UNIT 4 PEACE AMONG NATIONS

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

Peace thinking has influenced both the peace movements as well as peace research worldwide. Absence of violence should not be confused with absence of conflict; violence may occur without conflict, and conflict may be solved by means of non-violent mechanisms. The distinction between negative peace and positive peace gives rise to a four fold classification of relations between two nations: Firstly, war, which is organised group violence; secondly, negative peace, where there is no violence but no other form of interaction either and where the best characterisation is "peaceful passive coexistence"; thirdly, positive peace, where there is some cooperation interspersed with occasional outbreaks of violence; lastly, unqualified peace, where absence of violence is combined with a pattern of cooperation. The recent transformation and settlement of protracted international and societal conflicts and the radical transformation of previously authoritarian and repressive societies have heightened attention to the challenges of building post-conflict relations that are enduring and just. One long-standing area of peace studies has been the effect of integration between societies and of sectors within societies. Integration is indicated by the high rate of exchange of goods, people, and ideas across societal and group lines, relative to exchanges within.

Research findings support the generalisation that integration improves communication and exchanges between the integrating parties and more importantly, enhances mutual security and reduces the probability of countries' waging wars or threatening each other's identity, particularly, when such an integration is perceived to be equitable. Traditionally, efforts to restore peace after a conflict ends include policies to redress the grievances that were viewed as the conflict's source. For communal differences within a country, this may entail more autonomy for citizens with different languages or religions and provisions for popular participation in determining the form and degree of autonomy. In recent years, peace workers have been giving considerable attention to fostering mutual understanding and tolerance among peoples with different cultural backgrounds living in the same society. This attention extends to reconciliation between peoples who perpetrated gross human rights violations and people who suffered profound losses during periods of repression or of violent struggle.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand

- The concept of international peace systems
- Approaches to the study of peace
- The movements for peace
- Gandhi's scheme of world federation and peace among nations.

4.2 INTERNATIONAL PEACE SYSTEMS

Most of the peace thinking has centred on the problem of how power shall best be distributed among the nations of the world. The first model is that of minimum equality of power which is based on the theory that the international system is best served by making power the monopoly of one nation or system, just as it is monopolised by some states in the international system. Examples are the Pax Romana, Pax Ecclesiae, and Pax Britannica. These are instances of Roman Empire, the Catholic Church and Britain maintaining law and order over large areas in the globe. The second model focuses on maximum equality, or what is usually referred to as a 'balance of power' in the sense that no nation or alliance is strong enough to defeat another nation or alliance. A modern version of this is the balance of terror, in which a nation may defeat other nations, but only at the risk of itself being completely destroyed. The third model views military power as best stabilised at a low level; this refers to all kinds of arms control efforts, especially those that have taken place from the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 to the present day, including contemporary thinking that aims at subtracting from a Hobbesian dictum that denotes some means of violence and some objects of violence. The idea is to rule out general and complete war. Finally, there is the model that views power as stabilised at a zero level; this refers to the general and complete disarmament advocated by pacifists. Pacifism asserts that this state may be obtained unilaterally by the effect of example, because weapons become meaningless when they do not encounter similar weapons, and by the refusal of soldiers to use arms, as well as by governmental decisions.

4.3 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PEACE

Peace education at its beginning, focused on arms race, disarmament and deadly conflict

and war. Peace studies today are inclusive of a vast range of approaches and experiments and many innovative ways of thinking have been developed. Peace research is concerned with the development, accumulation and discovery of knowledge about the causes of war and condition of peace; peace education is concerned with the development of the processes of education in and about peace; while peace studies is an area of concern that relates to the substantive issues regarding the purposes and problems of the dissemination of knowledge of peace as a process.

4.3.1 Political Economy Approach

The political economy approach draws attention to the political and economic structures of the international system, which create conditions for inequitable distribution of wealth among and within nations. The political economy approach examines the nature of the modern political economy and its implications for social and international conflict. The need for food and other basic economic necessities has not been met in many parts of the world. The number of people suffering from nutritional deprivation has steadily increased. In many poor countries, the populations also have a high level of illiteracy and lack a proper level of education. These miserable life conditions are attributed to the failure of economic systems. To produce opportunities for the marginalised, an equitable global economic order is essential. In the classic economic liberalism, the role of government is to nurture a political environment for promoting a free market society and to protect the rights of private property. Marxism analyses social structure in terms of relations between two antagonist classes, the proletariat, comprised of workers, who earn wages for their physical work, and the bourgeoisie, who monopolise the capital needed to make investment in production. Class antagonism can be resolved through the achievement of an equal society that does not have an exploitative economic relationship. Since individual actions would be ineffective in fighting against a ruling class, building solidarity among the masses is important.

