiated. In addition to this treaty, there are agreed, joint and other statements, an extensive data exchange, a definitions annex, six protocols-all of which are related to verification and related agreements.

Shortly after the START-I treaty was signed in July 1991 the Soviet Union began to collapse. Many observers, called for far deeper cuts in strategic offensive weapons than those mandated by the START-I treaty. The Bush Administration agreed and START-II negotiations between the US and Russia began in early 1992.

To this must be added the May 1992 protocol signed between the United States and the four Soviet successor states that have weapons covered by START-I- Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Taken together, these documents outline complex and often costly procedures that the nations must follow to remain in compliance with START-I.

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) III is the most recent product of the bilateral arms control effort between the United States and Russian Federation. Presidents Bush and Boris Yeltsin signed it in June 1993, during the summit in Moscow. A protocol to the original text was negotiated at the Helsinki summit in March 1997, which was signed in New York City, after ratification by both parties, in September 1997.

Both the parties agreed on complete elimination of all land-based ICBMs with MIRVs, and that by December 2003. each side should deploy no more than 3000-3500 strategic nuclear warheads.

The Helsinki protocol provides for extension of the implementation deadline from 31 December 2003 to 31 December 2007. It also provides for an agreement to begin negotiation of START-111, limiting deployed forces to between 2,000 and 2,500 warheads by December 2007, immediately following START-11's entry into force. The protocol also stipulates 'deactivation' of all delivery vehicles to be eliminated by 31 December 2003.

The UN General Assembly adopted the **Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty** (CTBT) on 10 September 1996. A comprehensive nuclear test ban was prefigured in a pledge embodied in the PTBT (1963) and was repeated as a goal in the preamble of the NPT. The Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva negotiated the CTBT over a period of two and half years.

The treaty prohibits any nuclear explosion whether for weapons or peaceful purposes. The treaty establishes an organization to ensure implementation, which includes a conference of states parties, an Executive Council and a Technical Secretariat, which includes the International Data Centre. The treaty includes a protocol, which details the International Monitoring System (IMS), On-site Inspection (OSI) and Confidence Building Measures.

To date, all but three of the 44 nations (India, Pakistan and North Korea) have signed the CTBT and of the states that have signed, but not ratified the treaty, the United States and China are notable exceptions. The CTBT however, while banning both full-scale and low yield nuclear tests including hydro-nuclear tests would not curtail sub-critical experiments which would involve chemical rather than nuclear explosions.

The CTBT provides for an extensive verification regime. The treaty is of unlimited duration. Any treaty party may withdraw from the pact, giving six months notice. Review conferences will be held every ten years (or more frequently if a majority of parties agree) to examine the operation and effectiveness of the treaty and to consider new technological developments.

**The Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (BTWC)** aims to ban biological weapons and their manufacture and stockpiling. It is officially known as the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological(Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction of 10 April 1972. The BTWC, which was opened for signature at Washington, London and Moscow on 10 April 1972, came into force in March 1975. Since then 168 nations have become signatories to the agreement. The BTWC prohibits the development, production and stockpiling of biological and toxic weapons. This is the first disarmament agreement within a multilateral framework that provides for elimination of an entire category of weapons of mass destruction under universally applied international control.

At the second review conference in September 1986, the parties agreed to implement data exchange measures to enhance confidence and to promote cooperation in areas of permitted biological activities. The third review conference in September 1991 created an Ad hoc Group of Governmental Experts to evaluate potential verification measures. The special conference, held in September 1994, established an Ad Hoc Group to draft proposals to strengthen the convention. In all five review conferences have been held, the last in 2002.

The parties undertake not to develop, produce, stockpile or acquire biological agents or toxin 'of types and in quantities that have no justification for prophylactic, protective and other peaceful purposes'. as well as weapons and means of delivery.

The convention on the prohibition of development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and their destruction adopted the treaty at Geneva in September 1992. Popularly known as the **Chemical Weapons Convention** (CWC), the treaty is unprecedented in scope and stringency of its verification regime. The agreement was opened for signing in 1993.

There is a provision for a permanent implementation agency viz. the organisation for the prohibition of chemical weapons (OPCW) with its headquarters at the Hague. When the Chemical Weapons Convention entered into force on 27 April 1997, 87 countries had ratified it. The number of countries, which ratified the CWC, rose to 161 by March 2004. The CWC commits all parties to destroy stockpiles of chemical weapons by 2007. So far, OPCW has overseen the destruction of nearly 10 percent of the world's stockpile.

It has always been held that reducing world's military arsenals may or could tend to reduce war. However, this seems not to have been borne out by facts. Disarmament has in most cases been imposed, while there are very few voluntary cases. Arms control efforts in contrast are several in numbers. Summit talks and meetings between the superpower antagonists during the Cold War led to several arms control agreements. While it is true that there has been unprecedented progress in arms control in the post-Cold War period both the old antagonists continued modernizing their armaments. In spite of several measures, states still do not opt for significant controls on the growth of armaments. The obstacles to the control of arms continue to be formidable. The possibility of conflict and the reliance of states on weapons for security will, however, tend to keep alive the fear of war. Arms control continues to be one of the methods of reducing the possibilities of war and reduction of conflict.

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## 9.6 DESCENT IN HOPES

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One point relating to the scaling down of mankind's expectations of peace and abolition of war needs to be highlighted. As the ideal of a peaceful world has become unattainable, the lesser ideal of limiting wars, in its turn, has also come to escape humanity's grasp. In its place is posited the even more 'realistic' goal of disarmament, which again yielded place to arms control, which is believed to be the most viable method. In this descent from aspiring to the pinnacle of peace to the crude and craggy valleys of arms control, distrust amongst the nations is the chief obstacle for attempts to even minimally limit the destructive potential of weapons, leave aside abolishing war itself. Even earlier, it used to be said, Disarm and Verify; now it has turned out to be attempts at arms control hedged with complicated systems of verification, inspection regimes with pervading suspicion all around.

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## 9.7 SUMMARY

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In this unit we have seen when and how concerns over quantitative and qualitative increase of weapons technology emerged as cause for concern. As we saw, the advances in science and technology which directly fed into the arms race in the post war period led to major initiatives, both bilateral and multilateral, to control and avoid war. We have seen that although the two terms, arms control and disarmament are often used interchangeably and both have the common goal of military stability, they are two distinct approaches. In the words of Morgenthau, the difference between the two concepts is that "while disarmament

is the reduction or elimination of armaments, arms control is concerned with regulating the armament race for the purpose of creating a **measure** of military stability". In a world where **complete** disarmament is still a distant dream, arms control, by regulating the development, stockpiling and deployment of seeks to limit the arms race and makes the efforts toward disarmament somewhat easier.

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## 9.8 EXERCISES

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- 1) What are the **significant** differences between the concepts of arms control and disarmament?
- 2) Trace the early efforts toward disarmament in the post cold war period. Why did these efforts fail?
- 3) Bring out the **significance** of **INF** treaty as an arms control measure.
- 4) Write a short note on Nuclear **Non-Proliferation** treaty.
- 5) As the ideal of a **peaceful** world has become unattainable, the lesser ideal of limiting wars, in its **turn**, has also come to escape humanity's grasp. Comment.

# **UNIT 10 CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES**

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## **Structure**

- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Key Elements of Confidence Building
- 10.3 Three Parallel Processes in Europe
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## **10.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Confidence building is a new approach in peace and conflict studies that emerged in the context of the Cold War rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. Due to the very nature of that conflict, progress towards any form of cooperation or agreement on any issue was often slow. Scholars sobered by the terrible destructive power of nuclear weapons began focusing on ways to avoid ever using such weapons. They focused on notions of 'deterrence' and 'mutual assured destruction' to ensure neither side would use their nuclear weapons for fear of terrible retaliation. Once this was achieved, they turned to looking at ways to reduce the kinds of tensions that might spark a nuclear exchange. Confidence building approach is an offshoot of these efforts.

Confidence building approach essentially seeks to evolve mechanisms for preventing conflict and aid the adversaries in moving from zero sum to cooperative positive sum relationships. The objective of these mechanisms or measures, popularly known as Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) is to reduce tension and suspicion, to reduce the risk of armed conflict, both as a consequence of an accident, and of miscalculation; to develop communication and co-operation to reduce the use of military power, and to increase mutual understanding on security issues and defence priorities of each party. By evolving mutual trust and understanding among adversaries, CBMs provide new opportunities for conflict resolution and building lasting peace.

Confidence-building measures can be military, diplomatic, cultural, or political. However, military and diplomatic measures are the most commonly used in building confidence among

parties involved in protracted conflict. Since CBMs have come to accentuate security aspects, they are also referred to as Confidence Security Building Measures (CSBMs).

Individual governments, non-state actors, or third parties such as the United Nations, regional organisations, or other states can initiate CBMs. Ardent advocates of this new approach believe that it is possible to codify CBMs into a process helping solve adversarial relationships between and within states and thus create conditions for lasting peace.

## **10.2 KEY ELEMENTS OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING**

The key elements of confidence building approach evolved in the context of Cold War conflict that came to dominate international politics after the end of the World War II. Here, one can identify nine elements of the Cold War equation which could be said to mark the evolution of Confidence building approach in the theory and practice of international relations. These elements could be classified into batches of negative, positive and crisis management oriented ones which also underlines their evolution in that order.

In the early years of the Cold War, the negative (no commitments) oriented elements of confidence building in East-West adversarial equations became manifest in three different ways. Firstly, the fact that Soviet westward expansion at the end of World War II was successfully contained in Greece (1947) and Berlin (1948), was the first indicator during the Cold War that both sides had decided (or forced) to respect the status quo. This meant that superpowers would not use their unlimited power to alter the political map of the world and eschew escalation to ensure stability in their equations. It was this decision to accept the status quo that resulted in Korea and Germany staying divided. The political changes on global map were thereafter kept to minimum and at the periphery.

Secondly, eschewing of escalation to nuclear weapons use and brinkmanship had witnessed the confinement of hostile responses to conventional military provocations like the U-2 incidents when an American spy plane was shot down by the Soviets during 1960. The two sides were also to ensure that never in future such military provocations were repeated. Indeed, in the end this stream of thinking was to lead to the signing of several agreements and treaties. Since neither side had developed sufficient trust to allow inspectors on their soil, these early agreements were designed to monitor compliance through non-intrusive verification methods. For instance, the Incidents at Sea agreement of 1972 aimed at reducing the many incidents at sea (movements and manoeuvres of aircraft carriers, ships and submarines) that might escalate to war. Here, the two sides agreed to sort out military-to-military level difficulties and problems by organising annual meetings of the top admirals on both sides. Such efforts to avoid military provocations through confidence building agreements was to eventually pave way for a series of arms control and disarmament agreements, starting from the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) treaty of 1972 and Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT-I).

Thirdly, following their experience of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, both sides agreed that nuclear brinkmanship was too dangerous a strategy to be repeated. Once missiles were mutually removed from Cuba and Turkey, such nuclear brinkmanship was completely avoided. All this was nothing but building pillars of mutual confidence and this appreciation

of confidence building approach was to lead to two sides further into taking more positive initiatives in strengthening it.

Working on this base of negative mutual confidence building, there were several new initiatives that could be regarded as a set of positive elements of Cold War confidence building. Firstly, with focus on confidence building, both Moscow and Washington were to now make it a routine to put 'advance notice' clauses providing for notice of oncoming force improvements etc. into their future agreements, as also to sign fresh agreements – like the Seabed Treaty and the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 – on issues that had no relationship whatsoever with their immediate national security. These agreements had a symbolic value in mutual confidence building and in facilitating stability. Secondly, having codified some of these CBMs, 'verification' emerged as central defining feature of most of new treaties and regimes. During early 1980s, President Reagan was to repeatedly cite the Russian caution "trust, but verify" to justify need for such verification regimes in each treaty. These were to be followed by new innovative verification instruments like 'on-site', 'challenge' 'intrusive' inspections by outside experts. Thirdly, once some of these norms, institutions and processes were codified, the two sides began focusing on "faithful implementation" of these provisions. Indeed, "unilateral initiatives" were to gradually become stronger key elements of such confidence building. Especially, Gorbachev's new thinking during mid-1980s was to become the symbol of unilateral efforts at mutual confidence building.

Even as the positive sets of elements of confidence building were taking shape, the two sides of the Cold War divide began focussing on Crisis Management, which was to become integral to confidence building approach. Here the two sides established new trends. Firstly, communications were to emerge as the most critical core of CBMs. Starting from East-West 'hotline' that was established following the Cuban Missile crisis of 1962, this was to evolve into a whole lot of other channels of communications including "meetings on the sidelines" of major conference to "summit" meetings, and other regular interactions of top leadership; all aimed at building mutual confidence. Secondly, both sides were to emphasise and work towards a fail-safe command and control centres for their nuclear weapons and missiles. This was to guarantee mutual safety against accidental or unauthorised attacks which could not be denied as a possibility. This was to later expand into building of common technical centres which were to cater to both sides and focus on building data-collection and for consultations. Finally, both sides of the East-West divide were to demonstrate how they were not ever satisfied with the existing CBMs and had to continuously explore new possibilities. This is because conflict evolves continuously; while new institutions and channels for building confidence were being evolved, the old ones had to be reviewed constantly. This was to ensure that confidence building approach is able to keep pace with its future challenges.

## **10.3 THREE PARALLEL PROCESSES IN EUROPE**

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In addition to these general broad trends that promoted this confidence building approach as driven by the power equations of two superpowers and their allies, a more serious 'theoretical evolution of this approach was to happen in European theatre where the focus was far more generic and long term. These efforts were to flow from regular meetings of independent think-tanks and experts at several places though three of these – Stockholm, Helsinki, and Vienna – were to become particularly known centres for their pioneering

activities towards evolving a whole set of **CBMs** practices. Several of these norms were to be **codified** by them and this was to become part of European life and **thinking**. Many of these models were to be later replicated in other conflict-ridden theatres. These were to also stimulate parallel debates in other regions and generate similar as also alternate **thinking** on Confidence Building approach in international relations.

### 10.3.1 The Helsinki Process

The long-drawn process of Helsinki discussions amongst experts and officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) countries were to finally produce the Helsinki Act of 1975. To begin with this effort focused on Arms Control negotiations and implementation, a most engaging issue in Europe of the 1970s. Besides, these negotiations were to focus on achieving recognition of **status quo** and to promote interactions between the two sides of the Cold War divide. For this purpose, these **initiatives** were to be particularly premised on the two salient features of European politics i.e. (a) relatively secure and defined inter-state borders and (b) a well-established network of legal institutions and faith in their working. These efforts and the Helsinki Act were to completely change the way problems had been viewed amongst European countries. And CSCE was to become a platform for ensuring the effectiveness of confidence building approach in the conduct of inter state ties in Europe.

### 10.3.2 The Stockholm Accord

The Stockholm Accord of 1986 was an initiative by the Conference on Disarmament in Europe. Being part of arms control exercise, it was known for its focus on security establishments and for its innovations like 'on-site' inspections, military 'observers' and for propounding **submission** of 'annual calendar' of **military** exercises which were the main agenda of its negotiations. Later Stockholm discussions were to further expand themselves into evolving a network for "cooperative aerial inspections" which finally led to the 'Open Skies' agreement allowing mutual inspections of military facilities of Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the military symbols of East-West divide. This eventually led to the establishment of a Crisis Prevention Centre at Vienna (Austria) which was to become a unique example of confidence building success.

### 10.3.3 The Vienna Document

The Vienna Document of 1990 was to further expand the network of data collection and data exchange amongst adversaries as a method for building mutual confidence. The Vienna discussions were to focus particularly on areas like: (a) force deployments, (b) new weapons programmes, and (c) defence expenditures. Information on these could be submitted and made available to countries and to confidence building analysts. The subsequent Vienna Agreement of 1992 was to highlight the **importance** of "transparency" especially in areas of new weapons programmes asking **parties** to demonstrate the potential of their new weapons which itself was seen as effort toward promoting confidence building amongst **adversaries**. This was also the time when success of Confidence Building approach in **Europe** had begun to attract attention in other theatres, especially in **conflict-hidden** parts of Asia.

## **10.4 ASIAN AND EUROPEAN MODEL-BUILDING**

Indeed, similar arrangements had for long been experimented amongst various **Asian** nations. If anything, the CBMs approach in the Asian context had preceded all Western models. Therefore, ideas of CBMs in Asia are neither fully borrowed from Europe nor identical to those outlined in European models. Indeed, experience shows that Asia has had its own traditions on building inter-state confidence as also how these European models have encountered severe limitations when superimposed in Asian situations.

To take examples from India's own experience the whole Gandhian approach to national liberation was based on achieving transfer of power peacefully and not turning British into India's enemy. More specifically, beginning from the Joint Defence Council of 1948 that effected the division of assets and armed forces between India and Pakistan to the **Sino-Indian Panchsheel Agreement** of 1954, and later the **Indo-Pak Simla agreement** of 1971, various formal and informal agreements had already been reached incorporating these CBMs into India's foreign and security policy-making. Indeed, the five principles of peaceful coexistence (Panchsheel) initiated by India and China remain the most enduring in ensuring stability and peace in international relations.

In their actual practice as well, tacit agreements on issues like those on non-use against civilian targets, or the selective use of armed forces between India and Pakistan have been by far most effective CBMs than the codified documents and other mechanism that have been put in place for ensuring peace in this **turmoil** ridden relationship. Of course, the idea of CBMs in Asia had no traditions of institutionalising, especially no tradition of model building which has been very European and legalistic and rigid. **Asian** CBMs remain far too broad-based and informal where personalities and not institutions remain more effective. This may be also a limitation on the CBMs effectiveness.

The following are, in short, some of the more salient distinctions of Asian CBMs especially when these are compared to Western models. Firstly, the condition of having a subjective feeling of an imminent threat, which is so central to all those Western conceptions of CBMs, is not always met with the same degree of intensity and accuracy in similar Asian situations. In Asia's rather a loose polycentric situation, nations had never been as clearly divided, as were the communist and liberal democracies that was characteristic of the Cold War divide. Secondly, the basic condition of broad equality of the military capabilities between the potential parties to the conflict, again seems a very much a **Eurocentric** feature of CBMs. This has been generally missing in Asian situations of crisis. China, India and Pakistan can themselves be cited as ideal examples of this asymmetry of power which gets circumscribed or multiplied given the nature of political and strategic cultures and systems of each of these countries. Thirdly, the inter-state boundaries, which form the basic element of European CBMs, are themselves a major problem and therefore the very objective towards which most Asian **CSBMs** seek to provide solution. Also, Asian **CSBMs** are generally backed by ever widening network of measures like State sponsored people-to-people contacts which are aimed at expanding mutual trust and understanding between the entire social elite on both sides.

Therefore, this myth about the Asian CBMs being the by-product of European models does not stand the scrutiny. Indeed, the **global** factors have surely been far more influential

in moulding the European CBMs than those amongst Asian countries. This is simply because unlike Europe (a) the conflicts in Asia were never seen to be vital to the national interests of both the superpowers; and, (b) the middle ranking powers like China and India had become increasingly independent from the regimented bipolar world order of Cold War years.

## 10.5 INDIAN EXPERIENCE

Firstly, to outline the evolution of CBMs in India-China ties, the efforts of the two parties' could be divided to two distinct phases, those before the 1962 war and those since the war when the two Asian giants were engaged in some kind of a cold war conflict. As regards Pakistan, it had been part of India until the violent partition that left a permanent scar on both sides thus making them each other's number one adversary. Accordingly, the Indo-Pak initiatives for CBMs seem to be far more continuous though slow as also far more in number compared to the China-India CBMs. Nevertheless, given the nature of their equations, the China-India CBMs have been far more effective in controlling the violent expressions of their conflict. By comparison, therefore, Sino-Indian CBMs have created as also evolved in a far more positive environment which distinguishes them not only from the European experience but, to a certain extent, from the evolution of Indo-Pak CBMs.

### 10.5.1 India-Pakistan CBMs

Before charting the course of major Indo-Pak initiatives in the evolution of their CBMs, it would be perhaps worthwhile to first understand the specific nature of both Indo-Pak conflicts as also the Indo-Pak CBMs. And here, apart from looking at them in terms of the general character of the South Asian CBMs, it is perhaps important to underline some of the essential differences between Sino-Indian and Indo-Pak CBMs. This is perhaps important for defining the essential character of Indo-Pak CBMs.

Firstly, compared to the Sino-Indian competition as also the process of their CBMs, the competition and CBMs between India and Pakistan have always had far more visibility; often presenting themselves as emotional outbursts of their public sentiment, be it positive or negative. This, however, does not mean that Indo-Pak CBMs have been any more effective than the case of Sino-Indian CBMs.

