BLOCK 2
CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

UNIT 5 METHODS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Structure

5.0 INTRODUCTION

There is no one golden method of conflict resolution. The history of conflict resolution at the same time has been one of constant and tireless experimentation with various methods since the time the necessity of resolving conflicts was felt. The reason is simple: a method that has evidently worked in one society at one particular point of time may not be as much successful – if at all - in another society or even in the same society sometime later. As no two conflicts across the world are identical, the methods of their resolution are bound to be different. This Unit will make an attempt at drawing some broad generalisations particularly from the recent past history of conflict resolution. It is obvious that we need to understand the nature of conflicts in the first place in order to resolve them.

Aims and Objectives

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

- know the types and nature of conflicts;

- distinguish between various kinds of conflicts;

- understand conflict resolution and how is it distinguishable from conflict management, conflict settlement and conflict resolution;

- know the changing nature of conflicts; and

- understand the methods of conflict resolution.

Prof. Samir Kumar Das, Professor of Political Science, University of Kolkata, Kolkata

5.1 TYPOLOGY OF CONFLICTS

Since methods of conflict resolution are bound to vary in keeping with changing nature of conflicts waiting for resolution, a brief reference to the typology of conflicts may not be out of place here – although in real-life cases conflicts cut across the sharp division between the given types and are likely to be of mixed and overlapping nature. At an elementary level, one can see that conflict between two or more individuals is different from that between two or more groups. Conflict between individuals is likely to be more easily solved than the latter. The task becomes even easier if the individuals involved in conflict belong to the same group. The command of the group often works wonder in resolving conflicts of this nature.

Lewis Coser makes a distinction between conflicts that (threaten to) disintegrate the society at large and conflicts that do not. As we have already noted, some conflicts may be encouraged (like conflict between individuals belonging to the same group) in order that neither group is able to take a hardened position that eventually becomes too difficult to resolve.

Such conflicts as those between ethnicities, classes, generations or even nations are illustrative of the second type. Contemporary evidences however point out that conflicts between ethnic groups based on perceived blood ties often prove to be more difficult to resolve than class conflicts. The situation really turns worse when ethnic conflicts tend to coincide with class conflicts. The *adivasis*, for example, are not only ethnically different from the Varna-Hindus, but are reported to bear the brunt of poverty and homelessness induced by the commissioning of development projects in what once used to be their habitat. Poverty and homelessness on the other hand are rightly considered as a measure of their poor class status. A report prepared by the Expert Group to the Planning commission of India in 2008, for example, highlights the connection between ethnicity, economic backwardness and Maoist violence in parts of Central India in the following terms: "The main support for the Naxalite movement comes from dalits and adivasis".

> **Conflict of Interests andConflict of values**
>
> **In a parliamentary democracy like India, different political parties system but may have conflicting Interest on an issue like Foreign Direct Investment.**
>
> **Conflict of Value: A radical Maoist**
>
> **Group may not believe in the parliamentary democratic system and thereby not participate in elections**

Besides, it is also important to make a distinction between conflict of interests and conflict of values. In a parliamentary democracy like the one we have in India, political parties have conflicting interests. Thus to cite a very recent example, some of them welcome the foreign direct investment in retail trade while there are others who are vociferously opposed to it. The ruling Trinamul Congress (TMC) Government in West Bengal staged its exit from the UPA II Government at the Centre on this issue. Notwithstanding such differences, all parties within our parliamentary democracy have first of all decided to abide by its rules and values and keep faith in its institutions with the effect that they take part in elections organised to choose peoples' representatives. By contrast there

are some radical groups and parties that do not look upon parliamentary democracy as a value in itself. They continue to stay away from its ambit and do not take part in elections. It is obvious that the more there is agreement on rules and values, the easier will be the process of conflict resolution. The reverse is also true.

MANAGEMENT, TRANSFORMATION, SETTLEMENT AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS

There is hardly any point of agreement – whether amongst the scholars or amongst the activists – on what resolution of conflict entails. While such terms as conflict management, transformation, settlement and resolution are widely used as synonyms, it is important for us to make the finer distinctions among them.

Conflict Management

'Conflict management' refers essentially to a specific kind of work, for example, engaging in mediation by those who have the expertise in handling them in a way that eventually results in the disappearance of conflict. Much of the literature on conflict resolution is concentrated on how the conflicting parties may be persuaded to participate in talks and listen to each other, the size and shape of the table (the colonial rulers in India for example had a preference for roundtable with stakeholders sitting around it) necessary for holding such talks, how the first move may be made to break the ice, the precise moment that makes the conflicting parties enter the negotiation process etc. A number of conflict management manuals elaborately laying down such rituals and protocols of management are in circulation as much as there are institutions of and for conflict management across the world. Conflict management has by now become a separate field of specialisation and profession. Thus state initiated development in Jangalmahal in West Bengal or other areas affected by Maoist insurgency can be seen as attempts to manage conflicts and triumph over violence. Often the managers refuse to remain mute facilitators and are seen to dictate terms necessary for ending conflict and compel the parties to accept them. Conflict management may call for the intervention of both State and non-State actors as third party. As we will have occasion to see, the role of civil society in managing conflicts can hardly be exaggerated in the present context.

Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation as an approach can apply to all stages of conflict, and encompasses relatively constructive ways of conducting and transforming conflicts 'from harmful conflicts to less harmful or productive one' and maintaining secure and equitable relations amongst the conflicting parties. Not all conflicts are harmful to the society – at least not to the same degree – as you have already read. Conflict transformation, viewed in this light, can serve as a strategy of conflict management insofar as the managers of conflict may find it judicious to often encourage intra-group conflicts as a counterweight to intergroup ones.

5.2.3   Conflict Settlement

Conflict settlement refers to ways of settling or ending conflicts that entail joint efforts to reach mutually acceptable agreements between the conflicting parties, most importantly without the mediation of others. Unlike in third party intervention, the duty of settling conflicts rests with the parties in conflict as much as outside intervention is considered as unwelcome. India insists that the problem of Kashmir is an Indo-Pak problem to be settled bilaterally by them – without any outside intervention — while Pakistan is known to have internationalized the issue on several occasions by raising it at international forums and even in the United Nations. Since the settlement is expected to be reached without any outside intervention and is the outcome of an agreement of the conflicting parties themselves, conflict settlement is likely to bring about more durable peace than what conflict management leads to.

5.2.4   Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is the act of settling and ending conflicts by addressing the issues that trigger them and in ways that are not only considered as mutually acceptable to the conflicting parties but also helps establish such universal values as rights, justice, democracy etc. Conflict settlement does not have the obligation of adhering to these principles. In other words, both the solutions which are sought, and the means through which they are sought are judged against the criteria of being *against* violence, dominance, oppression, and exploitation, and *for* the satisfaction of human needs for security, identity, self determination and quality of life for all people. Satisfaction of human needs is thought to be inversely proportional to the conflagration of conflicts. As Johan Galtung observes:

> "The idea that however much collective actors are capable of realising abstract goals, ultimately, sooner or later the failure to satisfy basic human needs will generate forces – popular movements that is – that will threaten even the most beautiful construction in social-political architectonics. Hence, it is important to conceive of human needs in such a way that their non-satisfaction, both from empirical experience and from more general and theoretical points of view, will with very high likelihood lead to such movements. The needs may for some time be suppressed, the movements may for some time be repressed, but sooner or later the forces will be there".

The values that are supposed to guide the processes of conflict resolution are neither given nor unalterable. Values do change – not of course as fast as the role of third parties. Defined thus, conflict resolution is to be distinguished from both conflict management and conflict settlement. For one thing, conflict management aims not so much at solving issues underlying the conflicts, but at psyching the parties into believing in and accepting the terms of ending the conflict suggested by the conflict managers. The practice of conflict management aims at utilizing knowledge of psychological processes to maximize the positive potential inherent in a conflict and to prevent its destructive consequences. The methods of conflict management are therefore different from those of conflict resolution. Conflict management depends on a repertoire of techniques necessary for influencing the minds of the conflicting parties. That is why, such instrumentalities as talks, negotiations and observance of diplomatic rituals etc acquire importance. Influencing the minds of conflicting parties can occur without necessarily solving the outstanding issues that set the conflict in motion.

For another, conflict resolution is also to be distinguished from conflict settlement. Two parties can mutually settle a conflict that otherwise sets them apart in a way that may be beneficial for them only to the detriment of the society at large and does not help restore the universal values that human societies have been cherishing for ages. Gandhi would have rather preferred to let conflicts grow and continue – than addressing them through morally unacceptable means. Unfortunately, observance of morals does not necessarily guarantee peace. Peace achieved through management or even mutual settlement may in fact be a stumbling block to the establishment of the principles of rights, justice and democracy.

Gandhi was certainly not alone in making such an advocacy. The moral and practical issues related to dealing with various kinds of conflicts were widely discussed, emphasizing the importance of reasoning. For example, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) wrote about perpetual peace resulting from states being constitutional republics and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) wrote about the value of liberty and the free discussion of ideas. Gandhi, drawing from his Hindu traditions and other influences, however developed a powerful strategy of popular civil disobedience, which he called Satyagraha, the search for truth. Gandhi, after his legal studies in London, went to South Africa; where, in the early 1890s, he began experimenting with different nonviolent ways to counter the severe discrimination imposed upon Indians living in South Africa. The nonviolent strategies he developed were influential for the strategies that the African National Congress (ANC) adopted in its struggle against apartheid or racial discrimination on the basis of the colour of skin. The strategies of nonviolent struggle and associated negotiations were further developed in the civil rights struggles in the United States during the 1960s.

Key Points

Important distinction between terms that are often used interchangeably.

- Conflict Management refers to limitations, mitigation and containment of conflict.

- Conflict settlement emphasises the reaching of agreement between the parties, involving bargaining, negotiations, compromises and concessions from both side.

- Conflict Resolution holistic approach that addresses the deep rooted causes of conflict, changes behavior and attitudes and builds mutual understanding and values.

- For Gandhi values based approach to conflict resolution important. Others like Immanuel Kant, J. S. Mill also link values of republic and liberty to peace.

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

Note: i)   Use of the space given below for your answer.

    ii)   See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Distinguish between settlement and resolution of conflicts.

    ....

    ....

5.3 CHANGING NATURE OF CONFLICTS

As we have already noted, conflicts change over time. A recent study conducted by the Chennai-based Centre for Security Analysis concludes that conflicts develop over time in a way that the 'causes' originally triggering them are forgotten after a while and newer 'causes' are requisitioned in order to subsequently sustain them. Thus to cite an example from the recent past history of Assam, violence against the illegally settled foreigners in the 1980s eventually turned into one against the Hindi-speaking settlers in the early 1990s – who by all accounts are Indians. Understanding the morphology of conflicts is therefore important for designing the methods of their resolution. The eclipse of Cold War between the USA and the erstwhile USSR as two superpowers is also believed to have marked the beginning of some newer forms of conflict as much as newer methods of their resolution. The following paragraphs describe some new trends in the evolution of conflicts particularly since the early 1990s:

1) When the Cold War ended in 1990, the number of active armed conflicts stood at 38, the greatest number reached at any time since the end of World War II. Today, internal conflicts tend to outweigh external conflicts with of course examples of overlaps between them. Of the 136 civil wars fought since 1940, according to an estimate made in 2012, 74 aimed at gaining control of the state and 62 at separation. Interestingly, since the end of the Cold War, about half of the internal wars fought for control of the state ended in negotiated settlements and some measure of power sharing with the existing regimes while in most others, regimes won. A third of the wars of separation ended in agreements that recognized regional autonomy, another third were defeated, and the rest were stalemated.