Competition between colonial powers in pursuit of foreign markets and raw materials is a driving force behind international conflict. Marxist thinkers also attribute imperialism to the economic structure of capitalist states. An external outlet for surplus goods and financial investments is needed for the survival of capitalism. Imperialism is thus an inevitable outcome of the expansion of capitalism on a global scale. With the rise of international capitalism, the contradictions inherent in capitalism, particularly, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few reproduces itself on a global scale resulting in international economic inequalities and the enrichment of one state at the expense of another. The internationalisation of capitalism, creation of new political alignments, transformation of social values, and the acceleration of scientific and technological advances have promoted free market economy at both the national and international levels. Economic globalisation reduces the role of states to adjusting national policies to the dynamics of an unregulated global economy. The state mainly remains to enforce legal and political framework for a free market mechanism. Industrialised states have supported private enterprises by enforcing contracts and using an instrument of political leverage to impose market rules world-wide. Many poor countries in the world today are former European colonies and share experiences of years of exploitation and frustration with the dominant structure of international political economy. The spread of markets into the domain of traditional life increased the number of households losing control over subsistence means in the process of being integrated into new economic relations. Global economic expansion created conditions of social segregation and fragmentation within countries. Economic decisions are disentangled from family, gender and social relations as well as cultural traditions. The

incorporation into a cash economy leads to the devaluation of traditional productive activities of women. The costs of economic marginalisation include social polarisation and destruction of internal linkages.

4.3.2 Feminist Approach

While both women and men are victims of sexism, racism, human rights abuse, and poverty, there are particular types of violence that afflict women more than men. Family violence and sexual and emotional abuse of women are major concerns in many parts of the world. Feminine values of caring, compassion and nurturing have enriched the conceptions of peace. Moreover, the application of feminine values to the radical transformation of an oppressive social order serves as an important principle in the struggle for achieving peace. The introduction of a market oriented economic system deprives women's income by assigning low monetary value to their economic activities. Competitive, organisational and exclusive masculine values support a model of hierarchical human relationships. These values are often reflected in the bureaucracies of states, churches, corporations, political parties, and the military. Social welfare is traded for military spending and it further exacerbates female poverty.

Feminist thinkers find a logical linkage between feminism, pacifism and socialism. The elimination of violence in both private and public spheres is essential to achieving peace. The Feminist conceptions of peace are extended to the conditions of social justice, economic equity, and ecological balance. Equity and democracy have to be transformational values for forthcoming social changes. Equal relations between men and women can serve as the foundation for equality among all people and an end to racism and ecological destruction. Social justice and development require the full participation of women. Feminist values broaden the concept of security by including in it all people and all nations based on a notion of kinship extended to the entire human family. An adversarial state--centric security system negatively affects the conditions for protecting the most fundamental roots of survival embodied in health and a decent quality of life. Feminist security agenda seeks protection from organised state violence and the fulfillment of fundamental needs of human harmony.

4.3.3 Environmental Approach

The environmental approach to the study of peace points out that the unbalanced relationship of humans to bio-environmental system is a source of threat to human survival. Human beings have a unique capacity to damage the planet that supports life-support systems of all species. Global warming effects, river and ocean pollution, deforestation and distortion of bio-diversity are related to the expansion of human activities which threaten life-supporting ecosystems. The impact of deforestation, desertification, pollution, over-fishing, and overgrazing on the ecosystem threatens our planetary biodiversity. The scarcity and misuse of fresh water pose another serious threat to human health, welfare, food security and the entire ecosystem. The rapid increase in population, especially in the developing countries outstrips economic growth, deteriorates living standards, and results in severe environmental degradation. The carrying capacity of land, that is, the number of people an area can support without compromising its ability to do so in future, has been rapidly deteriorating in these countries. The planet is gradually moving towards overloading the carrying capacity with a rapid growing population.

Competition for limited or inequitably distributed resources may lead to violent conflicts. Threats to subsistent life caused by resource scarcity increase the probability of social

unrest and war. -Deteriorating resource bases, coupled with rapidly growing population, produce a volatile social situation for group conflict. Population dislocation can be caused by such environmental changes as deforestation, desertification, drought, soil- erosion and floods. The protection of the local as well as global environment must be integral to the development process throughout our increasingly interdependent world. Sustainability cannot be achieved in one country, since ecological problems do not recognise any borders.