Secondly, Indo-Pak military engagements and threat perception have been far more regular and real and, therefore, are of far greater compelling factor in the evolution of Indo-Pak CBMs while the Sino-Indian CBMs have emerged more out of gradual rapprochement and mutual understanding. Accordingly, despite low-profile initiatives, the Sino-Indian CBMs have been far more effective than the numerous but blurred Indo-Pak CBMs.

Thirdly, in Indo-Pak initiatives, CBMs have been more often used to camouflage competition. Initiatives for accelerating competition or for evolving CBMs have, therefore, coincided and overlapped far more sharply in Indo-Pak ties than in Sino-Indian ties. The most recent case in point can be that of Pakistani intrusions in the Kargil sector of India's Jammu & Kashmir state that were taking place in the very background of Lahore summit of February 1999.

And finally, the most important factor to be kept in mind while examining the Indo-Pak CBMs remains their historical legacies of partition of India and later the dismemberment of Pakistan and creation of a new state of Bangladesh with India's active encouragement. This not only completely transformed the strategic equations of the South Asian subcontinent but placed Indo-Pak inter-state competition in a totally different context.

As regards India's CBMs with erstwhile united Pakistan, these resemble less the Indo-Pak CBMs coming after the 1970s India's CBMs with other South Asian neighbours which have also felt vulnerable to similar tensions and suspicion about India's size and prowess, have also been of lesser importance than are Indo-Pak CBMs. Despite the fact that all these other smaller South Asian states share similar problems about disputed borders, overlapping ethnic, religious and cultural affinity with India, the erection of CBMs with them has been a relatively easy task than the task of building CBMs with Pakistan. Given their historical legacies, mutual suspicions in Indo-Pak interactions have been far more deep compared to India's other neighbours. Accordingly, India has been far more successful in evolving CBMs even with these smaller South Asian states than with either Beijing or Islamabad. Pakistan has obviously been by far the most difficult country to deal with in this regard. To cite the most basic difference in their approach to resolving disputes, while India has tried to sort out difficulties at bilateral level, Islamabad has repeatedly tried to internationalise Indo-Pak problems. Similarly, while India has been extremely sensitive to the Sino-Pak ties-especially of China's alleged involvement in Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes-this factor has been completely overlooked by most of the policy makers amongst the Pakistani power elite.

As regards the track record of Indo-Pak initiatives, despite the fact that the very idea of Pakistan had found negative response from some quarters of the Indian power elite and that the two have since fought four wars, the evolution of Indo-Pak CBMs was greatly facilitated by the very fact of the largely peaceful transition of power from the British. Secondly, the Indian National Congress leadership's acceptance to ensure a smooth partition of India into two dominion states had also created avenues for Indo-Pak positive interactions at least after some time. In fact, the first example of Indo-Pak CBMs was in-built in the very working of the Joint Defence Council during 1946-48 itself as it tried to partition stores, equipment and manpower of British Indian armed forces as also its other economic assets between the two dominions of India and Pakistan. Even during their first war in 1948, there are a number of examples how mutual chemistry of field commanders from both sides (who had worked together until 1947) often helped in sorting out matters and restraining further violent actions from both sides.

This, in a way, laid the very foundations of the entire track of Indo-Pak CBMs that witnessed a series of agreements and understandings on various occasions. However, even when the two sides agreed on numerous CBMs, which included withdrawal of troops to peace time position, demarcating their Line of Control (LoC) as also the historic Tashkent and Simla Agreements, their political baggage of a violent partition had continued to undermine their positive initiatives through CBMs. In the absence of mutual trust and understanding, a whole pile of written agreements have continued to be vulnerable to subjective interpretations and non-implementation. Nevertheless, the two have managed to put in place some of the most critical CBMs like their agreements on (a) Prohibition on Attack against Each Other's Nuclear Installations, (b) Advance Notice on Military Exercises,

and (c) operating a 'hotline' telephone contact between two prime ministers, while their fledgling Foreign Secretary level talks have also evolved into a major link for negotiations. For various reasons, however, the success of these measures in controlling Indo-Pak conflicts remains as limited as ever.

In the evolution of Indo-Pak military CBMs, it should be noted that the initiatives have received a boost since the late 1980s. At least from the Indian perspective, this heightened consciousness has come about, at least partly and paradoxically due to the deepening of the Sino-Pak ties and the resultant success of the Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes as also due to Pakistan's continued low-intensity war in India's Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir states. Even in the conventional sense of inter-state military competition, this period has witnessed some striking expressions of military muscles flexing in terms of major military exercises, like India's Brasstacks and Pakistan's Zer-be-momin. Added to this, Pakistan has also resorted to a low-intensity covert war. This has proved very expensive for the Indian side though Pakistan has not obtained any substantive success in its strategic objectives either. All this has received tremendous attention in Western media reports and analyses and Indo-Pak competition has since attracted the attention of various Western non-governmental and governmental organisations. According to Western commentators, these two countries repeatedly came closer to an open war with their crisis during 1991 and 1999 allegedly involving the possibilities of a nuclear exchange.

This heightened paranoia about a perceived Indo-Pak competition has given a new boost to Track-II diplomacy between these two countries which has picked up momentum since early 1990s. These Track-II dialogues have provided a second line of communication between conflicting power elite and sought to bridge the gap between official positions by serving as testing grounds for new policy initiatives. The example of what could be achieved by these Track-II activities was recently demonstrated by the no-longer-secret bilateral talks between two prime ministers through their special emissaries Niaz Naik and R.K. Misra who had already carried out eleven rounds of talks and reportedly "very near" to a historic solution on Kashmir when this process was undermined by Pakistan's fourth military coup on October 12, 1999. Thus, in the end, though these Indo-Pak initiatives towards evolving CBMs have enhanced mutual understanding and transparency between these two countries yet, they remain dependent on the political will and bold individual initiatives by charismatic leaders and, therefore, the debate on the level of their effectiveness in restraining their inter-state competition remains as inconclusive as ever.

### 10.5.2 India-China CBMs

To recall the first phase of Sino-Indian CBMs, soon after China's October revolution in 1949, India was the first non-communist and fourth Asian country to recognise Mao's communist regime and establish diplomatic ties with Beijing. India had also supported Beijing's permanent membership at the UN Security Council despite hints from the United States that they could consider New Delhi to replace China in the Security Council. However, rather than falling prey to American enticements, India surrendered all its military and administrative presence in Tibet and recognised Tibet as autonomous region of the Chinese Republic to demonstrate its good will towards new China. This was done under the Panchsheel agreement of April 29, 1954 that was signed in Beijing after months of negotiations. Since all these initiatives were geared towards controlling possibilities of Sino-

Indian misunderstanding and confrontation, their character was essentially the same as those of the later **European** CBMs. It is believed that these concessions were extended in view of **the bigger** deal on the boundary question that had been agreed between **Nehru** and Zhou **En-lai**. This expectation was thwarted by the China-India war of 1962 and it took a long time for the two countries to resume negotiations seriously. Though they revived diplomatic ties in 1976, it was only in the later half of the 1980s that there was a significant improvement in their relations, ironically, after border tensions. In 1986, after the Indian troops patrolling the Line of Actual Control briefly occupied **Samdurang Chu**, a valley in the eastern sector of the disputed border, Chinese troops established permanent base there. India and China accused each other of intrusion. This incident seemed to have convinced the Indian leadership that the border problem should not be handled through military **means**. The then Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, attempted a diplomatic breakthrough by visiting China. Following this, a series of visits between Indian and Chinese leaders and cultural exchanges took place. These eventually paved way for the signing of two major **CBMs agreements** which have been extremely effective in ensuring peace and tranquillity on their disputed borders.

### **First CBMs Agreement 1993**

Signed in Beijing between **Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao** and Premier Li Peng on September 7, 1993, the "Agreement on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control" (henceforth AMPT) was hailed as the first major conventional **arms** control agreement between two Asian countries without any third party mediation of any kind. It was the first of its **kind** since their Panchsheel agreement of April 1954. As a result, it begins by reiterating faith in Panchsheel and asserts that these should be the basis of all the inter-state relations. But, far from their earlier Panchsheel agreement, where only India made major concessions, this one remains premised on the **principle** of '**accommodation**' and '**mutual and equal**' benefit for both sides and outlines specific CBMs that should further buttress China-India understanding and mutual **confidence**.

Article One of the AMPT starts by highlighting the consensus to resolve the boundary question "through peaceful and friendly consultations" and both sides undertake to "strictly respect and observe the line of actual control" and never to "use or threaten to use force" and, whenever necessary "**jointly** check and determine the segments" of their borders. Article Two strengthens this obligation by asking the two sides to keep their border military presence "to a minimum level compatible with the **friendly and good-neighbourly** relations" and to further "reduce" these troops "**in conformity** with the requirements of the principle of mutual and equal security." Taking from here, Article Three talks of evolving "**effective** CBMs" and to not to "**undertake** specified levels of military exercises in mutually identified zones" and to "give the other notification of military exercises" along border areas. Then, Articles Four and Five speak about their agreement to create mechanisms for dealing with intrusions and other exigencies. In Article Six, both sides declare that despite these resolutions nothing in this treaty shall "prejudice their respective positions on the boundary question." Thus, their main dispute, though formally acknowledged, is not made to stand in the way of promoting CBMs.

To kick-off future initiatives Article Seven asks **both** sides to start by specifically defining the "form, method, **scale** and content of effective verification measures", and Article Eight

initiates this process by asking each side to "appoint diplomats and military experts to formulate, through mutual consultations, implementation measures for the present agreement". The setting up of an Expert Group under this clause can be easily described as the greatest achievement of this pact in institutionalising China-India CBMs. Comprising officials from Ministries of Defence, Interior, External Affairs and Survey of India, this group has since come to be the most regular and dedicated channel negotiating border demarcation and other associated problems.

## **Second CBMs Agreement 1996**

This twelve-article agreement on CBMs was signed during President Jiang Zemin's November 1996 visit to New Delhi which was also hailed as unique and significant. Amongst new initiatives, this remains geared to further extend their existing CBMs to more specific and sensitive areas in the military sector. Its first Article that reads, "Neither side shall use its military capability against the other side", makes it a No War pact, in effect, and both sides have since projected it in that spirit. Once again, it affirms their commitment to LoAC (Article Two) while this time again fully recognising that both have "different perceptions" on certain segments for which the two agree "to speed up process of clarification" and start "to exchange maps indicating their respective perceptions... as soon as possible" (Article Ten). This businesslike approach to sensitive questions reflects mutual confidence on both sides.

All these years there had been major confusion that China does not consider their deployments in Tibet for internal security as open for mutual reductions while India believes that Chinese forces on the Tibetan plateau had a clear one-to-ten advantage against Indian forces. To clarify this misperception, Article Three provides that keeping with "the principle of mutual and equal security" all future ceilings are expected to be based on "parameters such as the nature of terrain, road communications and other infrastructure and time taken to induct/deinduct troops and armaments." Article Four clearly categorises certain type of offensive weapons withdrawal, the process for which will receive priority. These include combat tanks, infantry combat vehicles, guns (including howitzers) with 75 mm or bigger calibre, mortars with 120 mm or bigger calibre, surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles". To start with the two sides will "exchange data on the military forces and armament" that are to be reduced. It horts the two to "avoid holding large scale military exercises involving more than one division (15,000 troops) in close proximity to the LoAC" and to inform each other on "type, level, planned duration and areas of exercise" in case it involves more than a Brigade (5,000 troops) and about deinduction of forces "within five days of completion". The other side shall be free to seek any number of clarifications.

Taking a major step forward, the two agree that no combat aircraft which "include fighter, bomber, reconnaissance, military trainer, armed helicopter and other armed aircraft" shall be allowed to fly "within ten kilometres" of the LoAC "except by prior permission" from the other side (Article Five). Article Six prohibits any use of "hazardous chemicals, conduct blast operations or hunt with guns or explosives with two kilometres" of the LoAC unless it is "part of developmental activities" in which case the other side shall be informed "through diplomatic channels or by convening a border personnel meeting, preferably five days in advance." Then, to "strengthen exchanges and cooperation between their military

personnel and establishments", Article Seven provides that the two sides shall expand: (a) "meetings between their border representatives at designated places, (b) "telecommunication links" between these border points, and (c) to establish "step-by-step medium and high-level contacts between the border authorities" of the two sides.

Should any land or air intrusions take place "because of unavoidable circumstances like natural disasters", the other side is expected under Article Eight to "extend all possible assistance to them" and the two shall exchange information and have consultations to work out "modalities of return of the concerned personnel." And finally, under Article Eleven, the China-India Joint Working Group on Boundary Question is exhorted to start "mutual consultations" for "detailed implementation measures", and under Article Nine each side has "the right to seek clarifications" regarding the "manner in which the other side is observing the agreement" or on any "doubtful situation" in the border region.

## **10.6 HAVE CBMs BEEN EFFECTIVE?**

In the first place, the answer to this question about the effectiveness of CBMs would depend on what one expects these CBMs to achieve. The CBMs are obviously not expected to resolve inter-state disputes or even to offer any lasting solution to their inter-state competition or conflicts. At best, the CBMs are expected to only underline the expressed desires of the parties involved in terms of a series of guidelines that would determine their code of conduct regarding a given dispute or disputes and regulate their inter-state competition as also to restrain possibilities of misperceptions resulting in taking mutually destructive violent actions. Accordingly, CBMs remain vulnerable to being breached by any one of the parties as and when it may be willing to risk the absence of such a framework or if it perceives that the framework has become irrelevant or detrimental to its national priorities. Therefore, the effectiveness of Southern Asian CBMs has to be measured in relations to the challenges that emerge in the future as also in view of available political will on the part of their power elite.

At the most visible level, it may be argued that since during these last 50 years India has had only one war with China- while it has had four wars with Pakistan -the China-India CBMs have been far more effective. This argument can also be reinforced by citing that China otherwise has not been any more peace-loving than Pakistan because during these last five decades, both China and Pakistan have been involved in four major conventional wars each though not with each other. But then this outcome has also to be seen in terms of their national priorities, their national capabilities and a variety of other variables which increase the complexity of undertaking any such comparative analysis. Therefore, it is perhaps easier to assess their effectiveness by comparing CBMs to the challenges that they have to deal with. And even here, given the net outcome of the Sino-Indian CBMs, it seems that these have generated tremendous mutual trust and understanding between the two countries and hence proved to be more successful.

More specifically, this effectiveness of Sino-Indian CBMs can be seen from the establishment and institutionalisation of CBMs between their militaries that represent perhaps the most conservative forces within their two societies. Looking at the CBMs between their two defence establishments, regular commanders meetings at four border points i.e. Bumla and Dicho (eastern sector), Lipulekh (central sector) and Shipki La (in western sector) perhaps

can be cited as the most successful example of how CBMs can control and guide inter-state competition at the most sensitive points. More recently, military commanders at Nathu La (in the eastern sector) have also operationalised 'hotline' telephone links to establish facts on the ground in case of exigencies. The other high point in these military CBMs had been the eighth round of Joint Working Group (JWG) meetings at New Delhi during August 1995 which had agreed to actually dismantle four border posts in the Wangdong region where troops had come to be deployed at alarming proximity to each other. That year the PLA Air Force delegation had also visited Indian Air bases. Similarly, during November 1993, the Chinese Navy ship, Zhang He, had paid a goodwill visit to Bombay which was the first visit of this kind in last 35 years when INS Mysore had visited Shanghai during 1958. The regular naval exercises have since become normal and regular exercise between two navies.

Trade, perhaps has since come to be the most visible symbol of India's confidence building. This has been described as the one most agreeable development constituting an effective pillar of India's confidence building with its adversaries. To give example of India-China and Pakistan again, the year 1994 remains very critical in confidence building. That year, India became China's largest trading partner amongst South Asian countries, crossing even its closest ally Pakistan. This provided tremendous boost to the proponents who prescribe CBMs for greater understanding in this region. India's trade with Pakistan still remains less effective though Indian goods have already evolved an important constituency inside Pakistani society. It is in this backdrop that one must view successive initiatives by the former Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee that aimed at building confidence vis-à-vis China and Pakistan. This is seen now as integral to building India's security and peace.

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## 10.7 SUMMARY

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The term CBMs entered the vocabulary of international relations only in the 1970s. As we observed, the objectives of CBMs is to translate certain principles of international law into positive actions so as to provide credibility to states affirmations of their peaceful intentions. Typically, they involve exchange of information and verification with respect to the use of military forces and armaments. Some measures attempt to make military capabilities more transparent and to clarify the intentions of military and political activities. Others establish rules regarding the movement of military forces as well as mechanisms for verifying compliance with such rules. These agreements are meant to build trust among competing parties and limit escalation.

While these elements of confidence building have emerged in the context of the Cold War rivalry, they have been increasingly applied in other regions of conflict with varying success. As we saw, India's CBMs vis a vis China and Pakistan differ both in origin, process and effectiveness. While Sino-Indian CBMs have emerged more out of gradual rapprochement and mutual understanding, the compelling factor in the evolution of Indo-Pak CBMs is the regular military engagements and mutual threat perceptions. Accordingly, despite low profile initiatives, the Sino-Indian CBMs have been far more effective than the numerous but blurred Indo-Pak CBMs. While trade has emerged as visible symbol of confidence building between India and China, the heightened paranoia about a perceive Indo-Pak military conflict has given a new boost to Track II diplomacy.

## **10.8 EXERCISES**

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- 1) Enumerate the key elements of Confidence building approach that evolved from the Cold War conflict between the superpowers.
- 2) Spell out the characteristic features of CBMs in Asia and explain how they differ from those in Europe?
- 3) Critically examine initiatives and effectiveness of CBMs between India and Pakistan.
- 4) Critically analyse the features and effectiveness of Sino-Indian CBMs.
- 5) Write a short note on trade as a CBM in India's diplomacy with China.

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# **UNIT 11 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

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5/4

## **Structure**

- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 International Conflict
- 11.3 Conflict Resolution
- 11.4 Methods of Conflict Resolution
  - 11.4.1 Diplomatic Methods
  - 11.4.2 Judicial Methods
  - 11.4.3 Non-violent and Coercive Procedures Short of War
  - 11.4.4 Citizen Diplomacy
- 11.5 Summary
- 11.6 Exercises

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## **11.1 INTRODUCTION**

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International Conflict Management refers to international political, legal institutional mechanisms available to and used by states and international institutions to manage conflict. It sometimes involves the use of force or force short of war and includes coercive diplomacy and methods like sanctions etc. It attempts at reducing, manoeuvring and mitigating conflict. It may involve alliances, procedures of international law for dispute settlement, arms control and disarmament and use of the UN for peacekeeping in general. In short, it involves mechanisms in search for security in an insecure world. The basic assumption is that conflict in the international system is unavoidable. However, it is contended that even in extremely hostile relations between states there is a perceptible element of co-operation lessening of conflict, which obviously requires widening the area of co-operation and narrowing of the areas of difference. This topic is so important for the wider subject of peace and conflict studies that many of the following points also find mention at other places.

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## **11.2 INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT**

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Armed conflicts around the world take place usually for gain (territorial or resources); dominance, historical animosity, or prestige or irredentist identities. It is possible to manage conflict by addressing some of the basic causal factors that lead to conflict between states. While earlier in the Nineteenth century the balance of power theory was evolved as a antidote for conflict, the Twentieth century witnessed the-growth of new institutional and legal mechanisms for management of conflict, especially during the inter-War period. The post-War period has also seen the development of new modalities of international diplomacy.

Conflict between states and within states represents differing interests, incompatible perspectives as perceived by the parties concerned. Initially conflict can be 'latent' and may take the shape of 'covert' activities.

'Latent' conflict becomes an 'overt' one at some point. Conflict can also be an 'identified' conflict or an 'unidentified' one. An 'identified' conflict is based on mutually perceived incompatible interests relating to a set of areas of dispute. An unidentified conflict exists even in the absence of clear areas of disagreement. The manifestation of open conflict depends on the tolerance levels of the parties to a dispute. Kenneth Boulding characterises the nature of international conflict as one marked by an alternation of peace and war. International open conflict depends to a large extent on the threat perception and the mode of the threat posed. There are different perceptions as to the impact and affect of conflict on the international system or on states. It can either be destructive or even constructive leading to integrate peace processes. There are writers who have viewed conflicts in terms of development 'triggers'. Conflict resolution essentially presupposes the termination or ending-of a conflict. However conflicts can end by other means too like withdrawal, conquest, negotiations and bargaining.