2) There has been a growing trend towards increasing democratisation – partly induced by the fatigue effect of authoritarian regimes existing particularly during Cold War. It is for example detected that the longer a figure like Ben-Ali, Mubarak, Saleh, or Gaddafi is in power, the more likely he is to be challenged and ousted. While there is no easy way to measure rise and fall of popular grievances, it is possible to draw such correlation only in rough terms. Much of what has happened in the name of 'Arab Spring' in recent times whether in Egypt, Tunisia or in Syria and other countries has to do with the growing disenchantment with authoritarian regimes directly sponsored and patronized by the superpowers during Cold War.

3) In the post cold war period, the nature of conflict has changed. Mary Kaldor has developed the "new wars" thesis, arguing that contemporary wars or conflicts are distinct from the old wars in significant ways. If in the old wars the majority of casualties were among the military, today 70-90% is among civilian population, majority of who are women and children. These are not side effects of war but the central methodology of new wars which revolves around gaining power through fostering fear and hatred, creating a climate of terror, silencing moderate voices. The new wars also blur the difference between home front and battlefront. When Apache helicopters shoot inside people's homes, when there is carpet bombing in Afghanistan, in Iraq, battlefields emerged in diverse location- the home, the workplace, the community space, the women's center. When bombs are exploded in trains, in marketplaces, in theaters, they bring the violence of conflict into

spaces hitherto considered safe and in doing so, foster fear and insecurity in people's hearts and lives. These new typologies of conflict also submerge real questions of power based on economic or political or national identities and give way to other, cross class and cross sectional identities such as culture, religion, ethnicity

METHODS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTIONS

Conflicts are sought to be resolved at multiple levels depending on where they occur – starting from the UN being the highest body to the nuclear family being the most primary unit where parents prevail upon the siblings and seek to address the conflicts amongst them. It is stressed that UN peacekeeping is a necessary element for the intra-state conflict resolution process. Since mid-1988, there has been a great expansion in the number of UN peacekeeping forces. From 1948 to 1978, only 13 peacekeeping forces were set up and in the following ten-year period, no new forces were established. However, since 1988 the number has increased significantly. From May 1988 to October 1993, a further 20 forces were created. As of February 2007, the number of UN peacekeeping operations had reached 61 and involved 80,094 military personnel and civilian police. On the other hand, with the growing awareness of child rights all around the world, the probability of parents prevailing over their siblings has gone down significantly. State laws are very strict in this respect. Methods therefore vary depending on the agency that is involved in conflict resolution.

The State as an agent of conflict resolution continues to play a significant role. To cite an example, a variety of different approaches has been tried by South Asian governments to counter terrorism. Reviewing these approaches in the South Asian and global context, it appears that using the armed forces or local militias have not been especially effective in combating terrorism. Strengthening police forces or conducting negotiations to induce insurgents to join the political mainstream appear to be more effective approaches. Economic incentives or development programs can be useful complements to this political accommodation approach. Regional cooperation initiatives, which have been under utilised so far, are likely to be very important in countering terrorism going forward. On the role of the government you will read in detail in the next Unit.

REDISTRIBUTIVE AND INTEGRATIVE PERSPECTIVES

As one approaches conflicts in order to solve them, one follows either of the two perspectives or as in most cases a combination of them: redistributive and integrative. While in the former, the objective is to transfer resources – over which conflict takes place - in a way that satisfies both the conflicting parties – maybe to a varying degree, in the second conflicts are resolved in a way so that it becomes possible for the conflicting parties to live together within the same society on the basis of some form of agreement on a given body of social values.

Satisfaction may be temporary. The same conflict may relapse after a while on the same issue or may even lead to some other types of conflict between the same conflicting parties. Satisfaction therefore is issue-based and short-lived. On the other hand, integration being based on values is likely to have a durable

impact on society and reduce the conflictual potential in the society. Thus to cite an instance, the poor may think that poverty they are subjected to is an insult to human dignity while the rich may think that their riches are a recognition of the merit they have compared to that of the poor; but both the rich and the poor may agree that this should not be a ground for violence and revolution and it is parliament composed of peoples' representatives that can take appropriate steps to alleviate their distance. The agreement on the value that violence in itself is bad under all circumstances is what encourages them to resolve conflict between them in non-violent ways.

There is no single rule suggesting to us how a society otherwise ridden by conflicts might move towards value integration. Value integration is a historical process and attempts at promoting and inculcating values of their choice by patriarchs, emperors and nation-states had not only become unsuccessful but often counter-productive. On the other hand, several redistributive methods have widely been in use – three of which deserve a mention at this point:

1) The **win-lose method** is all too common. If, for example, the nature of resources is such that they are indivisible and cannot be distributed amongst the conflicting parties (like two children conflicting over the ownership of a football), what one party gains, the other loses. The method in this case is thus to force either of them to capitulate. Sometimes, this is done through socially acceptable mechanisms such as majority vote, the authority of the leader, or the determination of a judge. Sometimes, it involves secret strategies, threat, innuendo or whatever to make the end acceptable. The ends justify the means.

2) The case of two children conflicting over the ownership of the same football may also be addressed by way of denying it to both of them. This is an example of **lose-lose method** where both take the negative satisfaction that the other could not get away with the resources. Neither side is aware that by confronting the conflict fully and cooperatively they might have created a more satisfying solution the utility of the football could be realised. Or the parties may realistically use this approach to divide limited resources.

3) The **win-win method** is a conscious and systematic attempt at maximizing the goals of both parties through collaborative problem solving. The conflict is seen as a problem to be solved rather than a war to be won. The parties work toward common goals, i.e., ones that can only be attained by both parties pulling together. Thus to cite an instance, there is one view that tends to suggest that the conflict between India and Pakistan may be approached by starting to address only those issues that can be resolved in a way that is mutually beneficial to both of them. The strategists point to the Indus Treaty providing for water sharing between the two countries which till date has worked well – notwithstanding a series of issues that otherwise keep them apart.

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

We have already pointed out that Gandhi's is essentially a value-based approach to conflict resolution in which resolution of conflict is considered as much important as their resolution in morally rightful ways. In his scheme of conflict resolution, the State is required to play a minimum role – if possible no role at

all. Moral means and reduction of dependence on the State as the agent of conflict resolution have been two of the running threads of Gandhian perspective on conflict resolution. There have been examples of eminent Gandhians staging an exit from the process of mediation and conflict resolution on the ground that they do not morally approve of the means through which conflicts are proposed to be resolved. What follows is an inventory of civil society interventions in the recent past in India particularly in course of communal riots and violence:

When it comes to role of civil society in addressing conflict and building peace, women play a central role. Across conflict zones in South Asia, between Israel Palestine, in South Sudan, in times of heightened ethnic and intercommunity conflicts in India, it is mostly the women who are seen to taken the lead on the ground to negotiating survival for their families and communities, and try to restore peace.

They do it all on their own without any third party intervention just to make it possible for them and their families to live and survive.. In fact *Athwass* (a Kashmiri word which means handshake or holding of hands as an extension of solidarity or trust) is the name of an initiative conceptualised at the Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP) roundtable held in 2000 that brought together women from Kashmiri Pundit, Muslim and Sikh communities for the first time in almost a decade since the conflict in its renewed form broke out in the Valley.

Its main objective is to familiarize them with 'contrasting realities and narratives', they hold and harbour toward each other and this is expected to ensure transparency in their dealings with others and dissolve the boundaries. Such interventions by women in conflict situations are by no means unique to Kashmir. Similarly, between Israel and Palestine, the Jerusalem Link is a pacifist initiative carried out by women from the two countries. In the conflict affected state of Nagaland, the Naga Mothers Association (NMA) is a prominent civil society organisation that was formed by women to address problems of conflict, and try to stop fratricidal killings, violence between different Naga outfits such as NSCN (I-M) and NSCN (K), and the Indian security forces. Women have emerged as a powerful voice and agents of peace. However, there is little recognition of their efforts. Moreover though they play a key role in building peace on the ground and in informal spaces in the village and community, their experience and concerns are sidelines one formal official peace process begins. In recognition of the key role played by women, and emphasise their participation, on 31st October 2000, UN Security Council resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) was passed in the Security Council, calling for women's participation in peace building.

Secondly, another instance of civil society can be what is called the 'Khopade pattern' named after the famous police officer – Suresh Khopade who introduced it in Bhiwandi – a medium-sized town of Maharshtra visited by frequent cycles of communal violence till the early 1990s. The idea is to establish *mohalla* (or neighbourhood) committees consisting of an equal number of members drawn from each of the conflicting communities, headed preferably by a police officer and to ensure that they regularly meet and discuss issues amongst themselves without divulging its content to the outsiders. The model worked wonders. The role of the police was minimal – to ensure that these processes are in place and active even during the riots.

Thirdly, besides organised interventions, there are many other interventions, which because of their unorganised nature escape our notice. In this connection, we may refer to the individual interventions as an example. We have already referred to the example of Gandhi. Since these interventions are made essentially by individuals – whether as medical practitioners (like Paris-based Doctors without Frontiers) or otherwise, they fear reprisals from the communities in conflict. In course of communal riots, these individuals play a great role albeit at great risk.

There is no a priori way by which one method can be privileged over another. For, each method is only specific to a context where it is seen to have worked. It is no guarantee that it will work elsewhere too.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

Note: i)   Use of the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Briefly explain the changing nature of conflicts.

....

....

....

....

....

LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we have discussed various methods and approaches to conflict management, conflict settlement and conflict resolution. To understand this aspect we have recapitulated the meaning and typology of conflicts already discussed in other units.

The methods discussed are for management, transformation, settlement and resolution of conflicts. Conflict management means engagement by concerned in handling the conflicts in a way that eventually results in the disappearance of conflict. Transformation is a process through which conflict is transformed from harmful to less harmful.

Conflict settlement refers to ways of settling or ending conflicts that entail joint efforts to reach mutually acceptable agreements between the conflicting parties. Conflict resolution is the act of settling and ending conflicts by addressing the issues that trigger them and in ways that are only considered as mutually acceptable to the conflicting parties but also help establish of values of rights, justice and democracy.

Conflict can be resolved at various and multiple levels starting from the United Nation to the nuclear family. There is no single rate for the same. Apart from international agencies and states civil society also can play an important role in various aspects of conflict settlement and resolution.

You have read about the type and nature of conflicts and methods of their resolution. Conflicts can be inter-personal, inter-group or inter-interests. Various

conflicts are managed, transformed, settled or resolved. Each of these has specific connotation and process. The nature of conflicts is not static. This keeps on changing both in purpose and techniques. Therefore, conflicts are sought to be resolved at multiple levels depending on where they occur. The agencies to resolve may be a family at the lowest level and the United Nations at the highest level. Perspectives for resolution may be redistributive or integrative. Civil society has emerged a significant agency in the task of conflict resolution.

SOME USEFUL REFERENCES

Christie, D. J., Wagner, R. V., & Winter, D. A. eds. (2001): *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Das, Samir Kumar (2011): 'Individual Dissent or Organising for Social Power? A Possible Gandhian Approach to Peace and Conflict Resolution for India's Northeast' in *Gandhi Marg*, 32 (4), January-March, pp. 545-569.

Expert Group to the Planning Commission (2008): *Development Challenges in Extremist-Affected Areas*. New Delhi: Government of India.

Galtung, Johan (1958): *Theories of Conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kaldor, Mary (2003) 'The Discourse of Civil Society' (chapter two) in *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War,* Polity Press.

Manchanda Rita, 2005. "Women's Agency in Peace Building: Gender Relations in Post-Conflict Reconstruction." *Economic and Political Weekly* 40 (44/45): 4737–45.

Samaddar, Ranabir, ed. (2004): *Peace Studies: An Introduction to the Concept, Scope, and Themes, South Asian Peace Studies I.* New Delhi: Sage, 2004.

Sunila Abeysekera "Maximizing the Achievement of Women's Human Rights in Conflict Transformation : The Case of Sri Lanka" 41 Columbia Journal of Transnational Law 2003.

