CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PEACE IN GLOBAL CONTEXT – A HISTORICAL VIEW
War begins in the minds of man. Scholars have often viewed and interpreted peace in a variety of ways. The term 'Peace' can be interpreted as the absence of warfare i.e., the absence of organized violence between groups, nations, races, classes or ideologies. In a broader sense, peace, thus, refers to the absence of external and internal wars.

**Dimensions of Peace**

The word peace is derived from the Latin word 'Pax' which means: 'pact'. This implicit theory of peace is contractual, conscious and mutually agreed, and has been the source of western international law. Another Roman legacy states: "if you want peace, prepare for war". This dialogue constitutes another important strand in the mainstream Western peace theory: peace through deterrence of any potential aggressor with the deployment of military force. Mainstream occidental thought about peace has changed a little during the past 2,000 years, apart from oriental elements during the Middle Ages.¹

The best exposition of peace appears in the Christianity. It regards the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God and calls for the maturing of human race. It is no wonder that all the discussions of Christian ideas seem centered on the nuclear menace today. The erosion of civilization and perhaps even the end of all human life on earth is the vital task, being faced by mankind. Not that a nuclear freeze can be considered an end in itself. Only the unity and co-operation on a global scale can make universal peace.²

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and salutations since the time of Prophet Mohammed. All the thirty chapters in Quoran such as *Al-Mulk* (the Sovereignty), *Al-Noor* (the light), *Al-Anbiya* (the prophet), *Al-Yousuf* (the Joseph), *Al-Rehman* (the beneficent), etc., are directly associated with spiritual and moral peace.³

The Indian views on religion so-called 'Hinduism' is associated with personal and social livings. It has been widely accepted by many spiritual thinkers for its non-violent and pacifist traditions. Many Indians called it as 'Sanatan Dharma', the eternal religion. It is based on threefold repetitions of Sanskrit words i.e., *Shanti, Shanti, Shanti* which denotes: tranquility and calmness of mind, absence of passion and aversion of pain. In the Bhagvadgita, the dependency of warrior Arjuna comes from envisaging the destruction of human beings and order (Dharma). In the war of Mahabharata, Arjun's heart got melted with pity who preferred to be killed rather than killing his own brothers. Therefore, he lays down his armours, but Lord Krishna, by giving many spiritual and moving speeches got Arjuna prepared for war.⁴

In the Upnishad, Ahimsa appears in the form of austerity, almsgiving and truthfulness. Non-violence is also a leading tenet of Jainism- the highest embodiment of human subsistence. Its very essence reads: "One may not kill, ill use, insult, torment or persecute any kind of living being, any kind of creature, any kind of thing having soul".⁵

Earnest efforts were made by the Buddhist Maurya Emperor Ashoka the Great (270-232 B.C.), who fostered righteousness, social justice and calmness of mind. Even in

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the twentieth century, Buddhism proved to be rampant in challenging the Vietnam war and helped in building up the peace Pagodas.

In modern times Mahatma Gandhi did more than anyone else to bring back an awareness of Ahimsa into the mainstream of Indian life. He considered non-violence a soul force to promote Universal Truth.

PEACE THROUGH THE AGES:

Peace in Ancient Greece

The first successful example of organized peace was the Olympic truce of the Ancient Greeks which considered entire community as an integral part of society. The Greek City-State possessed moral authority and aimed at perfection. It culminated into the wide circles of human associations based on human wants. Because of certain virtuous qualities, the Olympic Games, symbol of peace and unity, used to be held each after four years. During that specific period local wars were not allowed. Every kind of security was given to the incoming and outgoing athletes which helped them to take part in various activities.  

The Pax-Romana

The Roman civilization achieved the glory of peace through military leaders and armed forces. It successfully united a single empire known as 'Pax-Romana' which means the peace of Rome. All local wars were ended; the great Roman Law was introduced; courts

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were established; and other infrastructure facilities were made available. The Roman Empire rested on the army strength was crucially important to end injustice.  

**Beginning of Renaissance**

Peace has always been a key concern in all European civilizations since ancient times. But with the beginning of renaissance from fourteenth century, Europe once again became the centre of advancing culture. It revived the ideas, art and classical culture which were dominated by the Christian churches of Greek and Roman belief. But the balance of power in Europe was disturbed following Hundred years' war between England and France, intermittent from 1337 to 1453 A.D. in which England was the final victor. Many historians believed the war as the milestone in the European peace. It was French King Henry IV who urged for 'Great Design of Peace' and 'Federation of Christian Europe'. The most notable event in the direction of peace was founded by George Fox who established religious society of friends in 1652 A.D. It came to be known as 'Quakers' It greatly influenced the civilized thoughts of peace through promotion of religion. Quakers actually originated in England in 1650 A.D. whose proponents strongly supported perfection in life. The growing popularity of Quakers spread in Scotland, Ireland and other parts of Europe and America which led the foundation of many peace alliances. prominently, William Penn's proposal for a "Parliament of Europe" which significantly reflected in his Essay : Plan for the peace of Europe (1693).

8. Ibid.
10. See Baker, n.6, p.439e.
Vienna Peace Plan

The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) took concrete steps to maintain permanent peace settlement of European allies through the establishment of international law. It also provided a threefold classification of diplomatic envoys and made the European states admit to the principle of basic equality of all the states. Vienna peace plan is believed to be the foundation of international law in Europe. Above all, the Congress also evolved a mechanism for the enforcement of the terms of settlement and contributed to the evolution of international organization in three ways. Firstly, it forced an alliance to enforce peace after war. Secondly, it started the practice of holding conferences of great powers at fixed intervals to preserve peace. Thirdly, it emphasized the principles of peace which depended on collaboration of big powers. Some promising developments after the Vienna Peace plan have been the establishment of European Commission for the Danube (1856), the International Bureau of Telegraphic Association (1864), the Universal Postal Union (1875), the International Office of Public Health (1903), and the International Institute of Agriculture (1905). 11

The Hague Conferences

The Vienna Peace Plan and the concert of Europe greatly contributed to the preservation of peace in Europe. The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 played a major role in the creation of peace and international law. It worked through maintenance of general peace.

good offices and mediation, international commission and permanent court of arbitration.

It can be considered as the First General Assembly of States.  

The League of Nations

The League of Nations was one of the most comprehensive institutions of international organization. Its main objective was to end the risk of war of the European states. It was Robert Cecil of Britain whose proposal was endorsed by the US President Woodrow Wilson, British Prime Minister (PM) Lloyd George, and the French diplomat Leon Bourgeois. After the end of World War I (1918), the League of Nations was immediately set up in 1920 with a view to promote social, economic and cultural cooperation among its members. The covenant of League consisting twenty-six articles included the Versailles Peace Treaty which served as a constitution for the organization. The Fourteen points of US President Wilson illustrated the need of an idealistic program which can have its impact on the thinking and action of millions of people. The Wilsonian themes included: open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, disarmament, removal of economic barriers, international supervision of colonies, peaceful changes based on self-determination, and the creation of an association of nations. Although League performed many important tasks, it proved powerless in the face of aggression by strong allied countries in the 1930s. It came to an end in 1945, being replaced by the United Nations.  


The United Nations

The United Nations Organization (UNO) was born on 24 October 1945 for the purpose of coordinating actions of members to maintain international peace and promote friendly relations. It has been the most important organization of sovereign states since World War II and a nucleus centre of a wide-ranging network of international bodies. It was framed and seconded by the US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the British PM Winston Churchill in presence of twenty-six allied countries on 1 January 1942 at San Francisco. So, it came to be called as the "United Nations" which pledged to employ their full resources against Germany, Italy, and Japan. Thus, World War II not only showed the need for an effective international organization to replace the League of Nations but also highlighted the possibilities of global cooperation as a basis for resisting threats to the peace. The UN Charter was made flexible document subject to many broad interpretations and analysis.