4.3.4 Functional Approach

The main architect of functionalism as a theory is David Mitrany. His essay *A Working Peace System* summarises the main arguments of the functionalists and by its very title drew attention to their major claim: functionalism is the road to lasting peace. Written after the World War II, Mitrany projected the growing domestic trend towards welfare statism into the international arena and argued that wars are the result of social and economic maladjustments. While the real task of our common society is the conquest of poverty, ignorance and disease, the existing state system based on sovereignty is not only inadequate but also an obstacle to finding solutions to global problems. Functionalists see promoting peace in three different ways. It solves basic human problems that are the root causes of war. Functional organisations, such as the FAO, enable countries to feed their hungry by developing new strains of wheat and rice. It subverts the sovereignty of nation-states. For instance, citizens of a nation, which receives support from international organisations or other countries or international organisations, are inclined to offer similar assistance to where it is needed elsewhere. They might be less inclined to support policies of their own government that are hostile to countries that contribute to helping them.

Moreover, functional activities create within a country, even within a government, groups whose interests are closely tied with international interests. For instance, a health ministry which is making use of the WHO's technical aid may become an advocate of world cooperation. A village doctor who depends on a vaccine supplied by the WHO may develop a vested interest in seeing that the WHO continues to function inside the country. Apart from giving some people inside a country vested interest in international activity, functional activities may foster international loyalty among people at large and counteract the handful nationalistic activities. A third way in which functional activity supports peace is by bringing people from different countries in face-to-face contact. Foreigners seem less 'foreign' and more human when they are living right in your midst. And it becomes difficult to accept generalisations about other national groups when such groups are living and working in one's own village or town. Functionalism is, thus, very much a programme for action. It is intended to be prescriptive and policy-oriented. It is also descriptive and diagnostic as it is linked with perceptions of development in significant aspects of human nature and institutional interaction.

4.3.5 Critique of Functionalism

Some members of the functionalism itself who suggested alternative routes to political integration challenged Mitrany's theory of functional integration. They are the neo--functionalists. In contrast to the functionalists who sought to create a new world order in which the sovereign states take a back seat, the neo-functionalists or the integration theorists seek to create new states through the integration of existing states. The neo-functionalist theory developed by E.Haas in the 1960s was inspired by the intensifying cooperation between the countries of Western Europe that began in the 1950s. Haas builds on Mitrany. But he rejects the notion that 'technical' matters can be separated from

politics. Integration is a process whereby 'political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties... towards a new centre whose institutions posses or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states'. The theory of functionalism is considered contradictory and vague. The most frequent criticism of functionalism has been that it is not clear in what way the work of the functional institutions would be coordinated.

The formulations of the functionalists are of a utopian kind. Some critics have argued that functionalism does not take enough account of the working of politics. It has been said that functionalism presumes a natural willingness of people and nations to work together. It is based on the assumption of essential goodness of human nature. Functionalism implies that man is innately good and rational. This, according to the critics, is a one-sided view of human nature. Actually man is a mixture of both good and evil. He can be good and rational and equally he can be irrational and selfish. Functionalism is essentially an approach to world order. It is an approach which would overlay political divisions with a spreading web of international activities and agencies, in which and through which the interests and life of all nations would be gradually integrated. Functionalism is a combination of two closely related processes: task expansion and loyalty transfer. According to the functionalists, international functional organisations and agencies promise to eliminate war by attacking the societal diseases such as poverty, ill-health, illiteracy, economic insecurity, social injustice and exploitation which subvert human beings' natural inclinations and lead to war.

4.4 MOVEMENTS FOR PEACE

Hundreds of groups working for disarmament and peace suggest an enormous democratisation of the struggle for peace. These organisations do provide open fora for expressions of public opinion. The pre-war official peace movement had developed from an aspiration of religious mystics, based almost exclusively on the principle of the wickedness of all wars, into a movement favouring the creation of actual political machinery cooperating with the legal profession for the reform and administration of international law and had become respectable by the support by other peace movements and above all, the Churches. The greatest achievement is that the peace movements have raised public awareness of nuclear issues across international boundaries. The peace movements created mass protest; an unintended consequence was that it taught governments how to successfully deflect and neutralise mass protest. The peace movements were able to activate the very best in humanitarian, liberal and moral feeling.