Conflict is distinct from 'tensions'. Tensions include latent hostility, suspicion etc but does not manifest in overt opposition. However 'tensions' between states usually precede a 'conflict'. International conflict is between states. However leaders of states may and can determine the nature of such a conflict. Conflict that occurs within a State takes the form of revolutions, coups, civil disorders, terrorism etc.

Several studies on conflict have focused on war or armed aggression between states. The Correlates of War (COW) project at the Michigan University or the peace and conflict research project at Uppsala University in Sweden are among the major studies which have focused on wars around the world. It has been observed by some of these studies that the nature of conflict has changed in response to developments in military technology. The intensity, duration and geography of conflict has been influenced and transformed by new weaponry. Two features of the post 1945 world relate to: (a) reduction of conflict between states in the developed world, (b) the occurrence of most conflict geographically in the less developed and developing nations.

Nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction seem to have restrained those possessing them from going to war or from intensifying an ongoing war.

Broadly, several theories of conflict can be categorised into three groups. Firstly, those that emphasise human nature as the basis for conflict (Konrad Lorenz, Ted Robert Gurr etc). Secondly, those that emphasise the internal characteristics of states like the form of government, ethnic divergence, economy, military strength, size and ideology etc. Lastly, there are theories, which try to identify 'cycles of war and peace' in the international system. Conflict management or resolution involves the need to understand and analyse conflict from such diverse perspectives and find solutions.

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### **11.3 CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

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"The development and implementation of peaceful strategies for settling conflicts – using

alternatives to violent forms of language— are known by the general term conflict resolution" (Goldstein, 2003). Conflict resolution mechanisms are not new. As we saw in Unit 7, the Charter of the United Nations lists some methods by which conflicts can be resolved between states. Article 51 lists methods for peaceful settlement of disputes between states. However, recourse to conflict resolution has been steadily increasing and has become more refined and successful.

It is possible that escalation towards conflict between states can be slowed down or reversed. Charles Osgood and Morton Deutsch and Amitai Etzioni argued that a government wishing to de-escalate a conflict should make a limited 'unilateral concession or gesture of conciliation' which the adversary is likely to reciprocate. Now regarded as Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) such acts by adversarial nations can reduce or mitigate conflict. In the previous unit of this volume, you have been acquainted with the evolution and operation of CBMs in Europe and Asia. However, unilateral conciliatory acts may be rebuffed and conflict can result. In fact, on occasions, an aggressive state may consider such behaviour as an exhibition of weakness. It can be construed as appeasement and lead to greater intransigence on the part of the adversary.

There exists an opinion that processes of internal structures of one or both of the conflicting countries can end conflict. Democratisation of an authoritarian regime or collapse of a regime can bring in peace and de-escalate conflict. As you are aware, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the end of the Cold War.

Karl W. Deutsch suggests that conflicts tend to arise among nations with a high degree of interdependence and interaction, which have opposite interests. Outcomes that are beneficial to one country may be penalising for the other. In such cases, conflict can be managed or reduced by reducing interdependence. As interaction declines so do possibilities for conflict. Another method of reduction of conflict involves reduction of mutually opposing interests. The removal of Soviet ballistic missiles from Cuba in 1962 is a good example here.

Thomas C. Schelling who has written extensively on deterrence has presented an interesting perspective on the need for countries to avoid conflict. He argues that two parties involved in a threat of attack have a common interest in not having the threat being carried out. The threatened action is unwelcome to the threatened nation and is also costly or unpleasant to the threatener. In this context, negotiations or third party good offices would tend to avoid the conflict.

In today's world of international politics, new and improved instruments of conflict resolution are available. International law, international organisations and supranational organisations have all been contributing to the resolution and management of international conflict.

Richard E. Barringer considers conflict as a subset of all disputes between parties capable of waging war. The most inclusive concept is that of dispute, subsuming as it does all conflicts, both those that eventuate in hostilities and those that do not. In analytic terms, a dispute arises between parties capable of waging war when at least one party becomes aware of an incompatibility of perceived interests, objectives, or future positions. The essence of a dispute is a felt grievance by a party capable of waging war that, in its eyes, demands some more tolerable accommodation with another party than presently exist. If

the **grievance** is of such a magnitude as to warrant action by this party, a multiplicity of political mechanisms and institutions exists for achieving accommodation.

## **11.4 METHODS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

Whenever there is conflict of interests between states, war is only one of the possible modes of policy to resolve the conflict. War remains as only one of the conflict resolution procedures. Other conflict resolution procedures involve negotiation, conciliation, mediation, arbitration and adjudication. You have been acquainted with these in Unit 7 of this volume. However, the fact that conflict exists in the international system makes it necessary that states develop mechanisms for adjustment and settlement of disputes among them. Whenever conflict intensifies into a probable armed conflict, a formal adjustment becomes necessary. National prestige can become an impediment to conflict resolution. It is in such a scenario that pacific settlement of disputes based on formal procedures and practices has to be resorted to. Diplomatic – political and judicial methods have to be used for settlement of disputes. Diplomatic methods include negotiations, good offices, mediation, inquiry and conciliation. Judicial procedures include arbitration and adjudication. Some further aspects of these are discussed in other units of this volume. Still, these could be briefly mentioned here.

### **11.4.1 Diplomatic Methods**

**Negotiation:** Negotiations between nations in conflict can be either bilateral or multilateral. These can be conducted directly between Heads of State or Ambassadors or special representatives of the countries involved. Negotiations can be held between conflicting parties through an international conference also.

Negotiation, good offices, mediation, conciliation and inquiry are methods of settlement of disputes less formal than judicial settlements or arbitrations.

Negotiation usually proceeds in conjunction with good offices or mediation. It involves consultation and communication. The Australia- New Zealand Free Trade Agreement of 1965 had provisions for consultation. The 1963 US-Soviet Hot Line Agreement implied negotiations and consultations.

**Good Offices and Mediation:** Good offices and mediation involve a friendly third state which assists in bringing about an amicable solution to a dispute. The party offering good offices or mediation may be an individual or an international organisation or a state. The distinction between good offices and mediation is mostly one of degree. In good offices, a third party offers its services to bring the disputing parties together and to suggest the making of a settlement without actually participating in the negotiations or conducting an exhaustive inquiry. Mediation on the other hand involves the mediating party in a more active role which includes participating in negotiations and helping reach a peaceful solution. The mediator's suggestions have no binding character. For example, the former Soviet Union mediated a settlement between India and Pakistan at Tashkent in 1965.

The scope of good offices and mediation is limited. No specific procedures are laid down. The effort is to resolve the dispute through voluntary participation of conflicting nations and

negotiation. For instance, The Netherlands offered its good offices to resolve the Sri Lankan dispute with the LTTE.

**Conciliation:** Conciliation includes inquiry and mediation. An individual or a Commission works to bring about conciliation between disputing parties. The UN has resorted to this method to solve several disputes since 1945.

Conciliation includes a variety of methods by which a dispute is settled amicably with the help of other states or impartial bodies of inquiry or advisory committees. It usually involves proposals of settlement after investigation of facts and an effort to reconcile opposing viewpoints. Conciliation commissions have been provided for in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 for peaceful settlement of international disputes. Such commissions can be set up by special agreement between parties to a dispute. The commission would investigate and report on situations of fact. However, the investigation and report are not binding. The pact of Bogota of 1948 provides for conciliation commissions.

An inquiry is different from conciliation in the sense that it does not make any specific recommendations. However, the inquiry would establish and clarify facts to a dispute, thereby helping adversaries to go in for a negotiated settlement. A commission of inquiry is very useful in cases of disputed boundaries.

**Arbitration:** Arbitration involves the reference of a dispute to certain persons called arbitrators freely chosen by the parties, who make an award without being bound by any strict legal considerations. However, many disputes involving purely legal issues have been referred to arbitrators for settlement. Several treaties between states have included provisions for arbitration of disputes between them. Arbitration has been in vogue since antiquity. The Jay treaty of 1794 between US and Great Britain recognises arbitration in case of disputes between them. The Alabama Claims Award of 1872 between US and Great Britain has given great impetus to arbitration as a method of resolving disputes.

Arbitration has become a source of international legislation since disputes concerning interpretation or application of the provisions of conventions have been resolved through this method. The 1899 Hague Conference codified the law relating to arbitration and laid down the foundations of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The Permanent Court is neither a court nor permanent. It includes a list of members appointed by States which are parties to the Hague conventions. It constitutes a panel of competent lawyers from whom arbitrators are appointed by states when the need arises. Each state appoints two arbitrators, one being its national and one from the panel. These arbitrators choose an umpire who presides over the tribunal. The award is given by majority vote. The tribunal will act on the basis of a compromise or arbitration agreement specifying the dispute, the time allowed for appointing the members, its jurisdiction, the procedure to be followed and the rules of law and principles according to which its decision to be given. The Permanent Court of Arbitration by itself has no specific jurisdiction.

Arbitration is essentially a procedure-involving consensus. States cannot be compelled to arbitrate against their wish. Their consent is necessary to determine the nature of even the tribunal that is appointed. Arbitration tribunals have resolved disputes involving legal issues as well as disputes based on questions of fact, requiring clarification. This procedure is

more appropriate for technical disputes and is less expensive. The advantage of arbitration lies in the fact that it does not involve publicity and parties can agree that the awards be not published.

### **11.4.2 Judicial Methods**

These are basically two judicial procedures for conflict resolution: arbitration and adjudication. Solutions to a dispute are arrived at on the basis of principles of international law. The arbitration award and judicial decision in a dispute are binding on the conflicting parties.

Arbitration is done by an ad-hoc tribunal or by the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Hague. Adjudication is sought from the International Court of Justice. The decision to opt for a judicial procedure is the prerogative of a State. It is voluntary: Chile and Argentina gave their border problems to a panel of Latin American judges in the 1980s.

Judicial methods are relatively effective since the disputants have voluntarily agreed to opt for the procedure thereby conveying their consent to abide by the award.

Judicial settlement is brought about by a properly constituted international judicial tribunal applying rules of international law. Today recourse to judicial settlement can be had through the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at the Hague. The ICJ is a successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice created after the First World War.

The ICJ is a permanently constituted tribunal governed by a statute and its own body of rules and procedure binding on all parties appealing to court. The proceedings of the court or public and the hearings and judgments are published. All the states wanting to refer cases for settlement can approach the ICJ.

International Court of Justice was established in 1945 and articles 92-96 of the charter refer to it. The Court is the principal organ of the United Nations and forms an integral part of the Charter. The court consists of 15 judges who are chosen from the list of nominees by the General Assembly and the Security Council, who elect them through an absolute majority. They represent principal legal systems of the world and the main forms of civilization.

The jurisdiction of the ICJ includes member states parties to the statute and other states who have been accorded recognition by Security Council. The court decides contentious cases referred to it and gives advisory opinions when sought. The court has compulsory jurisdiction where parties are bound by treaties or conventions in which they had agreed that the court should have jurisdiction over certain categories of disputes. The court has also jurisdiction under the 'optional clause' of article 36 of the statute wherein states accept obligation in all legal disputes concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty (b) any question of international law (c) the existence of any fact constituting a breach of international obligation and (d) the extent of reparation to be made for a such breach of international obligation.

All disputes are decided by majority of the judges present. The court's decision has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of the particular case. Unless otherwise decided by the court, each party bears its own cost's of the case. The General

Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nation Organisation may request the advisory opinion of the court on legal questions. Such an opinion lacks the binding force of the judgment.

The Manilla declaration of 1982 on peaceful settlement of international disputes has been approved by the General Assembly. This may be considered as a code of rules on the subject and a manifesto of guidelines. Many of the principles contained in the United Nations Charter have been reaffirmed. The Manilla declaration emphasises the importance of direct negotiations, fact-finding, judicial settlement and the role of the Secretary General in bringing to the notice of the Security Council any matter which he considers as threatening the maintenance of international peace and security. In fact, members of the United Nations have undertaken to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from threats of war or the use of force by article 2 of the charter.

The UN Security Council can act in two kinds of disputes (a) disputes which may endanger international peace and security and (b) cases of threats to peace or acts of aggression. The Council can call up on the parties to dispute to settle the conflict through peaceful methods. It may even recommend appropriate procedures. It is empowered to recommend or decide what measures are to be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security and can call up on parties concerned to comply with certain provisional measures. It may also appoint a commission of inquiry or may authorise a reference to the International Court of Justice. Under articles 41-47 of the charter, the Security Council can give effect to its decisions not only by coercive measures like economic sanctions but also by the use of armed force against states which defy to be bound by these decisions.

### **11.4.3 Non-Violent and Coercive Procedures Short of War**

In addition to the above methods these are several methods short of war that states resort to resolve conflict. There methods involve among others, recall of diplomats, expulsion of diplomats, special de marches; suspension of treaties and agreements, blockade, embargo, gunboat diplomacy or sabre rattling.

The threat of use of force can at times resolve even serious and potentially dangerous conflicts. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 is a case in point. Sometimes, international groupings can help mitigate tendencies towards conflict. The non-aligned movement for instance, played such a role among the developing countries with some measure of success.

### **11.4.4 Citizen-Diplomacy**

When at times states do not take the initiative to reduce conflict, ordinary citizens may attempt to raise the awareness of mutual advantages in the resolution of conflict. This is termed as Track II diplomacy or citizen diplomacy. This can lead to formal confidence building measures between rival states and truly lead to the resolution of conflict. Recent efforts by citizen groups in India and Pakistan have improved the relations between the two nations. One of the methods adopted by nations in such situations involves breaking the conflict into pieces or fractions and tackling each of them separately. An incremental reduction in conflict would result from such an approach.

## **11.5 SUMMARY**

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We have seen in this unit that in the context of inter-state conflicts, war is **only** one of the possible modes of policy to resolve the conflict. It is an extreme and violent form of conflict resolution. There are a range of other conflict resolution procedures **which** are non-violent in nature. These involve negotiation, conciliation, mediation, arbitration and adjudication. Categorising these as diplomatic and judicial methods of conflict resolution, we examined different procedures adopted under each of these methods. As we saw, when states adopt diplomatic methods, they agree to resolve the conflict either directly or with the help of an intermediary. Judicial methods in contrast invest the third party with power to decide the dispute. The solution reached by the third party in the latter method is binding on the parties to the dispute.

As we saw, there are still other methods of conflict resolution that have drawn little attention of the students of conflict resolution. First, there are those that are coercive in nature but fall short of violent conflict. Then, there is yet another method in which the citizens play a direct role in reducing conflict.

## **11.6 EXERCISES**

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- 1) Distinguish **good offices** from mediation efforts and explain their role in the resolution of **inter-state conflicts**.
- 2) What are the features of arbitration as a method of conflict resolution?
- 3) Examine the composition and jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.
- 4) What is citizen diplomacy? Can you **think** of some instances where citizen diplomacy has been used with some success?

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# **UNIT 12 FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES AND REGIONALISM**

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## **Structure**

- 12.1** Introduction
- 12.2** Functional Approach to Peace
- 12.3** A Critique of Functionalism
- 12.4 Regionalism and World Peace
- 12.5** Regional Security as an Alternative to Collective Security
- 12.6** Role of Regional Organisations in Conflict Prevention and Resolution
- 12.7** Conditions for Effective Participation of Regional Organisations in Peacemaking
  - 12.7.1 **Economic Regionalism**
- 12.8** *Summary*
- 12.9** Exercises

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## **12.1 INTRODUCTION**

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One of the impacts of advances in science and technology on international relations has been the growing interdependence of states which is reflected in the emergence of numerous international and regional organisations. The proliferation of these organisations gave rise to new schools of thought which argued that greater cooperation between technical experts or elite of countries in functional or non-political activities could eventually lead to regional or global integration and thus to peace. Adherents of this thought, the integration theorists, rejected the exclusive emphasis of realism and neorealism on conflict and competition between states and championed cooperative efforts of states in international and regional organisations. This unit examines the two approaches of functionalism and regionalism to peace.

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## **12.2 FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO PEACE**

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The main architect of functionalism as a theory is David Mitrany. His essay *A Working Peace System* summarises the main arguments of the functionalists and by its very title drew attention to their major claim. functionalism is the road to lasting peace.

Writing during after the World War II, Mitrany projected the growing domestic trend towards welfare statism into the international arena and argued that wars are the result of social and economic maladjustments. While the real task of our common society is the conquest of poverty, ignorance and disease, the existing state system based on sovereignty is not only inadequate but also an obstacle to finding solutions to global problems. The increasing number of technical or non-political problems that have emerged at the international level require the creation of frameworks for international cooperation. Here the functionalist

suggested international collaboration among technicians, rather than political elite. Mitrany argued that social activities can be separated ~~into~~ political and non-political (technical) ones and that it is possible to establish international institutions in non-political or functional sectors ~~where~~ there is likely to be less resistance from states because of the welfare benefits of these institutions. .

As we observed a number of international organisations had sprung up since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, both in the governmental and non-governmental sectors. They were primarily in the fields of communications, transport, commerce, health and social welfare. Several of these organisations have survived the two great wars and are still functioning—some as specialised agencies of the United Nations and others as independent organisations. How do the activities of international functional organisations, such as the World Health Organisation (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) promote peace? Functionalists see this kind of activity as promoting peace in three different ways. First, it solves basic human problems that are the root causes of war. Functional organisations, such as the FAO, enable countries to feed their hungry by developing new strains of wheat and rice. Secondly, it subverts the sovereignty of nation-states. For instance, citizens of a nation, which receives support from international organisations or other countries or international organisations, are inclined to offer similar assistance to where it is needed elsewhere. They might be less inclined to support policies of their own government that are hostile to countries that contribute to helping them. Moreover, functional activities create within a country, even within a government, groups whose interests are closely tied with international interests. For instance, a health ministry which is making use of WHO's technical aid may become an advocate of world cooperation. A village doctor who depends on a vaccine supplied by the WHO may develop a vested interest in seeing that the WHO continues to function inside the country. Apart from giving some people inside a country vested interest in international activity, functional activities may foster international loyalty among people at large and counteract the harmful nationalistic activities. Citizens often support government because the government provides benefits for them. If international organisations also provide such benefits, citizens may no longer be blindly supporting of the government because the national government is not the only source of benefits. A third way in which functional activity supports peace is by bringing people from different countries in face-to-face contact. Foreigners seem less 'foreign' and more human when they are living right in your midst. And it becomes difficult to accept generalisations about other national groups when such groups are living and working in one's own village or town.

Functionalists were convinced that the extension of existing network of international functional agencies that have sprung up since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century will not only address global problems but also render obsolete the rigid institutional structures of nation-states. Functionalism is, thus, very much a programme for action. It is intended to be prescriptive and policy-oriented. It is also descriptive and diagnostic as it is linked with perceptions of development in significant aspects of human nature and institutional interaction.

## **12.3 A CRITIQUE OF FUNCTIONALISM**

Some members of the functionalism itself who suggested alternative routes to political integration challenged Mitrany's theory of functional integration. They are the neo-

functionalists. In contrast to the functionalists who sought to create a new world order in which the sovereign states take a back seat, neo-functionalists or the integration theorists seek to create new states through the integration of existing states. The neo-functionalist theory developed by Ernst Haas in the 1960s was inspired by the intensifying cooperation between the countries of Western Europe that began in the 1950s. Haas builds on Mitrany. But he rejects the notion that 'technical' matters can be separated from politics. Integration is a process whereby 'political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties...towards a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states'.

The theory of functionalism is considered contradictory and vague. The most frequent criticism of functionalism has been that it is not clear in what way the work of the functional institutions would be coordinated. The formulations of the functionalists are of a utopian kind. Some critics have argued that functionalism does not take enough account of the working of politics. It has been said that functionalism presumes a natural willingness of people and nations to work together. It is based on the assumption of essential goodness of human nature. Functionalism implies that man is innately good and rational. This, according to the critics, is a one-sided view of human nature. Actually man is mixture of both good and evil. He can be good and rational and equally he can be irrational and selfish.

Another reason why the theory of functionalism is open to attack is that it is not and was never intended to be a systematic descriptive analysis. The writing of functionalists is scattered far and wide in numerous pamphlets, articles and books which have rarely been brought together within a coherent theoretical framework.

The functionalists and the neo-functionalists differ on their views regarding the major characteristics of society within the modern state. The functionalists seemed to point to the element of agreement on consensus in society. The neo-functionalists on the other hand argue that social life is dominated by competition among interests. It is logical therefore that the interest groups are allocated an important place in the process of functional integration. Ernst Haas describes integration as "the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new and larger setting". He further says that "integration is conceptualised as resulting from an institutionalised pattern of interest politics played out within existing international organisations".