On the whole, UNO as a peaceful agency has got overwhelming response in fulfilling the major objectives despite ideological and political differences among the members. Its peaceful role was duly recognized during the Korean War (1950), the Suez Canal Crisis (1956), and the Congo Crisis (1960). It has also been partly successful in maintaining many other global problems too with its monitoring agencies like the Security Council and General Assembly. The UNO, a true representation of World Federation, provides the various nations to clear up their misgiving. If any state has any complaint against the other the matter can be referred to the UN notice where pros and cons of the discussions lead to amicable relations between the rival parties. The UN has thus served as the 'Town meeting of the World'.
Disarmament and Peace

The establishment of UN has been the best alternative means of guaranteeing peace. Since its inception it has witnessed rapid changes in power configuration. End of World War II witnessed an increasing need of establishing peace and disarmament for permanent solution of global problems. The enormous destruction caused by World War II raised the conscience of the world statesmen. Fearing that another war may completely wipe out the human race they started making more frantic efforts through diplomatic negotiations. Disarmament became option to promote direct peace. It fought to abolish all existing weapons.¹⁴

The International Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC) was established in 1946 with the help of UN General Assembly. Its specific proposals have been the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends, the elimination of all atomic weapons for mass destruction, and effective safeguards by way of inspection against mass destruction. The plan was successful under the vigorous efforts of Bernard Baruch, a US representative on the commission when the member nations extended their full cooperation. They agreed on managerial control over all atomic energy activities potentially dangerous to world security. The Plan laid the foundation of international peace and disarmament. Since then, there have been rapid progress in establishing the peace commissions. In 1953, the US President Dwight D. Eisenhower proposed Atom for Peace Plan to promote an effective international pool of fissionable materials to be used for peaceful purposes. The Anglo-French Plan (1954) formulated a comprehensive convention of peace and disarmament. Soviet Proposals for Peace (1955) in Europe contributed the spirit of

¹⁴ For details, see Mahendra Kumar, Theoretical Aspects of International Politics (New Delhi, 1986). pp. 445-51.
détente. The Six Point Plan (1957) of US was designed to suspend the nuclear testings, stockpiles and arms forces for progressive establishment of open inspection system. The efforts of peace through disarmament negotiations continued. As a result many more peace agreements, such as Nuclear Test Ban (1958), the Antarctic Treaty (1959), the Ten Nations Disarmament Conferences (1960), the Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963), the Partial Test-Ban Treaty (PTBT:1963), the Seven Points Plan (1966), the Outer Space Treaty (OST :1967), and the Latin American Nuclear Freeze Treaty (1968) were successfully made. All these helped to establish peace. In 1968 the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was signed. The states possessing nuclear weapons undertook not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear devices. The Non-nuclear states were not allowed to manufacture or acquire nuclear devices or weapons. NPT soon emerged on the global agenda and acquired urgency. 15


15. For details of NPT, see World Armament and Disarmament, SIPRI Year Book, 1972 (Stockholm, 1972), pp. 283-75.
16. For details of SALT, see Ibid, pp. 23-35.
The opening of Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in 1982 between the super powers marked the beginning of a new history of disarmament. The agreement was finally settled in July 1991 during the visit of U.S. President George Bush to Moscow. It was the first successful agreement signed after the cold war. Other prominent treaties included: Geneva Talks on Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI: 1985), Reagan-Gorbachew Summit (1985), Reykjavik Peace Summit (1986), Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces or INF Treaty (1987), the Geneva Talks on Strategic Arms Reduction (1989), and the Historic Pacts on Arms (1990). During post-Cold War the major achievements are: Clinton-Yelstin Peace Summit (1992), the US-Russia signing of Missile Pact (1993), Clinton-Yelstin Summit on security and trade deal issues (26 September 1994) and Clinton-Yeltsin summit on Nuclear Safety (19 April 1996). Another notable achievement came through Clinton-Yelstin talks at Helsinki on 22 March 1997 when both agreed to secure passage of START II in the Russian Duma (parliament), a long goal of the US administration. Other agreements on "guidelines" for the next step, START III aim to reduce Strategic Warheads Stockpiles by about eighty percent of cold war by A.D. 2007 were also made. But the issue of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) eastward expansion remained unresolved.

The latest talks between Clinton and Yeltsin on 1 September 1998 at Moscow urged for mutual support and co-operation on arms control in South Asia. Other vital issues like economic reforms in Russia, commitment to modify rules of nuclear supplies,
the prospects of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), focus on ballistic missiles and space launched vehicles were also discussed. Further talks on nuclear safety is still going on. These issues are complicated to contemporary peace movements. Therefore, there is greater need of transparency to probe complicated structure of peace.

PEACE APPROACHES

Leo Tolstoy and Socialist Pacifism

A great Russian peace thinker Leo Nikolaievich Tolstoy - strongly advocated the theory of socialist pacifism. He was highly suspicious about the Crimean War (1853) in which Britain, France and Turkey fought against Russia following the Russian military expansion in Balkans. Being influenced by the disastrous consequences of war, Tolstoy rationalized his theory of human justice and strongly disapproved the glorification of war. His pacifist theory based on non-violence strongly influenced Gandhi and many other contemporary thinkers. Tolstoy stated that the state monopoly not only legitimized violence but also escalated corruption among the bourgeoisies who propagated the false value of war and its coercive structure. This leads to moral degradation at the worst sort. He openly blamed the state authorities and religious institutions which constituted the major obstacle to the spiritual and moral developments of mankind. Tolstoy, by ignoring the state elites like soldiers, ministers and judges, favoured general and enlightened masses.

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Gandhi-Non-Violence and Peace

Gandhi, a radical revivalist and practitioner of peace, has been a rare leader of India who successfully synthesized religious idealism with political realism. He gave emphasis on value goal of truth and non-violence for the solution of problems. His unimaginative truth based on non-passivity, self sacrifice, moral strength and matchless potency have been the mixture of truth-seeking elements. His method of activism and Satyagraha is the only viable option for those seeking for permanent peace. Gandhi's holistic approach to peace is widely discussed and carefully analyzed. It covers all departments of life for essential reformation and regeneration.

Many admitted that Gandhi unmistakably had foreseen the predicaments characterized by modern material civilization which for him was a 'disease' and 'nine days wonder'. He saw the present world order fraught with danger while planning for peace. He openly warned the people of modern civilization which was characterized by violence, accelerating tension, war-psychosis and abused militarism. For Gandhi, non-violent world order holds good to end global problems alike environmental pollution and ecological decay. In true sense, his moral philosophy has served as a unique solution to nuclear threat in contemporary world. 19 Gandhi's extremely depth and logically strong philosophy compelled the scholars of western peace movement to examine the Gandhian perspective.

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Peace through Education

The task of education is to impart and understand peace and security. It enables mankind unremittedly to work for peace. The modern disease which seems incurable, must be fought intelligently. Only education can create a worthy environment to live as cultured. 20

The utility of peace education has not been less significant for peace thinkers. Plato's scheme of education, Hobbes's theory of social contract, Rousseau's concept of popular sovereignty, Bentham's scheme of national education, and Forbel's concept of Kindergarten for peace and conscience etc. have been significantly interpreted. There have been dramatic improvements in the modern education system due to pedagogical and democratic-socialist revolution. Scholars of the world tried to communicate education from various means. Presumably, the ideas of peace through education has to establish co-ordination between mind and body in guarding against the latent frustration and aggression.