UN 2015 ; Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

1) Your answer should include such as conflicts ethnicities, classes and even nations. Write your answer with examples and provide suitable case studies. Further it also include, conflict management, transformation and conflict resolution.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

1) Your answer should have the following points:

   a) Post cold war developments and democratisation

   b) Methods of conflict resolutions

UNIT 6   ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY*

Structure

INTRODUCTION

In earlier units, you have read that conflicts can be both inter-state and intra-state. While inter-states conflicts are between two or more states and at boundaries of states, intra-state conflicts are between the individuals, two or more families, groups, communities, regions, provinces or even between State and groups or

Prof. A. S. Narang, Retd Professor, Faculty of Political Science, SOSS IGNOU, New Delhi and Dr. Jyoti, Assistant Professor, Deptt. of Journalism, Kamala Nehru College, Delhi University, New Delhi

communities. In other words, we call them as domestic conflicts. The state, including state institutions and officials play very significant, sometimes even exclusive role, in management, resolution, and prevention of these conflicts. Domestic conflicts can be simple in form of disputes or violent conflicts between groups or communities. In both cases, the state through its manifestation the government is responsible to resolve disputes as well as maintain law and order, that is, peace. The government performs this role through various institutions and by several methods. In this unit, we will discuss the responsibility of state, the main institutions of governments' methods and means for resolution and management of conflicts and the limitations and criticism of the role of the state in conflict resolution.

Along with the government, civil society and media plays an important part in the proper functioning of any democratic state. They are an important constituent of the public sphere and help improve public discourse, raise issues of rights and foster conflict resolution. In this unit we will examine these aspects.

Aims and Objectives

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

- define the importance of Government, and Civil Society in maintenance of peace in society;

- understand the responsibility and role of government and civil society in conflict resolution;

- know the meaning of civil society and mass media their role in conflict resolution;

- understand the role of women in conflict resolution understand various means, methods and functions for conflict resolution; and

- evaluate the role of state, civil society and media in the task of conflict resolution

STATE AND GOVERNMENT

In present times, we all live in states. A state is a political system that has sovereignty-independent legal authority over a population in a particular territory, based on the recognized right to self-determination. Sovereignty, in practice, rests with those who have the ultimate right to make political decisions. They are known as government. In that sense it is the physical and visible form of the state. According to Andrew Heywood the term government comes from govern. In its broadest sense to govern means to rule or control others. Government can, therefore, be taken to include any mechanism through which ordered rule is maintained, its central features being the ability to make collective decisions and the capacity to enforce them. It is more commonly understood to refer to the formal and institutional processes which operate in the state to maintain public order and facilitate collective action. The core functions of government are, thus, to make law (legislation), implement law (executive) and interpret law (adjudication). In some cases, the political executive alone is referred to as 'the government', making it equivalent to the administration.

The existence of state has been considered as a necessity to provide security of life and property of citizens. In due course its role has also been extended to

provide welfare that is to manage availability of essential needs of life like health, education, minimum material needs etc. For performance of these functions too, maintenance of order and peace is essential. Only the state, therefore, its visible from the government, has the authority to use force, and exercise control over resources.

CONFLICTS AND STATE

The above discussion makes it clear that the state has gradually evolved to provide a framework for orderly organisation of society. In that sense state or government provides a binding framework to hold the society together by maintaining law and order or preservation of peace. The government as the visible agency of the state enjoys a monopoly in performing this function as no other institution or association in a society has similar power and function. Conflicts in any society are a major threat to peace.

As you have already studied conflicts can be just disputes or violent acts. These may be at various levels and for various reasons. These may occur 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, issues or sharing available resources like water, property, food, etc. or maintenance or threats to identities. Therefore, there can be disputes between individuals, groups, communities or regions with regard to access to resources. There are violent conflicts between non-state groups that are organised along a shared communal identity – caste, religion, linguistic, etc.

Such violent community conflicts between groups, often causes high casualties and severe disruption of livelihoods and may in the worst case, destabilize entire regions or estate into civil war. Examples are Sri Lanka, Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda, Chechnya, South Sudan among others. At times even non-violent disputes can escalate to violence or social harmony. As the primary duty of the state is to ensure the maintenance of law and order in a situation of violent conflict, the government has the primary non-partisan function of ensuring the return of peace and normalcy. In case of non-violent disputes also state has the duty to get them resolved.

At the family and domestic levels, conflicts may ordinarily be managed at those levels itself through the intervention of the elders or relatives. But when disputes become more intense and intractable for settlement within the family, the state intervention became necessary. In managing the diversity of human needs and putting in place mechanism of managing disputes, the government functions as a conflict manager. Aside from governance structures, the government also formulates policies and programmes aimed at facilitating peaceful coexistence among its diverse citizens. In situations of violence conflicts, the government's responsibility goes beyond just the stoppage of violence, to executing initiatives aimed at the resolution of the conflict issues among the disputants.

Governments may respond to conflicts in several ways as adjudicator, mediator and peace keeper or as enforcers of law either by persuasive means or use of force. At times state even becomes a participant in the conflict. In general due to its control over national resources and security forces, the government is expected to be not only a key player, but at times the only player in managing conflicts.

The ways for this may be both formal institutional or non-institutional and informal. These are discussed below in some detail.

MAIN INSTITUTIONS

In any country there can be several institutions and instrumentalities whose mandate is and who can deal with potential and actual conflict situations. Some of these may have been provided in the Constitution itself while others can be constituted through statutes or executive orders. These institutes can play role in prevention, management, resolution and subsequent prevention of conflicts. Broadly, speaking constitutional institutions include law-making bodies, the Executive, the Judiciary and other specific types of conflict resolution institutions. Statutory or other institutions include various commissions, bodies or structures created by law or executive orders in general or for specific areas and types of conflicts.

Law Making Bodies

Law-making bodies known as Legislatures, Assemblies, Parliaments, etc. occupy a key position in the machinery of the government. Main functions of Legislatures are to frame policies and enact laws. With regard to conflicts the legislature has to create the framework for curtailing, reducing and avoiding conflicts. The main concern of legislatures is prevention and empowerment of other bodies for management and resolution of conflicts. Legislature also plays the role of changing or enacting laws to ensure better social and economic environment conducive to the avoidance of social conflict. Legislatures enact laws for distribution of resources, putting restrictions on activities that may lead to conflicts and provide punishment on violation of such laws. Laws may also empower executive and other bodies to enforce laws using force or other means and judiciary and like bodies to adjudicate in cases of disputes, award punishments on violation of laws or causing violence etc. Legislatures may also create institutions and bodies for resolution of conflicts or for taking measures to prevent those. National Commission for Minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission and such other bodies created by Parliament of India can be cited as examples of this.

The Executive

In modern states, the executive branch is by far the most complex and the most powerful branch of government. Generally there are two wings of the executive the political and bureaucratic. The executive is, technically, the branch of government that is responsible for the execution or implementation of policy. In practice, however, its responsibilities are substantially broader, particularly in the context of conflict management and peace-keeping. In fact, it is the immediate agent of conflict resolution. In that the key function of the political executive is to direct and control the policy process. In short, in words of Andrew Heywood, the executive is expected to govern.

The bureaucracy is the administrative machinery of the state, that is, the civil servants and public officials who are charged with the execution of government business. There also are enforcement agencies, such as police force and armed forces and other such bodies. Both civil bureaucracy and police forces work

under the directives and control of the political executive, though these may enjoy some autonomy in exercise of their powers and performance of functions.

The Police

The main organ of the executive in its task of conflict management and resolution is the Police. It is the monopoly sub-agent of government to use force, with the civil services having the role of overall supervision. The central purpose of a police force is to maintain domestic order. The police on the one hand are concerned with protecting citizens from each other and on the other preservation of the authority of the state and ensuring that its jurisdiction extends throughout the community. In this it performs the functions of controlling social unrest and civil disorder. In both cases it also includes enforcement of criminal law.

In cases of managing conflicts, particularly violent, there is what as Andrew Heywood brings out, "fire brigade policing". This emphasizes the capacity of the police to react to breaches of law when they occur, in the hope that crime will be prevented by the effectiveness of police response. Fire brigade policing, or reactive policing, requires the adoption of harder, even para-military tactics, and a greater emphasis on technology and arms. Police, apart from using force to manage violent conflicts, also collect intelligence and adopt preventive measures like making preventive arrests, blocking ways etc. In modern day liberal states police is also expected to bring involved parties on negotiation tables and resolve disputes peacefully.

The Judiciary

The judiciary is the branch of government that is empowered to decide legal disputes. The central function of judiciary, therefore, is to adjudicate on the meaning of law and decide disputes between individuals, individuals and state, groups, groups and states. Judiciary also is empowered to award punishments in cases of violation of law. As such in terms of conflict management judiciary settles the disputes between private individuals, regarding sharing of resources, claims over property, money, jurisdiction etc. Judiciary also performs the function of deciding criminal cases. In general violent conflicts or riots are considered criminal acts. Therefore, in such cases it punishes the perpetrators committing, abetting or helping violation of criminal laws. At times, judiciary also directs the state to redress the grievances of groups or communities thereby preventing possibilities of agitations, uprisings, and violence.

Other Constitutional Agencies

Apart from three core agencies of the government, the Constitution of a State can also provide for other agencies which are empowered to adjudicate the disputes between individuals or groups or even levels of government. For instance, in India for resolution of disputes between Centre and States there is a provision for Constitution of Inter-state Council under Article 263. Election Commission is empowered for resolution of disputes in some cases of disputes connected with elections. In a state, there can be constitutional bodies of different types empowered to adjudicate or mediate to resolve disputes. The functions of such bodies generally are limited to adjudicate on disputes with regard to claims or complaints.

Statutory and Appointed Bodies

As already mentioned in addition to constitutional bodies, the Legislature and Executive within the powers given by the Constitution can create, constitute or appoint agencies, commissions and bodies to adjudicate, and/or mediate in cases of disputes or for redress of grievances of citizens and groups either to prevent conflicts or there reoccurrence after management. In India, such bodies created by Parliament include the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, the Zonal Councils, National Human Rights Commission, National Minorities Commission and National Commission for Backward Classes. Such bodies, generally, help in prevention and de-escalation of conflicts by redressing the grievances of groups and mediating between government and aggrieved groups. Apart from statutory bodies, the executive can also appoint Commissions and agencies to look into the causes of conflicts and

Permanent Indus Commission
The Permanent Indus Commission was created after signing of the Indus Water Treaty in 1960 for sharing water of the Indus river basin by the two countries.
It is a bilateral commission consisting of officials from India and Pakistan; created to implement and manage the goals and objectives of the IWT.
The commission is the first step for conflict resolution. It maintains and exchanges data and co-operates between the two countries.

violence and recommend methods to prevent and deal with them. You might have noticed Constitution of inquiry commissions after communal riots or other serious cases of violent upsurges. The government can use their reports and recommendations to address the grievances and prevent reoccurrence of such violence. Similarly, there can be Commissions to resolve dispute with other countries, such as the Indus Water Commission, that was created after prolonged talks between India and Pakistan and signing of the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) in 1960 for sharing water of the Indus basin.

METHODS AND STRATEGIES

As already mentioned, that the state has gradually evolved to provide a framework for orderly organisation of society. Above we have discussed various institutional devices through which government manages the conflicts. Though families, non-state agencies, civil society groups may play important roles in resolution of conflicts the government is the final agency to deal with conflicts. For that the methods and strategies available with the state include, enforcement, adjudication, mediation and persuasion.

Enforcement

For the government most important task in all cases is maintenance of law and order. Therefore, while it is important that the government takes all possible measures to prevent the occurrence of violent conflicts, it is important that peace is restored at the earliest. For that governments resort to use of force. Generally, local civil police is used for that. In cases of serious cases or escalation of violence para-military forces, or even army can be called to restore order. As violence or riots are violation of criminal laws, the perpetrators and participants are apprehended and prosecuted also.