The neo-functionalists or integration theory is centred on the requirement of a procedural consensus; groups are persuaded to pursue their interests through an agreed framework, which is an essential element in the end situation of the integration process. The neo-functionalists stress the psychology of elites in an integration process ideally culminating in the emergence of a new political system, whereas functionalists stressed a popular psychology in an integration process leading to a universal socio - psychological community. The neo-functionalists are much more interested in formal institutional framework. On the other hand functionalists are more concerned with change in popular attitudes as the test of effective integration. .

Functionalism and neo-functionalism are both process theories. Unlike the communication theory of Karl Deutsch they both contain a sophisticated view upon the causal links which are expected to lead from one level of integration to another. They are valuable in the

understanding of the pattern of international cooperation and the process of international integration.

Another drawback of functionalism is its insistence on the separability of political and economic and social spheres of activity. Actually in the present day world the political problems have economic and social roots. Hence economic and social activities cannot be disjoined from political activities.

In spite of the drawbacks and limitations of the theory of functionalism, its basic argument is clear. Functionalism is essentially an approach to world order. It is an approach which would overlay political divisions with a spreading web of international activities and agencies, in which and through which the interests and life of all nations would be gradually integrated. In the words of David Mitrany, the functional approach springs from an agonising reappraisal of the essence and working of traditional international politics. It is an answer to the question how would world society move from a war system to a peace system? Functionalism is a combination of two closely related processes: task expansion and loyalty transfer. According to the functionalists international functional organisations and agencies promise to eliminate war by attacking the societal diseases such as poverty, ill-health, illiteracy, economic insecurity, social injustice and exploitation which subvert human beings natural inclinations and lead to war.

According to the functionalists the rapidly developing global problems require a rational restructuring of international political system, that is, the change from the state system towards various forms of international authority or what David Mitrany calls 'a new benevolent internationalism'. No doubt functionalism constitutes a very attractive set of propositions. It is mainly concerned with the gradual liquidation of the nation-state system, the principal barrier in the establishment of peace. But there is little prospect of the transformation of the present international system. The world has become more fragmented politically in the present era. With the fragmentation of global politics, so long as national states are unwilling to sacrifice national sovereignty and interests, the prospect of a drastic change in international political system is poor.

## **12.4 REGIONALISM AND WORLD PEACE**

The increasingly complex problems of modern international society have led to multilateral cooperation in matters of mutual concern. The most interesting and significant development of international society has been the growth of regional organisations as a means of peace and security. Regionalism is not a novel feature of modern times. Greek history shows that there existed a number of regional organisations in the form of Amphictyonic Leagues since very ancient period. Regional organisations were known in the medieval times. The famous Hanseatic League was formed in mid-thirteenth century for the defence of common rights and interests by force of arms, if necessary. This was in the North German region.

The role of regionalism as an approach to peace is a matter of controversy. The universalists object to it as being over simplistic in its perceptions. Membership and jurisdiction of regional organisations overlap and the compatibility of regional organisations with the United Nations has been questioned. It is argued that regional groupings are simply enlarged alliances only leading to bigger wars rather than discouraging them. In regional security

system smaller states are subjected to the domination of great powers within the region. During the Cold War, the growing number of regional arrangements had resulted in the concentration of power in the two superpowers vis-à-vis their respective regional or alliance partners. This phenomenon was called bi-polarization of world power. While disputes may originate between neighbouring states, they tended to develop into global wars because of the temptation for intervention by the superpowers. Moreover, peace enforcement through regional security system has limitations because of split among the members of the regional organisation and economic sanctions could not be used within a region because they could adversely affect the economic interests of its own members.

On the other hand, the defenders of regionalism support it on grounds of realism. They feel that a threat of security is most apt to originate between neighbouring states. Regional arrangements are considered to be instruments of collective self-defence and action against an aggressor would be undertaken not only more willingly but with more dispatch and efficiency by those within a region. Moreover, homogeneity of interests of various kinds such as language, culture or economic interests produces a natural trend towards regional groupings. Regional pacts are more than military agreements. They are centres of coalition diplomacy.

## **12.5 REGIONAL SECURITY AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

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Collective security was conceived as an alternative to the balance of power. But the limitations of collective security were increasingly recognised with the decline of the League of Nations after 1935. The collective security system as designed by the framers of the UN Charter had serious defects and omissions. It could not work to their expectations. Thus, new hopes are raised that a regional system of security would be more effective in providing a better sense of security, both psychologically and physically to nation-states. Thus, regional integration for peace and security gained ground.

Yet, in many ways regional security system has tended to ape the collective security system whose failings it was designed to overcome. Both systems depend on the organisation of collective power by mutual assistance among states to deter aggression and insure security. Both demand peace among the states as a prerequisite for effective functioning of the security system.

On the other hand, there are fundamental differences between collective security system and regional security system. Firstly, the regional security system realistically concentrates the security of a particular region to defend against erstwhile or future enemies; it knows in advance where the principal threat to security will originate. By contrast, the collective security system anticipates any state may break the peace requiring security protection worldwide. Secondly, the regional security system calls for much more limited commitments. Collective security demands a blanket commitment to protect peace. Thirdly, the regional security system presumes that breaches of peace can be effectively localised. Collective security is based on the premise that peace and war alike are indivisible,

## **12.6 ROLE OF REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN CONFLICT PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION**

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The proliferation of conflicts in many parts of the developing world and the overload of UN duties has prompted many to advocate a larger role for regional organisations in maintaining world peace and security. Regional organisations have a legal role in conflict resolution and peacekeeping operations. Article 52 of the UN Charter states that local disputes should be settled regionally before referral to the United Nations and that resolution via the Security Council remains an option only if regional efforts fail. In addition, Article 53 of the UN Charter makes clear that the Security Council can utilise regional arrangements and agencies to enforce and maintain peace and security under its authority.

However, regional organisations hardly fulfilled this legal role during the Cold War, which had a dual effect on regional conflicts. On the one hand, it internationalised many of these conflicts bringing them within the superpower competition. On the other hand, the super powers also restrained these conflicts out of a fear of escalation in which they themselves may be forced to get involved.

Today, though tensions have receded between the major powers, they have exploded in various other parts of the world. There is a continuing need for the international management of conflict and the promotion of cooperation. What is to replace the superpower management which was evolved and operated during the Cold War? Many analysts emphasise the possibilities and necessity for management at the global level through the United Nations or some other variant of a great power concert. Apart from its humanitarian and peace keeping activities, the UN is unlikely to impose itself in a forceful, consistent and effective way in regional conflicts.

In addition, the great powers are now unwilling to accept the heavy burden of conflict management in distant area of the globe. They avoid major engagement. The long-delayed response to the collapse of Yugoslavia is a vivid case in point.

With the end of the Cold War, international relations are no longer based on the polarized confrontation between two superpowers, giving regional organisations an opportunity to take a leading role in conflict resolution. Regional organisation participated in conflict resolution both independently and in cooperation with the United Nations as the normative expectations of the international community increased and superpower intervention in regional conflicts decreased.

After the end of the Cold War, most of the violent conflicts arose out of regional concerns and most of those conflicts were intra-state conflicts and not inter-state. There is the increasing regionalisation of world politics. Regional dynamics in the post – Cold War order have proved to be especially complex. Economic regionalism and security regionalism are the two important trends. The trend towards economic regionalism is more mixed than the trend towards security regionalism. In the international economy, globalisation and regionalisation appear to be pushing states in conflicting directions. With the regionalisation of international economic and security relations in the post – Cold War era, much attention is focused upon institutions like the European Union, ASEAN, Asia-Pacific Economic

Cooperation Forum (APEC) and North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on the economic side,

Among the most notable cases of the role of regional organisations in conflict resolutions' include the contribution of the Organisation of American States (OAS) to the settlement of conflicts in Nicaragua and Haiti and between El Salvador and Honduras; the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in Burundi, Liberia, Somalia and Sierra Leone; the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Cambodia; and NATO in the former Yugoslavia. The role of regional organisations in conflict settlement also went beyond simply providing disputants with good offices. ASEAN not only facilitated negotiations, it also acted as a third party mediator, the OAS intervened in member states to protect human rights and restore democracy, while the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) undertook new responsibilities in preventing the settling regional conflicts. Moreover, NATO, the OAU, the OAS and ECOWAS teamed up with the United Nations in joint peacekeeping, while NATO and the Western European Union acted under UN authorisation in the former Yugoslavia from 1993 to 1996.

Among the above cases, ASEAN and the OAS were widely assessed as active and effective in resolving the conflicts in Cambodia and Haiti, respectively. Geographical proximity to the conflicts giving them strong incentives to re-establish peace and security in the regions, both ASEAN and the OAS intervened actively to resolve conflicts though they chose different methods of conflict resolution. Both ASEAN and the OAS were active, flexible and effective in the peace processes in Cambodia and Haiti. Although the UN Security Council and major powers made the final settlement for both the conflicts, the contributions of the two regional organisations strongly endorses the case for a greater role for regional organisations in conflict prevention and resolution.

However there are also serious drawbacks in the regional organisations because of which they have been far less active in the peaceful settlement of disputes. The first weakness of the regional organisations as a means for peacefully resolving disputes flows from the non-viability of the United Nations to create the kind of enforcement machinery contemplated in the Charter. Without the deterring impact of an effective sanctions system, some states may bypass the peaceful settlement machinery. In the second place, regional organisations have many times failed to resolve differences between their own members because of lack of consensus. For example, the role of NATO in the Cyprus dispute is a case in point. Likewise, the Arab League has so far failed to resolve the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. In South Asia, SAARC also could not play an important role in accelerating the pace of economic and social development; promote national and collective self-reliance and further the cause of peace, progress and stability in the region. Ethnic tensions in South Asia are Indo-centric. The ethnic conflicts acquire a trans-regional dimension and get further exacerbated by extra-regional powers. As bilateral and contentious issues are to be excluded from the SAARC deliberation, these issues are internationalised.

Regional actors, especially neighbouring countries with strong incentives to encourage peace, may be more suitable than the United Nations or major states outside the region in preventing and resolving local conflicts. The numerous demands on the United Nations, as well as its strained capacity in maintaining international peace and security in the post-Cold War era, constitute further reasons to increase the role of regional organisations.

## **12.7 CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN PEACEMAKING**

Four conditions are needed for regional organisations to play an active and effective role in conflict resolution: legitimacy, enforcement power, resources and cooperation with the United Nations and major powers.

In conflict resolution, legitimacy means international recognition. The condition of legitimacy can be met if regional organisations have the mandate of the Security Council. However, due to the veto power of permanent members of the Security Council and their different perspectives, it becomes difficult for regional organisations to obtain the mandate they need to intervene and resolve conflicts.

The second condition refers to an organisation's ability to carry out its peace plans and to impose its decisions and will on the disputants. This may involve the use of coercive diplomacy methods such as embargoes, sanctions and blockades to isolate and weaken the disputants. Enforcement power is needed throughout the process of conflict resolution to persuade disputants to compromise and cooperate and to ensure that parties comply with agreements and their responsibilities once the fighting has ended.

The third condition relates to resources, manpower, money and materials. A regional organisation that intervenes to resolve an intrastate conflict must often sponsor the peace process and bear most of the costs. Once a political settlement is achieved, money and personnel are needed to carry out the peace agreement, facilitate and monitor elections and disarm the warring factions. In addition, large budgetary outlays are required for famine relief, to accommodate and repatriate refugees and to cover the costs of reconstruction and reconciliation programmes.

The final condition for effective regional action concerns the importance of cooperating closely with the United Nations and major powers. Experience during the Cold War shows that without major power support, regional organisations play only a marginal role in conflict resolution. It is imperative for regional organisations to maintain close cooperation with major powers to increase leverage against disputants. However, it is rare for regional organisations to meet all the above four conditions.

### **12.7.1 Economic Regionalism**

The proliferation of economic regional organisations is an evidence of a growing need to protect the economic interests of the member countries. Regional cooperation is seen as a way of tackling the problem of economic development. Economic regionalism in Europe and North America has been largely successful. The most important factor that has contributed to its success is the relative degree of balance and complementarity and the extent to which its member states are oriented towards integrative behaviour. Economic development through economic integration and regional trade and financial links has not proved to be successful in the developing world. For example, collective economic benefit has been the main rationale as well as drive behind SAARC. But economic cooperation is dictated so heavily by political constraints. The South Asian region has been a theatre

for the interplay of the politics of no-war and no-peace syndrome. The centerpiece of South Asia's regional power relationships is the Indo-Pakistan relationship. India is the biggest and most developed economic power in the region and as such the leaders of her neighbours are very much concerned about India's hegemony in the region.

Thus there are several constraints on regional economic organisations in Asia, Africa and Latin America to function as an instrument of regional cooperation. The extent and result of the cooperative effort in the regions of the developing world is going to be uncertain and the achievement of success of regional economic organisations would require extraordinary diplomatic skill and political commitment to make them a successful regional venture.

## **12.8 SUMMARY**

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In this unit we have examined two alternative routes to integration and peace, functionalism and neo-functionalism or regionalism. Emphasising cooperation between states at the international and regional levels, these two approaches to peace challenged the dominant schools of realism and neorealism which emphasised on conflict and competition between states. For the adherents of this approach, cooperation between states in functional activities and regional cooperative arrangements seemed to place 'limitations on unbridled sovereignty' and pave way for greater integration and thus peace.

The unit also examined the concepts of collective and regional security emphasising on the role of regional organisations in conflict prevention and conflict resolution. We have seen the conditions necessary for the effectiveness of regional and international organisations. With the end of bipolar conflict between the superpowers, tensions have receded between major powers. But they have exploded in many other parts of the world. There is a continuing need for the international management of conflict and the promotion of cooperation. While the extent and results of cooperative effort among the countries of the developing countries are going to be uncertain, the roadmap for peace envisaged by the functionalists and the neofunctionalists remains as relevant today as it was during the Cold War years.

## **12.9 EXERCISES**

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- 1) What are the basic assumptions of functionalism?
- 2) What is the difference between functionalism and neofunctionalism?
- 3) Critically examine the role of regional organisations in conflict prevention and resolution.
- 4) What is economic regionalism? How far has it proved to be successful as an instrument of economic integration and cooperation?

# **UNIT 13 THE GANDHIAN APPROACH**

## **Structure**

- 13.1** Introduction
- 13.2** The Basis of Gandhian Approach to Peace

- 13.2.1 *Satyagraha*
- 13.2.2 *Ahimsa* or Non-violence

- 13.3** Gandhi's Attitude towards War

- 13.4** Gandhi's Vision of Peace

- 13.5** Major Elements of the Gandhian Approach to Peace

- 13.5.1 Focus on the Individual and his Psychology
- 13.5.2 Need for a New Life Style and Culture
- 13.5.3 Search for the Moral Solution
- 13.5.4 Combine Humanism with Nationalism
- 13.5.5 Six Point Agenda for Non-violent States
- 13.5.6 Promotion of Disarmament
- 13.5.7 Fight Against Nuclear Weapons
- 13.5.8 International Organisation and World Federation
- 13.5.9 The Non-violent Army and the *Shanti Sena*
- 13.5.10 Non-Cooperation with the Aggressor
- 13.5.11 Address Ecological Concerns
- 13.5.12 Reform the Development Model
- 13.5.13 Settle Internal Differences
- 13.5.14 End Economic Exploitation
- 13.5.15 Peoples' Participation in Peace Process

- 13.6** A Critical Estimate of the Gandhian Approach to Peace

- 13.7** Summary

- 13.8** Exercises

## **13.1 INTRODUCTION**

Mahatma Gandhi (**1869-1948**) has been acknowledged as one of the greatest figures of human history. An indefatigable fighter for India's independence, an outstanding mass leader, social reformer, pacifist and, above all, a prophet of **non-violence** and truth – **there**

are several facets of Gandhi's personality and contributions. He lived, fought and died for the ideals of non-violence, peace, brotherhood and tolerance. He employed the innovative techniques of non-cooperation, civil disobedience, fasting, strikes etc. against the British rulers in India and added new dimensions to the theory of political mobilization.

Although Gandhi's ideas on society and politics are well-known, his views on peace and other international issues are not known as widely. It is believed that he did not take much interest in world affairs, preoccupied as he was with the conduct of the Indian national movement and resolution of the problems of Indian society and villages. However, this is a mistaken view. Gandhi never ignored world affairs and reflected frequently on the contemporary international events and expressed his vision of the new world order clearly and keenly. Indeed, he conceived of and carried out India's struggle for freedom in the larger international context.

However, as he was not a theoretician or a systematic writer, he did not explain his thoughts on international relations at length or provide any specific theory of peace. His ideas on war and peace are scattered in his writings and in his comments made to various individuals. Due to the thematic inconsistency of these writings, it is difficult to structure an organised theory out of it. Nevertheless, the totality of his views on international relations does constitute a distinctive approach to the understanding and resolution of the problem of Inter-state violence. The Gandhian vision of peace is eclectic in nature, derived from multiple sources and traditions. It was influenced as much by the pacifist and anarchist writings, especially of the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy and the American anarchist Henry Thoreau, as by the philosophical traditions of Hinduism, Jainism and Christianity. The following sections explain the key ideas of the Gandhian approach to peace.

## **13.2 THE BASIS OF GANDHIAN APPROACH TO PEACE**

In order to understand Gandhian approach to peace, we must comprehend the core of Gandhi's general social and political thought. He had an integral philosophy of life and society applicable to domestic and international situations alike. This philosophy stemmed from his actions as well as his thought. His conceptions about man, society and the state provide the basis for his approach to peace and world affairs.

Implicitly, Gandhi enunciates both the epistemology of peace as well as the sociology of peace. In the Gandhian thought, metaphysics and social principles, religious values and political strategy are woven together. The primacy of the moral over the political and of the spiritual over the temporal is fundamental to Gandhi's thinking. He considered absolute truth as the ultimate goal and non-violence as the best method of achieving it. Absolute truth is omnipotent and all encompassing. It is equivalent to divinity. There could be no beauty and no art apart from truth. Gandhi subtly altered the dictum "God is Truth" to "Truth is God. Purity of means to achieve any end is also fundamental to the Gandhian approach. Rejecting the Machiavellian approach that end justifies means, Gandhi said that ends and means are inseparable. Good begets good and evil begets evil. In fact, 'ends' grows out of the 'means'. In Gandhi's view, the way you fight and the goal for which you are fighting are the same. Thus, in the Gandhian scheme, the solution of any problem is incorporated into the way one struggles against it.

### **13.2.1 Satyagraha**

Satyagraha is Gandhi's most original and significant contribution to social thought and movement. This policy of non-violent struggle to fight against injustice, exploitation and domination was conceived and implemented by Gandhi in the anti-racial struggle in South Africa as well as against the British colonial rule in India. The several satyagrahas led by Gandhi were mainly responsible for mobilisation of the Indian masses for the country's independence and the weakening of the British imperial rule. Satyagraha is applicable to all situations: from inter-personal to the group relationships, from the national to international conflicts, from the micro- to macro-level problems. It can also be used to fight against the problems of injustice, exploitation and war at the global level. Hence, the Gandhian approach to peace relies heavily on satyagraha. In fact, Gandhi considers satyagraha as a moral substitute of war, and as a superior means of redressing the grievances of a state. It relies on persuasion and moral pressure rather than on physical force or other coercive techniques to achieve the goal of peace and justice at the international level.

Satyagraha is a compound Sanskrit word that means insistence on truth. Satyagraha means resisting evil and injustice through peaceful and pure means, without causing violence of any kind and generating ill feelings against the evil-doer. Satyagraha is not just as a technique of non-violent resistance but a moral and social philosophy of life. Satyagraha is carried out through several non-violent means: reasoning, persuasion, moral appeal through self-suffering, non co-operation, civil disobedience, strikes, fasting etc. It is based on the belief that the opponent is open to reason and has a conscience that responds to the suffering and problems of other persons, and to any noble and friendly gesture. The objective of Satyagraha is to convert, not to coerce, the wrongdoer. Conversion of the opponent is made possible by the *satyagrahi's* sincerity and willingness to make sacrifices for the cause. Self-suffering and positive psychological attitudes of a *satyagrahi* may lead to changes in attitudes of the opponent in the long run. This might lead to the opponent changing inwardly and reconciling with the non-violent activist, leaving no aftermath of resentment or revenge.

Satyagraha aims at liquidating the antagonisms but not the antagonists themselves. In satyagraha, the negative actions of the other party will have to be opposed persistently and resolutely, at the same time maintaining the feeling of amity for the opponent. Gandhi believed that we must not consider our opponents as our enemies. He wrote: "While we may attack measures and systems...we must not attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and slow to impute motives."