Peace education made remarkable progress after World War II. The beginning of cold war, power politics and Vietnam War have developed realization for peace education and peace brigades. The United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has taken concrete efforts by organizing associated School Projects to encourage the free exchange of ideas and knowledge for international cooperation, understanding and common human rights. 21 It also provides useful information about social and economic documents and conducts project on various occasions. The establishment of

20. For details, see Young Seck Chou. Proposals for Peace: The Last Option for Mankind (Scotti, 1986), pp.89-94.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Sweden; and the Peace Research Institute Organisation (PRIO), Oslo, Norway; the Polemological Institute (Netherlands); The Club of Rome (Italy); the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), Finland; Centre for Non-Violent Conflict Resolution (USA); the Institute for Education in Peace and Justice (USA); and Gandhi Peace Foundation (India), have already opened many cells of peace education and research.

**Pugwash Movement as an Ideal Model of Peace**

Pugwash movement as an alternative model of peace appeared only after the end of World War II. The movement became necessary due to the anxiety of European scientists over the serious global problems, especially the frightening arms race. Hence, it became moral duty of the scientists to prevent the potential dangers of war.

It was Bertrand Russell whose commitment and deep interest prompted European scientist, especially Albert Einstein to give constructive suggestions to avert the dangers of atomic wars, ideological hostilities and communist propaganda. The first conference of Pugwash movement took place in London on 9 July 1955, when the leading physicist and scientist community gathered and expressed their sentiments about nature of European defense system. Prominent among them were: A Einstein, M. Born, P. Bridgman, L. Powell, J. Rotblat, L. Infeld, H. Mueller, L. Pauling and C. Powell. 22 This followed the series of Pugwash conferences in many European cities when the delegates prepared

22. See “Pugwash Conference on Service and World Affairs” in Agreements. n.12, p.726.
agenda and passed policies for the consolidation of peace. The major principles of Pugwash movement included:

1. Pugwash, as an amorphous body with no constitution, no formal membership, no rigid set of principles and minimum bureaucratic machinery;
2. the participants cover a wide spectrum of the ideological, sociological and cultural groupings of the scientist community; and
3. the timely and ad-hoc debates are independently organized in the scientific spirit in particular and other communities in general.

Today, the Pugwash movement as an international body widely covers the activities like workshops, symposia, monographs, publication of journals and research programmes. It is also enjoying the support of UNO, SIPRI, PRIO and other peace organizations through joint collaborations. It collectively discusses about the major global issues like war, peace, disarmament and arms race to monitor the new global realities. Many contemporary peace thinkers believe that the Pugwash movement played a pivotal role in influencing the leaders of major powers to end the Cold War.

**Femenism and Peace**

Both feminism and peace are closely related to each other. Scholars viewed women's sagacity and education essential for preservation of peace and stability. In modern times, Gandhi publicly announced that only women can save the violent world through incarnation of non-violence. They can successfully lead to Satyagraha due to being more peaceful sex, non-violent and passive by nature. They are capable of nourishing world.

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and are socially and economically better managed. In fact, Gandhi strongly recommended the role of women in guiding and supervising the modern defence to build up the peaceful environment. Even the World Bank has stressed and aimed at strengthening women's role in the development for achieving social justice, enhancing equality and reducing poverty in the developing world.

Many systematic studies have also been conducted in western countries about the role of women in peace movement. Opinion poll survey conducted in Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and West Germany have shown the attitude and overwhelming response of women over the NATO's ill-designed preparation for the stationing of cruise missiles in Western Europe. Feminist thinkers like Berth Von Suttner, Federika Bremer, C.M. Stephenson, Rowbotham and V. Brittain agreed that the women can relieve the mankind from the disaster of war. Women exponents like E. Boulding and Brock Atne have been significantly associated with pacifism, neutralism and rationalism and strongly supported and even participated in peace and anti-nuclear movements. Many associations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Women's International Network (WIN) and World Women of Mothers (WWM) are actively involved in solving global problems of varied nature.

Peace through Balance of Power

Balance of power simply refers to the checking of power with another power. It is based on the principle of checks and balance and equilibrium which has hardly been in practice


due to ideological and political divisions. During the inter-war period, the balance of power was disturbed following the incompatibility of collective security. The League of Nations provided strength to the balance of power system. During Cold War the balance of power was consolidated by Truman and Churchill. But, the mounting pressure of Cold War, Vietnam and Cuban Missile Crisis, it became essential to exchange the power between East and West. Leonid Brezhnew, the former and late Soviet President, concluded the Nuclear War Prevention Agreement (1975) with the West. It opened the avenues for nuclear disarmament to maintain the balance of power. Successive disarmament and peace agreements added new dimensions to bio-polar and multipolar balance of power. The end of Cold War, neo-détente, German unification, democratic victory over Socialism, death of Warsaw pact, decentralization of NATO, Common European Security system, and other global changes have again stabilized the balance of power system, which can ensure better global peace and security.

**Peace through Non-Alignment**

The Non-aligned Movement (NAM) as an alternative model of Third World Democracy appeared in the face of growing Cold War and power politics of the West. It was collectively evolved and formulated by Nehru, Nasser (Egypt), Tito (Yugoslavia) and Nkrumah (Ghana) to help Afro-Asian countries from Western imperialism, racism and colonialism. Hence the leaders pursued the formula of isolationism, neutralism and non-militarism. In all NAM summits—from Belgrade (1962) to Carlagena, Columbia (18-20 October 1995)– the member countries urged for regional disarmament, liquidation of colonialism and power blocks. Last NAM Summit (2 September 1998) at Durban
urged for disarmament and economic globalization. The declaration provided tremendous need to promote bilateral relations. India and Pak to solve Kashmir Problem. 27

With active support of the UNO and other regional agencies, NAM has created cordial and friendly relations despite many internal disagreements and problems. It has successfully created favourable conditions for North-South Dialogue, South-South Cooperation and evolved the concept of New International Economic Order (NIEO). 28 At the same time, it is pursuing for the prevention of war, preservation of independence, boosting socio-economic development and checking the ambition of big powers. Currently, it is looking forward to reform the movement to fit the post-Cold era.

Peace through Collective Security

A global term from the interwar period, the UN collective security is helpful in peaceful settlements through solidarity of nations. It provides for a global security system based on the agreements of independent states to take common action against law-breaking states. Hence, it needs an agreement to defend the status quo against violent changes. Theoretically, it should be based on community power without violation of international law. In contemporary world it has been primarily shared by the UN General Assembly. 29 The system has helped to strengthen peaceful European security by enhancing geo-strategic and economic power and hence promises for better prospects.

27. Sema Guha, "India, Pak agree as Modalities for Talks". Times of India. 4 September 1998, p.1.

28. North-South is an international term in the UN system for a division of the world, the political division is called east-west, the economic North-South. For details, see Agreements, p. 46, p. 646.

World Order Model Project and Peace Building

The World Order Model Project (WOMP) is based on true international law, world disarmament and one world. It is a large association of scholars, intellectuals, political activists, professionals and women belonging to various regions of the world. Vast array of their activities include research, promotion of education, mutual dialogue, cultural exchanges and promotion of just world order. The model is designed to fight against global warnings like arms race power politics, environmental pollution, ecological decay and social injustice. Scholars like Richard Falk, Rajni Kothari, Johan Galtung, Robert Hutchins, Mendlovitz and Mazuri have significantly emphasized WOMP. They urged the international community to support the model of peace based on idealistic rationalism—essential for the maintenance of contemporary peace movement.