6.4.2 Adjudication

Adjudication means to pronounce about the rightfulness of the claim between disputing parties. This can be with regard to claims over property between two or more individuals, sharing of resources like river waters, between two or more States or regions, or propriety claims between groups. The adjudication can be both through judicial or quasi-judicial processor. Disputing parties themselves, either one or both can approach appropriate courts of law or government can send the disputes for judicial considerations. Governments may also have authorities to send disputes and claims for adjudication to quasi-judicial bodies like Tribunals and Commissions constituted either for the matters in general or specific cases. These can be for sharing of river waters, other resources or claims by religious, cultural, linguistic groups, etc.

Mediation and Persuasion

Mediation and Persuasion are internal methods that the governments can use to prevent, deescalate or resolve conflicts. The government through the agencies and representatives can bring parties in dispute on table to talk among themselves, negotiate and agree on the solutions. The police and civil officials can impress upon community leaders to maintain peace and use lawful and peaceful methods for redressal of their grievances. Governments can also involve civil society and non-government organisations to mediate and impress upon the necessity for maintenance of peace. In democratic societies government is expected to use such informal methods to the maximum to avoid use of force and possible violation of citizens' rights. Such informal methods are important even after restoration of peace through police and military actions to rebuild social harmony and restore confidence among victims in particular and society at large. What is important is that mediation and persuasion is carried out by persons and officials of high social standing and credibility who use their legitimacy and facilitative skills rather than manipulation and sanctioning to reach agreement.

Redressal

A number of social and communal conflicts are results of real or perceived feelings of discrimination, denial of rights or claims or non-consideration of demands by groups, communities or sections of society. The government in addition to persuade citizens also has the obligation to promote social good and undertake positive functions. You might have noticed agitations and conflicts on issues of reservations, religious rights or claims over resources etc. The governments are expected to be non-partisan observers and policy makers. Various complaints and demands need to be given a patient hearing, looked into appropriately and responded properly. Governments cannot accept all claims or succumb to pressures, but need not resort to coercion at once. If mediation, persuasion and acceptance of reasonable extent fail then, the government has to enforce the law of the land and maintain peace.

Key Points

- Governments have several institutions and instrumentalities to deal with potential and actual conflict situations

- Parliament, Assemblies, National Commissions for Women, Minorities, Human Rights, SC/ST that prevent or empower other bodies for management and resolution of conflicts

- The executive and the bureaucracy are manage conflict through implementation of policies
- Police as the law enforcing agency acts to manage social unrest and civil disorder.
- Judiciary adjudicates disputes, punishes perpetrators, and at times directs state to redress grievances of groups or communities to preventing conflict.
- Other constitutional agencies can exists to adjudicate disputes between individuals, groups or levels of government e.g. in India Article 263 provides for constitution of Inter-state Council 263 to resolve Centre and State disputes.
- Statutory and Appointed Bodies can be created by legislature or executive to address conflict.
- The government uses various methods and strategies for addressing conflict that include enforcement, adjudication, mediation and persuasion.

PARTICIPANT GOVERNMENT: A CRITIQUE

You have read above that it is the responsibility of the State and government to ensure the maintenance of peace and law and order in society. Within that framework, it also has to work as a conflict manager. In that state is expected to act neutrally not taking sides. However, at times, the government, including its institutions and officials become involved and/or implicated in conflict. First is participation by default. This occurs where state policies or decisions trigger or exacerbate conflict. For instances government's decision to open new university or hospital area ignoring the demand from some other area may cause an agitation which may become riots or violence. The government may react with extensive use of force.

Second is participation by design. This occurs where the governments, particularly its official's take side in the conflict and use state resources to support a particular faction. The government becomes conflict participant in a situation where its agencies are seen to be actively involved in the perpetuation of violent conflict. Such allegations are made particularly in cases of ethnic and communal conflicts. There can be instances of failure to alleviate local scarcity, or unequal treatment of communal groups. In many societies government is seen strongly connected to particular ethnic group or community.

The fact that the government may be seen as a direct or indirect cause of communal or ethnic conflict, and may be actively or passively supporting one side in the conflict, or appears to create significant obstacles for its potential to serve as a third party and help resolve the conflict. There, thus, come up reports and allegations of human rights abuse,

Police brutality and violation of democratic norms. The response of the government in such cases may aggravate the situation rather than help to resolve it. Critics, therefore, see the role of government as peace keeper with suspicion. Another criticism by some observers in some states is that while government is primarily charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace and security, there

is no sound policy for managing conflicts. In order to enable a durable settlement, the security concerns of all parties, and balance of power between them, need to be taken into account during and after conflict management process.

It is, therefore, suggested that the activities of the government should not be confined to prohibiting and compelling the activities of individuals in a society. These should also relate to promoting human activity conducive to peaceful living. These include creating conditions for mutual tolerance of differing ways of thinking and living in a social order, spread of health and educational facilities. Government has to be pro-active and not reactive to conflicts particularly social and communal by creating an environment of harmonious co-existence. In the first analysis given its security force apparatus and monopoly over legitimate violence within the country's borders the government remains the best institution to serve as peacekeeping force, remaining tolerant to dissent and sensitive to people's grievances and apprehensions.

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

Note: i)   Use of the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Briefly explain the role of government in maintenance of peace and security.

....

....

....

....

....

THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society plays an important part in the proper functioning of any democratic state. It plays the role of a watch dog against concentration of power by the state, and helps to initiate, promote, and strengthen dialogue between governments and their people. In this way, civil society advances human rights, fosters conflict resolution, and promotes better democratization processes. Because of its flexible, multidimensional, and non-rigid structure, civil society has the capability to adapt to rapid global changes.

However, at first we need to define what we mean by civil society. Everyone talks about civil society, but what is meant by the term? There is in fact no accepted definition of civil society. Broadly, by civil society the reference is to that metaphorical space between the family and the state, where people as right bearing citizens, enter into associational forms of life to engage with the polity. It is distinct from entire society, distinct from the force bearing structures of the state, and the commercial interests of the market. According Saberwal (2005), civil society is defined as a social space which should possess the following qualities:

- The first quality is that decisions and choices have to be made on the basis of reason and knowledge;

- The second quality of Civil Society is that its members have to relate to each other open-ended, without exclusion on the grounds of religion, gender, caste etc;

- The third quality is that in the making of decisions and choices, the Civil Society space has to be free from coercive pressures.

Together the above qualities of Civil Society are interlinked and specify a social space which is committed (a) to freedom of association so that groups with open memberships may pursue diverse purposes, (b) within non-coercive space of reasoned deliberation, which has to be (c) grounded in knowledge of empirical reality – knowledge that would be valid across cultures.

The World Bank's definition of civil society refers to the wide array of nongovernmental and nonprofit organizations that have a presence in public life expressing the interest and values other members and others base on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Specifically, the term civil society organizations or CSO for short is used to refer to entities such as community groups, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), so NGOs are a subset to civil society. Obviously not the whole thing, for there are labor unions, indigenous groups, charities, faith based organizations, professional associations and foundations. Civil society is considered intrinsic to a well-functioned democratic state. Some argue that the development of civil society requires a freedom of speech, of association, of religion and independent judiciary and democratic political institutions.

Some theorists also consider mass media as a part and parcel of civil society. The mass media provides civil society with the social space that satisfies all the above qualities because the media plays a major role in a developing the public sphere and strengthening democracy. According to Denis McQuail, the civil society is described as being free, democratic, non-oppressive and lawful, as well as having a developed public sphere. The Public Sphere provides a space between state and private citizens for other social formations and voluntary action. The mass media are an institution of the public sphere, providing the platform for discussion and debate and for the circulation of information. Castells (2008) notes that the relationship between the state and civil society is the cornerstone of democracy because without an effective civil society capable of structuring and channeling citizen to debates over diverse ideas and conflicting interests, the state drifts away from its subjects.

A civil society with a healthy public sphere stands opposed to a mass or authoritarian society. The civil society emphasizes that the audience is engaged in freely expressing themselves, and interacting with the state and its arms.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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 cause 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 the 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 democracies 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 entitlements 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 Right 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.

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.

Seven Civil Society Functions in Peace—building

Function	Activities	Typical actors
Protection	Protecting citizen life, freedom and property against attacks from state and non state actors. Membership organizations, human rights, advocacy NGOs.	Membership organizations, human rights, advocacy NGOs.
Monitoring/ early warning	Observing and monitoring the activities of government state authorities, and conflict actors. Monitoring can refer to various issues (human rights, corruption), particularly those relevant for drivers of conflict and early warning.	Think tanks, human rights NGOs, operational NGOs (in conjunction with CBOs
Advocacy/ public communication	Articulation of specific interests, especially of marginalized groups and bringing relevant issues to the public agenda. Creation of communication channels, awareness raising and public debate. Participation in official peace processes.	Advocacy organizations, independent media, think tanks, networks.

Socialization	Formation and practice of peaceful and democratic attitudes and values among citizens, including tolerance, mutual trust and non-violent conflict resolution.	Membership organizations
Social cohesion	Strengthening links among citizens, building bridging social capital across societal cleavage	CBOs, other membership organizations.
Intermediation/ facilitation	Establishing relationships (communication, negotiation) to support collaboration between interest groups, institutions and the state. Facilitating dialogue and interaction. Promoting attitudinal change for a culture of peace and reconciliation.	Intermediary NGOs, CSO networks, advocacy organizations, faith-based organizations.
Service provision	Providing services to citizens or members can serve as entry points for peace-building, if explicitly intended.	NGOs, self-help groups.

Source: World Bank, 2006

WOMEN PEACE AND SECURITY

When it comes to role of civil society in addressing conflict and building peace, women play a central role. **The upheaval of violent conflicts, and transition to post conflict situation impacts everyone,** – but women and girls suffer face particular impacts. In general, women and girls have access to fewer resources to protect and sustain themselves – aspects which get further heightened during war times. Women and girls often become the deliberate target of gender-based violence, young girls are the first ones to be pulled out of school, married early. Besides suffering physical and psychological violence of dislocation, loss of their men folk, women carry the double burden of survival and care of the family.

Knowing what it means to be disempowered and, women are often the first take the lead on the ground to negotiate survival for their families and communities, and try to restore peace. For example, in the midst of violent conflict in Nagaland in the 1980s and 90s between different Naga outfits such as NSCN(I-M) and NSCN(K), and the Indian security forces, the Naga Mother's Association came together to address the conflict, stop fratricidal killings among different Naga (NMA) factions, stop drug abuse and every day deaths in gun battles of young boys. They gave the slogan 'Shed No More Blood'; undertook long journeys into jungles to meet armed groups to stop the killings and speak peace. Similarly, between Israel and Palestine, women from both sides came together to form the Jerusalem Link as an initiative for peace and dialogue between the two countries. Such interventions by women in conflict situations are by no means unique to these places but echo across different conflict zones. However, although women have led and supported peace and recovery efforts in communities across the world, they remain largely excluded from negotiations and decision making. Their needs, for example the complex reality and needs of female headed household, are often ignored when formal peace negotiations are made, Notably, when it comes to peace negotiations, it is often an all men affair, and women peace makers such as

Naga Mothers Associations are often ignored and never invited to the negotiating table. However, given the critical role that women play in peace making, such gaps not only exclusionary of women from peace talks but also miss opportunities for building sustainable peace or revive peace processes on conflicts that have defied all attempts to resolve them.