### **13.2.2 Ahimsa or Non-violence**

The basis of Gandhi's pacifism is the supreme value of Ahimsa or non-violence. The reinterpretation of non-violence is a major contribution of Gandhi. Non-violence is the means to achieve truth. Just as violence is the distinctive character of animals, non-violence is the nature of man. For Gandhi, non-violence is infinitely superior to violence. Non-violence as a strategy of change was developed by Gandhi in South Africa and later during India's struggle for independence. Derived from the early influences of Jainism and other religious texts on his mind, Gandhi's Ahimsa is not a negative value of non-injury but a positive attitude of love, sacrifice and forgiveness for the humanity. Forgiveness requires

more courage than revenge. Thus, *Ahimsa* is not passive but dynamic. It does not represent the denial of power but renunciation of all forms of coercion and compulsion. Indeed, the moral power generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of violence and armaments.

Non-violence does not mean mere abstention from physical injury or a negative state of harmlessness. Gandhi rejected the passive interpretations of the concept found in some religious scriptures and pacifist literature. He insisted that non-violence is dynamic and active. The true meaning of non-violence, according to Gandhi, is love and charity in their most positive forms. It means not hurting anybody in thoughts, words and deeds. It means doing well even to the wrongdoer. It is a weapon of the strong and the brave rather than of the weak. Gandhi advocated violence rather than non-violence borne out of cowardice. Indeed, he said that "I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour." That was why he led the freedom struggle with conviction and confidence.

### **13.3 GANDHI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WAR**

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Gandhi considered war as an unmitigated evil. It is immoral and repugnant because it violates the principles of truth and non-violence. Gandhi opposed all forms of aggression, whether backed by military force or not. Gandhi said that war "demoralizes those who are trained for it. It brutalises men of naturally gentle nature." War can achieve no good since what is gained by the sword is also lost by the sword. He regarded war and democracy as inconsistent. The basis of democracy is human and associative whereas war disturbs human relationships. War will create conditions of instability for democracy. Causes of war are many and diverse. However, in general, Gandhi regarded racialism, imperialism and fascism as chief causes of war in our times. He also cited communism as a threat to world peace. Economic inequality and exploitation are other causes of war and tension in the international system.

Even as Gandhi generally rejected war and denied any righteousness to it, his specific attitude towards different forms of war was not uniform or consistent. He adopted divergent and often contradictory positions about the utility and moral basis of war. Though he prohibited all kinds of war in principle, he did not completely abjure it under special circumstances. He himself participated as a volunteer in the Zulu war in South Africa and in World War I. Also, he countenanced India's war with Pakistan immediately after independence over the Kashmir problem and suggested that war in those circumstances was a preferable and moral option than the non-violent satyagraha.

Gandhi's views on war can be categorised into three kinds. First, as an unqualified pacifist, he rejected all war and believed that nothing of value comes out of **military** action. **Violence**, even for vindication of justice or defensive purpose, was of no use. His total denunciation of World War II and of the nuclear arms is an illustration of this form of pacifism advocated by him. He also suggested non-participation in all war efforts by truth-seeking and non-violent persons. Secondly, as a conditional pacifist he argued that despite its wrong means, good can come out of some wars. He also felt that individuals and states can take sides in such wars on behalf of the parties that represent justice and goodness. His attitude

towards the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 falls into this category. Thirdly, as a pragmatic nationalist, Gandhi tried to adjust the claims of nationalism with pacifism. War as a ~~defensive~~ response to external attack on an innocent nation and war as an unprovoked aggression on others can be considered as qualitatively different. While the aggressive wars have no moral justification, the ~~defensive~~ military response can be justified under special situations and circumstance. He tried to explain his support for the British during World War I and approval of India-Pakistan war of 1947-48 over the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of such a distinction. Gandhi also recognised that it is impossible to ~~eliminate~~ violence completely from the world. Hence, a non-violent person must try to end war. However, if he does not succeed in doing so, "he may take part in war and yet whole-heartedly try to free himself, his nation and the world from war."

## **13.4 GANDHI'S VISION OF PEACE**

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Peace, as Gandhi envisaged it, is far more than the absence of war and violence. It implies a state of positive and constructive world order, where individuals, groups and nations do ~~not~~ dominate or exploit one another and live in cooperation and mutual aid. Peace is thus a cementing force for the society and the world. It is a state of affairs in which men ~~can~~ resolve their differences by talking to each other rather than by using violence.

Peace and truth cannot be separated. "The way of peace", Gandhi said, "is the way ~~of~~ truth. Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness." Hence, peace ~~achieved~~ through untruth and deceit is not to be encouraged. Such peace cannot last long. Peace based on truth is stable and also promotes internal spiritual growth in man and ~~social~~ progress. Peace and justice are also integrally related. They were like two sides of the same coin.

Gandhi did not treat war and peace as isolated problems. Instead, he offered an integrated vision of peace which is based on his philosophy of life. The concern for peace in the **Gandhian** approach leads to the realisation of the oneness of humanity and the **interdependent** character of nations. Gandhi saw the entire humanity as one and argued for universal brotherhood. Transcending the differences of nationality, culture and race, a spiritual unity binds all mankind and pervades human consciousness. Mutual goodwill and friendship among all the peoples are a necessary condition for peace. As the humanity was indivisible, no man could degrade or brutalize another man without also degrading or brutalizing **himself**.

The realist approach looks at conflict as a clash of interests between two parties which can be resolved either by the victory of one side or by some **compromise** agreement between the two parties. The **Gandhian** approach does not accept conflict as clash **of** interests. It regards them as products of mental illusions, misperceptions and prejudices. Gandhi believes that conflicts are temporary irregularities in the normal flow of life. Conflict in the **international** system is never between the two groups of individuals but between two systemic actors. Hence, personal antagonisms have no place in any conflict situation. Creative dialogue and **negotiations** have the potential to resolve the differences between these two actors. Such a **method** does not demand any party to sacrifice his position or interest. Instead, the **mental transformation** during **the** conflict resolution process results into a **win-win** situation.

The Gandhian approach to peace is essentially different from pacifism practiced in the West. Gandhi's non-violence shares with pacifism a general rejection of violence. The distinction is that, while pacifism may take the form of opposition to violence and **refraining** from military service, Gandhian non-violence involves advocacy of social action for peace and justice. Too often, the western pacifism becomes passive rather than taking the form of active resistance against the evil and the injustice that result into violence and warfare. Those suffering from exploitation consider it as complacent and ineffective. Gandhi's *satyagraha* is a new and 'aggressive' form of pacifism, even as it shares the high moral ground and belief in non-violence with western pacifism.

## **13.5 MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE GANDHIAN APPROACH TO PEACE**

According to Gandhi, war is not a natural phenomenon but a social and a cultural one. It is not the nature of man to kill others and commit violence. Since individuals can be pacific, so the states that are composed of individuals can also be pacific. It is possible to avoid war if we eliminate the root causes of war and create the right environment through moral techniques. Gandhi had deep faith in the possibility of establishing peace through non-violent action. He wrote: "Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature."

### **13.5.1 Focus on the Individual and his Psychology**

How a thinker regards human nature and man's ability to control himself shapes his vision about society and world. The crucial factor and first step in Gandhi's design for peaceful and just world order is the individual. He was a humanist who put man at the centre of all social and political activities. An individual is an integral part of the whole. There is an unbreakable link between an individual and the family, a family and the neighbourhood, a neighbourhood and the society, a society and the nation, a nation and the world. Each level is as strong as the ties it has with the other. Hence, for the strengthening the probability of peace at the global level, the beginning has to be made at the level of the individual psychology.

Gandhi believed that the sources of peace and war lie in the minds of men. The question of world peace is ultimately about achieving conquest of the self. Even while recognising that human mind has the tendency towards degradation and corruption, he never gave up his deep conviction in the essential goodness of man and his innate sense of discrimination between good and evil. Man can appreciate and live by the principles of truth and non-violence. Ultimately, the moral and spiritual forces would triumph over the material and physical forces because the spiritual force and desire for non-violence lies in every man's heart. This spiritual force might be dormant, but it can be awakened by right stimulus and training.

Mere denunciation of violence will not result into a peaceful world order. It is necessary to reform the individual for this. Peace cannot be imposed from above but must grow from within. As both conflict and peace begin in the minds men, a non-violent peacemaker must first establish ~~peace~~ within himself before attempting to establish peace elsewhere. Purging

the man of his impurities and infirmities, of anger, selfishness and ill-will, are of fundamental importance in the Gandhian strategy. Continuous self-introspection, self-analysis and self-purification are essential for the satyagrahis to achieve their goals.

### **13.5.2 Need for a New Life Style and Culture**

The Gandhian model presupposes that as the roots of violence lie in our infinite greed, consumerism and materialism, a new life-style and a new culture are required for making the world peaceful. The modern civilization that glorifies and venerates self-interest debases the moral basis of society. Restriction on human needs and inculcation of other-regarding rather than self-regarding attitudes are vital components of the larger Gandhian vision of peace.

### **13.5.3 Search for the Moral Solution**

The problems of war and peace have been misconceived by the conventional approaches and theories. The efforts for peace so far have failed because of the wrong methods used and because of the lack of sincerity on the part of their practitioners. In the Gandhian approach, peace is not primarily a result of the activities of an international organisation or of balance of power in the international system. War is primarily a moral problem and requires moral solutions. The threat of war can be tackled successfully if we can solve the fundamental moral problem involved. The moral problem stems from the norms that guide nations in their behaviour with each other and the legitimacy that violence enjoys in international politics. These norms are diametrically opposite to the morality that men in society observe. What is good in individual and social conduct is seen as bad and undesirable in international relations. Moral man cannot live in an immoral or non-moral international order, without impairing his higher nature.

Unless the collective mind of nations is civilised, there would be no peace in the world. Gandhi believed that every action - whether performed for self, family, group or nation - produces its own appropriate result. Evil actions create evil results while the good actions lead to good results. In international politics, evil seems to have overtaken the good. Every war becomes the cause of a subsequent conflict. Hence, in consonance with the spirit of the sages and prophets of olden times, Gandhi prescribed moral means for the settlement of international disputes. If humanity wants to avoid the possibility of an all-out destructive war fought by nuclear weapons, the states must regulate their behaviour towards other states by observing the rules of the morality laid down through centuries. As many reformers had to suffer in the cause of establishing the moral law in civil society, some nations must be prepared to suffer for the establishment of the moral law among nations. War is 'mutual violence' which breeds hatred, revenge and bitterness. Hatred cannot be a foundation for future peace.

### **13.5.4 Combine Humanism with Nationalism**

Gandhi was a staunch nationalist who articulated a powerful conception of the Indian nation and stood up for the social and political rights of the Indian people. Even though he was one of the tallest nationalist leaders, Gandhi's nationalism was not of the usual type. It was not exclusive or narrow. He believed that without a feeling of cosmopolitanism and

**international brotherhood**, nationalism can be as dangerous as colonialism. Nationalism **that is not animated by humanism and** internationalism is not **true** nationalism. He saw Indian nationalism not as a threat to other nations but as beneficial to the liberation of all the **oppressed** countries. He observed: "**Through** realisation of freedom of India I hope to **realise and** carry on the mission of the brotherhood of man." A free India would carry **out a pacifying mission in** the world and project the country's spiritual heritage and non-violent struggle in its foreign policy.

**Gandhi believed that it is** not necessary to abolish nation-state system to achieve world peace. "It is not nationalism that is evil, it is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is an evil.. .**our** nationalism cannot be peril to other nations in as much as we will exploit none just as we allow none to exploit us." Nationalism and internationalism can be complementary and compatible. It is not necessary to damage other countries in order to **serve** one's own national interests.

### **13.5.5 Six Point Agenda for Non-violent States**

In **Gandhi's** vision of peace, a peace-loving and non-violent country should be committed to **the** following six actions: First, it should adopt complete and universal disarmament. The money saved and the army rendered free as a result of such disarmament should be used for constructive activities. Secondly, a non-violent country should abandon its colonial territories and help the liberated peoples develop themselves. **Thirdly**, a non-violent country should withdraw from all the alliances and security arrangements that involve it in military activities or impose **military** obligations on it. Fourthly, such a state should give up completely the traditional game of intelligence and counter-intelligence regarding other countries. Fifthly, such a country should minimize the military significance of its trade with other states. Sixthly, such a country, if it has sufficient resources of its own, should share them with other underdeveloped nations of the world.

### **13.5.6 Promotion of Disarmament**

Gandhi rejected the argument that armaments give security to the state and deter other states from aggression. The desire of a state to acquire armaments indicates a disorder, a sickness in the international system. Arms do not deter the enemy from attacking. The real source of strength for a state is the desire of its citizens to fight and make a sacrifice for the nation. He wrote: "If the mad pace for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges **victorious**."

Gandhi believed that for a less armed world some nations would have to disarm unilaterally and take risks. He appealed to the great powers of his time to disarm unilaterally. All good things, Gandhi believed, begin with one small step. Such unilateral action will reduce tensions. If one side makes a small unilateral **gesture** of disarmament to reduce tension and the other side **reciprocates**, a further move should be made - thus starting a process of disarmament. If the opponent does not reciprocate after the first move, the side making the initial gesture should wait and then make second move. The other side cannot remain unresponsive for long if a state persists with its sincere approach towards disarmament.

### **13.5.7 Fight Against Nuclear Weapons**

Gandhi ridiculed the idea that destructive power of the atomic weapons would prevent future wars. He wrote: "It has been suggested by American friends that the atom bomb will bring in ahimsa (non-violence) as nothing else can.... (However) the world will return to violence with renewed zeal after the effect of disgust is worn out.... So far as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages. There used to be the so-called laws of war which made it tolerable. Now we know the naked truth. War knows no law except that of might... The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that counter-bombs will not destroy it even as violence cannot be by counter-violence. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence."

Gandhi's faith in the power of non-violent moral action against the might of weapons remained unshaken even after the use of atomic bombs at the end of the World War II by America against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. He said on one occasion: "Atom bomb is nothing before my truth and non-violence. Atom bomb may kill my son, myself and my family members and even forty crore of Indians. But what does it matter? There is no power in atom bomb to kill our soul." When asked about how he would face nuclear weapons through non-violence, Gandhi replied: "I would come out in the open and let the pilot see that I had not the face of evil against him. The pilot would not see my face at such a height...but the longing in our heart that we will not come to harm will reach up to him and his eyes would be opened."

### **13.5.8 International Organisation and World Federation**

Gandhi was not much of a believer in the effectiveness of international organisations like the League of Nations and the United Nations. He believed that the League and the UN were products of war rather than manifestation of the genuine urges of the victorious powers for peace. He criticised the League for abandoning the moral ground and for having failed to keep peace. He also suggested that if the League was genuinely interested in peace, it should adopt the method of *satyagraha*. Without the change of heart on the part of the leaders and without the acceptance of the unity of the mankind, establishment of international organisations will not lead to peaceful relations among states.

At the time of the origin of the United Nations, Gandhi supported the establishment of such a general international organisation. However, he expected that it should support the movement of freedom of all the colonized states, including India. He urged the architects of the UN to end colonialism and war, impose generous peace treaties, create international police force and establish economic justice and world federation. Seeing many of his ideas not finding an echo in the UN charter and activities, Gandhi later developed pessimism about its capacity to inspire world peace. He wrote about the great powers which created the UN: "If they are so arrogant as to think that they can have lasting peace while the exploitation of the coloured and the so-called backward races goes on, they are living in fool's paradise."

In the Gandhian approach, an international organisation must conform to the following principles in order to become an effective instrument of peace and security:

(1) The individuals and the states composing it should follow non-violence (2) All the nations should be made independent and the world should be freed from the evils of racialism, colonialism and imperialism. (3) Such an international organisation must represent all the states (4) It should be based on general disarmament (5) The international society should be based on common good in which each state is willing to make a sacrifice for others (6) All disputes among states should be settled peacefully through negotiations, arbitration or mediation. (6) A small international police force may be constituted to keep peace in the world if some states abandon the path of non-violence.

Though Gandhi did not reject the idea of a centralised world government, his inherent preference lay with the world federation. He conceived of a federation of friendly, independent states based on self-determination by all the peoples and justice. Such a federation would promote the ideals of justice, peace and non-violence in the international order. He recognised that the prospect of this happening might be distant, but not impossible. The states can be persuaded to part with a segment of their sovereignty to create such a federation. The structure of such a world federation can be raised only on the foundation of truth and non-violence.

### **13.5.9 The Non-violent Army and 'the *Shanti Sena***

One important condition of a peaceful world, according to Gandhi, is the raising of a non-violent army. Even as this idea might sound impractical and its prospect appear distant, Gandhi felt that it should be possible to raise it if we are sincere about its purpose. Such a non-violent army could resist armed invasion without recourse to arms. A non-violent army acts unlike armed men in times of peace and war. It brings warring communities together, carries out peace propaganda, engages in activities that bring and keep them in touch with other persons. Such an army should be ready to cope with any emergency. The non-violent force must be small if it is to become efficient.

Gandhi concretised and expanded his idea of a non-violent army in the concept of *Shanti Sena*. Gandhi first conceived of a non-violent peace brigade, *Shanti Sena*, during the large-scale communal riots in 1922. However, it was only around India's independence in 1947 that Gandhi seriously considered organising the *Shanti Sena*. Unfortunately, due to his assassination, his proposal could not materialise. The *Shanti Sena* is a civilian defence force and peace brigade struggling to establish and maintain peace through *satyagraha* and non-violent techniques. Units of *Shanti Sena* can be organised in every village and every block of buildings in the cities. Civilian defence, unlike conventional warfare, does not aim to defend particular objects such as borders and buildings, but it is concerned with the defence of the whole body of society. A country with peace brigades is less likely to be invaded because it would not be seen as a threat. The chief qualities of the members of this peace brigades should be a living faith in God, discipline, truthfulness and devotion to duty. During peacetime, *Shant Sena* can work for social welfare and constructive programmes. If the *Shanti Sena* is able to attract a large number, it may even substitute the police and the army.

The trained *satyagrahis* of the *Shanti Sena* would be willing to make any sacrifice, including of their own lives, for the sake of truth, peace and non-violence. The band of

satyagrahis in the Shanti Sena confronts the aggressors and tells them of wrongness of their action. They are even willing to lay down their lives in the process of non-violent resistance. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiery, Gandhi claimed that "men can slaughter one another for years in the heat of battle, for them it seems a case of kill or be killed. But if there is no danger of being killed yourself by those you slay, you cannot go on killing defenceless and unprotesting people endlessly. You must put down your gun in self-disgust."

### **13.5.10 Non-Cooperation with the Aggressor**

In the event of a war, Gandhi emphasised the value of non-cooperation in the fight against the aggressor state. He advised that rather than fighting the conquering army with violence an occupied country should first practice non-violent resistance and then non-cooperation. Even as they do not threaten the lives of the conquering army, the satyagrahis should stop offering any cooperation to it. He believed that when a whole population stops cooperation, it would be impossible for a conquering force to occupy the conquered territory for long. After sometime, the conquering power will leave the occupied territory out of disgust, frustration and confusion. For this he wanted people to train themselves in individual civil resistance. Peace achieved through non-violent resistance is stable as it brings out the issues into the open and leaves behind no rancour or frustration.

### **13.5.11 Address Ecological Concerns**

The Gandhian approach to peace not only concerns human beings and states but also includes the ecology and the cosmos. Gandhi anticipated and articulated the concerns for environment. The compulsion for war arises not just due to urge for territories or power, but also by the pattern of development based on disregard for nature and life forms. In his famous book, Hind Swaraj, he dismissed the western civilization as exploitative of nature as well as of human beings, based on an over-use of earth's resources, over-production and over-consumption. Such a civilization resting on the selfish nature of the individual promotes amoral economics and amoral politics. A peaceful world will arise when man learns to live in harmony with nature and when all men and women identify themselves with all other living beings.

### **13.5.12 Reform the Development Model**

Likewise, our development models too will have to be reformed to make them people-oriented rather than machine-centred. Big technology aligned with big business could create disastrous consequences for the world. Appropriate technology is the need of the hour to encourage the movement towards a non-violent society. Gandhi also felt that militarism and centralized economy are inseparable. Centralised economy and big factories require strong armies and big armaments and vice-versa. We cannot have a non-violent and peaceful world as long as factory civilization persists. Decentralised production that generates employment and does not marginalise and exploit men at the lowest rung of the society alone can be conducive to peace and non-violence.

### **13.5.13 Settle Internal Differences**

Gandhi also believed that without settling the differences within one's own society, it is not possible to work for or establish peace at the global level. A nation which has achieved internal harmony will not need armed forces for its security. Hence, satyagraha and constructive programmes should be applied for mending social relations. Religious tolerance and understanding, reconciliation of ethnic and racial differences etc. are of fundamental importance in the quest for establishing global peace.