Peace through Human Rights

The Human Rights, one of the family concepts like Civil Rights and Liberties, are the practices of governments i.e., their respect for freedom of expression and association. In true sense, these open new possibilities to people by the state laws for satisfying their requirements and interests. The signing of the Magna Carta (1215), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), and the French Declaration of Rights (1789) are believed to be the foundation stones of the human rights. Scientifically it was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948 which stood for fundamental rights namely liberty, dignity, and political security through an impartial tribunal. Thereafter, the

world nations developed commitment to respect the human rights through promotion of international agencies. These include: European Convention on Human Rights (1950), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the American Convention of Human Rights (1969), the Helsinki Accord (1975), and the African Charter on Peoples' and Human Rights (1981). In most West European States the establishment of peace organizations are actively engaged to condemn those policies which flagrantly violate human rights and seek their solutions through creation of peace alternatives. Many human right commissions have also urged collectively to end all global warnings. Number of European States including the US seem to have made human rights as the basis of their foreign policies. They are doing their best to universalize the concept of human rights, even though many of their own policies are, at times, vulnerable. The UN- Sponsored World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna (22 June 1993) urged to end such violations of rights such as racism, anti-Semitism, arbitrary detentions and ethnic cleansing. 31

At the recent talks on the achievement of United Nations Development on Human Rights (UNDHR) at Paris on 9 December 1998 to commemorate 50 years of its existence, emphasis was given on gender equality and social justice. The UNDHR also stressed for the adoption of convention on the elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. It was also described magna carta for women. Its agenda was prepared at Beijing World Conference of Women in 1995 to end all kinds of discrimination.32


PEACE AND THE MAJOR
GLOBAL PROBLEMS

The question of war and peace - the twin overwhelming issues most directly related to the survival of mankind - have been widely debated in many international forums. Consequently, due to concerted public and popular efforts, many findings have been brought to notice for further research.

The rapid innovation in the field of science, technology, communication and computer revolutions the planet started facing with numerous problems of global dimensions. The issues like environmental pollution, ecological decay, unexpected industrialization, unbalanced economic growth, resource depletion and proliferation of nuclear armaments have posed threat to mankind. Unfortunately, nuclear holocaust has become the biggest challenge to mankind. In case of nuclear war the humanity will suffer major losses and final victor will be only holocaust. The malicious design of war has been decisively strengthened, and involved the contemporary scholars in serious re-thinking. Manifestly, the global warnings like balance of terror, nuclear deterrence and alarming growth of population, are fatal diseases. Some of the major global problems can be addressed as follows:

Problems of Arms Race

Arms race historically and situationally conditioned have special place in specific psychological climate. These also evolve social and historical settings and provide comprehensive amount of literature in the twentieth century. As a system of military ideology and anti-humanistic in character it is closely associated with national rivalries,
aggressive nationalism and nuclear deterrence. It also escalates ideological tension, effects nation-states’ behaviour, intensifies enemy image, and plays a prominent role in the theory of war and peace.

Arms race has been a major source of trouble in twentieth century. It was decisively strengthened by the allied powers of Europe which enormously drained the human and economic resources. In return it brought frustration among the millions who are constantly yearning for peaceful life, free from clamour of guns and bombs. Besides, the competitive innovation in nuclear technology and the corresponding military strategies, rising defence budget have been the serious concern. Much advanced and strategically vulnerable weapons cause enormous drain on the already over-burdened taxed economies of the affluent countries. By a conservative estimate, the US alone contains 30,000 warheads, each of which approximately fifteen times more destructive than that of the atomic bomb dropped at Hiroshima. The vehicles of delivery system have developed greatly in speed, precision and targeting. More than half-a-million scientists, technologists, engineers and strategic experts are now engaged in military research and armament production. Some of the new weapons delivery system like the perfected satellites, the Inter Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM), Titan, SS Missiles, Polaris and Minuteman have “overkill” capacities. Besides, there has been a comprehensive designation of Aircraft and Helicopters to maintain the military balance. This shows both the qualitative as well as quantitative strength of defence personnels in over 160 countries. 33 Hence there is a growing realization among the world’s statesmen to put an immediate halt so that the new mechanism of peace could be evolved.

Environmental Pollution and Ecological Decay

A good environment is essential for the maintenance of physical health. It is the basis for social and political movement and the very integrated conception of life on earth. It addresses the vulnerabilities and susceptibilities of life sustaining properties as mankind press their claims on nature. The economic affluence in the forms of over and unbalanced developments have spoiled the human relationship and damaged the physical and biological quality of life of the global village. In view of the grim prospects there is an urgent need to modify and monitor the contemporary developmental processes. At the same time, there is need of organized governmental support for developmental priorities. The UN-as an effective and protective device has formulated the comprehensive strategy to monitor the global community. Needless to say that no UN effort will be successful without the help of communities and self-realization.

Coordinated and sincere efforts have been made about the environmental awareness through the establishment of functional international agencies. The global Environment Conference held at Stockholm (5-10 June, 1972) urged the need to work sincerely and take possible measures to stop the global warnings. Thereafter, the established environmental groups did succeed in conducting studies and surveys about the impacts of environment. The Earth Summit under the auspices of UN held at Rio-de-Janeiro (1-12 June, 1992) was designed for checking environmental degradation, natural resources, ozone depletion, climatic changes, land resources, food security.

35. Ibid., p. 268.
pesticide control, drinking water supply, ocean and river pollution, toxic chemicals and hazardous wastes. The summit also established "Planet Protection Fund" for effective and powerful recovery of these dangerous problems.

The Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) held under UN auspices at Kyoto, Japan (7-17 December 1997) also expressed growing concern about the worldwide industrial hazards. The 159-Nation conference, with over 1500 delegates mostly supported and attended by NGOs, urged for environmental peace. The conference hammered out a historic pact which required nations to reduce emissions. The summit was marked a "vital turning point" in global warming fight. It represented a major step of world nations to deal with a looming crisis.

In the contemporary world, such problems have become frightening. The chronic bulk of population, massive migration from rural to urban, scarcity of food, use of fertilizers and pesticides leading to the cause of soil erosion and other pollutant practices have become the grave concerns. If these problems are not immediately averted the earth may reach to "doomsday" by A.D. 2026.

EVOLUTION OF PEACE MOVEMENT
IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

Though the earliest peace movements appeared in Greek and Roman civilizations it were

36. Ibid., p.270.
38. Ibid., p.270.
entirely different in character and significantly supported only ideal society. The work of peace movement was greatly enhanced by the monumental works of theologists, philosophers, preachers, soldiers and poets. But it became a regular practice after the establishment of the "friends of peace" in England as a reaction to the carnage of Napoleonic wars. Subsequently, more systematic efforts were made in America, England, Germany, France and Italy to share social and cultural identity. The best exponents of peace movement were the English Quakers. The formation of American Peace Society by the group of intellectuals in 1920 incepted deep humanitarian mission, and the meeting of Universal Peace Congress in London (1843) and Paris (1848) further strengthened peace movement. Many liberal thinkers like Michael Chevalier, Richard Cobden, Guillaume Visschers, Gustane de Girardin and Alexis de Tocqueville actively supported the movement of congress. The group extensively discussed about the various issues of peace movement. In America, the Peace Movement was popularized by the Universal Peace Union. Since then, many peace activities were formed.