Recognizing these challenges, the international community has taken some important steps. In 2000, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. UNSCR 1325 called for women to participate in peace efforts, greater protection from violations of their human rights, improved access to justice, and measures to address discrimination. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, there have been many new commitments, growing policy recognition and increasing political rhetoric in relation to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Six additional UN Security Council resolutions have helped develop the policy framework and promote positive norms. Denmark became the first country to develop its National Action Plan (NAP) to implement UNSCR 1325 in 2005, while Côte d'Ivoire led the way in sub-Saharan Africa in 2007. The African Union Commission launched its five-year Gender, Peace and Security Programme in June 2014 to promote women's participation and protection across the continent. By July 2015, 49 states had published one or more NAPs. In South Asia, Nepal became the first country to adopt UNSCR 1325 in 2011.

Women Peace and Security

Groundbreaking UN Security Council resolution 1325, calling for women's participation in peace building was passed in 2000.

There is mounting evidence that women are powerful actors in sustaining peace in their communities and nations. When women lead and participate in peace processes, peace lasts longer.

Research shows that achieving gender equality helps in preventing conflict, and high rates of violence against women correlates with outbreaks of conflict.

THE MASS MEDIA

The mass media are the technological tools by which information can be communicated and transmitted to millions of people spread all over the globe. Mass communication takes place through the mass media. Mass communication is the process of delivering information, ideas, attitudes, entertainment and messages to a sizeable and diversified audience through the use of media developed for that purpose. Mass media can be broadly classified into the following categories:

Print, Electronic and New Media

Print media comprises of newspapers, magazines, journals, posters, books and any printed material that is published for circulation among the public. The Electronic media, also known as the broadcast media comprises of radio, television, film, video, DVD and all the electronic means of delivering information to the masses. The New media are the Internet, mobile technology, DVDs and the social media that use the World-Wide Web to reach millions of people.

Mass media—newspapers, television, radio, films and the internet—have an enormous influence on civil society. The Media acts as the intermediary between the State and Civil Society by providing citizens a platform for debate and discussion on matters of public importance and for the development of a rational consensus.

The Public Sphere

Jurgen Habermas, in his book entitled *'The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere' (1962)* has explained the concept of the 'Public Sphere'. The Media today is regarded as an important constituent of the public sphere that provides space for Civil Society to debate and articulate diverse ideas and in doing so, influence the decisions of the state. Public sphere is the notional space existing between civil society and the state. For Habermas, 'The media is the public sphere's pre-eminent institution' because it facilitates the rational debate of citizens. The media, which is a major constituent of the public sphere, plays a critical role in providing the space for presenting diverse points of views of society and thereby attempts to influence policy.

The concept of public sphere was proposed by Habermas in 1989 to refer to the discursive space in which individuals and groups can come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion influence political action.

There has been much reference to the concept of a public sphere in the role of the mass media in political life. In general, the public sphere refers to a notional 'space' which provides a more or less autonomous and open arena or forum for public debate. Access to the space is free, and freedoms of assembly, association, and expression are guaranteed.

According to Habermas, an important role of the public sphere was to keep a check on the government by way of an informed and influential public opinion. The public sphere points towards the active exchange of views between or initiated by the members of the public.

Citizen Journalism

Almost all journalism in India as it exists today grew out of citizen journalism. It was the urge to express themselves and be an active part of the public sphere, that made the freedom-fighters set up newspaper establishments.

Thus, the urge within the citizen community to express itself and raise issues has always existed. The tools available for this kind of expression have greatly evolved, primarily due to the advancements in technology. Besides, the term 'citizen journalism' comes from television. Citizen journalists are now increasingly seen as sources of news.

The concept of citizen journalism has garnered every medium – newspapers, magazines, television, internet and the radio. So what started out with letters to the editor in newspapers, became a show on television and then found itself being practiced through blogs.

It can also be safely concluded that the citizens, when using the mainstream media to raise issues, are being provided with a platform and forum to do so. Yet

the interests of the media organisation will no doubt supersede those of the citizen journalists. Thus, except the Internet, no other medium provides absolute freedom of expression to the citizens.

With the Internet and technology use escalating, citizen journalism is becoming more significant with higher levels of citizen engagement and participation. As evident in examples such as Syria, ordinary Syrians have used their smart phones to film the ravages of war they saw around them, uploading videos and photos on Facebook, Youtube, online and providing news in absence of professional journalist who have either been killed, imprisoned, fled or situated across the border. The Age of the Empowered Citizen has firmly entrenched itself and is here to stay, thanks to the communication revolution.

> **Syria's Citizen Journalists** The start of the Syrian uprising in 2011 was followed by brutal crackdown on independent journalist. Many ordinary Syrians began using smart phones to film the ravages of war they saw around them, uploading videos and photos on Facebook, Youtube, online and providing news
>
> **As events led to increasing control of parts of Syria by the Islamic State- these areas were either 'emptied' of professional journalists, or they fled to neigh-bouring countries. The role of citizen journalist became even more critical.**
>
> **More and more citizens across cities and towns in Syria began to mobilise, better organize, coordinate and allocate work. Citizen's "media officers" began to appear. At some point, there was "coordination" in almost every neighborhood in Syria.**
>
> **Keeping the information flowing has been dangerous, and by 2016, around 70 citizen journalists were killed. Yet citizen journalists have been risking their lives to report on the brutal conflict in Syria**
>
> **Most of the western journalists covering Syria are based in Beirut or Turkey, who rely on several semi-permanent sources inside Syria, mostly citizen journalists.**

MEDIA IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY

A reliable news media enables well-informed citizen decision-making that, when freely exercised, in turn contributes to democratisation. Reliability here refers to journalism that is accurate, impartial and socially responsible. In Western practice, the gathering and presentation of information by the news media is distinguished by at least three key principles: accuracy, impartiality and responsibility in the public interest. These principles apply to reporters, editors, directors, producers, managers, camera-persons, designers, and others, including individuals (freelancers), news agencies, both private and government-owned, providers of news and information.

The international community has recognized the place of the media in a post-conflict society and its importance in the process of democratisation. Ross (2010) notes that this increase in attention can be explained by the technology-driven pervasiveness of the news media in the global post-Cold War era; an appreciation of the effectiveness of the preceding decade's media-based relief and development strategies; and increased concern among the international community that

irresponsible media may fuel genocidal incidents as was the case in Rwanda. As such, assistance for free and independent media has become an integral part of aid and development programmes of most Western countries and international development organisations. Education programmes to establish and reinforce these bedrock principles of journalism continue to dominate donors' attention, especially through training activities. Similarly, Media is involved in reporting and commenting on conflicts and processes of their management and resolution. Ross (2010) notes that in many post-conflict countries proper training of media personnel has helped to create a wide range of print and broadcasting media (including newspapers, television and radio stations) and has stimulated the emergence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) promoting free speech. Other donor activities with regard to media include assistance to intended-outcome programming, promotion of counter-acting media outlets and the facilitation of a media-supportive infrastructure, including legislation, courts and regulators.

However, particular post-conflict conditions such as state-controlled ownership, lack of appropriate equipment and (self-) censorship have often hampered the development of local institutional capacity in the field of media. Where diversity of media does exist, it has proved to be a minefield of highly 'partisanized' outlets producing unreliable journalism which may in turn destabilize the fragile democratic process. The establishment of a well-functioning media sector with the necessary institutional infrastructure therefore requires long-term commitment from the international community through a more coordinated, context-specific and informed approach and assessment of the impact of media programmes.

6.10.1 The Setting

The crumbling of Cold War structures and attitudes, at the end of the 1980s, triggered welcome developments for democratisation, and an accelerated interest in supporting the professionalisation and independence of media in previously repressed or violence-stressed societies. Ross (2010) identifies the following reasons for this rise in attention:

First, in the 1980s international agencies and donors had demonstrated considerable success in integrating media-based programmes, especially radio programmes, into their strategies for immediate relief in natural disasters, conflict resolutions and for longer-term humanitarian development. Whether it was using public and private radio for messages directing populations to relief centers or for extended programmes concerned agencies and civil society organisations had recognized the effectiveness of media for presenting responses and options to adverse conditions. At the same time, the end of the Cold War removed barriers to the dissemination of national and international news to previously inaccessible audiences. Greater access to many countries enticed agencies to explore developing indigenous media in those countries as an alternative forum to the previously totalitarian or tightly controlled media. The objective was to encourage growth of an independent, professional media and an alternative, democratic ideology, in the belief that an independent, professional media constitutes an integral part of the democratisation process.

Secondly, the media, and especially the electronic media, had achieved a technology-driven ubiquity which enabled its messages to reach even the most remote places. Radio receivers most particularly had become affordable and available everywhere. Television, too, had penetrated deeply in some societies,

whereas the circulation of printed material expanded as a result of new printing-distribution technologies and a rising literacy.

Thirdly, media programmes became more prominent in the 1990s as a possible counterforce to the increased use of (especially electronic) media for the opposite and deplored purpose of undermining peace. Sharply increased incidents of hate radio and other propaganda, which exhorted and helped engineer attempted genocides – such as in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina, to cite only two – attracted attention to the negative power of media and launched the search for responses. The emerging knowledge of conflict resolution with emphasis on changing disputants' perceptions through controlled communication further intensified the focus on the media as an instrument of reconciliation and democratisation in conflict-stressed societies.

As a result, international organisations, bilateral donors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) began to explore opportunities for media support programmes, also known as media assistance. The United Nations (UN) included a major media initiative in the transitional process in Cambodia (1992-1993), and in almost every other UN intervention since. NGOs specialising in media interventions emerged, including the US-based Search for Common Ground – the Foundation Hirondelle, the Baltic Media Centre in Europe, and the Media Institute of Southern Africa. A number of donor countries – including the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and the United States – introduced media support programmes within their international aid strategies.

Other major organisations such as the Council of Europe, World Bank, and UNESCO invested substantially in media activities as part of democratisation and human rights programmes. Interest in the media's role in sustaining peace and democratic transition continues to increase.

MEDIA AND PEACE BUILDING

Professional journalists working in the media do not set out to reduce conflict. They seek to present accurate and impartial news and thereby aid peace building. But it is often through good reporting that conflict is reduced. There are several elements of conflict resolution that good journalism can deliver, automatically, as part of the media's daily work:

1) **Channeling communication**

   The news media is often the most important channel of communication that exists between sides in a conflict. Sometimes the media is used by one side to broadcast intimidating messages. But other times, the parties speak to each other through the media or through specific journalists.

2) **Educating**

   Each side needs to know about the other side's difficulty in moving towards reconciliation. Journalism which explores each side's particular difficulties, such as its politics or powerful interests can help educate the other side to avoid demands for simplistic and immediate solutions. Television debates in recent times have tried to discuss and debate India-Pakistan relations.

3) Confidence-building

Lack of trust is a major factor contributing to conflict. Good journalism can present news that shows resolution is possible by giving examples from other places and by explaining local efforts at reconciliation.

4) Correcting misperceptions

By examining and reporting on the two sides' misperceptions of each other, the media encourages disputing sides to revise their views and move closer to reducing conflict.

5) Making them human

Getting to know the other side, giving them names and faces, is an essential step. This is why negotiators put the two sides in the same room. Good journalism also does this by putting real people in the story and describing how the issue affects them.

6) Identifying underlying interests

In a conflict both sides need to understand the bottom-line interests of the other. Good reporting does this by asking tough questions and seeking out the real meaning of what leaders say. Good reporting also looks beyond the leaders' interests and seeks the larger groups' interest.

7) Emotional outlet

In conflict resolution, there must be outlets for each side to express their grievances or anger or they will explode in frustration and make things worse. The media can provide important outlets by allowing both sides to speak. Many disputes can be fought out in the media, instead of in the streets, and the conflict can be addressed before it turns violent.

8) Framing the conflict

In a conflict, describing the problem in a different way can reduce tension and launch negotiations. In good journalism, editors and reporters are always looking for a different angle, an alternative view, a new insight which will still attract an audience to the same story. Good journalism can help reframe conflicts for the two sides.