Regionalism and World Peace

The increasingly complex problems of modern international society have led to multilateral cooperation in matters of mutual concern. The most interesting and significant development of international society has been the growth of regional organisations as a means of peace and security. Peace enforcement through regional security system has limitations because of split among the members of the regional organisation; and economic sanctions could not be used within a region because they could adversely affect the economic interests of its own members. Regional arrangements are considered to be instruments of collective self-defence and action against an aggressor; these would be undertaken not only more willingly but also with more dispatch and efficiency by those within a region. Moreover, the homogeneity of interests of various kinds such as language, culture or economic interests produces a natural trend towards regional groupings.

4.5 GANDHI, WORLD FEDERATION AND PEACE AMONG NATIONS

Peace in the world cannot be achieved without reaching the concept and techniques of Gandhi. Therefore, it is much more important to understand his techniques and try to replace the present techniques which advocate violence all over the world. The force or violence was the basis of international politics. Therefore, according to him, politics is power-oriented. Power, therefore, leads to competition. Competition makes in turn violence. This was noticed in the Cold War era of the world. Thus, international politics or even a national politics for that matter is centred around the "use of force" which creates only force, all over the worId. Peace will never come until the great powers courageously decide to disarm themselves. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put amend to all wars. In such a world only the militarily weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation or exploitation. Unless big nations shed their desire of exploitation and the inevitable consequence, there is no hope for peace in the world. Further, violence to persons and property has the effect of clouding the real issues involved in the original conflict while non-coercive, non-violent action invites the parties to a dialogue about the issues themselves. Gandhi, therefore, warns that we must hate the sin and not the sinner.

Gandhi fervently hoped for "a world federation of free and independent states". His concept of World Government transcended in the traditional thinking, the pattern of conventional international organisations could not satisfy the conditions for bringing genuine peace. He held that peace could not be established through mere conferences. Similarly, he was not optimistic about the League of Nations and the United Nations. They lacked the spirit of non-violence and failed to serve as vehicles of peace in the absence of a force to enforce their decisions.

4.5.1 Arms Race and Materialism

It is not only the arms race that generates the violence but the mad rush also for the Western material comforts which results in constant dependence, dissatisfaction, cut throat competition, exploitation and hatredness that are responsible for untruth and violence. The modern military weapons have become so indiscriminate and their efforts so catastrophic that the very existence of mankind is threatened. Unscrupulous pursuit of material welfare without heading ethical and human values, has crept into the very vitals of national life and culture. As a result, the moral fibre of the people has been weakened. In the words of Martin Luther King, "the choice before mankind is between non-violence and non-existence." To abolish war, we must get rid of our anger, hate, passion, pride, fear, egotism and inordinate ambition and lust for power. He also believed that disarmament was possible only through "the matchless weapon of non-violence." And it was his hope that India will prove herself worthy of being the first nation in the world to give lead to other nations for the delivery of earth from the burden of war. He wanted the great powers lead the rest by disarming themselves; they should give up ambitions and exploitation and revise their mode of life. Thus, according to Gandhi, disarmament cannot crystalise, unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another. 'Exploitation must go' is the essential precondition for the establishment of a world free from blood-spilling.

4.5.2 Man versus Machine

The Gandhian concept of world peace should be viewed as an integral part of his

philosophy of life and one should try to appreciate his attitude within the general framework of his philosophy of ahimsa. Gandhi was able to initiate an educational discourse outside the familiar East-West dichotomy yet forming part of the critique of the West by locating the problem of education in a different dialectic, that of man versus machine. In this dialectic, man represented the whole of mankind, and the machine represented the industrialised West. Throughout his life, Gandhi had perceived his personal life and the causes he fought for in a global context. The kind of life that Gandhi's 'basic education' proposal projected as the 'good' life was first practised by him at Phoenix Settlement and, somewhat more rigorously and ambitiously, at Tolstoy Farm a little later. As the name indicates, by the time of this latter experiment, Gandhi had read the works of, and had established contact with, the Russian writer and thinker Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy's celebration of the individual's right to live in peace and freedom, and his negation of all forms of oppression, brought him close to Gandhi. Gandhi's concept of peace on earth and goodwill among mankind has led to the development of Sarvodaya social order which is India's distinctive contribution to world of thought. If an individual can practise non-violence, why not whole groups of individuals and nations of the world?