In Europe, during 1851 to 1871 the liberal peace group expressed grave concern over the Crimean and Italian wars, German unification and American civil wars. Another radical Geneva peace group known as International League of Peace (1867) was prompted by Victor Hugo. Guisepe Garibaldi, Edgar Quinet and Perre Jollssaint. With the emergence of Marxism the earlier socialist groups tried to maintain wide gulf from bourgeoisie peace activists. They even voted in parliament with radical and liberal democrats for arbitration treaties and arms reduction proposals, and opposed extending military services

40. Ibid. p.232.
and overseas adventurism. Both socialists and radicals refused to urge conscientious disobedience to the national military law. Thereafter, many peace associations were developed in socialist societies by 1880. The Scandinavian societies have been the most affluent in the progressive causes of peace movement where women's right and the democratization of franchise flourished. A great English reformist Crusader Hodgson Prott founded International Arbitration and Peace Association. He extensively travelled in Belgium and Italy, and successfully established 'Sister Groups' in 1890. Alfred Suttner's novel, *Die Waffen Nieder (Lay Down Your Arms)*, published in 1890, was a great authentic source of peace movement.\(^1\) In America too, the American Society of International Law (1906) and Women's Peace Party remained active. In a nutshell, there have been systematic and intellectual efforts to spread the peace movement groups particularly in Europe and America.

Despite many set backs the efforts of peace movement continued. A Russian scholar Tolstoy in his famous works, *The Kingdom of God* and *Peace Essay* has presented the best dividend of peace and thereafter became the great source of inspiration in promoting peace conferences. In 1914, the collective works of Von Suttner and *Die Waffen Nieder- the Great Illusion* brought enormous coverage to the peace movement and urged the scholars to make more objective and scientific studies on peace movement.\(^2\) De Bloch, a great exponent of peace movement, put active efforts to educate and enlighten both policy makers and general public on the nature of war. His another important work *Manual of Peace Movement*, published in (1905), greatly inspired

\(^1\) Ibid.

\(^2\) Ibid, p.233.
Academic Peace Societies of Vienna. Later, he formed an 'Introduction to Peace Movement' which was strongly appreciated and esteemed by many peace societies.  

In brief, the development of peace movement in Europe and America have been based on comprehensive pacifist traditions supported by the cross-section of society.

The peace movements during cold war have been the cumulative reactions of previous historical developments in Europe. However, the establishment of UNO witnessed the rapid progress in the field of peace movement despite persistent controversies. Many believe the present peace movement is a reaction against the rapid political upheaval in Europe and the creation of NATO presented a significant threat against the peaceful European society. Cold War, spread of communism and false revival of détente also strengthened European peace movement. It was rapidly expanded after the double track decision of NATO about which the detail discussion has been made in later part of this chapter.

Many Scholars considered peace movement as irritating, helpless and unnecessary intrusion in the serious business of international affairs. The very term 'peace movement' continues to be controversial and conflicting; and they have been just theoretically sympathetic towards those involved in peace movement. The dubious and double dealings on such issues usually bring frustration due to lack of practical support. Therefore, "Peace movement" should be replaced by "Peace Advocacy".

Evolution of Peace Research

In 1960s peace movement appeared as a challenging task at the face of Cold War.

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43. For details, see Peace, n.2, vol.1, pp. xxiii-xxiv.
power politics, arms race and environmental problems. Soon, it developed distinct value, based on applied scholarly discipline. As a behavioural and scientific revolution it is based on redefining, re-arranging and widening the concept of peace. The scholars believe that the war has been a permanent feature which can be minimized systematically. Hence, they want to disseminate more knowledge, new findings, collection of data and general information about the major global problems by identifying the structural and fundamental causes of war and peace.

The concept of 'peace' or 'search for peace' was found even in ancient days when member of peaceful societies were established. The historical churches like Bretheran, Friends and Mennonites have been struggling for more than three hundred years to make the world safer and perpetually peaceful. Proposals for making the world more orderly have been forwarded during the last six hundred years. Number of thinkers like Dante (fourteenth century), King George (Fifteenth century), Erasmus (sixteenth century), Grotius (seventeenth century), Kant and Rousseau (eighteenth century) and Green (nineteenth century) have provided intellectual bases to peace movement. 44

There have been flood of writings on peace research during the twentieth century. Highly empirical and academic writings on peace research have been found in the literacy philosophy of Lewis Richardson of England. His famous works Statistics of Deadly Quarrels, and Arms and Security have been pioneering works. Quincy Wright's famous work, A Study of War has been a monumental contributions. It deals the broad aspects, dimensions, classification, computerization of mortality and identification of the issues causing war and peace. A great physicist and a pioneer of nuclear age Albert Einstein

causing war and peace. A great physicist and a pioneer of nuclear age Albert Einstein expressed great anxiety over the consequences of war and echoed for spiritual and moral upliftment. Once he remarked: "I do not know the weapons with which World War III will be fought, but I can assure you that world war IV will be fought with sticks and stones." 45 Einstein's remarks attracted many scholars especially Bertrand Russell, Lewis Mumford, C. Wright Mills, Charles E. Osgood, Eric Fromm, Kathlee Lonsdale, Gene Sharp, Morton Deutech, Adam Roberts, Walter C. Clemenes and Mulford Q. Sibley. The philosophical works of Russell on peace and conflict resolution proved to be instrumental for further peace research, especially for scientist community who met at Pugwash in Nova Scotia (Canada). The Pugwash movement was a major achievement in the direction of peace research.

Since then peace movement has assumed a multidimensional character. Scholars from irrespective disciplines collectively supported peace research. Among them were: Herbert Kelman, Harold Laswell, Clyde Klukohn and Thoedre Lenz who offered intellectual contribution in furthering peace research. This was the time when European continent had reached in the climax of Cold War following series of historic events of Korean War, Berlin crisis and Vietnam war. Those movements and developments added new priorities in peace research.

Peace research entered into a new phase when John Galtung, a Norwegian scholar, presented his theory of 'structural violence'. It troubled many of those who had developed different entity in peace research. 46 Galtung's theory was responsible in dividing peace

research into two school of thoughts viz., 'Maximalists' and 'Minimalists'. The Maximalists go beyond the empirical problems. For them, peace is the absence of all kinds of violence-actual and potential, and direct and structural. They are not concerned as how best to achieve revolutionary changes, but how to effect long-term changes in social and structural processes that might effect peace. The Minimalists are fully satisfied with the establishment of normal conditions averting war or avoiding use of violence. Hence, they are satisfied even with the narrowest definition of peace.47

Other peace researchers like: Karl Deutsche, Adjorn Eide, Norman Alcock, Kurl Keith, Jerzy Sawicki, Johan Burton and David Dunn have invariably defined and interpreted peace research. Eide regarded peace movement as a reaction against narrow, nationalistic self centred orientation. Norman and Alcock considered peace research as a fresh approach to an age old need to security now translated into a need to eliminate war.48

According to Keith: "Peace research is a wide range of activities dealing with nature of warless world...." For Sawick, peace research means the current studies and research motivated by the desire to find ways and means to permanent peace. John Burton considered 'peace research as a popular intellectual response to the circumstances of nuclear age'.49 Deutsche contents that the peace research "seeks to identify the conditions which make large scale war less probable.... This is a minimal definition of peace which


49. For John Burton's writings, see "Peace Research and International Relations", Journal of Conflict Resolution (Oaks, CA), vol.8, no.3,1964, pp.281-86.
calls peace merely the absence of large-scale war". In a nutshell, peace researchers cover all aspects e.g., normative, empirical, philosophical, historical and geographical dimensions of war and peace.

Today, the critical peace research has become the 'realistic conception' by criticizing the war philosophy of West, especially the United States. As a result, it has become an integral source of conflict for adopting utopian, anti-pluralistic, fundamentalist and self-centred logics. Hence, there is an urgent need of remedy. Peace researchers are suggested to accept both normative as well as empirical approaches which are based on the discovery of true knowledge, conditions of peace, and exploration of truth. They should improve the quality, standard and content for further inquiry and debate.