9) Face-saving, consensus-building

When two parties try to resolve a conflict they must calm the fears of their supporters. By reporting what they say, the media allows leaders in a conflict to conduct face-saving and consensus-building, even reaching to refugees and exiles in far-away places.

10) Solution-building

In a conflict, both sides must eventually present specific proposals to respond to grievances. On a daily basis, good reporting does this by asking the disputing parties for their solutions instead of just repeating their rhetoric of grievances. Good journalism is a constant process of seeking solutions.

11) Encouraging a balance of power

Conflicting groups, regardless of inequalities, have to believe they will be given attention if they meet the other side in negotiations. Good journalism encourages negotiation because the reporting is impartial and balanced. It gives attention to all sides. It encourages a balance of power for the purpose of hearing grievances and seeking solutions.

Responsible Journalism

Good journalism is a constant process of seeking solutions. Journalists working in different media institutions should adopt the following practices while reporting about conflict:

- Journalists should seek out all points of view.

- They should not only repeat grievances of one side.

- Journalists should examine what the conflicting parties are seeking and the possibility for withdrawal, compromise or transcendence. Journalists should write about these possibilities.

- With conflict analysis, journalists can understand what diplomats and negotiators are trying to do, and can report it more reliably.

- With conflict analysis, journalists can identify more sources to go for information. By providing this information, journalism makes the public far more well-informed about the Conflict beneath the violence, and can assist in resolving it.

Good journalism should avoid the following while reporting conflict:

- Good journalism should not be defamatory. It does not tell lies and twist the truth about people.

- Good journalism does not simply repeat what has been reported somewhere else. Copying others' news may repeat false information.

- Journalism is powerful. News reports can ruin reputations, put people in danger, or cause public panic. Good journalism is not used to intentionally harm other persons.

- Good journalism does not accept bribes. It does no special favours for anyone. Good journalism is not for sale.

A Checklist for Conflict-sensitive Journalism

- Avoid reporting a conflict as consisting of two opposing sides. Find other affected interests and include their stories, opinions and goals in news. Interview those affected by say, a general strike, workers who are unable to work, refugees from the countryside who want an end to violence etc.

- Avoid defining the conflict by always quoting the leaders who make familiar demands. Go beyond the elite. Report the words of ordinary people who may voice the opinions shared by many.

- Avoid only reporting what divides the sides in conflict. Ask the opposing sides questions which may reveal common ground. Report on interests or goals which they may share.

- Avoid always focusing on the suffering and fear of only one side. Treat all sides' suffering as equally newsworthy.

- Avoid words like devastated, tragedy and terrorized to describe what has been done to one group. These kinds of words put the reporter on one side. Do not use them yourself. Only quote someone else who uses these words.

- Avoid emotional and imprecise words. Assassination is the murder of a head of state and no-one else. Massacre is the deliberate killing of innocent, unarmed civilians. Soldiers and policemen are not massacred.

- Genocide means killing an entire people. Do not minimize suffering, but use strong language carefully.

- Avoid words like terrorist, extremist or fanatic. These words take sides; make the other side seem impossible to negotiate with. Call people what they call themselves.

- Avoid making an opinion into a fact. If someone claims something, state their name, so it is their opinion and not your fact.

- Avoid waiting for leaders on one side to offer solutions. Explore peace ideas wherever they come from. Put these ideas to the leaders and report their response.

MAHATMA GANDHI – A GREAT MASS COMMUNICATOR

Mahatma Gandhi was a great mass communicator. He left out no means, no technique to rouse the consciousness of the people—instill into them the imperative of their active participation in the movement. To enable him to do so, he took up a wide range of activities pertaining to all sections of the people—from education to village welfare, from the spinning wheel to cattle protection.

As a communicator, Gandhiji used the medium of the Press apart from the spoken word. In the midst of all his multitude of activities, his sponsored journals, *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* came out regularly – a one-man endeavour – conveying his message to his countrymen. The importance that was attached to the written word by Gandhiji and other national leaders reflected their urge to reach out their message to as wide a section of the people as possible. The means to convey that message were often primitive, but no medium available at the time was left out. From traditional interpersonal means – including the travelling bards – the bauls of Bengal, for instance – to the educated student going out on literacy-cum-swadeshi missions – the composing of patriotic songs and setting up of choirs in villages, mohallas and bustees, to the immortal 'magic lantern' – no video at that time – nothing was left out. It was a gigantic operation, sustained through the ups and downs of the freedom struggle, and later on followed by handwritten posters and graffiti.

Gandhi realised the power of the media to sway the masses even in the pre-Independence era. In today's age with advancements in media technologies, we can effectively harness the media for spreading peace and resolution of conflict.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

Note: i) Use of the space given below for your answer.

     ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain the meaning of Civil Society and Mass Media their role in conflict resolution.

....

....

....

....

....

....

LET US SUM UP

Conflicts can be inter-state, intra-state and inter-personal. In inter-state conflicts states are involved, therefore, their resolution requires either dialogue among conflicting states themselves or international bodies. Intra-state or inter-personal conflicts occur within the boundaries of a state. As the state is primarily responsible for maintenance of peace and law and order in society and has monopoly over use of force and resources, it has to be the key role in conflict management and resolution. The state acts through its visible agency the government. The government also 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 insurgent violence.

The government acts primarily through its three core branches, legislature, executive and judiciary. The government adopts the methods of enforcement mediation and arbitration, adjudication and redressal of grievances to contain, control and prevention of reoccurrence of conflicts. For enforcement the government has under its command, bureaucracy, police and para-military forces. At times, it can also call upon the armed forces to contain serious situations of violence.

It has also been observed that at times and in some societies, the government itself becomes party to conflict either because of some policies and decisions it has made or by design acting in favour of a party in conflict. Observers, therefore, are critical of over or partisan use of force by the government. They allege the tendency of abusing rights of citizens and curbing dissent.

This unit also explained the importance of the civil society and media as a constituent of the public sphere and their role in reducing conflict. Women particularly play a key role in building peace in informal spaces like villages, between warring communities, factions and even nations. However, their key role has often gone recognized and unutilized. The UN SCR 1325 and follow up resolution tries to make peace building a more gender inclusive process. The role that the media can play, as a mediator, to reduce conflict as well in strengthening civil society's efforts for conflict resolution is important.

SOME USEFUL REFERENCES

Das, Samir Kumar (2011): 'Individual Dissent or Organising for Social Power? A Possible Gandhian Approach to Peace and Conflict Resolution for India's Northeast' in *Gandhi Marg*, 32 (4), January-March, pp. 545-569.

Expert Group to the Planning Commission (2008): *Development Challenges in Extremist-Affected Areas*. New Delhi: Government of India.

Howard, Ross. (2010). *Conflict Sensitive Journalism in Practice.* University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Jayaram, N. (Ed.). (2005). *On Civil Society: Issues and Perspectives*. Sage Publications

Juergeneseeryer, Mark (2005), *Gandhi's Way: A Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, Mass: University of California.

Kaldor, Mary (2003) 'The Discourse of Civil Society' (chapter two) in *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War,* Polity Press.

Manchanda Rita, (2005), "Women's Agency in Peace Building: Gender Relations in Post-Conflict Reconstruction." *Economic and Political Weekly* 40 (44/45): 4737–45.

McQuail, Denis (2010). *Mass Communication Theory.* (6th Edition). London: *SAGE.*

Samaddar, Ranabir, ed. (2004): *Peace Studies: An Introduction to the Concept, Scope, and Themes, South Asian Peace Studies I.* New Delhi: Sage, 2004.

Sunila Abeysekera "Maximizing the Achievement of Women's Human Rights in Conflict Transformation : The Case of Sri Lanka" 41 Columbia Journal of Transnational Law 2003.

Sacco, V. (2015). Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives. Vol. 2. by Einar Thorsen and Stuart Allan. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 94*(4), 1025-1027.

Singh, Richa, (2007) Transcending borders: role of women in building peace between India-Pakistan, In Women building peace between India and Pakistan/ ed. by Shree Mulay and Jackie Kirk. - London: Anthem Press. p.23 -36

UN 2015 ; Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi, "The role of the media in violent conflicts in the digital age: Israeli and Palestinian leaders' perceptions

World Bank (2006), Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Potential, Limitations and Critical Factors http://siteresources.worldbank.org/Extsocialdevelopment/ Resources/244362-1164107274725/3182370-1164110717447/Civil_Society_ and_Peacebuilding.pdf (Accessed 27.8. 2018).

Yarchi, M. (2013) Promoting stories about terrorism to the international news media: A study of public diplomacy. Media, War & Conflict 6(3): 263–278 http:/ /www.mkgandhi.org/mass_media.htm

6.15 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

1) Your answer should include the following points:

   a) Importance of the government institutions, statutory bodies and their role in addressing conflict resolution.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

1) Your answer should highlight the following points:

   a) Concept of Civil Society

   b) Civil Society and Conflict Resolution

   c) Provide example Mahatma Gandhi was great communicator

UNIT 7   ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS*

7.0   INTRODUCTION

International Institutions are of two types – governmental and non-governmental. The term "Transnational Organisation" (TO) as used in scholarly literature refers to International Organisations (including International-Governmental Organisations (IGOs) and International Non-Governmental Organisations – INGOs) that transcend the idea of a nation-state. IGOs are organisations whose members include at least three states, that have activities in several states and whose members are held together by formal international agreement or treaty. In the last century, more than 38,000 IGOs and INGOs have been established. The former includes, among others, the United Nations, World Bank, the Council of Europe, African Union, and the Organisation of American States. The latter includes, among others, Amnesty International, International Committee of Red Cross, Peace Brigades International, Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research (TFF), and the International Committee of Artists for Peace (ICAP).

These International and Transnational Organisations (ITOs) have been playing a significant role in resolving conflicts among states and contributing towards keeping peace and international order in the world. For their role, the UN and its bodies and the persons associated with these organisations have received several Nobel Peace Prizes. INGOs such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (1917, 1944, and 1963), Amnesty International (1977), International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (1985), the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (1997), and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007) have also received Nobel Peace awards (the years in bracket indicates their years of award). In this unit you will read about their role in some detail.

---

*Prof. Abdulram P. Vijapur, Deptt. of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh

Aims and Objectives

After studying this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- the definition of international and transnational organisations;

- how the United Nations (UN) has been playing a significant role in maintaining international peace and security since the end of World War II;

- why the UN is not so successful in enforcing peace in the world;

- the role of the UN in achieving disarmament and dealing with the menace of terrorism;

- the role and functions of University of Peace;

- the role of NATO in maintaining peace and security at regional level; and

- the role of non-governmental transnational organisations in promoting international peace.

ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS TO PROMOTE WORLD PEACE

Although there are nearly 400 IGOs, only few are concerned with international peace and security. In this Unit we discuss the role of three kinds of transnational organisations – the UN and its bodies, one regional organisation and two non-governmental organisations.

Role of the UN and other International Bodies

The UN is truly a global inter-governmental organisation. It was established in October 1945 to achieve the following aims:

- To preserve peace in the world and eliminate war;

- To remove the causes of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world;

- To safeguard the rights of all individual human beings, and the rights of peoples and nations.

In spite of the careful framing of the UN Charter, the UN was unable to solve many problems of the world due to Cold War between the US and the former USSR. Yet, it played an important role in a number of international crises by arranging ceasefires and negotiations, and by providing peacekeeping forces. Its successes in non-political work – care of refugees, protection of human rights, economic planning and attempts to deal with problems of world health, population and famine – have been enormous.

The Security Council of the UN is its principal organ to maintain international peace and security. The Council works on the principle of "collective security". This concept treats the aggression of one state against the other States as an attack on all member States of the UN. It allows the Security Council to take action against the aggressor only when five of its permanent members (which are great Powers) – the US, USSR, France, China and Britain – are unanimous on such action. These states are known as P5. Any negative vote (known as veto) will prevent such action. Any veto will kill the concept of collective security. The Council was paralyzed by frequent use of veto power during the Cold War (1945-1991).