4.5.3 Perfect Peace

Gandhi, on the other hand, suggested that 'love' could be adopted as the 'means' for achieving 'perfect peace'. Peace without love, as he pointed out, is violence. And love without peace is also violence. Therefore, as he aimed, the concept, love, should work replacing the use of force concept which would create the cycle of love all over. According to Gandhi, the ultimate goal of any peace maker should be of building up peace army. It is necessary to quote here Gandhi's statement, "... the moral principles on which civilization rests are truth and love. If people everywhere respond to them truthfully, the world will be brought closer together and the darkness which we see around us, may be dispelled." On the basis of his proposition, if the world leaders direct the world, conflict resolution for all the problems of the present world can be achieved and the world in the 21st century will be the century of love and not of violence. We also know this fact that human nature is essentially peace loving. The way of world peace lies in cultivating the spirit of non-violence and peace in the hearts of men.

4.5.4 Politics of Violence

Gandhi is opposed to violence and wars. He was an advocate of non-violence and peace. According to him, "Truth and non-violence are as old as are the hills, I have nothing new to teach the world." War is said to be a way of ending wars. As a matter of fact the Second World War was fought by the allies with a view to end all wars. Gandhi was of the firm opinion that war can never end wars, and the same thing had happened with the end of Second World War leading to further tensions. War, which is a destroying and divisive force, can never contribute to establishment of peace. Hence, the search for peace should be the way of non-violence alone.

4.5.5 Gandhian Solution of a Peaceful World

To eliminate war and to establish world peace, Gandhi looked to statesmen and nations to use or develop certain methods and institutions. The chief of these are third party settlement, world government, disarmament and an inter-national police force. He argued that because the individual can be pacific, states possess an equal potential since they are equal to the sum of their citizens. In addition, he recom-mended satyagraha as a substitute for military action. He denied that his technique of struggle is a method of war rather than

of peace and said that it has a spiritual quality which is not found in ordinary warfare. As to its interstate employment, he claimed: 'Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be ex-tended to every other circle.'

4.6 UNITED NATIONS'S AGENDA FOR PEACE

For establishing peace among nations, the UN's Agenda for Peace can be broadly separated into four groups: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peace building. Preventive diplomacy tries to put an end to a conflict by getting the concerned parties to resolve the conflict before it becomes violent. Peacemaking tries to resolve the conflict diplomatically but after the bout becomes violent. It tries to get the involved parties to cease-fire. The Peacekeeping role of the UN comes into play at this stage to make sure that the ceasefire is honoured. Peace-building is the last stage that promotes peace and order by raising social structures, legal systems and sometimes even setting up a new government. Non-diplomatic methods of resolving disputes are the adjudicative methods where a third party is invested with power to decide the dispute. The method by which the decision is reached is not, as in diplomacy, by persuasion, but by determining the question of fact on which the parties are in disagreement and reaching a decision on the dispute by applying the applicable law to the facts.

4.7 SUMMARY

In the positive conception of peace, peace is more than the absence of violence; it is the presence of social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources, equal protection and impartial enforcement of law. Thus, while the negative conception addresses the immediate symptoms, conditions of war and the use and effects of force and weapons for peace, positive peace involves the elimination of the root causes of war, violence and injustice. It also involves conscious efforts to build a society reflecting these commitments.

The adherents of positive peace focus their efforts on establishing peace through world order by supporting international law, compliance with multilateral treaties, use of international courts, and non-violent resolution of disputes, participation in international organisation, trade and communication. They also emphasise the estalishment of social equality and justice, economic equity, ecological balance and eliminate indirect violence by meeting basic human needs. Peace work and the ways of thinking about peace have greatly expanded in recent decades. Peace is increasingly understood to be multidimensional and dynamic. Consequently, the ways of promoting peace are also manifold, and they vary in different settings for different actors. Theory and research about aspects of peace and their promotion draws from and contributes to social theory and social practice. Recent applied and scholarly peace work is based on past experience, but the realities of the current world necessitate fresh thinking and innovative practice.

The Gandhian concept of world peace should be viewed as an integral part of his philosophy of life and one should try to appreciate his attitude within the general framework of philosophy of ahimsa. Good means alone can lead us to ever lasting peace. If peace is established by violence, it will be of no use.

4.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Bring out the distinction between direct and structural violence.
2. Explain the concept of positive peace.
3. Critically analyse the main features of feminist approach to peace.
4. Critically examine the models of international peace system.
5. Write an analytical note on Functionalism.
6. Trace the evolution of peace research in the post-war period bringing out the issue confronting peace research.
7. Desribe the Gandhi's idea of world federation and a peaceful world.

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