Scope, Priorities and Methods of Peace Research

Peace research is one of the youngest disciplines of international relations. It offers a wider opening and is expanding day by day. It has become an important dimension of global democracy which needs to be further developed. Many peace researchers are aware of the fact that the continuing relevance of the application and forms of non-violent techniques are based on Gandhian principles of moral and ethical democracies. This may help to develop a workable and efficient principles to peace movement.

It is rather difficult to draw the subject content of peace research. However, some of the sensitive areas: arms race, disarmament, and environmental related issues like ecology, resources, population, social and economic problems of general nature are crucially important.

Today peace research contributes distinct identity by establishing pool with SIPRI, PRIO, and other competent organizations. These confederating agencies provide guidelines for collecting data, new techniques and information on various global problems. In the course of growth it established many school of thoughts in all over the world. It also prompted number of scholars of active members of International Peace Research Association. Today, peace research has become a wider subject of international level that naturally leads to spill over into different disciplines. It also synthesizes the knowledge of different subjects into an integrated manner to widen the scope and priorities of multidimensional nature.

Interestingly, many socialist peace thinkers of the West want to apply Marxist-Leninist methods of dialectical and historical materialism to interpret the apparent contradictions between the social activists and economic elites.\(^{51}\) This will definitely inspire the peace researchers of socialist world where pro-Marxist group has largely collapsed. To evolve a broader consensus of peace research-methodology, the scholars are suggested to apply invariably the system theory, bargaining theory, decision-making theory, game theory, and structural functional theory to make subject truly interdisciplinary. Besides, the applications of quantitative methods have improved the quality of peace research.\(^{52}\) The harmoniously balanced synthesis of empirical and normative technique have been applied as to reflect the true global realities.


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Peace research also requires a strong foundation of peace and anti-nuclear issues significantly supported by public opinion, democracy and government. It should be enlightened, educated and well-organized and stirred to its depth by a true leadership dedicated to the sanity and peace. This is what the peace and anti-nuclear movements are professedly doing. With how much success and with what prospects? This is the question to be examined through systematic and well organized study and research in the forthcoming chapters.

FRAMEWORK OF WEST EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT

The European states have been the major actors in the world affairs in bilateral and multilateral talks to bury the legacies of enmity. They repeatedly offered dialogues and shared sensitivities to help carry out the obligations of peace. Practically, every European state has been engaged in an intense efforts to maximize the social and cultural progress through the renaissance and reformation. This inculcated new ideas and beliefs to support humanism. The main thrust has been to eliminate the tussle or confrontation between them. Peace became the monitoring agency and crucial factor in providing and educating the people in the dawn of civilizations.

The earliest examples of peace movement in Europe was the "friends of peace". The original membership of peace movement were the "Quakers". During inter-war period, the peace movement was directed to fight against arms race, while the post - Cold War years peace movement has been a reaction in the face of growing hostility between super powers and cold war policies. Thus, the evolution of peace movement has been a unique phenomenon in the European history. It virtually involved all aspects of society,
polity and ideology. But, due to internal contradictions and ideological divisions, the peace movement had to face many problems which deserve further research and analysis in many respective ways:

i. Peace movement can become a frugal force only if its purposes are well understood, and is led by committed leaders.

ii. If the movement keeps narrow focus, remains regional i.e., Euro-centric, and is led by people who are otherwise motivated and are well acquainted about the social problems.

iii. The movement should be designed to fight against the narrow interest of those states which disobey the democracy.

iv. The movement should be empirical in nature. It should cover the entire aspects of social, political, economic and security dimensions.

In the twentieth century the European continent has became the site of repeated cycle of arms build up and war anxieties. These have been hazardous, unprotected, and alarming. Unfortunately, each of these cycles directly or indirectly-produced peace movement that seeks a reduction of international tension. The arms race that preceded two world wars, produced forcible and powerful movements, particularly by the smaller European countries, where many hoped to avoid being drawn into by big power rivalries. Alerted by protracted conflict in the region, the European nations intensely tried to avoid such problems, especially after the establishment of international law.

Peace movement between the wars were immensely pacifist and strongly advocated for disarmament and retreat of international entanglements. The dreadful experience of World War I and the emerging new world orders created havoc among Europeans. Hence,

the peace activists were compelled to abandon the ideas of pacifism - a key aspect of their traditional belief. Even after the establishment of UNO, peace movement continued to flourish. By that time international tension reached on its height when all types of modern weapons were introduced. Due to these significant developments the West European peace movement were left behind or regressed from being a genuine peace movement to anti-nuclear movement.

In some countries, especially Germany, Britain and Sweden, peace movement agencies have been quite successful in activating public opinion against the nuclear war. This has been justified by Greens (Germany), Labour Party (Britain), Social Democrats (Sweden) and Christian Democratic Appeal (The Netherlands) on number of occasions. After all, peace movement—whether working in Western Europe or elsewhere—is a form of strong pressure group and acts like an extra-constitutional body. In most West European countries there are a number of independent institutions, societies, free press, educational institutes, trade unions and professional groups which frequently analyze the war and peace policies. Unfortunately, however, such agencies are not active in many Third World countries due to weak public opinion, poor information on nuclear issues and prolonged military dictatorship. Some of these problems are also evident in many former East European countries due to false propaganda and strong influence of socialist lobby. Therefore, many Soviet leaders, especially Gorbachev, have been certainly influenced by the WEPM. Probably, his peace initiative, viz., Perestroika (re-structuring) and glasnost (openness) were designed to re-build Soviet economy and sustaining peace in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. To this end, peace movement exercised wide-ranging influence on these ideologies working outside the Western Europe. It is the spell and painstaking efforts of many peace movement supporters who have done remarkable job in exposing the
technical side of missile launchers, and the secrecy of many military industrial complexes.\footnote{Military-Industrial Complex (MIC) was coined by US President D.D. Eisenhower in 1961 for political reasons. Currently, it is an alliance of the largest industrial monopolies and the militarist circles of the government apparatus of imperialist states exerting a decisive influence on the political course of a given country. For details see, James Kurth, "Military-Industrial Complex" in Krieger, Ibid., pp.587-88.}

Pacifist and neutralist States earnestly urged to remove such complexes from the heart of Europe to avoid possible nuclear confrontation. The idea has already been shared by the former East European states, especially Hungary, Romania and Poland where official peace movement has been successful. In a nutshell, WEPM had to face many challenges and paradoxical defeats but always strived for progressive development of democracy. The world is yet to see the prospects of WEPM despite countervailing official responses.

CAUSES FOR THE EMERGENCE OF PEACE MOVEMENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE

NATO's Double Track Decision and the Problems of Security

The most emphatically expressed demand of contemporary WEPM was to counter the threat of NATO's double-track decision of 12 December 1979. The NATO Ministerial Council had series of formal meetings at Brussels (Belgium). Thereafter, they expressed their commitment to deploy 572 new American medium range nuclear missiles in five West European countries. Out of which 188 perishing II, ballistic and tomahawk cruise missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), 160 cruise missiles in the Great Britain, 112 cruise missiles in Italy, 48 cruise missiles in the Netherlands, and 48 cruise missiles in Belgium were to be deployed. This crucial decision was made at a time when
relations between the US and the Soviet Union was as tense as they had been in twenty years. NATO's decision was a response to counter the threat of communism and Soviet decision to deploy of long range and short range missiles in Eastern Europe. At the same time NATO members ratified the arms control negotiations that could modify the scale of NATO's Theatre Nuclear Force (TNF) requirements.