In order to secure some action in case of a veto by one of the P5, the General Assembly (GA) (at the time of the Korean War in 1950) introduced the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution. This resolution stated that if the Security Council's proposals were vetoed, the GA could meet within 24 hours and decide what action to take, even military intervention if necessary. In cases like this, a decision by the Assembly would only need a two-thirds majority. Again this new rule was not incorporated in the UN Charter, and the USSR, which exercised more vetoes than any P5 states, always maintained that a Security Council veto should take precedence over a GA decision. Nevertheless, the Assembly acted in this way many times, ignoring Soviet Union protests.

How successful has been the UN as a Peacekeeping Organisation?

Although it has had mixed success, it is probably fair to say that the UN has been more successful than the League of Nations in its peacekeeping efforts, especially in crises which did not directly involve the interests of the great powers, such as the civil war in the Congo (1960-4). On the other hand, it has often been ineffective like the League in situations where the interests of one of the great powers – the USSR –were involved (e.g., the 1956 Hungarian crisis and the 1968 Czech crisis). This is because the USSR was ignoring or defying the UN. The best way to illustrate the UN's varying degrees of success is to examine some of the major disputes (both during Cold War and post-Cold War) in which it has been involved.

Palestine (1947)

The dispute between Jews and Arabs in Palestine was brought before the UN in 1947. After an investigation, the UN decided to divide Palestine, setting up the Jewish state of Israel. This was one of the most controversial UN decisions, and it was not accepted by the Arab states. The UN was unable to prevent three Arab-Israeli wars (1948-9, 1967 and 1973) over the question of Palestine. However, it did useful work arranging ceasefires and providing supervisory forces, and caring for the Arab refugees. Due to strong US support to Israel and the disunity among Arab states has not resolved the Palestine issue till date.

The Korean War (1950-3)

This was the only occasion on which the UN was able to take decisive action in a crisis directly involving the interests of one of the superpowers. When South Korea was invaded by Communist North Korea in June 1950, the Security Council immediately passed a resolution condemning North Korea, and called on UN members to send help to the South Korea. However, this was possible because the USSR was boycotting SC meeting in protest at the failure to allow PRC to join the UN. Although the Russian delegates returned soon, it was too late for them to prevent action going ahead. Troops of 16 countries were able to repel the invasion and preserve the borders between the two Koreas along the 38th parallel.

Though this was claimed by the West as a great success, it was in fact very much the American operation – the vast majority of troops and the Commander-in-Chief, General MacArthur, were American, and the US government had already decided to intervene with force the day before the Security Council was taken into confidence. Only the absence of the Russians enabled the USA to turn it into a UN operation. When the USSR started vetoing further resolutions against North Korea, the General Assembly passed its famous resolution, "Uniting for peace", as discussed above.

The Suez Crisis (1956)

On the sudden nationalization of Suez Canal by President Nasser of Egypt in 1956, Egypt was attacked by Britain and France (which owned shares in Suez Canal Company) and Israel. When the Security Council resolution condemning use of force by Britain and France was vetoed, the General Assembly under "Uniting for Peace" resolution not only condemned the invasion (by majority of 64 to 5) but also called for a withdrawal of troops. In view of the weight of opinion against them, the aggressors agreed to withdraw, provided the UN ensured a reasonable settlement over the canal. It kept the Arabs and Israelis from slaughtering each other. The UN General Assembly sent UN Peace Keeping forces (5000 peacekeeping soldiers) to Egypt to supervise ceasefire agreement. The Canadian diplomat, Lester Pearson, had invented the idea of Peacekeeping. He received Nobel Peace Prize later for his contribution to world peace. The UN was quite successful in maintaining peace in the region, though Russian and American pressure was also important in bringing about ceasefire. However, the UN was not so successful in the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Hungarian (1956) and Czechoslovakia crisis (1968)

Though UN was successful in diffusing Suez crisis, it could not exert its influence to resolve the Hungarian crisis. Let us explain what Hungarian crisis is. When the Hungarians tried to exert their independence from Russian control, Soviet troops entered the country to crush the revolt. The Hungarian government appealed to UN, but the Russians vetoed a Security Council (SC) resolution calling for the withdrawal of their forces. The GA passed the same resolution and set up a committee to investigate the problem; but the Russians refused to cooperate with the committee and no progress could be made.

The Czech crisis was almost a repeat performance of the Hungarian problem. When the Czechs showed what Moscow considered to be too much independence, Russians and other Warsaw Pact troops were sent in to enforce obedience to the USSR. The SC tried to pass a resolution condemning this action, but the Russians vetoed it, claiming that the Czech government had asked for their intervention. Although the Czech denied this, there was nothing the UN could do in view of the USSR's refusal to cooperate.

The Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)

The UN was successful in bringing an end to the long-drawn-out war between Iran and Iraq. After years of attempting to mediate, the UN at last negotiated a ceasefire, though admittedly they were helped by the fact that both sides were close to exhaustion.

The 1991 Gulf War

The UN action on the war was impressive. When Saddam Hussain of Iraq sent his troops to invade and capture the tiny, but extremely rich, neighbouring state of Kuwait (August 1990), the UN SC wanted him to withdraw or face the consequences. When he refused, a large UN force was sent to Kuwait. In a short decisive campaign, Iraqi troops were driven out, suffering heavy losses, and Kuwait was liberated. However, the critics of the UN complained that Kuwait had received help only because the West needed her oil supplies. Other small states, like East Timor (which was taken over by Indonesia in 1975) did not receive help.

Bosnia

In the civil war between Bosnian Muslims and Serbs, the UN failed to send enough troops to impose law and order. This was partly because both the European Community and the USA were reluctant to get involved. There was further humiliation for the UN in July 1995 when they were unable to prevent Serb forces from capturing two towns Srebrenica and Zepa – which the Security Council had designated as safe areas for Muslims. UN helplessness was underlined when the Serbs went on to murder around 8000 Muslim men in Srebrenica.

Iraq – the overthrow of Saddam Hussain

In March 2003 the USA and Britain launched an invasion of Iraq, on the grounds that they intended to get rid of its weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and to free the Iraqi people from the brutal regime of Saddam Hussain. UN weapons inspectors, deployed in Iraq, searching for WMD did not find them. Despite this the attack went ahead. What is more, even the UN Security Council (SC) had not given its authorization. The USA and Britain had tried to push a resolution through the Council approving military action, but France, Russia and Germany wanted to allow Saddam more time to cooperate with the weapons inspectors. When it became clear that France and Russia were prepared to veto any such resolution, the USA and Britain resolved to go ahead unilaterally, without putting the resolution to a SC vote. They claimed that Saddam's violations of earlier UN resolutions were a justification for war.

The US and British action was a serious blow to the prestige of the UN. Then UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, speaking at the opening of the annual session of the GA in September 2003 noted that their action had brought the UN to "a fork in the road". Until then, all states needed the authorization of the SC if they intended to use force beyond the normal right of self-defense as required by article 51 of the UN Charter. However, if states continued to act unilaterally against a perceived threat, which would present a fundamental challenge to the entire principles of world peace and stability, on which the UN Charter was based. Moreover, Annan said, this could only set precedents resulting in "a proliferation of the unilateral and lawless use of force".

Why the UN is not so successful in enforcing peace in the world? There are five reasons, given below:

i)   The lack of a permanent UN army;

ii) Lack of unanimity among P5;

iii) Veto power of P5;

iv) Shortage of funds; and

v)   Non-cooperation of member states.

The UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL): Successful peacekeeping, and peace- building.

In 1999, UN peacekeepers moved into Sierra Leone to oversee a feeble peace process. The UN disarmed more than 75,000 ex-fighters, including about 7,000 child soldiers; assisted in holding national and local government elections; helped to rebuild the country's police force to its pre-war strength and contributed towards rehabilitating the infrastructure and bringing government services to local communities. The UN also helped the

government stop illicit trading in diamonds and regulates the industry. During the war, rebels had used money from "blood" or "conflict" diamonds to buy weapons which then fuelled the conflict.

At one point, in May 2000, the mission nearly collapsed when the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) kidnapped hundreds of peacekeepers and renounced the ceasefire in a move that endangered the credibility of UN peacekeeping. Outraged by the chaos that followed, the international community put pressure on the rebels to obey the ceasefire and slapped sanctions against RUF sponsors. Subsequently, UNAMSIL launched new mediation efforts and brought the two adversaries back to the negotiation table. It brought in more troops to monitor the ceasefire and began disarming fighters from both sides.

In 2005 UNAMSIL's withdrawal marked the completion of most of the tasks assigned it by the Security Council which included assisting voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced persons; recruiting and training police personnel, constructing and renovating dozens of police stations. UNAMSIL monitored and trained dozens of Sierra Leoneans in human rights and was instrumental in setting up the Special Court for Sierra Leone to try those most responsible for war crimes. The mission also assisted the government in setting up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Arms Race and Disarmament

Since World War II global military spending is increasing. The end of Cold War has not made much difference. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook (SIPRI) for 2013 discloses that the annual global military spending stands at US $1.756 trillion at current prices for 2012. This corresponds to 2.5% of World GDP or approximately $249 for each person in the world. In comparison to this the biennium UN budget was $5.404 billion, besides $8 billion UN Peacekeeping budget. The UN budget is equivalent to just 1.4% of the current US defense budget. In fact, UN budget is equivalent to one month of US military spending in Afghanistan in 2010.

On the danger of nuclear weapons, Albert Einstein reportedly said: "I do not know with what weapons World War III will be fought, but World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones."

Naturally arms race between and among states will not contribute towards peace. Indeed, it will create conditions of conflict and tensions around the world. There is also a problem of illegal sales of weapons in black market; amounting annually to $1 billion (legal trade of small weapons is $ 4 billion). One textbook (Mansbach & Taylor 2012, p.405) mentions that in north-eastern Kenya, the barter rate for an AK-47 weapon has dropped from ten cows in 1986 to its present level of two cows. This book also reveals that in Sudan, an AK-47 can be purchased for the same price as a chicken.

The UN Charter did not envision a major role for the UN with respect to arms control/ regulation or disarmament, although Article 26 gave the Security Council responsibility in this matter. Due to the use of atomic weapons in World War II, disarmament appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly. By its very first resolution, the Assembly established the International Atomic Energy Commission/ Agency for promoting peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It has also

set up Disarmament Commission in 1952, a specialised deliberative body that focuses on issues and meets for three weeks every year. It also established the Conference on Disarmament in 1979 to serve as the primary multilateral disarmament negotiating forum. The Conference negotiated both the Chemical Weapons Convention, 1993, and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), in 1996. The former prohibits the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and requires their destruction, while the latter proscribes any nuclear test explosions anywhere.

During the last 70 years the UN has adopted many international treaties on disarmament and declared many regions as nuclear-weapon free zones. Let us elaborate these two important roles of the UN. Some of the treaties of disarmament are: Partial Test-Ban Treaty, Treaty of Tlateloco, Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty, Biological Weapons Convention, South-east Asia Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone Treaty, and African Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone Treaty (www.un.org/ disarmament).

Terrorism and Counter-terrorism

The UN has consistently addressed the problem of terrorism at both the legal and political level. It has also been the target of terrorism. From Afghanistan to Algeria, from Iraq to Pakistan, the UN staff members have lost their lives in the line of duty, in the service of peace, human rights and development. The UN Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) was created in 2001 September by SC resolution following 9/11 disaster in New York in 2001.

The UN has adopted the following Conventions and Protocols on Terrorism:

1) International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, 1999;

2) International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing, 1997;

3) Convention on the Making of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection, 1991;

4) Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms located on the Continental Shelf;

5) Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, 1988;

6) Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, 1988;

7) Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material,, 1980;

8) International Convention against Taking of Hostages, 1979;

9) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, 1973;

10) Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, 1971;

11) Convention on the Unlawful Seizure of the Aircraft, 1970; and

12) Convention on Offences and Certain other Acts Committed on Board aircraft, 1963

Despite all these Conventions, terrorism is spreading in all parts of the world. It is encouraging to note that the Indian government has presented the draft of a Comprehensive international Convention against terrorism in 1996. Unfortunately, this draft has not been accepted by the world community 20 years after it was proposed in the General Assembly. Moreover, there is no internationally agreed definition of terrorism. It is expected that a Comprehensive treaty will address this problem (See www.un.org / terrorism).

7.1.4 University for Peace

On 5 December 2015, the United Nations – mandated University for Peace commemorated its 35th anniversary. Established by the United Nations General Assembly through its resolution 35/55, the University's mission is "to provide humanity with an international institution of higher education for peace and with the aim of promoting among all human beings the spirit of understanding, tolerance and peaceful coexistence, to stimulate cooperation among peoples and to help lessen obstacles and threats to world peace and progress, in keeping with the noble aspirations proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations."

The original vision of the University for Peace and its mission are still relevant, perhaps more than ever. The authorities that imagined and delineated the role of the University stressed that "the persistence of war in the history of mankind and the growing threats against peace in recent decades jeopardize the very existence of the human species and require peace not to be conceived as a negative concept, as the end of conflict or as a simple diplomatic compromise, but that it should be conquered and secured through the most valuable and effective resource that man possesses: education." Likewise, they reaffirmed that peace is an inalienable right achieved through education. Disarmament efforts are essential, but they will not be successful without a major effort in the field of education; this is the challenge faced by nations and humanity as a whole in the 21st century.

As it commemorates its 35 years of existence, the University for Peace is undergoing a process of strengthening its core mission on the basis of contributing more decisively to the four essential pillars of the United Nations, namely, the ongoing search for peace; the promotion and protection of human rights; adopting measures conducive to sustainable development; and achieving consensus among all actors around the urgent need to halt the serious impact of climate change.

Headquartered in Costa Rica, the United Nations-mandated University for Peace was established in December 1980 as a Treaty Organisation by the UN General Assembly. As determined in the Charter of the University, the mission of the University for Peace is: "to provide humanity with an international institution of higher education for peace with the aim of promoting among all human beings the spirit of understanding, tolerance and peaceful coexistence, to stimulate cooperation among peoples and to help lessen obstacles and threats to world peace and progress, in keeping with the noble aspirations proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations."

To ensure academic freedom, the University was established under its own Charter, approved by the General Assembly. UPEACE is not subject to UN regulations and is directed by its own Council of renowned personalities with expertise in peace and security matters. This has allowed the University to move rapidly and to innovate, focusing its new, rigorous academic programme on the

fundamental causes of conflict through a multidisciplinary, multicultural-oriented approach.

The wider mission of the University should be seen in the context of the worldwide peace and security objectives of the United Nations. The central importance of education, training and research in all their aspects to build the foundations of peace and progress and to reduce the prejudice and hatred on which violence, conflict and terrorism are based is increasingly recognized. The Charter of the University calls for UPEACE "to contribute to the great universal task of educating for peace by engaging in teaching, research, post-graduate training and dissemination of knowledge fundamental to the full development of the human person and societies through the interdisciplinary study of all matters related to peace".

Funding of UPEACE programmes comes from the support of a number of donor governments, foundations and institutions who believe in the mission of the University. Fundraising for an endowment fund is in progress.

The vision of UPEACE is to become a network of collaborating UPEACE centers and activities in different regions, guided from its headquarters in Costa Rica and cooperating with a large number of universities, NGOs and other partners on education and research for peace (www.upeace.org).

7.1.5   Role of Regional Organisations

Some of the IGOs were established with the aim of providing stability and security in their regions. One of the significant IGOs in the contemporary world is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). It was established in 1949 in order to provide collective defense against the Soviet Union threat. After the dissolution of Soviet Union and collapse of Berlin Wall, NATO's role was changed due to the impact of increased globalization processes which led to increased intra-state conflicts. The member states that compromised this group required its security mission be conducted in a larger context. As a result, new associations such as the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council

and the Partnership for Peace (PfP) were established. The PfP was designed to prepare states for joint peacekeeping operations in the region in order to maintain stability in Europe. NATO has evolved in many different ways. However, events after 9/11 (terrorist attack on World Trade Centre in New York on

NATO in Afghanistan
Post 9/11, NATO troops were sent miles away to join the US led invasion of Afghanistan
From August 2003 to 2014, NATO led the UN mandated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF.)

9 September 2001) changed its agenda markedly. At the Prague Summit in 2002, the changing nature of security challenges was addressed. The current global security problems such as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction led to expansion of the activities of NATO outside the region. As a result, NATO began to cooperate with other IGOs, the UN, and non-member countries and has increased its military capacity.

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

Note: i) Use of the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the role of United Nations role in the maintenance of International Peace and Security since the end of World War-II

....

....

....

....

....

NON-GOVERNMENTAL TRANSNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

The estimates of numbers of NGOs vary enormously. The 2008–2009 *Yearbook of International Organisations* identified more than 8,000 non-governmental organizations.

Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research (TFF)

TFF is a transnational organisation. It was established on January 1, 1986 by Christina Spannar and Jan Oberg as an independent, not-for-profit public charity under Swedish law. It is an independent think tank, a global network that aims to bring about peace by peaceful means. It inspires a passion for peace from the grassroots to the corridors of power.

The themes of TFF, among others, are: nonviolence, reconciliation and forgiveness, media, war and peace, nuclear abolition and pro-peace inspiration. TFF is an all-volunteer global network. It promotes conflict-mitigation and reconciliation in general, as well as in a more targeted way in a selected number of conflict regions – through meticulous on-the-ground research, active listening, education and advocacy. The Foundation is committed to doing diagnosis and prognosis as well as proposing solutions. It does so in a clear, pro-peace manner.

TFF works in support of two major UN Charter norms – "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and that "peace shall be brought about by peaceful means". The Foundation helps people learn to handle conflicts with less violence towards other human beings, other cultures and nature. It is a networking organisation with Associates all over the globe. It believes that alternatives to the main trends of our time are desirable and possible - indeed necessary for humankind to survive and live with dignity. TFF is critical and constructive. It is and shall remain an experiment in applied peace research and global networking.

Its goals are conflict-mitigation, peace research and education to improve conflict-understanding at all levels and promote alternative security and global development ideals based on nonviolent politics, economics, sustainability and

an ethics of care. The results, which are geared at decision-makers and citizens alike, combine innovative thinking and theories with workable, practical solutions. TFF undertakes the following:

1) On-the-ground conflict analyses and mitigation as well as education, training and reconciliation work. The countries we focus on include Burundi, the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran, Libya and other places in the Middle East as well as the European Union, Sweden, Denmark. Its activities are conducted by organised teams which are formed by the Foundation's Associates.

2) TFF is constantly developing its intellectual resource base. It provides learning opportunities and inspiration. These are the pillars of our field work and are made available to our website visitors, to students at courses and training sessions, and everyone else around the world. Everything we produce is free of charge.

3) Advocacy, training, education, media and other public outreach.

TFF works in conflict areas and their resource base that enable them to work effectively in this third way. In the first five years after its inception, TFF focused on academic research and the publication of comprehensive academic studies. Since 1991 the Foundation has chosen to emphasize exploratory, in-the-field, solution-oriented studies in conflict-mitigation and to let this experience inform new theory formation and educational programmes in the future. TFF intends to remain an experiment, a hybrid between research and practical on-the-ground peace and reconciliation work.

Since 2007 TFF has made extensive use of social media and emphasized public education. Post 2011 the Foundation has moved the balance between diagnosis, prognosis and solutions further in the direction of the latter; this can be seen in a more general pro-peace orientation and the opening of the virtual community Imagine A Better World in 2012.

TFF as such is people-financed. The Foundation's day-to-day management operates on donations from citizens around the globe who sympathize with our goals and methods. In addition, it is based on unpaid voluntary work by all Associates, the founders, volunteers, etc. (www.transnational.org/)

The International Committee of Artists for Peace (ICAP)

This is an organisation of passionately committed individuals using the creative power of the artists to build a peaceful society. Collaborating with individuals and organisations that share its mission for peace, ICAP employs dialogue and the full creative power of the arts to instill the ideals of humanism and non-violence in today's youth. Since 2002, ICAP has sponsored concerts, exhibits and dialogues in support of the UN Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace.

The mission of ICAP is to establish peace and foster peacemakers through the power of art. It does this through:

- **Performance:** Members of ICAP, across a wide spectrum of genres, perform the fine art of reconnecting audiences with their humanity;

- **Education through mentoring and arts:** ICAP artists share their talents and visions of peace with youth through school workshops, seminars and joint performances;

- **Awards and Scholarships:** ICAP recognizes and rewards individuals and organisations that contribute to making the arts a vehicle for creating peace;

- **Collaboration:** ICAP facilitates peace and performing-arts activities and events with?other like-minded organisations toward creating a groundswell movement for peace, culture and education;

- **Exhibits:** ICAP-sponsored peace and culture exhibitions have been presented at schools, organisational events and conventions. Their travelling exhibit "Building a Culture of Peace for the Children of the World" was produced in support of the UN International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) and has been showcased worldwide (www.icapeace.org/).

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

Note: i) Use of the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Examine the role of non-governmental organisations and transnational organisations contribute towards building world peace? Illustrate with examples.

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

LET US SUM UP

Since the creation of the UN, over 100 major conflicts around the world have left some 20 million dead. The post-Cold War period has seen many intra-state conflicts. The UN was rendered powerless to deal with many of these crises because of the vetoes – 279 of them – exercised in the Security Council by P5. In section 2 of this Unit we have discussed nine major crises (Palestine, Korean War, Suez, Hungarian and Czech crises, Iran-Iraq war, 1991 Gulf War, Bosnia and Iraqi crisis of 2003) to explain the role of UN to maintain or enforce peace. The General Assembly passed a "Uniting for Peace" resolution to deal with veto problem and undertake peacekeeping functions under the UN Charter. It was largely successful in preventing these conflicts leading towards III World war. Its efforts in peace-building are hampered by growing arms race among member states. It is not able to eradicate the menace of terrorism. In fact, one should not blame the UN for such a failure. It is only an association of states. Its members do not want it to enforce peace in the world to serve their national interests. The University of Peace, TFF and ICAP are also contributing towards promoting peace. Peace can be established by IOs only in tandem with nation states**.** By summing up we can say that until the "United Nations" is composed of "Divided Nations", peace will remain the victim.

SOME USEFUL REFERENCES

Heikkurinen, Pasi (2017), (ed.), *Sustainability and Peaceful Coexistence for the Anthropocene*, Routledge, New York.

Jacobson, Harold K., *Networks of Interdependence: International Organisations and the Global Political System*, 2nd edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984)

Karns, Margaret P. and Mingst, Karen A., *International Organisations – The Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (New Delhi: Viva Books, 2005)

.........................., *The United Nations in the 21st Century – Dilemmas in World Politics,* fourth edition (Boulder, COL: Westview Press, 2012)

Mansbach, Richard W. and Taylor, Kristen L., *Introduction to Global Politics*, Second edition (London: Routledge, 2012)

Pevehouse, Jon and Bruce Russett, "Democratic International Governmental Organisations Promote Peace", *International Organisation*, 60, 4, 2006

Rittberger, Volker & others, *International Organisations,* 2nd edition (Palgrave, 2012)

United Nations, *Basic Facts of the United Nations* (New York: United Nations, 2011)

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOU PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

1) Your answer should include role of United Nations, peacekeeping organisations and regional organisations and their role.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

1) Your answer should have the following points:

   a) Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research

   b) International Committee of Artists for Peace