### **13.5.14 End Economic Exploitation**

As acquisition of armaments and wars are often fuelled by economic factors and exploitation, Gandhi believed that real peace cannot emerge unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another. A peaceful nation would aim at resolving international conflicts by helping its neighbours alleviate their economic problems and try to remain friendly with them.

### **13.5.15 Peoples' Participation in Peace Process**

Gandhi was convinced that peace is possible not through diplomatic activities alone but mainly through the participation of people and groups at all levels of the society. Peace from below rather than above is the cornerstone of the **Gandhian** thinking. Thus involvement of all the sections of the society – ordinary men and women, children, youth, civil society organisations, educational institutions etc. in the peace process are imperative.

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## **13.6 A CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE GANDHIAN APPROACH TO PEACE**

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Gandhi's views and vision of peace have been criticised as utopian, idealistic, inconsistent and contradictory. Since he changed his positions and views regarding war many times, critics regard his ideas as incoherent and unreliable. His qualified pacifism, especially the justification of his participation in World War I in support of the British and his approval of the war with Pakistan immediately after independence fail to meet the standards of absolute pacifism laid down by some Western thinkers.

Critics question the ethical and practical basis of **Gandhi's** non-violent philosophy. According to them even a violent act can acquire moral character under certain circumstance. The relationship between means and ends is more complex than what Gandhi recognised. Means and ends have to be understood in their wider contexts. The Gandhian approach also relies greatly upon the potential for converting ruling elites to justice and peace. It minimises the importance of state interests, beyond the interests of the individuals who manage the state, that determine a state's political behaviour and force them to initiate war against other states. According to some scholars, Gandhi did not comprehend all the complexities of international politics or give an effective practical plan for global peace. The critics also doubt the validity of civilian defence and non-violent resistance against dictatorships and in countries where basic civil freedoms are not available to the people.

However, as noted earlier, Gandhi was a practical idealist. His contributions should, therefore, be judged on the basis of what he did rather than on the basis of what he wrote about world peace. He was also not a dogmatic thinker and open to revising his ideas according to new realities and developments. His shifting stand about war is also something that was known to Gandhi himself. He believed that his aim was not so much to be consistent with his previous statements but with truth as it evolved before him from time to time.

Gandhi's approach to non-violence places him as a far-sighted, sensitive and perceptive man of peace. He gave a dynamic and flexible meaning of peace in which peace is the best, but not the only way, to achieve good. Modern peace researchers who have contributed to the idea of direct and indirect violence and particularly structural violence find Gandhi as an equally original contributor to the thinking of peace research. The concept of structural violence is a product of social relationships of exploitation.

Despite the inconsistencies of his position and the unsystematic character of his ideas on world affairs, no one can deny the fact before him few had given such a powerful moral thrust in international relations and argued for justice at global level. In satyagraha, Gandhi gave a morally superior alternative to war as a means of achieving one's goals. His idea that responsible nationalism can be helpful to peace added a new dimension to conventional pacifism which rejected nationalism. Gandhi demonstrated, in South Africa as well as in India, that active pacifism can be an effective force, whether within a society or at the international level.

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## 13.7 SUMMARY

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In Gandhian thought, metaphysics and social principles, religious values and political strategy are woven together. The primacy of the moral over the political and of the spiritual over the temporal is fundamental to Gandhi's thinking. He considered absolute truth as the ultimate goal and non-violence as the best method of achieving it. Believing that ends and means are inseparable; Gandhi conceived and implemented Satyagraha, a policy of non-violent struggle to fight against injustice, exploitation and domination. As we observed, satyagraha is applicable to all situations: from interpersonal to the group relationships, from the national to international conflicts, from the micro to the macro level problems.

Gandhi claimed that his life was like a laboratory of truth and non-violence. Hence, this can be reinterpreted and applied fresh to the emerging realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century international relations. His teachings and personal examples do provide several practical tools and techniques that are relevant for addressing the challenges of the contemporary international society. Mankind today is suffering from multidimensional crises such as terrorism, denial of human rights, economic inequality, racial discrimination, ethnic violence, religious intolerance, poverty, environmental degradation and so on. The Gandhian principles of truth, love, non-violence and world order based on justice and goodness are of great relevance in this context.

In different ways and in different fields, a growing number of initiatives to search for non-materialistic, non-violent alternatives to present modes of living are being taken in the world today. Whether or not these initiatives use the name of Gandhi, they are nevertheless

promoting the values and principles he stood for In the most unexpected places and ways, the Gandhian concept and practice of non-violence has spread in the world. Failure of non-violent initiatives and ideas does not invalidate Gandhian approach to peace, but only points to the need of greater persistence of non-violence in the face of violence.

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## **13.8 EXERCISES**

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- 1) Critically examine Gandhi's views on War.
- 2) Examine the features and objectives of **Satyagraha**.
- 3) How does Gandhi's approach to non-violence differ from pacifism?
- 4) What are the main elements of action suggested by Gandhi for non-violent states?
- 5) Critically examine Gandhi's views on nuclear weapons.
- 6) What are Gandhi's views on international organisations?

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# **UNIT 14 HUMAN SECURITY**

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## **Structure**

- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Concerns for Human Security in Retrospection
- 14.3 Defining the Human Security Concerns
- 14.4 Approaches to the Study of Human Security
- 14.5 Challenges to Human Security in Practice
- 14.6 Ensuring Human Security
- 14.7 Summary
- 14.8 Exercises

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## **14.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The concept of security, for long, has been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been associated with the interests of nation-states than with those of the people. In this process, the legitimate concerns of common people and their quest for individual security in their daily lives—protection from the threat of diseases, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental degradation—were forgotten.

In the post Cold War period it is increasingly becoming evident that many conflicts and their causes are within nations rather than between nations. For most people, a sense of insecurity comes not so much from the traditional security concerns such as military aggression of another nation, but from the concerns about their survival, self-preservation and well-being in the day-to-day context. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its Human Development Report of 1994 first articulated this dimension of security, which has come to be known as human security. Since then, the concept of human security has attracted considerable attention in various international fora. However, while there is a broad consensus that human survival, human well-being and human freedom are vital elements of human security, a clear idea as to what the concept denotes has not yet emerged. The term 'human security' has been used in many different contexts to justify certain course of action either ongoing or planned for future.

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## **14.2 CONCERN FOR HUMAN SECURITY IN RETROSPECTION**

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The content of security changes over time, depending on era and context. As far back as the 1930s, American national security thinking revolved very much around economic security, changing to an overriding concern with military security during the Cold War era. Towards the late 1960s, the idea of security as being something 'more' than military security was

put forward by Robert McNamara, the then president of the World Bank. During the 1970s and 1980s, the conceptualisation of security slowly broadened both in the developed and developing worlds. In Europe, the Helsinki process and the idea of comprehensive security slowly gained ground. In Africa, the Front-Line States (FLS) increasingly came to include economic and social security as part of their security agenda which initially consisted of opposing apartheid and South African military destabilisation. The FLS founded the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC, now the Southern African Development Community or the SADC) in 1980 the first example, it would seem, of a link between security and development. The essential meaning of security as freedom from threat has not changed.

Contemporary conceptualisation of security as being multidimensional and aimed at people as the main referent of security (human security) is therefore also not necessarily pointing to 'the end of security', to borrow from Fukuyama, but may change over time as era and context change.

While the term "human security" may be of recent origin, the ideas that underpin the concept are far from new. For more than a century -at least since the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the 1860s -a doctrine based on the security of people has been gathering momentum. Core elements of this doctrine were formalised in the 1940s in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Conventions.

The specific phrase "human security" is most commonly associated with the Human Development Report of 1994. Published by the UNDP, the Report was an attempt to capture the post-Cold War peace dividend and redirect the freed resources towards development agenda.

Since then, the concept of human security has increasingly centred on the human costs of violent conflict. Here, practice has led theory. Two initiatives, in particular, the campaign to ban landmines and the effort to create an International Criminal Court, have demonstrated the potential of a people-centred approach to security.

### **14.3 DEFINING THE HUMAN SECURITY CONCERNS**

In essence, human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterised by freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives. From a foreign policy perspective, human security is perhaps best understood as a shift in perspective or orientation. It is an alternative way of seeing the world, taking people as its point of reference, rather than focusing exclusively on the security of territory or governments. Like other security concepts – national security, economic security, and food security – it is about protection. Human security entails taking preventive measures to reduce vulnerability and minimise risk, and taking remedial action where prevention fails.

Human security has emerged as a major foreign policy concern of some industrialised nations, notably Japan and Canada. In 1998, the then Prime Minister of Japan, Keizo Obuchi, announced the institution of the Human Security Fund in the United Nations for the

purpose of bolstering coordination in this area among governments, international agencies and non-governmental organisations. Canada, in the context of human rights and humanitarian intervention issues, has placed human security above national sovereignty and condoned the imposition of sanctions or even the use of military force for humanitarian intervention in the event of egregious infringements of human rights or crimes against humanity associated with civil wars or interethnic hostilities.

At the level of the United Nations, the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, in his Millennium Report observed that although security policy had traditionally focused on the defence of territory from external attack, it had now come to embrace "... the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence."

The idea that the primary focus of security policy should be the protection of people, rather than the political and territorial integrity of states, is central to the concept of 'human security' articulated by Kofi Annan, Sadako Ogata, Lloyd Axworthy and others. It is also one of the founding principles of the Human Security Network. However, the concept has yet to have a major impact on traditional security thinking.

Human Security Network is an interregional group of thirteen countries comprising Canada, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand, Austria and South Africa as an observer. It emerged from the landmines campaign and was launched in 1999. According to its perception, 'Our vision is a human world where people can live in security and dignity, free from violent threats, poverty and despair.' In essence, the Network strives to achieve freedom from fear and freedom from want. This encompasses a broad spectrum of threats, ranging from those emanating on the one hand from human conflict, natural and manmade disasters to- on the other- poverty, marginalisation, discrimination and disease. In this spirit the Human Security Network currently pursues such diverse, though in reality interlinked, subjects as human rights education, the protection of children affected by armed conflict, the control of small arms and light weapons, the universalisation of the Ottawa Convention on Anti-personnel landmines, the struggle against HIV/AIDS, issues of international humanitarian law and conflict prevention.

Human security is a logical extension of current approaches to international peace and security. The Charter of the United Nations embodies the view that security cannot be achieved by a single state in isolation. The phrase 'international peace and security' implies that the security of one state depends on the security of other states. A human security perspective builds on this logic by noting that the security of people in one part of the world depends on the security of people elsewhere. A secure and stable world order is built both from the top down and from the bottom up. The security of states, and the maintenance of international peace and security, is ultimately constructed on the foundation of people who are secure.

According to the UNDP, 'human security is a universal concern; the components of human security are inter-dependent; human security is easier to ensure through early prevention; and human security is people-centred.' The definition advanced in the report was extremely ambitious. Human security was defined as the summation of seven distinct dimensions of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political. By focusing on people and highlighting non-traditional threats, the UNDP made an important contribution to post-Cold War thinking about security.

The very breadth of the UNDP approach, however, made it unwieldy as a policy instrument. Equally important, in emphasising the threats associated with underdevelopment, the Report largely ignored the continuing human insecurity resulting from violent conflict. Yet, by the UNDP's own criteria, human insecurity is greatest during war. Of the 25 countries at the bottom of the 1998 Human Development Index in 1998, more than half were suffering the direct or indirect effects of violent conflict.

The UNDP definition of human security was proposed as a key concept during the preparatory stages of the 1995 Copenhagen Summit on Social Development, which included seven distinct dimensions of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political. But it was rejected during the Summit and has not been widely used thereafter because of its overarching breadth.

Adding another dimension to human security concerns, Heidi Hudson points to the threefold 'nature' of security when one attempts to study and apply it in a comprehensive way, making it inclusive of all people as referents of security. He refers to the fact that security needs to include women, and that security is inextricably linked to the security of women in Africa, if only because so much of production, whether wage-related or subsistence activities, depend on them. Broad security, for instance, economic and social security, and economic and social policies, needs to reflect a concern with women and their status, position and needs.

The second aspect of Hudson's security concern revolves around its participatory nature. Security is not only (also) for women, but women should also participate as agents of security, represented and involved in decision-making positions and other initiatives aimed at building and maintaining security. Hudson mentions the low participation of women in the peacekeeping training projects conducted by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). He stressed on the need to reactivate the debate on the idea of whether quota systems for female participation is necessary to promote women as active participants in planning and working towards a secure and prosperous future Southern Africa?

The third aspect of security that flows from Hudson's work is the fact that just referring to the need for, or working on the principle of a holistic approach to security is not sufficient. Hudson uses the term 'fractious holism' which captures the idea that human security in itself is not monolithic, but that what constitutes human security may vary according to, once again, era, context and even gender. This calls for the need, in policy terms, to look anew at the application of security.

While analysing the concept of security from development perspective, Prof. Marie Mueller in particular raised the interesting and important link between development, aid, security and the idea of 'entitlement systems' in order to promote equality, notions which bring one back to Hudson's fractious holism. According to Mueller, security is in essence about equality. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that security touches, in a fundamental way, on equity rather than equality. Needs are related to expectations and concrete conditions and experiences. Not everyone needs or wants the same level of security, but security needs to be distributed equitably. Development is about choices. To be more exact it is about widening choices, and security provides the environment in which those choices are

safely exercised. The levels of security and development available and maintainable are very much dependent on place and time, or era and context. It is for this reason that the Security General Boutros-Ghali emphasised the need for development to become part of peace building in other words, to be incorporated into security thinking in areas rife with conflict.

Being a dynamic and all-inclusive, the concept of human security is feared to become redundant. It meant different things to different persons. Every one having his own reasonable ground for including his content and context of human security. Critics point to the definitional constraints that attempts to measure human security imposes on the concept. They also rightly point to potential measurement inaccuracies, and dependence on poor data.

Four measurement frameworks are worth mentioning here which tries to quantify the concept in a more scientific manner. Each one takes a particular approach to the human security agenda, ranging from the narrow 'freedom from fear' to the broader 'freedom from want' spectrum of insecurities. The four frameworks are:

- 1) Gary King's Theory of Generalised Poverty Measures: Income, Health, Political Freedom, Democracy, and Education;
- 2) Kanti Bajpai's Human Security Audit Includes an exhaustive list of 'direct' and 'indirect' threats to the individual;
- 3) The GECHS Index of Human Insecurity Centres on social, environmental, economic, and institutional domains of security, with four indicators each, culminating in what is labelled a 'Human Insecurity Index'
- 4) The Human Security Report focuses on mortality from criminal violence and armed conflict statistics.

Each human security measurement methodology evidently attempts to measure a different conception of human security. In every case, the measurement methodology, including indicator selection and aggregation -is inferred from the human security approach taken. In terms of feasibility, the broader the definition of human security used, the less feasible the methodology becomes. Accordingly, the Human Security Report methodology appears the most feasible, even though data on violence can also be unreliable.

Here it is worth pointing out, there may be a better way to measure human security than the Human Security Report's excessively narrow reliance on violence data. A broader conception of human security could be more accurately measured if mortality data from disease and natural disasters were added to the two Human Security Report indicators of deaths from 'criminal violence and armed conflict.'

In order to comprehend the concept, we would like to identify the following four areas which should receive primacy in ensuring human security:

- 1) human security threatened by poverty and lack of development;

- 2; human security threatened by landmines, small arms and light weapons;
- 3) human security undermined by drug **trafficking** and trafficking of women and children; and
- 4) human security seriously jeopardised through human rights violation.

These facets of human security have socio-economic and political dimensions and could be helpful in having integrated policy formulations about the subject.

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## 14.4 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF HUMAN SECURITY

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To further address the topic as an academic exercise, it would be desirable to have a view of the concept in its theoretical perspective in the international arena. The realist paradigm, which remains the dominant discourse in mainstream security studies, still sees armed conflict as arising from the pursuit of power by sovereign states, with conflict prevention being primarily a function of traditional diplomacy and/or successful military deterrence. Peace, from this perspective, is best preserved by preparing for war.

Against this eschewed theoretical presumption about the world security, there are two main contemporary theories of international relations in which the concepts of human security could be placed. At one end of the continuum is an approach, based on a neo-realist theoretical framework, which maintains a continued emphasis on the primacy of the state within a broadened conceptualisation of (human) security. Some call this approach the 'new security thinking'. At the other end of the security discourse is the postmodernist or 'critical human security' approach that is rooted within the pluralist theory of international politics. This approach is based on a set of assumptions that essentially attempt to dislodge the state as the primary referent of security, while placing greater emphasis on the interdependency and transnationalisation of non-state actors.

Barry Buzan has advocated the neo-realist or 'structuralist' approach to human security in his seminal work '*People, States and Fear*'. Buzan argued that the 'straitjacket' militaristic approach to security that dominated the discourse during the Cold War was 'simple-minded' and led to the underdevelopment of the concept. He subsequently broadened it to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to those that are militaristic. Although Buzan examines security from the three perspectives of the international system, the state, and the individual, he concludes that the most important and effective provider of security should remain the sovereign state. His analysis provides the most extensive contemporary examination available of human security from a state-combined perspective (as originally proposed in a similar form by Clausewitz, the eminent writer on War in the 19<sup>th</sup> century).

The 'critical' or postmodernist approach to human security, reflected in the work of Ken Booth, also advocates a broadened conceptualisation of security that goes beyond a military determination of threats. But he and other advocates of the postmodernist approach stress quite explicitly that the state must be dislodged as the primary referent of (human) security, and encompass instead a wide range of non-state actors, such as individuals,

ethnic and cultural groups, regional economic blocs, multinational corporations (MNCs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and just about all humankind. In expanding the concept of security horizontally and vertically, Booth argues that human security is ultimately more important than state security. To put differently, the postmodernist conceptualisation of security does not equate state security with human security. In Booth's view, states and implicitly governments must no longer be the primary referents of security because governments which are supposed to be "the guardians of 'their peoples' security". have instead become the primary source of insecurity for the many people who live under their sovereignty, rather than the armed forces of a neighbouring country. This approach challenges the very idea of a state as an effective and adequate provider of security to its people.

Despite being comprehensive, the two approaches suffer from inherent setbacks. Buzan's state-centric approach within a broadened framework of security is useful in so far as it argues that the state is a vital vehicle for the security of its citizens. However, he introduces the concepts of 'strong' and 'weak' states to show that 'the creation of strong states is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for improved individual and national security'. In other words, the existence of strong states would not, by itself, guarantee security, but weakness in states would certainly encourage and sustain insecurity for their citizens. In this regard, Buzan draws a distinction between weak and strong states on one hand. and weak and strong powers on the other. He explains that the strength of a state is determined by the degree of its socio-political cohesion, while the strength of its powers refers to the traditional distinction among states in respect of their comparative military and economic capabilities. This distinction sits very awkwardly in argument championing the state as the defender of human security, since the attainment of human security requires both a strong state and a strong power. To avoid any confusion as to the unit or referent of security, it is preferable to lump together attributes (i.e. socio-political cohesion and military and economic capability) and the characteristic distinction between weak and strong states.

Buzan acknowledges that almost all weak states are found in the South or developing world, where they find themselves trapped by historical patterns of economic development and political power which leave them underdeveloped and therefore unable to muster the economic and political resources necessary to build a stronger state. What Buzan does not make clear is how weak powers and states can become strong. Instead, he argues that integration into an 'increasingly interdependent international market economy would contribute to a mature anarchy with its promise of greater international security' (Tickner, 1995).

This would be problematic for peripheral states such as those in Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are not only trapped by chronic underdevelopment, but more crucially, are weak rendering their economic security vulnerable to market forces in an integrated or globalised world economy.

According to Richard Falk, while the new threats to security which defy boundaries cannot be solved by one state alone, the uneven development fostered by a hierarchical international system of states and a global capitalist economy has contributed to an intolerable situation. The security of the rich seems to be increasingly diminishing the security of the poor.

States in the developing South. Africa in particular, being soft and peripheral in terms of

Robert Gilpin's definition, would not find an 'integrated world economy' beneficial to either their economic development or their security. In other words, uneven development within the world's capitalist economy sets 'structural constraints' on the achievement of economic security for the poorest states and their inhabitants. In this sense, Asian, African and Latin American states are likely to experience great difficulty in becoming strong or 'hard', to form part of what Buzan calls a 'mature' anarchy. Nevertheless, Buzan has moved beyond the traditional realist fixation on security associated with military power, which makes his argument more humane and acceptable.

Whereas, the problem with the postmodernist approach is that it asserts that national sovereignty is unravelling, and that states are proving less and less capable of performing their traditional tasks. For example, Xavier Carim argues that global factors increasingly impinge on government decisions and undermine their capacity to control either external or domestic politics. He concludes that 'if state sovereignty has not actually ended, it is under severe challenge'. For Booth, the logical alternative to the modern state as the unit of analysis is the diffusion of power from states to local or regional communities so as to cater for cultural diversity. For example, the wider problems of economics could be dealt with effectively at the regional level. There can be no denying that regional integration or cooperation, as a current trend within the international system, aims not only to address the political and economic interests of member states, but also the security needs of their people.

A critical concern is whether regional security structures necessitate a redefinition of state sovereignty. Threats to human security that compel a review of the traditional conceptualisation of state sovereignty are especially noticeable at a regional level. For example, the insecurity that arises from illegal immigration has complex causes and effects, all of them relating to humanitarian issues, for example people fleeing from poverty, civil war, drought or economic decline, that must be addressed by regional mechanisms or structures. After all, 'when people face famine or war, no fence, army or government policy, will keep them from seeking even marginally better conditions'.

Therefore, regional mechanisms that are created to address such threats are ultimately the building blocks for greater regional, national and individual security. Postmodernists have very often stressed the power of non-state actors such as MNCs, NGOs and even crime syndicates to operate beyond the control of the state.

This however, should not be taken to be generally applicable to all states; nor should it be construed as meaning an end to state sovereignty. Clearly, non-state actors can more easily overpower weak states than strong states. But throughout history non-state actors have coexisted with states. At times the power of non-state actors has been predominant while at other times the power of the state has been superior. The existence of powerful non-state actors does not mean the death of a state. The power and mobility of MNCs are not only derived from advances in technology, but from the economic liberalisation process initiated by states. Martin Wolf argues that the revolutionary advance in technology 'makes globalisation feasible, but it is liberalisation that makes it happen'. As a result, the MNCs of the advanced industrialised countries are able to operate beyond the control of soft, dependent and weak peripheral states, precisely because of the rules advanced by the former to guarantee uninhibited access to the latter's economies.

For the postmodernists, the apparent lack of order in the international system should no longer dominate security policies, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union. East-West confrontation has diminished but the world is far from stable. Advances in military technology have profoundly transformed the dynamics of the world security landscape with the beginning the new millennium. 'A new round of military expansion is in progress among major powers, notably the US with its Missile Defence System, thereby aggravating imbalances in the world military strategic configuration. This undoubtedly poses new challenges to world peace and development'.

## **14.5 CHALLENGES TO HUMAN SECURITY IN PRACTICE**

As it is time and again pointed out, the threat perception to human security has also undergone a marked change in the changing international scenario. The diffused nature of conflicts, the rise of market-oriented society in most parts of the world and the uneven distribution of technological resources pose new challenges. These new challenges are to be addressed setting aside the traditional norms of tackling security concerns at the level of nation or state.

To further simplify the concept, refuge could be sought in the conventional categorisation of socio-economic and political challenges. Though in the long run this could lead to the oversimplification of the complex concept like human insecurities, yet our endeavour here would be to understand the gravity of the situation with which this academic exercise is confronted with.

In 1945, almost every nation on the planet made a commitment to eradicate severe poverty. Though such a goal may seem utopian, consider the progress made up till now. The United Nations Development Programme reports that in the past 50 years, poverty has fallen more than in the previous 500 years. Since 1960, child death rates in developing countries have been more than halved. Malnutrition rates have been reduced by almost a third. And the proportion of children not attending primary school has decreased from more than half to less than a quarter. Approximately three to four billion people will have enjoyed considerable improvements in their standard of living, and about four to five billion will have access to basic education and health care by the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. These advances highlight the fact that the eradication of poverty is not a wistful hope but a veritable possibility (Arias, 1998).

The momentum in poverty eradication can, however, be maintained only if political, social, and economic institutions are guided by the goals of human development. According to Oscar Arias, in the new era, "human security—in contrast to the traditional concept of security linked to military capacity and economic power—must be the ultimate goal of our development policies. In qualitative terms, human security represents the degree to which human beings are protected from ignorance, sickness, hunger, neglect, and persecution. It is the standard that dignifies human life: It is a child who is saved, a disease that is cured, an ethnic tension that is soothed, a dissident who speaks freely, and a human spirit that has hope."

While analysing the impact of free market capitalism, he further says that it has brought about bitter-sweet results for the South. While several economic gains have been made, many individuals have also fallen casualty to this system. For instance, Latin America has the worst distribution of wealth in the world. The income gap that exists between rich and poor here is by far the widest and most profound on this planet. As Carlos Fuentes pointed out, twenty-four individuals in Mexico possess more wealth than twenty-four million of their fellow citizens. Furthermore, the richest 20 per cent of Brazil's population earn thirty-two times more than the poorest 20 per cent. Inequity, however, does not only affect the poor. Over the course of Latin America's history, severe income disparity has provoked a bloody and long-lived cycle of insurrections which has claimed thousands of lives.

The state of the impoverished in the developing world, despite our achievements over the past few decades, is grave, indeed and warrants immediate action in the view of the following disturbing facts:

- 40,000 children die each day from malnutrition and disease.
- Water contaminated by sewage is estimated to kill two million children every year. Only 30 per cent of the population in Delhi, India, has access to a sewage system. In Karachi, Pakistan, only 20 percent have such access.
- Some 840 million go hungry or face food insecurity.
  - a Nearly one third of **the people** in the least developed countries are not expected to survive to the age of 40.
- 1.7 billion people live on incomes of less than one dollar a day.
- 1.5 billion people lack access to health services.
- 1.3 billion people lack access to potable water.
- Nearly one billion people are illiterate.

Many believe that globalisation is the real magic, which will break poverty's curse upon humanity. It is true that it has helped reduce poverty in some of the largest and strongest economies—China, India, and some of the Asian tigers. Yet this impulsive process benefits only a precious few, while producing many losers among and within nations. The gap between haves and have-nots in both developing and developed nations has widened. In several industrialised countries unemployment levels have soared to levels not recorded since the 1930s and income inequality has reached figures comparable to nineteenth century levels.

Over 100 nations in the developing world show sluggish economic growth, stagnation, or even decline. The ratio of global trade to GDP has been falling for 44 developing countries, which together comprise more than one billion people. The least developed countries, accounting for 10 per cent of the world's population, share only 0.3 per cent of world trade—half their share of two decades ago. The list goes on: average tariffs on industrial country imports from the least developed countries are 30 per cent higher than the global average. Furthermore, developing nations lose about \$60 billion dollars a year from agricultural subsidies and barriers to textile exports in industrial countries. If industrialised nations do

not rise up in solidarity to assist their less fortunate peers, the South will be forever condemned to suffering and powerlessness.

In these circumstances, misallocation of resources between defence and development sectors further worsen human development in these countries. War, and the preparation for war which have been given high priority is one of the greatest obstacles to human progress, fostering a vicious cycle of arms build-ups, violence, and poverty.

In 1997, world military spending totalled \$740 billion dollars. If we channelled just \$40 billion dollars of that figure over the next ten years into anti-poverty programs, all of the world's population would enjoy basic social services, such as education, health care and nutrition, clean water, and sanitation. Another \$40 billion dollars over ten years would provide all people on this planet with an income above the poverty line for their country.

Since the end of the Cold War, many industrialised nations have reduced their defence budgets. As a result, those countries' arms merchants have turned to new clients in the developing world, where the majority of today's conflicts take place. The United States stands out as an extreme case. Currently, the U.S. is responsible for 45 per cent of all weapons deliveries in the world. And, in the past four years, 85 percent of U.S. arms sales have gone to non-democratic governments in the developing world. During Clinton's first term in office, his administration gave \$35.9 billion to the militaries of non-democratic governments for arms and training—an average of \$9 billion per year. This figure represents 82 percent of the \$44 billion in total U.S. military support for developing nations:

In Sub-Saharan Africa, military expenditures totalled nearly \$8 billion in 1995. This figure is simply appalling, considering that this region's population—which doubles about every twenty years—has the highest proportion of poor in the world. Sub-Saharan Africa falls well behind other developing countries on both the Human Poverty Index and the Human Development Index. Nine of the 10 countries with the lowest Human Poverty Index are in Sub-Saharan Africa; that is to say that more than 50 percent of the residents of those countries have incomes that fall below the poverty line.

In South Asia, an arms race rages between India and Pakistan, fuelled by a dispute over the Kashmir territory. India spent more than \$12 billion dollars on arms purchases from 1988 to 1992 alone—more than either Saudi Arabia or Iraq during the same period. From 1978 to 1991, Pakistan increased its defence budget seven-fold, so that defence now accounts for nearly 40 percent of all government spending. These two nations, which rank alarmingly low on the Human Development Index, spend exorbitant amounts on this unforgivable arms race, leaving their people in their own desperate race against time to merely survive.

In the last few years, two Latin American nations, Costa Rica and Panama have taken historic steps toward ending once and for all the vicious cycle of poverty and militarism. Following the restoration of democracy to Panama in 1989, as Costa Rica itself did in 1949, the two states almost abolished their armed forces.

As a result, Costa Rica and Panama now enjoy the safest border in the world. They could dedicate more resources to crucial development needs. Progress in these two nations has

demonstrated to many countries that the abolition of national armed forces can be truly a viable option.

Responsible leadership in the international community must support commitments made toward demilitarisation in the developing world. Yet in several industrialised countries, armament production is viewed as a vital source of employment and income. "When I am criticised for being an arms dealer," said French Minister for Armaments Hughes de l'Estoile, "I always think that when I sign a contract I can guarantee, for instance, 10,000 jobs over three years." The French are not alone in their reasoning - the same argument is used in almost all arms-exporting nations to justify transfers which by any ethical standard would be unthinkable.

The arms trade is most often a friend of dictators and an enemy of the people. The time has come to choose human lives over arms. Indeed, we must settle for nothing less than a comprehensive, international effort to regulate and monitor arms transfers. Current initiatives to restrict arms sales represent a first step toward the mission for peace. In this endeavour, the European Union foreign ministers agreed to the terms of Europe's first Code of Conduct on arms exports, which now remain to be implemented and strengthened in various key areas.

Across the Atlantic, owing to back-room dealings, a U.S. Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers failed to pass a joint House-Senate Conference Committee. Nevertheless, its strong showing—which forced the opposition to resort to underhanded tactics—was indicative of the Code's moral sway and great promise. We can no longer say business is business and turn a blind eye to the poverty and oppression caused by arms transfers. Just like slavery and the drug trade, the arms trade reaps profits tainted with blood. Here one is reminded of Mahatma Gandhi's seven social sins:

- 1) Politics without principles.
- 2) **Commerce** without morality.
- 3) Wealth without work.
- 4) Education without character.
- 5) Science without humanity.
- 6) Pleasure without conscience, and
- 7) Worship without sacrifice.

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## **14.6 ENSURING HUMAN SECURITY**

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The following measures could be conceived for ensuring a safer world for the humanity:

First, when conditions warrant, vigorous action in defence of human security should be necessary. Ensuring human security can involve the use of coercive measures, including sanctions and military force, as in Bosnia and Kosovo. At the same time, the human costs

of strategies for promoting state and international security must be explicitly assessed. These kinds of security policies, such as comprehensive economic sanctions, should take into account the impact on innocent people.

Second, security policies must be integrated much more closely with strategies for promoting human rights, democracy, and development. Human rights, humanitarian and refugee law provide the normative framework on which a human security approach is based. Development strategies offer broadly based means of addressing many long-term human security challenges. One of the dividends of adopting a human security approach is that it further elaborates a people-centred foreign policy.

Third, due to the complexity of contemporary challenges to the security of people, effective interventions involve a diverse range of actors including states, multilateral organisations, and civil society groups. As the challenges to the safety of people are transnational, effective responses can only be achieved through multilateral cooperation. This is evident in the array of new international instruments developed in the last decade to address transnational organised crime, drug trafficking, terrorism, and environmental degradation. These threats link the interest of citizens in countries which enjoy a high level of human security with the interests of people in much poorer nations, who face a wider range of threats to their safety.

Fourth, effective responses will depend on greater operational coordination. For example, successful peace-support operations are multi-dimensional, and depend on the close coordination of political negotiators, peacekeepers, human rights monitors, and humanitarian aid personnel among others. Furthermore, development agencies are now engaged in promoting security sector reform, while security organisations have helped channel development assistance in post-conflict countries. Managing these overlapping mandates and objectives is one of the principal challenges for a human security agenda.

Fifth, civil society organisations are seeking greater opportunity and greater responsibility in promoting human security. In many cases, non-governmental organisations have proven to be extremely effective partners in advocating the security of people. They are also important providers of assistance and protection to those in need of greater security. At the same time, the business sector, potentially a key actor in enhancing human security could be more effectively engaged.

Sixth, human security offers a new angle of vision and a broad template for evaluating policies. It also yields a concrete set of foreign policy initiatives. These should focus systematically on the safety of people which highlights the need for more targeted attention towards key issues that are not yet adequately addressed by the international community. Current examples of such gaps include the unchecked proliferation of small arms and the inadequate protection of children in circumstances of armed conflict. Human security is enhanced by reducing people's vulnerability and by preventing the conditions which make them vulnerable in the first place. Assisting people in highly insecure situations, particularly in the midst of violent conflict, is a central objective of the human security agenda. Refugees have long been the focus of international attention. The same focus on vulnerability highlights the immediate needs of the internally displaced and demobilized combatants. At the same time, a human security agenda must go beyond humanitarian action, by addressing the sources of people's insecurity. Building human security, therefore, requires both short-term

humanitarian action and long-term strategies for building peace and promoting sustainable development.

In addition, two fundamental strategies for enhancing human security are: strengthening legal norms and building the capacity to enforce them with equal vigour. There is little point in defining new norms and rights, however, if societies have no capacity to enforce existing norms or to protect already recognised rights. For this reason, improving democratic governance within states is a central strategy for advancing human security. Strengthening norms without building the capacity to protect them only invites disillusionment with the possibility of constraining power by the rule of law. Both are essential strategies if we are to move towards a more humane world.

To sum up the three points which we consider important for future studies from the standpoint of human security of 21<sup>st</sup> century should be kept in mind.

## **1) Review of International System**

As already mentioned, the diversity of threats facing the world today cannot be met merely on the strength of national or intergovernmental efforts. In the final analysis, the issue is even linked to review of the set-up of the international system itself. Response to problems requires the gathering of information, the prompt and efficient mustering of human and material resources, and sure deployment and execution in the field. In each of these phases, various nongovernmental actors in ever increasing diversity such as international agencies, NGOs, and multinational corporations, are playing bigger roles and becoming indispensable players.

A system for organically coordinated action by these actors will constitute the core of the international order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the construction of this system, it will be even more vital to position the independent individual not merely as a passive beneficiary or victim, but as an active player whose interests are to be respected.

To this end, the reinforcement of capabilities and schemes must make provisions for formal participation of NGOs as aggregates of such independent individuals in the policy-making process of governments and international agencies (indeed, such arrangements are already starting to be made). Another key task is to bolster the functions of the United Nations as the central organ for coordinating and supplementing the activities of such actors in coping with globalisation.

## **2) Construction of Intellectual Networks**

The construction of such an international system for human security will entail what would amount to a truly general mobilisation of all human intellectual resources across the conventional political, economic, scientific and technological boundaries. For this purpose, it would be most effective to construct intellectual networks that are interdisciplinary and international, and enable a smooth sharing and organic utilisation of knowledge in all fields. The effects of these networks of knowledge will go beyond the realm of traditional concepts of human security and become the single-greatest driving force of the 21<sup>st</sup> century international order.

### **3) International and Political Orientation**

Given its fields of concern and the process of policy-making, human security absolutely must have official blessings on an international scale as well as support and solidarity accompanied by action.

Furthermore, in light of its importance for the international order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and its international scope, human security is the most appropriate issue for deliberation in the Group of Eight conferences and the United Nations as the supreme fora of political and economic discussion in the current international system.

Human security must also garner a broadly based understanding and support, inclusive of developing countries, in the United Nations, a universal organisation with 188 member countries. Moreover, the United Nations is probably the sole entity capable of playing a central role in coordinating the execution of measures needed for human security.

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## **14.7 SUMMARY**

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In the post cold war situation and with the increase in the number and complexity of conflicts throughout the world, it is important that post-conflict situation should have built-in measures to preserve human security ensuring safety and security of the individual being. When human security is under threat anywhere, it can affect people everywhere. Threat to human security can no longer be confined within national borders and no nation can isolate itself from the rest of the world. Threats within countries could rapidly spill beyond national frontiers posing global challenges to human security. The 1994 Human Development Report very appropriately emphasises that this invisibility and indivisibility of global human security extends to the consequences of both prosperity and poverty. If prosperity is becoming global, so is poverty. The real threat to humankind in the coming decade will arise more from actions affecting human security of millions of people than from aggression by a few nations. This demands new policy responses, both nationally and internationally. While global and national security in the traditional sense has attracted our attention over the years, one wonders whether we as individuals feel safe and secure in our day-to-day lives. As we embark on a new century, it is time that we focus on human security in all its dimensions and manifestations for all people of the world.

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## **14.8 EXERCISES**

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- 1) What do you understand by the concept of 'human security'? Why is there an emergent need for addressing the issue from international perspective?
- 2) Defining human security and discuss its nature and scope.
- 3) Make a critical evaluation of the approaches for human security. Are they relevant in dealing with the issue in policy formulations?
- 4) What are the human security challenges posed by technological development and liberalization?
- 5) What are the insecurities facing the humanity in this age of globalisation? How they could be over powered?

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# **UNIT 15 PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE MOVEMENTS**

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## **Structure**

- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Concept of Peace
- 15.3 Building and Making Peace
- 15.4 International Peace Systems
- 15.5 World Peace Systems
- 15.6 Peace Movements
  - 15.6.1 Historical Development
  - 15.6.2 Peace Movements in the Post World War Phase
- 15.7 Peace Research
- 15.8 Summary**
- 15.9 Exercises

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## **15.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Social science has uncovered more knowledge about war than about peace, just as psychology probably has yielded more insights into negative deviance (such as mental illness) than into positive deviance (such as creativity). It has been noticed that studies tend to be focused on wars as units of analysis rather than on periods of peace, and there is a tendency to define peace simply as "non-war". The conditions believed to foster peace and the very conception of peace, however, have varied in different periods and cultures. Peace thinking, that has influenced both the peace movements as well as peace research worldwide, thus has had a tendency to become speculative and value loaded rather than analytical and empirical. It is our effort here to understand contemporary scholarly understandings of peace and how to achieve and maintain peace along with to mark trends in peace movements and peace research. But before we proceed lets have an understanding of the concept of peace.

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## **15.2 CONCEPT OF PEACE**

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Two concepts of peace should be distinguished: negative peace, defined as the absence of organised violence between such major human groups as nations, as also between racial and ethnic groups because of the magnitude that can be reached by such conflicts; and positive peace, defined as a pattern of cooperation and integration between major human groups. Absence of violence should not be confused with absence of conflict; violence may occur without conflict, and conflict may be solved by means of non-violent mechanisms. The distinction between these two types of peace gives rise to a fourfold classification of relations between two nations: war, which is organised group violence; negative peace,

where there is no violence but no other form of interaction either and where the best characterisation is "peaceful passive coexistence"; positive peace, where there is some cooperation interspersed with occasional outbreaks of violence; and unqualified peace, where absence of violence is combined with a pattern of cooperation.

The conception of peace as "non-war" is neither theoretically nor practically interesting: as used, for instance, in describing the relationship that obtains between Norway and Nepal, it can often be explained in terms of a low level of interaction resulting from geographical distance and thus will hardly be identified by many as an ideal relation worth striving for. For peace, like health, has both cognitive and evaluative components: it designates a state of a system of nations, but this state is so highly valued that institutions are built around it to protect and promote it. It is the concept of positive peace that is worth exploring, especially since negative peace is a *conditio sine qua non* and the two concepts of peace may be empirically related even though they are logically independent.

## 15.3 BUILDING AND MAKING PEACE

A large body of writing about building peace examines the education and socialisation of members of a society or group in ways that promote peace. This includes research and theorizing about the ways this has been done and about the ways that it might be done.

Since conflicts are inherent in social life, the role of social structure and culture in shaping how conflicts are waged is highly significant for building peace. Analysts are giving increased attention to variations in the repertoire of methods used to conduct conflicts, including constructive ones that are available for different people in different historical periods. Efforts to study and to train people in the methods of non-violent action and problem-solving conflict resolution methods therefore contribute to building peace internationally and domestically.

One long-standing area of peace studies has been the effect of integration between societies and of sectors within societies. Integration is indicated by the high rate of exchange of goods, peoples, and ideas across societal and group lines, relative to exchanges within. Research findings support the generalisation that integration improves communication and exchanges between the integrating parties and more important enhances mutual security and reduces the probability of countries' waging wars or threatening each other's identity, particularly, when such an integration is perceived to be equitable.

Considerable evidence has been reported indicating that democratic countries do not make war against each other. Although the finding and particularly its interpretation are contested, such finding seems robust, given particular definitions of democracy and war.

The concepts of positive peace and structural violence help in understanding the relationship between social context and peace. Unlike personal violence, structural violence is indirect. It refers to the "avoidable denial of what is needed to satisfy fundamental needs." Such inequities are built into the global order and constitute negative peace. This influential idea has stimulated various studies, particularly regarding conditions in peripheral or underdeveloped regions.

The recent transformation and settlement of protracted international and societal conflicts and the radical transformation of previously authoritarian and repressive societies have heightened attention to the challenges of building post-conflict relations that are enduring and just.

A fundamental change in ways of thinking among members of one or more antagonistic sides can be a powerful factor in producing an enduring peace between them. This does sometimes happen. For example, most Germans after the defeat of Nazism repudiated what they themselves had believed and done; instead, they welcomed beliefs, values, and institutions shared with the victors. To some extent, a similar transformation occurred among Russians as the Cold War ended.

Traditionally, efforts to restore peace after a conflict ends include policies to redress the grievances that were viewed as the conflict's source. For communal differences within a country, this may entail more autonomy for citizens with different languages or religions and provisions for popular participation in determining the form and degree of autonomy.

In recent years, peace workers have been giving considerable attention to fostering mutual understanding and tolerance among peoples with different cultural backgrounds living in the same society. This attention extends to reconciliation between peoples who perpetrated gross human rights violations and peoples who suffered profound losses during periods of repression or of violent struggle. A variety of recent developments contribute to reconciliation among the different peoples making up the United States. The truth about discrimination, violent repression, and other injustices regarding Native Americans, African Americans, and other groups has been more frequently acknowledged.

Furthermore, international organisations are increasingly expected to play critical roles in keeping and restoring peace. The United Nations' peacekeeping forces have undertaken many more such tasks since the Cold War ended. Regional organisations and individual countries, particularly the US, have intervened to restore and sustain peace (Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, and Iraq to mention a few).

## **15.4 INTERNATIONAL PEACE SYSTEMS**

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Most peace thinking has centred on the problem of how power shall best be distributed among the nations of the world. The first model is that of minimum equality of power which is based on the theory that the international system is best served by making power the monopoly of one nation or system, just as it is monopolised by some states in the international system. Examples are the *Pax Romana*, *Pax Ecclesiae*, and *Pax Britannica*. These are instances of Roman Empire, the Catholic Church and Britain maintaining law and order over large areas in the globe

The second model focuses on maximum equality, or what is usually referred to as a 'balance of power' in the sense that no nation or alliance is strong enough to defeat another nation or alliance. A modern version of this is the 'balance of terror', in which a nation may defeat other nations, but only at the risk of itself being completely destroyed.

A third model views military power as best stabilised at a low level; this refers to all kinds

of arms control efforts, especially those that have taken place from the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 to the present day, including contemporary **thinking** that aims at subtracting from a Hobbesian dictum ***bellum omnium contra omnes*** both some means of violence and some objects of violence. The idea is to rule out general and complete war.

Finally, there is the model that views power as stabilised at a zero level; this refers to the general and complete disarmament advocated by pacifists. Pacifism **asserts** that this **state** may be **obtained** unilaterally by the effect of example, because weapons become **meaningless** when they do not encounter similar weapons, and by the refusal of soldiers to use arms, as well as by governmental decisions.

None of these models are **free** from limitations. Take the model of **minimum** equality. While there might perhaps be agreement among nations about the appointment of a policing nation in the world there is no unanimity about its consequences, **i.e.**, that coercive power usually will be accompanied by other kinds of influence. The major difficulty in the model of maximum equality **seems** to be that **the** system, although in momentary **equilibrium**, is not in stable equilibrium. It is based on the relative evaluation of two power potentials, and since military power is many dimensional, this evaluation may be far from consensual. There will always be room for the idea that one's own power is not sufficiently **developed**. **Thus**, the basis is laid for arms races, and it is difficult to see any good theoretical justification for the thesis that there will be points of stability – for instance, that major technical breakthroughs will not occur. The need for sufficient retaliatory power after an enemy's first strike also makes the **terror** balance unstable.

One major difficulty in the model that focuses on arms control is the arbitrariness of **all** borderlines between permissible and illegitimate weapons. For such border lines to be . consensually accepted they must be protected by some **kind** of discontinuity, such as the clear line that existed between conventional and nuclear weapons before the overlap in destructive power became too conspicuous with the introduction of the variety of tactical atomic weapons.

As far as the model of general and complete disarmament is concerned, one major objection is its failure to consider the need for countervailing power. One evader of an agreement may dominate the total system if he has an absolute weapon at his disposal. For this reason, general and complete disarmament can preserve peace only if the distribution of power in the system accords with the **minimum-equality** model, or if provision is made in the system for the effective use of non-military forms of power, against those who evade disarmament agreements.

## 15.5 WORLD PEACE SYSTEMS

All of the following models of world systems have in common a certain resemblance to a nation-state. The idea is that since many nation-states have obtained reasonable security and equity for their inhabitants, there must be something in their structure that is **worth** copying at the world level. Of the many dimensions that can be used to describe such models, let us examine the two important ones.

First, models of world systems can be described in terms of the type of the main constituting

unit on which the system is based. When the basic unit is the individual, the world system is conceived as a world state, with a very low level of autonomy for intermediate levels such as the nation. With nations as units the world system becomes a confederation, with the nation as a political level interposed between the individual and the world government. Congruence between the authority structures of nation and confederation may have a stabilising effect on the system as a whole.

The difference between these two models is rarely argued in terms of their relevance for peace. Rather, the world confederation is seen as an intermediate step in a more gradualist approach toward the world state or as a system with the built-in protection of some internal autonomy. Also, there is the idea that border lines should be preserved to some extent, precisely because they slow down cultural diffusion and influence and thus contribute to the preservation of socio-cultural pluralism – which many fear might disappear in a world state because of the homogenising effect of a strong nucleus of decision making.

Secondly, models of the world systems can be described in terms of their scope and domain. By "scope" we refer to the variety of needs satisfied by the world system; and by "domain", we refer to how many receive need-satisfaction from the system.

Classification in terms of these two system functions produces two basic models. The first model rates high on scope but low on domain. It is the form taken by the regional confederation, which gives much in terms of scope to its members but is exclusive in terms of membership; a leading example of this is European Union or erstwhile European Economic Community. The second model rates high on domain but low on scope. It is the form taken by the functionally specific organisation, which sets no limits, at least in principle, to the number and type of people whose needs it may serve but is able to do this only because both the needs and the type of service provided are of a limited type. The specialised agencies of the UN are good examples of this model.

## **15.6 PEACE MOVEMENTS**

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The tremendous disparity between the different approaches to peace that have been described may be interpreted as a sign of basic confusion in thinking on the topic. But it is more likely to be a reflection of the complexity of the problem itself. It may be that in this respect, peace is somewhat like health: the phenomenon is extremely difficult to grasp as a whole, and one's approach therefore tends to be determined by the kind of peace – or health – he is interested in obtaining. Clearly, there are good reasons for these differences of interest; in fact, a peace plan can be classified not only according to its content but also according to who put it forward. This may be a person or an organisation, located either in the decision-making nucleus of the world system or in the centre of a society or on the periphery of a society. If the last is the case, the proposal is likely to bear some of the imprints of marginality; an absolutist and a moralistic leaning, as opposed to a gradualist and pragmatic, approach; and a tendency toward single factor, as opposed to multiple-factor thinking; and a tendency to confuse organisational levels, so that the training and capacity of the plan's author are made to seem more important than the possible merits of the plan itself.

At the other end are the decision makers in the centre of society, who have a gradualist,

pragmatic approach and employ multiple factor thinking. In their effort not to confuse organisational levels their approach becomes so slow, so careful, and so withdrawn from the public eye, that the tension between centre and periphery becomes high enough to produce impatience and conflict, leading to demonstrations, party formation, and other forms of protest. The result is the traditional dialogue between centre and periphery. The periphery gradually becomes like the centre as it gains in power and leaves a certain imprint on the total system; however, in turn, a new protest movement is created at the periphery. In other words, peace movements, like other social movements, follow the "church-sect" cycle. Since the periphery – the peace movement – is split into single-factor organizations, the world does not get a multiple approach impact from the movement.

### 15.6.1 Historical Development

Although organised peace societies did not develop until early in the nineteenth century, the aspirations and programs of these societies had found previous expression in religious and political literature. Utterances of the Hebrew prophets and the Sermon on the Mount had inspired the pacifist doctrine and behaviour of religious sects. For example, the Truce of God which grew of the Pax Dei (God's Peace) and was first put forward at the Synod of the Elne in 1027 had prohibited all acts of private warfare for certain specified periods. In the fourteenth century Dante had proposed a world empire for ending war, and Pierre Dubois later proposed a permanent tribunal of attrition.

The fact that there are now around 1500 groups working for disarmament and peace suggests, among other things, an enormous democratisation of the struggle for peace; even though their total membership may be small, these organisations do provide open forums for expressions of public opinion. Such forums are relatively new. Although the organised peace movement can be said to have begun in the United States in 1815, with the founding of three peace societies, the first in New York by David Low Dodge, followed by the Massachusetts society formed by Noah Worcester, and one in Ohio by two Quakers, it was not until 1843 that the first international peace congress was held in London. In 1816, the British Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace was founded in London; it was designed to print and circulate tracts and to diffuse information showing that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace on the basis of Christian principles. The Society was extremely active; in the first year of its existence it distributed 32000 tracts and its members delivered 4000 addresses throughout England.

In 1828, the local American societies were joined together by William Ladd, the most influential of the early American pacifists, into the American Peace Society on the broadest program of opposition to war though not specifically condemning defensive wars. Because of the insistent pressure from peace workers who demanded an uncompromising stand, it revised its constitution in 1837 to express opposition to all wars, defensive as well as offensive.

International Peace Congresses helped to direct public attention to the early peace movement. The first of these congresses, held at London in 1843, under the direction of the conservative elements in the peace movement, adopted resolutions seeking peace by effective propaganda against war and by the control of the manufacture and sale of munitions and advocated a congress and court of nations and arbitration clauses in international treaties.

Peace work in the United States waned after 1853. The American Peace Society had failed to expand into the west and south or to enlist new forces in the east. At first it evaded the impending Civil War by stating that its concern was only with international conflicts; when the war broke out the society declared the war to be a rebellion against the Union which could not be countenanced by loyal citizens. Protest against the support of the war by the American Peace Society led to the formation of the Universal Peace Union in Boston in 1866; in the same year the American Friends founded a peace association in Baltimore. The American Peace Society remained practically defunct until 1873, when it began widespread propaganda for arbitration of disputes between nations.

The second phase of the peace movement began in 1867 with the arbitration and later a more systematic discussion of international law as its central aspects. During this period there was wider support among the masses, and the threat of a general strike, favoured by the International Working Men's Association at its congress at Brussels in 1868, gained an important place in peace agitation.

Side by side with the movement for arbitration proceeded efforts for the improvement of international law. Two academic juridical societies were founded in Europe at the end of 1873, the Institut de Droit International at Ghent, devoted to the study of arbitration and private international law, and the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, known after 1895 as the International Law Association, formed at Brussels to promulgate a code.

Peace societies were increasing in number and activity during this period. Van Eck established the Netherlands Peace Society in 1870, and in 1874 Edward Lowenthal formed a peace committee in Berlin; in 1875 the latter advocated a universal parliamentary peace union, which was not realised until some years later. E.T. Moneta established the first Italian peace society in 1878. The first Scandinavian peace society was founded in Denmark in 1882. Two pacifists led an anticonscription campaign in Belgium in 1881. In 1880, Hodgson Pratt, maintaining that the London Peace Society would remain handicapped so long as its standpoint was primarily spiritual and Christian, formed the International Arbitration and Peace Association, which set up branches in nine European countries.

During these crowded years of peace activity the entire peace movement of the world was being brought into closer touch with parliaments and governments and had increasing influence upon governmental policy. This development was facilitated by inter-parliamentary conferences on peace first held in 1889 and by the Inter-Parliamentary Union organised in 1892, composed of peace advocates in the parliaments of Europe and designed to discuss the most practical means of organising world peace by simultaneous concerted agitation within parliaments of all countries.

Each year saw some addition to the general power of the peace movements. The first Women's Peace League was established in 1895. The Nobel Peace Prize, instituted in 1897, also stimulated much interest in the problem of peace. The nineteenth century finally closed with 425 peace organisations in existence throughout the world. But it also closed with the outbreak of the Boer War, the resurgence of an aggressive imperialism that shook

the British peace societies, which had heretofore constituted the main element of the European peace movement.

The pre-war official peace movement had developed from an aspiration of religious mystics, based almost exclusively on the principle of the wickedness of all wars, into a movement favouring the creation of actual political machinery cooperating with the legal profession for the reform and administration of international law and had become respectable by the support by other peace movements and above all the Churches. Although it is difficult to estimate the extent of their influence, the peace societies, through their work in familiarising the public with the idea of international cooperation, must in some measure have prepared the way for the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact for the outlawry of war. Since the World War a large part of the work done by the pre-war peace societies has been pursued in Europe by the League of Nations Societies established in each country. In Great Britain, for instance, the League of Nations Union, founded to carry on advocacy of the League of Nations, and which conducts an active campaign in favour of disarmament, is necessarily compelled to defend the ideal of peace. The membership of the Union, which had about 3000 branches in 1933, was in the neighbourhood of 1,000,000; the main effect of its missionary work has been to bring to the support of one aspect of the peace movement of conservatively inclined people who before the war would almost certainly have declined membership in a peace organisation.

The peace movement received a temble shock when World War I proved how much stronger was attachment to the nation than adherence to internationalist and pacifist principles and how much stronger was the fear of the sanctions of one's own government and compatriots than of the sanctions of fellow members of organisations. The resolutions passed at the Universal Peace Congress in Geneva in 1912 and at the Congress of the Second Socialist International in Stuttgart in 1907 were strongly pacifist, but the weakness of the peace movement then is also its weakness today: loyalty to the peace movement is based on normative compliance alone not on contractual or coercive compliance. In times of crisis, only extremely idealistic or very peripherally located people are likely to remain faithful to their ideals. World War II provided peace movement with a new abundance of examples of this fact. However, this does not mean that the peace movement has no impact. Indeed, it serves as an imperfect substitute for a foreign-policy national assembly, since public opinion probably has less influence on foreign policy than on domestic-policy decisions in many countries.

### **15.6.2 Peace Movements in the Post World War Phase**

In the 1950s, there was concern about environmental issues surrounding atmospheric nuclear tests, a worsening of Cold War, and changes in weapon technology which led to an appreciation that Europe had become the major target area. In the 1980s, the breakdown of détente and the deployment of first-strike weapons in Europe revived the dormant fear of nuclear war. In both periods, the protests originated from vast coalitions ranging from the absolute pacifist to what might be described as the defence pragmatist who could be on the Right of the political system.

The greatest achievement during this phase is that the peace movements have raised public

awareness of nuclear issues across international boundaries. The peace movements created mass protest; an unintended consequence was that it taught governments how to successfully deflect and neutralise mass protest. The peace movements were able to activate the very best in humanitarian, liberal, and moral feeling. Yet governments' skilful use of the psycho-political backlash as comfortable psychological norms were disturbed, may well have aided the election of governments of the Right, for example the anti-Vietnam War protest destroyed President Johnson and it certainly helped Richard Nixon, while in the UK the Labour Party's espousal of an antinuclear defence policy seemed to be counterproductive.

The peace movement has engendered an upsurge in internationalism as exemplified by the European Nuclear Disarmament movement; the rise of the Swords into Ploughshares movement in the German Democratic Republic; improved appreciation of the North-South dilemma; and giving a fillip to international studies of peace. Yet government's ability to quickly utilise the worst in nationalism was amply demonstrated in the Argentine-British conflict over Falkland Islands. Peace is always on the defensive.

## 15.7 PEACE RESEARCH

Though much of the literature does not make clear distinctions between "peace research," "peace studies," and "peace education," it is useful to make clear distinctions between these related, but separate fields. Only by making clear the distinction between peace research and peace studies can we understand how and why they relate to each other in time, as well as in related concerns. Peace research is concerned with the development, accumulation and discovery of knowledge about the causes of war and condition of peace; peace education is concerned with the development of the processes of education in and about peace; while peace studies is an area of concern that relates to the substantive issues regarding the purposes and problems of the dissemination of knowledge of peace as a process. A final point, however, should be added before moving on to substantive issues. The distinctions outlined here are for many people artificial and unnecessary. Often the terms are used interchangeably. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that developments in peace research must necessarily precede the debate about, and development of, peace studies.

Peace research began to develop in mid-1950s and early 1960s as there has been an intensification of the more academic study of peace and a drive toward professionalisation of the peace movement. The *Repertory on Disarmament and Peace Research Institutions* lists close to one hundred institutions in twenty countries as being active in the field; and two scientific quarterlies, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (edited at the Centre for Conflict Resolution, University of Michigan) and the *Journal of Peace Research* (edited at the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo), are devoted to research in this interdisciplinary field.

By the early 1970s, after almost 20 years of peace research, the prospects for peace studies found a place on the agenda of debate. Now that research had become possible, the next stage could be addressed. In truth, these early efforts were necessarily hesitant and cautious, not least because the issue of peace itself has been the subject of intense

debate. To take but one example, in September 1974, the First World Conference of the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction was held at the University of Keele in the United Kingdom. The proceedings were published in 1975 with the title *Education for Peace: Reflection and Action*. The editor opens the book with the remark, "many readers will probably be curious about the contents of a book with such a title. And they have reasons to be, because the title implies education for something that could involve a number of contradictory things depending upon who defines it." The remark was both cautious and far-sighted for its time, since it highlighted the potential for debate ~~and~~ confusion that surrounds, then as now; the notion of peace studies. At that Keele Conference, issues addressed included the parameters of education for peace, peace education in relation to the world, and reports on action projects.

One major difficulty with peace research is the problem whether the future will be a continuous extrapolation of the past or qualitatively different. For instance, it can be argued that the model for the disarmament process currently under discussion – the model that presupposes balance and control – probably has few, if any, counterparts, in the history of the past. Another set of models for peace preservation, namely, balance-of-power models and collective security systems, have shown very severe limitations in the past. But can one assume that if a structure has not appeared in the past, it is because it is not viable ~~or~~ that if a structure has failed in the past, it will also fail in the future? **Or** if one studied how city-states and nation-states have successfully reduced their armaments in the past, could this be a guide to future action? However, acceptance of this simple inductive approach might mean that peace research would become a scientific-sounding pretext for imposing the past on the future.

## 15.8 SUMMARY

The quest for peace is concerned with reduction of both types of violence; both the violence that flares up and subsides, and the violence that has the less dramatic character, but precisely for that reason may be even more destructive. Strictly speaking, this is only the negative side of peace studies, peace movements or peace research, that is, how to avoid violence. There is also the positive side which would focus more on the "peaks of joy" as mentioned above. This is an untried field; peace talks softly. As we have seen, although desire of the human beings to live peacefully has been an eternal one, the concerted efforts towards restoration of peace took shape only in the early nineteenth century. But it was not until the end of the World War II that the need was felt to give peace and peace movements a place of research in international politics. It was only then that the academic interest in peace was ordained and thus came into being the concept of peace research. What started as a movement for maintaining and restoring peace today is a subject matter of discussion and debate in academic circles, worldwide. Peace work and the ways of thinking about peace have greatly expanded in recent decades. Peace is increasingly understood to be multidimensional and dynamic. Consequently, the ways of promoting peace are also manifold, and they vary in different settings for different actors. Theory and research about aspects of peace and their promotion draws from and contributes to social theory and social practice. Recent applied and scholarly peace work is based on past

experience, but the realities of the current world necessitate fresh thinking and innovative practices.

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## **15.9 EXERCISES'**

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- 1) Critically examine the models of international peace systems based on the distribution of power among nations.
- 2) Examine the nature and features of peace movements in the pre war period.
- 3) Write a critical note on peace movements in the post war period.
- 4) Trace the evolution of peace research in *the* post-war period bringing out the issues confronting peace research.

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