Notably, the issue was provisionally discussed by Carter Administration which talked much about the "neutron bomb". This was also justified by Reagan administration. Admittedly, the decision was pre-planned and widely discussed in the US Senate before it was finally ratified. Later on, the NATO debate on arms control and deployment commitment contended the issues for galvanizing peace movement. Subsequently, the political decision was sharply reacted by public opinion and appeared in the forms of peace marches and unofficial meetings against NATO's plan for modernizing nuclear weapons. The immediate trigger for the peace movement was the largest political movement in this century. Twenty-eight percent of a sample of Europeans, and fifty percent of those who considered themselves as members of the peace movement went so far to say that "we are heading directly towards world war". As a reaction to NATO decision many gathered impression that it was going to be a permanent feature.

It is well known fact that the reaction against the double-track decision forced the NATO members to arms control and disarmament negotiations even before NATO prepared to deploy ballistic and cruise missiles. Although NATO incepted missile deployment in 1983, the double-track approach did succeed in 1987 only when both super powers agreed to eliminate all Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs) from their inventories. Throughout the peace negotiation the NATO allies consulted regularly. They

55. Rochon, n.53.
have traditionally negotiated such arms talks such as SALT and START between 1975 and 1989. Besides, the conventional forces and confidence building security measures in the 1980s and 1990s were also signed. Subsequent negotiations resulted in agreements and reduction and ceilings with respect to conventional forces. They also provided for an extensive regime of notification of exercises, troops movements and mutual inspection. Thereafter, these negotiations were conducted under the auspices of CSCE. 56

NATO's London Declaration (1990), while announcing an eighty percent cut in its ground and air-forces made it clear that changing security concerns can reduce reliance on nuclear weapons. At its Rome Summit (1991), the NATO formulated a new strategy of crisis management and preventive diplomacy on the basis of small mobile force. It also widened its ambit through the creation of North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) which also covers former Warsaw Pact members. 57 NATO's summit at Brussels (December 1991) was also a significant verdict when President Bush announced unilateral decision to remove all nuclear weapons from Europe. It encouraged the Moscow officials to keep reducing its arsenals. Characteristically, it marked the end of domination over NATO as well as European security. Another historic summit of 16-NATO members (10 January 1994) opened the door to the members to East European states to sustain all kinds of military cooperation. The US sponsored Partnership For Peace (PFP) was also adopted to build a closer military links with all former Soviet bloc countries. Already, 18-East European states have signed with NATO. Interestingly, the Russia also signed a landmark partnership accord with NATO on 22 June 1994 which ended months of bickering over

57. A.N.D. Haskar. "The European Scene", World Focus (New Delhi), vol. 15, no. 11-12, 1992, p.48
Moscow's post-Cold War ties with Western allies. On 14 May 1997 at Madrid, NATO secretary Javier Solana and Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov opened new chapter of friendship. The 16-page agreement on 'Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Co-operation and Security' gave wider scope to Russia's voice in NATO. In the subsequent meet on 9 July 1997 at Madrid, despite symbolic opposition, Russia finally agreed to accept membership by April 1999.58

Due emphasis is also being given on the enduring political and economic collaboration with 32-NATO members, including many East European odd-allies. Most of these have been the victims of Marxist- Leninist ideology for many decades. More dramatic developments included a major restructuring military force commitments consistent with NATO's changed environment. A stronger "European pillar", an enhanced role of West European Unity (WEU), an enlarged security force for CSCE and integration of European Community (EC). This will help in assuring a direct security function under new European security order.59 NATO, then probably may play a significant role with the European peace movement.

Interestingly, since double track decision till date, peace movement never received any direct threat from NATO. Therefore, there is an urgent need to develop close alliance between NATO, peace movement and other European security concerns. This will help to improve the status of peace movement in following ways:

i. Peace movement will be recognized by the official security policies.

ii. Demands, suggestions and implementations of peace movements may be assured by the European Parliament, State constitution and other official concerns.

58. For details of Madrid Declaration on Euro-Atlantic Security and Cooperation, See SIPRI Yearbook 1997 pp 175-77

iii. Many more, especially the security personnel's and political elites may join the European peace movement.

iv. The peace movement may assume multidimensional character, covering the broader perspectives of socio-economic and strategic aspects.

v. Many former Soviet Republics including Russia may join the WEPM.

Analysts believe that the contemporary WEPM also needs active support from the Maastricht Treaty which provides for an economic and political union. These are crucially important for implementing and suggesting new policies in the peace movement. The Treaty may prove helpful for peace movement in many respective ways. Firstly, the institutional arrangement for framing and implementing a common foreign and security policy, secondly, the development of WEU in the defence framework and link to NATO; and finally, the provision of additional power for the European Commission. Due to these institutional arrangements, the NATO is more important today. Hence, the future of peace movement depends on the stability of NATO. The democratization of NATO has also created an environment in which a fundamental re-thinking of the ways and means of European security is needed.

Today, Europe is no longer divided between East and the West. But it is not the end of all problems. Ironically, however, the intensification of ethnic and nationalistic conflicts have lately shown upward trends. Even otherwise, NATO's overall performance has not been satisfactory. Peace movement can become the best alternative to end or mitigate the new challenges and to bring speedy and effective implementation to security problems. In fact, the question of alternative means of guaranteeing security was
addressed in 1980s by those working for peace movement and allied organizations, especially the peace research institutes. So, it is remarkable today as how much their ideas have now been brought into the mainstream of European debate. Issues like collective security, disarmament and environmental problems were discussed long ago within the peace movement. Unfortunately, these important issues were dismissed by the official security personnel and viewed it as unrealistic. It is still uncertain as to what form post-Cold War security arrangements in Europe will take place. It is crystal clear that the ideas developed within the peace movement circles will be crucially important in making wide-range of debates and findings in European democracies. 60 By all means, it were the citizens who struggled for peace. Hence, peace movement may be called as true architect of the post-Cold War era.

Europe and Environmental Problems

Europe - the heartland of world - has actively participated in the global transformation process. People of the continent are very much aware about the interaction of environment and its grave consequences. Therefore, there have been persistent efforts by the environmentalists, peace activists and government officials to avert the possible danger of environment. Unfortunately, the hazardous sources of energy, cumulative environmental degradation and ecological decay in Europe is not less than any other part of the world. Heavy concentration of industries, military and nuclear complexes, coupled with uncontrolled management, have caused serious environmental problems. Moreover, the

continuous dumping of industrial by-products, hazardous chemical and nuclear wastes, and deforestation have brought serious problems.

It is well known - thanks to researches conducted by renowned institutions like the US National Academy of Sciences and the Club of Rome - the grave consequences of technical and military developments have ignored long term interest of mankind. It was held-and open ended question shared by many peace thinkers that technology as an object of power had got out of control of mankind. They commonly agree that these problems cannot be investigated in isolation. Only an analysis based on mutual relationship can provide adequate basis of sensible conclusions. In addition to the scientific circles, sound public opinion in Europe is increasingly interested in solving global problems and has become aware of the immense danger looming ahead. The focus on ecological factors surrounding nuclear energy and about the horrifying tragedy of large scale nuclear leakage at Chernobyl (Soviet Union), Three Miles (Hawaii, USA), and Bhopal Gas Reactor Tragedy (India) have brought disastrous consequences. In fact, the deeply scared humanity cannot afford to ignore the large number of nuclear accidents in various parts of the world. They are due to human errors and equipment failure. There is no guarantee at all that there would be another Chernobyl about detail reference has been given in chapter six.

Such grave consequences were already present in the minds of Greens and other peace activists. Therefore, their activities, in affluent industrialized European states especially FRG, UK and Sweden, has become much stronger which was realized in the late 1970s. The UN Conference held at Stockholm (1972) declared environmental problems a matter of overwhelming global concern. The establishment of UNEP and later
established study groups have taken concrete steps in this regard. The World Economic and Environmental Commission, held in Brundtland, Norway (1983), the Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio-de-Janeiro (1992), FCCC covention at Cairo (1996) and Kyoto (1997), have significantly focused on contemporary environmental problems. The process of global changes are adversely influencing the future of Europe in many ways. Europe no longer shapes world events as was the case in past. Today, it is more a "price taker" than a "price maker". The destiny of European is increasingly determined by external forces and factors. Interestingly, many Western intellectuals - believing in peace - have lately voiced the grave concern about the environment related problem. Many of them have witnessed the present world order as the portents of impeding disaster which Gandhi had foreseen nearly eighty five years ago. Gainfully, Gandhian methods have also percolated down to various grassroots organization which are fighting against the widespread destruction of the environmental problems. This has definitely inspired to many contemporary West European and American peace thinkers. Hence they have suggested a democratic appeal for the production of arms and other explosive devices.

To avert the danger of environmental pollution there have been growing consciousness among the Greens since 1970s. They actively held their seats in the national parliaments of FRG Austria, Belgium, Finland, Italy, Sweden and Switzerland. The Greens fought actively against the detrimental effects of technology and unlimited economic and technological growth. The detail discussions on Greenpeace are given in forthcoming chapters.

61. Ganga!, n.38.

Since 1990s the environmental cliche of the 1990s "think local, act global" reflects the unique and integrated domain of environmentalism. Many experts believe that the contemporary peace movement has given tremendous impetus to dissemination of knowledge, and governments have reluctantly accepted the international scientific view that the devastation of planet is feasible, not through nuclear destruction, but via the damage of climate system. Peace movement can dramatically reduce the prospects of nuclear development by averting the environmental degradation. In what manner they accomplish successfully in sustaining the issues of environment is yet to be researched.

But one thing, however, is clear: Practically, most of the peace movement groups are engaged currently in an intense effort to reduce the bad effects of environment and ecology through Europeanization or world-wide cooperation with environmental groups. In total, it also requires socio-political stability and long spell of peace.

CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF WEST EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT

The sudden appearance of peace movement in West Europe has prompted a reconsideration to the official security policy. No where in the world such movement has been witnessed on such a large scale. This has given the birth to many questions: Is Europe militarily more vulnerable than any other part of the world? Are Europeans more conscious than the people of Third World? Are the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe more than other regions? These are the questions which deserve close attention and critical scientific investigations.

The economic strength, cultural contributions, political and military might gave Europeans a distinctive and dominant position in the world. Until the late nineteenth
century all the great powers were Europeans in exception of Japan. Most of them have always been on the forefront of war. Throughout the Cold War Europe faced with glaring socio-economic disparities and ideological rivalries of big powers. The stricken continent was forcefully separated between East and West by "Iron Curtain" which considerably widened the gap between communists and liberal capitalists. These spectacular developments seriously retarded the economic recovery of Europe and raised geo-political and security problems. This prevented the distraught people of Europe from resuming their normal lives and the future of millions was jeopardized by the real and or supposed imperatives of Cold War.\(^{63}\)

In the midst of doubts and uncertainties, many revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces appeared to provide alternatives to the distressed and doomed Europeans. Manifestly, the peace movement made commendable popular efforts to fight against proliferation of weapons. But, due to lack of political debate, peace movement remained merely an intellectual exercise. Moreover, weak conviction and poor public opinion hardly attracted attention of people about the peace movement. It gave the birth to many problems. Surprisingly, even those forces which fundamentally supported peace movement seemed to be reluctant and tried to align with political forces by ignoring the basic norms. They found better prospects in official policies rather than peace movement and thereby created a political dilemma. Many governments came and went but did not notice the activities of peace movement. For example, Thatcher government's main thrust was to develop military alliance with the US while German Greens earnestly aligned with government despite virtual elimination in 1990 elections. The similar

problems were faced by the peace movement activists in France, Italy, Sweden and Belgium. Hence, the prospects of peace movement seem to be receded. Also, CSCE, NATO and UN took least care about them. Even otherwise, they found peace movement inactive and unsatisfactory. Knowledgeable observers and analysts considered the peace movement as visionary, impractical, and even anti-democratic. They stressed only for concrete military and strategic design for sustainable peace and security in the region. For many, the peace movement has been violent, ideologically irresolute and a temporary threat. Despite vast in size and intensity, the protest tactics have been notoriously ineffective due to their narrow aims. Sometimes it altered the established public policies. In many parliamentary debates viz. Riksdag (Sweden), Bundestag (Germany), Folketing (Denmark), Staten General (Netherlands), Cortes (Spain) and Parliament (Britain); the issues of peace movement has been hardly discussed. Their vast array of interest have been diversified. Their manifestoes have been unacceptable by their governments. Some peace movement wanted the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the European soil, while others favoured nuclear free zones. Some strongly advocated to replace the offensive strategic system by purely defensive system, while others favoured pan-European collective security and national interest. Worst of all, the movement has been so weak that it could not pressurize over international law to divert or redesign any deterrent and hegemonistic ambition. It has been merely a symbolic act. It neither fought against the state nor changed state law. Even the strongest protest and civil disobedience by the individuals failed to remove any nuclear weapon. Regarding the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe there have been controversial opinion polls and statements given by peace bureaus. It is, therefore, the obligation of expert peace researchers to probe the latent-views of peace movement. It is necessary to provide necessary findings for
further research and investigation to generate a better awareness and fuller understanding of their fundamental problems. In addition, it is also necessary to find out and explore the paradoxical success of peace movement in Britain, Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands; and virtual failure in Italy, France and Belgium.

Appraisal:

The peace movements in Western Europe represent an important and new phase of the social and political democratization. Such process have been prompt in the twentieth century and played significant role in reducing international tension.

Historically, the peace movement originated from Quakers in seventeenth century which greatly strengthened its scope. During interwar it remained largely confined to pacifist tradition. The horrible experience of World War II created conditions of nuclear deterrence. Henceforth, peace movement revised policies by abandoning traditional pacifism. It adopted new approach to compensate with public opinion. Soon the movement did manage to reawaken more radical wings of European social democratic parties by promoting domestic alignment. It also created new tradition of political activism in many churches and trade union organizations in the forms of widespread demonstrations and peaceful marches. Besides, the movement did promote parliamentary debates in most Western democracies. Even in the US, the anti nuclear and freeze movements came to demonstrate widespread public interest.

Most prominently, the NATO double-track decision decisively strengthened peace movement activities. INF deployment became the core issue to energize peace activities. Besides, the rapid expansion of peace research institutes and the beginning of new social
movements presented the best current possibilities for revitalizing and democratizing the new phase of socio-political struggle. Hence, it will not be unfair to say that the contemporary peace movement has a greater degree of international solidarity despite administrative negligence, poor accountability and weak communicative ability. It continues to fight against global warnings.

The post-Cold War social movement is an ideal revision of earlier peace movements only. Today, it has created new fundamental re-thinking to promote new European security. It continues to fight against environmental degradation, violation of human rights, ethnic conflicts and nationalistic hegemonism. But its future role seems uncertain as how far the current security is promoted by the peace movement. The forthcoming chapters will be helpful to examine the wider perspective with greater degree of coherence. After all, the peace movement has greater significance in Germany, Britain, France, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands.