CHAPTER III

ENGULFING THE THEORIES OF PEACE BUILDING

3.1 Introduction

Peace building is a global issue of concern. To know the term peace building it is very obvious to have the basic idea about what actually peace is. Peace itself is a much-contested term. The government even the academicians also use the term peace in a simple way, i.e. absence of war or conflict. Peace, however, conceived of, is a characteristic of some 'system': intra-personal, inter-personal, intra-societal, inter-societal, intra-global. (Galtung, 1981, p. 184) John Galtung, an eminent social scientist who did give the most acceptable definition in a broad and positive way. John Galtung, differentiated between negative and positive peace. Galtung connoted that whereas negative peace is the absence of direct violence (e.g., people being killed), positive peace also includes war or absence of conflict. (Gawerc, 2006, p. 438) So, peace can be brought up by two ways. First, in a dissociative way, where the warring parties are pulled apart so that zero or minimum interaction between the conflicting parties could be made; and secondly, in an associative way, by keeping them together in positive interaction. Negative elements are totally avoided in both ways so that building of peace cannot be destructed.

Involvement of the third party to resolve conflict is very important other than the conflicting parties. For resolving conflict, Galtung uses three types of concepts viz, "peace-building," "peace-making," and "peace-keeping" and these three phases involve different levels of third-party intervention in any conflict. All the three levels institutions in the public sector headed by the official leadership of the country usually play certain roles, organizations belonging to the non-governmental/ non profit, third sectors play another important role but the business sector the business sector can and often does play other roles. This division of labor is based on the sectors' differential characteristics and mandates, yet it is important to stress that all three types of organizations can be involved in all three phases or levels of the conflict resolution process. (Barnes, 2007, p. 8)

Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen argued that peace has no inherent meaning and thus it is only possible to study peace by studying the notions of peace inherent in specific collectives, systems of belief or persons. (Rasmuseen, 2006, p. 16) Peace cannot be studied in the true sense without studying the systems, beliefs, and true stories related with the quest for peace.

This chapter tries to focus on each and everything relating peace studies. The peace building connotations, different peace building formulas and systems, theories of peace building, measures of peace building, initiatives of peace building by United Nations, role of civil society in peace building, etc. are the main focuses of the chapter. Last but not the least the present chapter also tries to elaborate some examples of peace building in worldwide during different times.

3.2 Theoretical perspectives of peace:

In the international perspectives according to the realist approach, peace is absence of war. So peace is not fact but a policy as war can be stopped through a policy and peace is the outcome of a policy. Peace building in contemporary international politics is merely a western typology. A dominant international approach to peace building today is that of 'liberal peace'—where peace (or end of war) is closely linked with (Western style) democratisation and free market development. (Orjuela, 2008, p. 24) Hence the definition of peace as goes; it is a situation in which political ends are achieved by means other than war. Realist theory regarded peace as a means or correlation of means whereas peace is defined as end by the liberal theory of international relations. Western notion of the term peace has got a new type of peace that is democratic peace. Democratic peace theory defines peace as absence of war and explains war's absence in terms of peaceful ways of democracies. In the environment of a democracy, durable peace or positive peace can grow. Immanuel Kant is known as the forefather of democratic peace theory. Democratic peace theory focuses on liberal nature of states. Liberal natures of democratic states talk about peace as an end to but there is a complete silence about the process to achieve peace. They ask 'what' democratic peace takes rather than 'how' it comes about. This way it supports wholeheartedly establishment of democracies in the world. Civil society in democratic peace theory helps to transcend conflict over peace through social mechanism. Finally democratic peace theory concludes that democratic new, globalising world order is the best of all possible worlds. Likewise, democratic peace theory, A primary interest in the liberal peace discourse is stability (which would enable democratisation and free market development) and peace thus tends to be defined as 'end of violence', hence risking to compromise the social justice aspect of peace building. Simultaneously, current global discourses on war and peace are also strongly influenced by the 'war against terrorism', which has imposed a new black and white worldview. This discourse allows less space for conflict resolution, as 'terrorists' are by

definition 'evil' and need to be dealt with using harsh, often violent means. (Orjuela, 2008, p. 124) The critics has criticised the theory of democratic peace on many grounds and declared it as ironic democratic peace theory. Positive aspects of democratic peace have been questioned by the critics. These questions are developed by one of the critics as follows:

(1) If democratic peace is a process rather than a fact, does this process then actually cause conflict by defining non-democratic societies as aggressive societies? (2) If peace depends on democracy, are some kinds of democracy better for peace than others? (3) Is democratic peace merely a way to legitimize Western, primarily American, hegemony? (Rasmuseen, 2003, p. 182) Rationale behind the argument of the first question is that democratic peace theory clearly denies other notion of international order so it might create enemies of the so called peace by the western countries. If for the supporters of democratic peace theory peace depends on democracy then what type of democracy will be most suitable for peace to survive. One of the critics of democratic peace theory Rorty argued that democratic peace theory regards the history of western peacemaking as a tool rather than a proof. (Rasmuseen, 2003, p. 181)

3.3 What is peace building?

The term peace building is defined by many researchers and scholars. John Galtung says that peace building is the most comprehensive but least approached tool of conflict resolution. The objective of peace building is to establish or create a structure of peace that is based on factors such as justice, equity, and cooperation. Positive peace is the fallout of peace building process. For building peace, conflict should be understood. Conflict is basically defined as a situation where different actors pursue incompatible goals. If the definition of conflict is tried to understand in a broader way then we can say that when conflict involves apparently incompatible values, third party may help the conflicting parties to specify their values where the task of a third party may be to help the parties to specify their values more unambiguously so as to facilitate resolution of the conflict. (Rupensinghe, 1995, p. 73) This is the task of a third party to help when conflict arises due to incompatible values so that conflict can be mitigated by resolving the incompatible values.

John Paul Lederach (1997) claimed that peace building is more than just a post-conflict reconstruction; peace building encompasses, generates, and sustains a full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform a conflict toward a more sustainable, peaceful

relationship. (Maoz, 2004, p. 564) A peace agreement is an important step of peace building as the conflicting parties have to sign on peace agreement for enrolling peace. In this way during, before and after the peace agreement is signed the series of structures as well as activities are called peace building. A peace agreement is comprised of certain components augmenting the peace process. In the Guatemalan Peace agreement, the main components or the main focus of peace agreement were- human rights, resettlement, Historical clarification, Definitive cease- fire, Rights of the indigenous people, socio- economic and agrarian issues, civil authority/ role of the military and Constitutional and legal reform etc. (Reilly, 2009, p. 13) For preventing conflict peace building is a must. The major purpose of peace-building activities is defined as preventing a relapse into violent conflict. Thus peace building activities attempt to transform the warlike behaviors of communities (Maoz, 2004, p. 564)

Of late, peace building not only refers to the direct military intervention and formal diplomacy at all, rather it also focused on the role of other actors working for peace building. 'Multi-track diplomacy' and 'bottom-up peacebuilding' have come up with an answer to the need for new approaches to conflict resolution, envisioning the participation of civil society organizations and 'ordinary people' (Diamond and McDonald 1996).

In the path of peace building myriad of processes are used to bring peace in the conflict zone. These processes are such as peace agreements, mediation, relationship building, peace education, and non-violence training etc. The following figure helps us to have a simple idea of the connotation of peace building.

Figure1. Conflict Resolution and quest for peace

Conflict Resolution

(peace- making)

Dissociation   association

(peace keeping)   (peace building)
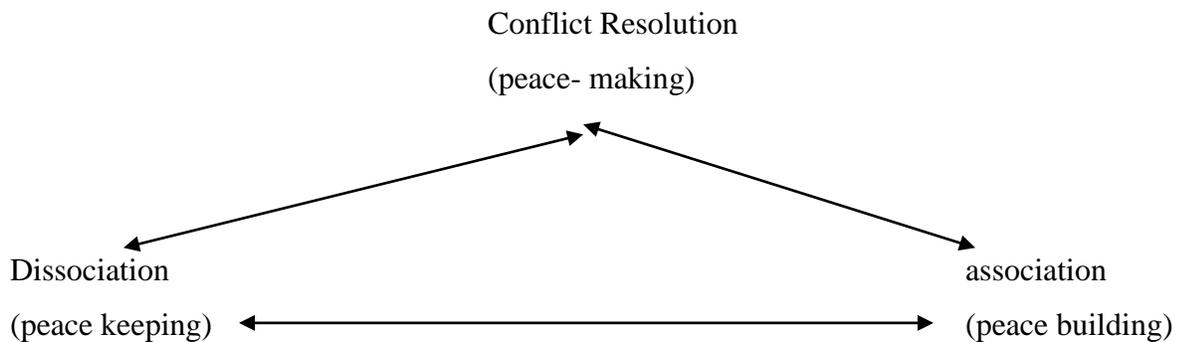
Source: (Galtung J. , The Middle East and the Theory of Conflict, p. 104)

In the above figure, it is clearly showed that peace building is a triangular way process, where peace is tried to achieve through pertaining three different ways. First way to achieve peace is the peace making process and it is known as conflict resolution. Here the goal of the process is to only resolve the conflict. Secondly, the peace building process is called association as in this process all the parties of conflict take part. Thirdly, the peace keeping process is called as dissociation. John Galtung termed this tripartite typology as third party intervention efforts. He made the differentiation among these three processes as they have different roles to play in their respective processes. Peacemaking, which conflict research has tended to focus on, refers to the negotiation process that takes place between decision- makers directed towards reaching an official settlement or resolution to specific conflicts. Peace keeping, on the other hand, involves third party intervention to keep apart the warring groups and maintain the absence of direct violence (or reduce it). The third, peace building, which has been the least understood; has received the least mention by conflict researchers, and has been the least operationalized in part because of its wide range of activities that receive less publicity, focuses on the social, psychological, and economic environment at the grass root level (Galtung J.)

Peace building is a concept that carries the involvement of people to people talk; so, one of the commonly used practices of peace building is the practice of transformative dialogue. The notion of the transformative dialogue was presented by Kenneth Gergen and his colleagues in 1999. People behind this connotation who made the idea of grass root level peace building familiar to the society.

Transformative dialogue is a process through which sides deal with disagreement or conflict between them through expressing themselves, listening to the other, and taking in or empathizing with the emotions, experiences, views, and values of the other. (Maoz, 2004, p. 564)

Here, in this process of dialogue people can express their views without any fear, hesitation; listen patiently the other's views.

3.4 Concept of peace building initiative by the United Nations:

First and foremost peace building initiative was solely taken up by the United Nations. Aftermath the two World Wars a new kind of threat to world peace and harmony came out. This new type of conflict is termed as the cold war. It has created an era of inter- state wars

particularly featuring super power proxy wars. Cold war featured with no actual war fought. The war is basically an ideological war between the United States of America (USA) and the United Soviet States of Russia (USSR) after the World War II. During the Cold War period that lasted almost twenty years from mid- 1940s to 1980s; intense political ideological war created tension in the world politics representing democracy and capitalism in the USA and the USSR respectively. End of Cold War witnessed a final friction between the US and the USSR in 1979. Robert L. Rothstein observes that at the end of the cold war led to arousing of armed conflicts as a result of the contradictory effects of ideological tensions and it is agreed that sharp rise of interstate conflicts is the mere result of the cold war. Since 1990, more than one-third of the world's countries have been directly affected by serious societal warfare and nearly two- thirds of these states experienced armed conflicts during the period for seven or more years (Gawerc, 2006, p. 436). End of the Cold War ushered the term peacekeeping as top agenda taken up by the UN. Traditional peace keeping consists of the stationing of neutral, lightly armed troops, usually with the permission of the host state, as an interposition force following the cease fire to separate combatants (Druckman, Wall, & Diehl, 1999, p. 105). Regarding peace building UN stands their perspectives and former UN secretary Boutros Ghali clearly distinguished three types of ways to bring peace viz. peace- making, peace- keeping and peace- building. Among these three, Ghali recommended only peace- keeping and peace- building considering peace- making as out of style.

There are governments and international organizations that intervene in conflicts around the world to end violent ethnic struggles and the humanitarian suffering engendered by them and to strive to prevent such violence by promoting the conditions for sustainable peace. For example, the United Nations has embarked on almost as many "peacekeeping" operations in the four years between 1989-93 as it did in the four decades prior to the early 1990s (Ghosh 1994: 412). Similarly, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been and continues to be an instrumental participant in mobilizing peace initiatives and in fostering global rationalities of security that aim to shape the future conduct of individuals, groups, and populations (Ilcan & Phillips, 2006, p. 60). United Nations has used their powers to restore peace in many times during the four years. These interventions by United Nations were applied in northern Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina in the years 1992, 1993, 1995 respectively for maintaining international peace and security. At the outset, the interventions

were classical peacekeeping missions, with UN forces deploying to monitor a negotiated ceasefire between warring parties. Gradually the mission typology has changed to include what has come to be known as ''peace enforcement'' and ''peace-restoring'' missions. With the change in typology, there have been changes in the armament, appearance, and operations of UN forces. However, the most fundamental consequence of the changing nature of UN intervention is the way these changes have affected the position of the United Nations itself as a neutral, independent intermediary. In the classical peacekeeping missions, the actions and responsibilities of the United Nations were limited to monitoring and moderating the ongoing negotiations between parties. More or largely, within the traditional peace keeping deployment of troops under UN authority with the consent of the combatant parties had been conducted. This also mandated to discharge specific confidence-building tasks in a very strict manner. United Nation has successful to maintain peace and security in many disrupted states. The term disrupted states refers to the states where the internal condition of the states is not good for the citizens due to internal conflict. The people of disrupted states are typically confronted by daunting social and economic problems. For example, Kosovo, Yugoslavia, East Timor etc. were the countries faced disruption due to internal armed conflict. The United Nations peacekeeping has a decidedly mixed record of success in its 50-plus peacekeeping operations (Diehl, 2003, p. 44).

UN peacekeepers are given great credit for the successful transition to majority rule in Namibia, for preventing violence on the Golan Heights, and for restoring democratic rule in Haiti. On the other side of the coin, however, are UN failures to stop the genocide in Rwanda and Bosnia, and the repeated ceasefire violations in southern Lebanon despite the presence of UN troops there. It is clear that UN-organized force is no guarantor of success, but neither is such operations inherently doomed to failure.

The central coordinating agency for most international operations has traditionally been the United Nations (of course, this ignores unilateral national actions). During the Cold War era, there were occasional forays into peacekeeping by regional organizations – for example, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Chad, the Organization of American States (OAS) in the Dominican Republic – but these tended to be isolated occurrences amid the dominant pattern of UN-sponsored operations. Although regional efforts are not necessarily more common today, alternatives to UN operations are present on the international agenda. The end of the Cold War left NATO largely without its primary purpose and has led that organisation to consider different

roles. Indeed, its actions in Bosnia and Kosovo are the first manifestations of that new focus. Furthermore, US President Clinton proposed the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), which would turn operational responsibility for peacekeeping on that continent over to local states and organizations (Maley, Samphord, & Thakur, 2003, p. 44).

3.5 Civil society and peace building:

Celia McKeon argues that the nature of the internal conflict in the post – Cold War era inflamed participation of civil society in the peace process (Mckeon, 2007, p. 567). In the modern warfare, when two armed power gets confronted, it havocked life of the common people by causing death and destruction to the civilian population. As civilian population directly affected by those conflicting situation, therefore they decided to bear the burden of taking participation in conflict resolution process. People generally get together, they communicate with others and find ways that neither controlled by the state nor by kinship or family ties. In this connection, the interest of the people comes voluntarily and they do not drive by any power logics or any market interests. People as a civil society raise their voices to defend common interests and look into a social and political change (Orjuela, 2003, p. 196). Of late, foreign aid from donor agencies has been increasing. The increased inflow of foreign aid to civil society peace work over the last decade has given these actors more resources, while a growing academic interest has contributed to putting civil society actors on the peace building map.

According to Camilla Orjuela, the actors of the civil society have myriads of potentialities to build peace. The following are the main activities a civil society can do for peace building (Orjuela, 2008, p. 31).

1) They can put pressure on key actors—to prevent war (for example, advocacy work for political reforms and the rights of marginalized groups), to initiate dialogue between adversaries, to stop human rights abuses, or to rebuild and uphold justice and good governance in a post-war situation.

(2) They can build a peace constituency (popular support for peace moves) and improve local relations among groups which are or have been in conflict (for instance, through peace education, dialogue projects and conflict resolution training).

(3) Civil society actors can play a role as an intermediary between 'ordinary people' and key actors. They can voice the concerns (desire for justice and peace) of grassroots communities to

top leaders strive to build support for top-level peace moves among the general population and to involve ordinary people in peace processes.

If conflict may arise due to structural violence civil society can address the issues and causes of conflict adopting various prevention measures. Structural violence refers to inequality inherent in the society. It may refer as a social injustice. During pre conflict situation, civil society can address structural violence then also promotes human security by monitoring human rights and it can also promote human rights. Civil society makes governments and state structure more responsive towards their works in the participation of political processes, policy dialogue, and advocacy campaigns. In conflict situation sometimes threatens to peace like xenophobia, discrimination etc. may come and in such a situation, civil society can facilitate dialogue by promoting tolerance and a culture of peace among people. The Culture of Peace is based on orientations that attempt to make particular individuals and groups responsible for acquiring certain kinds of values associated with "peace" and "security." The United Nations General Assembly recognized UNESCO's culture of peace program as a "global movement" when it heard its proposal for an International Decade for a Culture of Peace in 2000 (United Nations 2000:2). From its inception, the promotion of a "culture of peace'" was intended as a search for values beyond national interests (Ilcan & Phillips, 2006, p. 63).
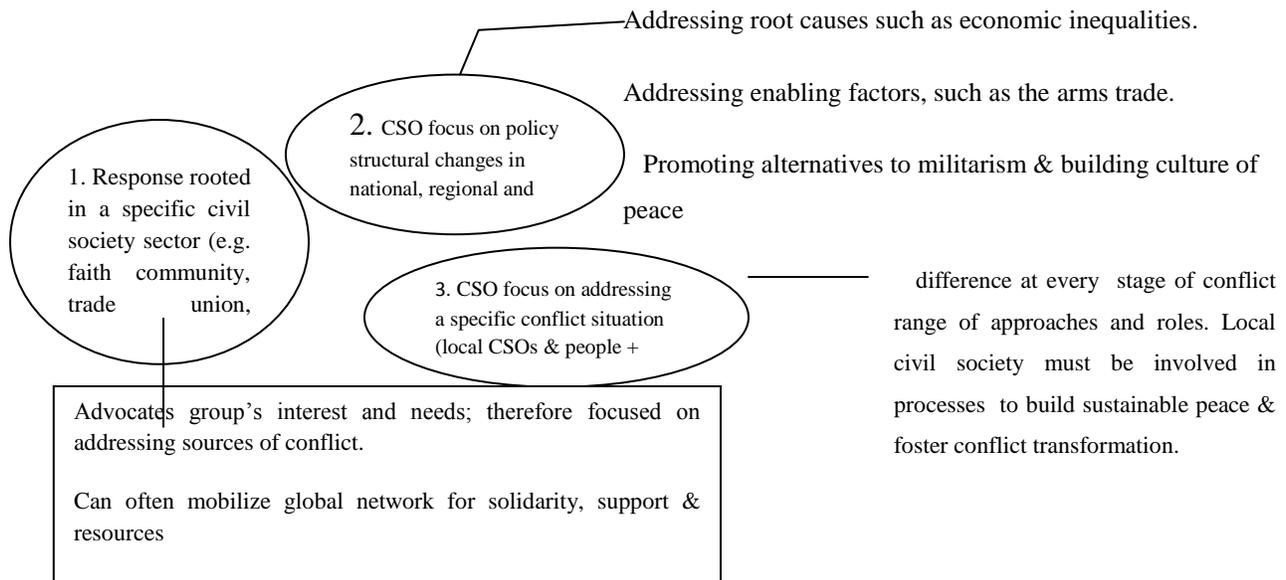
Conflict Resolution is the most widely used tool for peace building as far as the contemporary peace building is concerned. Among the Conflict Resolution tools and techniques, civil society's role in mediation is very important. Civil society can strengthen capacities to mediate conflict and manage differences through mediation services, education and promote rule of law. However, if the conflict escalates, civil society plays a very crucial role through producing early operational crisis response. Early warning about conflict situation is the prime activity of a civil society and for this civil society arranges communication strategies to raise awareness among people. Public awareness work, social dialogue, public protests by civil society can develop and strengthen 'constituencies for peace' and 'zones of peace'. The Constituency of Peace is a term used for creating an atmosphere of mediation with the help of people from outsiders. Armed conflict creates animosities and mistrust between conflicting groups. To erase polarization between conflicting groups it is an international endeavor by outsiders in terms of mediators and peace-makers. John Paul Lederach talked about three basic principles to be maintained while efforts for building peace constituencies made. These are accordingly, indigenous empowerment,

of the cultural relevance of conflict transformation approaches, and of a long term commitment (Rupensinghe, 1995, p. 212).

3.6 Facilitator of a peace process:

As far as the traditional approach of diplomacy is concerned, it largely depends on the governmental and non-governmental agencies to facilitate talks or mediate between the conflicts protagonists. The dialogue initiated by the civil society group can led to a number of impacts on the whole process of mediation. A civil society builds trust and understanding between the grass root members of the divided communities.

Figure II: Civil society Orientation to working on conflict issues

Addressing root causes such as economic inequalities.

Addressing enabling factors, such as the arms trade.

2. CSO focus on policy structural changes in national, regional and

Promoting alternatives to militarism & building culture of peace

1. Response rooted in a specific civil society sector (e.g. faith community, trade union,

3. CSO focus on addressing a specific conflict situation (local CSOs & people +

difference at every stage of conflict range of approaches and roles. Local civil society must be involved in processes to build sustainable peace & foster conflict transformation.

Advocates group's interest and needs; therefore focused on addressing sources of conflict.

Can often mobilize global network for solidarity, support & resources

Source: (Barnes, Weaving the Web: Civil Society Roles in Working with Conflict and Building Peace, 2007, p. 12)

Persons and organizations performing mediation often contribute significantly to de escalate conflicts and to reach equitable agreements. Typically, persons playing the social roles such as mediators, arbitrators, and fact finders conduct such activities (Krisebrg, p. 234).

Mediation is the central point in the field of conflict resolution process. Civil society organizations sometimes perform role of a mediator or observer in the negotiation process itself and are then acknowledged in the resulting peace agreement as signatories with an ongoing role.

In Bougainville, for example, the chair of the Solomon Islands Christian Association mediated the talks concluding the Honiara Declaration of 1991 and signed as an observer (Bell & O'Rourke, 2007, p. 300). Mediation is used as a dominant approach to conflict resolution by both practitioners and peace researchers. But in the day today life mediation is practiced at many stages of life by people. Mediation can be ranged from worker-employer dispute to international agreements outside the national boundary. Mediation is practiced mainly by the NGOs and predominantly coined as a western approach to conflict resolution as this was used to resolve the conflict by both practitioners and peace researchers in Western Europe and North America.

3.7 The role of the actors of civil society:

When we about the actors of civil society, it has been proposed the actors of civil society contributes to peace process through representative participation, consultative mechanisms and direct participation (McKeon 2004; Paffenholz, Kew and Wanis-St. John 2006). The actors of civil society lead to dialogue process and mediation efforts resulting with a positive effect. By building trusts and understanding between grass root members of the conflicting parties provides assistance in identifying the causes of conflict and try to resolve them. The notion that civil society actors play an active part in the political negotiations to reach peace agreements is still a long way from being an established norm of peacemaking. One study has identified that there are at least three possible "modes' of civil society participation in peace processes: mechanisms for consultation, representative decision making, and direct participation (Barnes 2002). There should be a clear conceptual and theoretical understanding of the root cause of conflict. Civil society should have a clear conceptual and theoretical understanding of the root cause of the conflict so that they can get ownership of the peace process. The local actors should be empowered to a certain extent that they can identify the inherent factors of conflict. Civil society can take part in various activities for resolving conflicts and some of the tools adopted by civil society are as in the following:

Negotiation:

Civil society groups can help to bring greater public representation into the negotiation process. Civil society, however, speaks with many voices and stands in the shadow of domination by

political elites. Civil society has a role to play not just after the conflict, but also efforts to end it through negotiation.

Peace processes and especially the political negotiations to reach peace agreements are a unique opportunity for creating the bridge to lasting social and political change. They offer opportunities to create an agreed road map toward the future by addressing the underlying issues generating conflict, developing new "rules of game," and transforming relationships among, antagonists. Those who participate in the negotiations can determine the substantive and procedural agreements that can lead to structural changes in the state and governance system, human rights, security and development policies. Therefore, it matters how the process is structured and who gets to participate in it. (Barnes, 2007, p. 18)

In civil conflict situation, the negotiation plays an important role in the conflict management. Often it is seen that the conflicting parties do not come forward for negotiation very easily. I William Zartman and Richard Hass have put forwarded some probable situations of conflict management. They argue that the parties to a conflict are unlikely to deal with the process of negotiation as long as they feel that they are gaining from the conflict. They think so because they have a good prospect of defeating their adversary through violent means. Again they argue that change is more likely to occur if the conflicting parties find that they are deadlocked in the militarist activities. When the conflicting parties find that there is no sign of abatement as conflict seems so lengthened, they think for a negotiation and a political 'solution'. So, Zartman and Haass call such moment as 'ripe for resolution' or 'ripeness'. The prime condition for negotiation is that the conflicting parties have to recognize the negotiation as more profitable than continuing of war. The prospects for a negotiated settlement to a dispute are thus greater when war weariness has set in among the parties and a conflict has reached a plateau or 'hurting stalemate' in which unilateral solutions are no longer believed to be credible or achievable (Webel & Galtung, 2007, p. 42). As far as the situation of Assam is concerned, ULFA followed this idea of getting into a negotiation, after the counter insurgency operation operated in 1990's.

Monitoring of the peace agreements:

Civil society can monitor the process of a peace agreement by facilitating some works. Among them, monitoring of human rights during the peace agreement has been noticed in many real examples. When a peace agreements is signed under such peace agreement new human rights

institutions could be established. In Liberia, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2003 where Article 12.3 ensures that the new human rights commission established by the agreement to work with local human rights groups and civil society organizations to monitor and strengthen human rights (Bell & O'Rourke, 2007, p. 299). This way civil society monitors the provisions of human rights and civil rights during the peace process.

Dialogue:

As mentioned earlier peace dialogue is one of the key processes of peace building. Dialogue is the process where people can talk by sitting together. When it comes to peace building, it is not only a simple view of exchanging process but also a way to get an amicable solution. It is an inclusive process as reported by the United Nations Development Plan (UNDP) that brings together a diverse set of voices to create a microcosm of the larger society (Why Dialogue Matters for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building). Basically, the dialogue is regarded as a political initiative for the policymakers but in many conflict resolution processes, the dialogue was applied very successfully. Dialogue process has proven effective not only at bringing about post-conflict resolution but also at addressing transnational issues, such as climate change. (Why Dialogue Matters for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building)

Though dialogue has been used as a tool for conflict resolution in many cases, this is not the reliable and friendly way to tackle conflict. Civilians too often grow frustrated by endless rounds of talks without concrete actions (Why Dialogue Matters for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building). Most of the time people related to the conflict situation become fed up of the continuous series of fruitless talks.

Dialogue versus negotiation/mediation:

In the path of conflict resolution process negotiation and mediation, both are used along dialogue. Negotiation is being used in several peace processes but according to Bassam Nasser, despite negotiation is an official process it can end the conflict to a certain extent only as it cannot create genuine peace among people. He cited the example of the 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel on the failure of the official negotiation process. Change of quality of life is the main target and fall out of dialogue rather than mediation and negotiation. Distinctive

differences of dialogue from mediation and negotiation have been described by Hal Saunders in the following points (Pruiter & Thomas, 2003, p. 22):

- The desired result either in mediation or negotiation is to produce a concrete agreement. Dialogue can change the relationship to end the conflict.
- The currency of negotiation is defining and satisfying material interests through specific jointly agreed arrangements. The outcome of dialogue is to create new human and political capacities to solve problems.
- Negotiations require parties who are ready to try to reach an agreement. Dialogue can be fruitful by involving parties who are not yet ready for negotiations but do not want a destructive relationship to continue.
- Negotiations deal with goods or rights that can be divided, shared or defined in tangible ways. The Dialogue may change relationships in ways to create new grounds for mutual respect and collaboration.

The above distinctions among the mediation, negotiation, and dialogue reveal that dialogue is a more dynamic process and it cannot be used as substitutes. As we need sustainable peace so a larger peace initiative must be brought up and all of them should be included in conflict resolution process.

3.8 Contemporary peace building practices:

When we talk about the contemporary peace building practices we can obviously see that the practices are confined to only peace making process. The contemporary world has been witnessing dynamic changes in nature of conflicts. Conflicts have shifted to the 'Third World' and they have become more intra-state than the traditional inter-state wars (Muni, 2003, p. 203). But when the theory comes to resolve those conflicts then we can see that most of such types of conflicts are resolved through the basic processes, for instance, conflict management and conflict resolution etc. Thus we can argue that the cause of failure of contemporary peacemaking process is that it is a traditional diplomacy process and confined to narrow definition of a peace process. In this process only crucial task of bringing the political and military leaders of opposing groups into a process of dialogue and negotiation with the aim of exploring, reaching agreement on, and implementing measures to end violent conflict so that they create the conditions for peaceful

solutions. Traditional peacemaking approach firmly believes that the leaders of the conflicting parties have the power to reach decisions.

3.9 The contemporary peace building process:

It has been noted that the inclusion of civil society groups in top-level peace processes improves the legitimacy of an agreement and makes it likely to be more sustainable.

Civil society can play as an actor in peace process determined by a number of factors, including both external and internal factors. The external factors can be exemplified as the attitudes of the conflicting parties and the degree of the political space afforded to civil society bodies. Other internal factors may include the resources and skills available in the civil society groups.

Arab- Israel conflict is one of the conflicts that catch the eye of the whole world. The conflict between Israeli Jews and Palestinians is termed as one of the most enduring and intractable conflicts of our time (Bar-Tal, 2000). The retrospection of this conflict has revealed many dramatic turning points, with periods of severe violence following and being followed by serious attempts at peacemaking and peace building (M. Maoz, 1999). A series of peace accords were signed between the warring parties as a result of the peace making process. Workshops were conducted as a part of the peace accords during the post- Osolo peace agreement area. These series of workshops encompassed participation of the younger generation under age group of 15-16 years old 10- grade students. Both Israeli and Palestinians school students ensured the participation in the workshops in the two days meet to share social, cultural, and political issues through sharing personal experiences.

The movement, for its part, considered the Oslo Accords a great success; indeed most members, except for some small radical factions, publicly applauded and supported the Labor government's move in this direction from the beginning. However, almost immediately after the signing of the Oslo Declaration of Principles, it became apparent that while the government had adopted significant parts of its agenda, the movement itself was excluded from the peace negotiations. Furthermore, the Israeli decision-makers refused to credit the movement for its past efforts and sometimes even publicly derided it, all in an apparently calculated effort to disassociate the peace process from the peace movement (Gidron, Katz, & Hanesnfled, 2002, p. 95). The peace building initiatives in Israel had been started since the mid of the 1920's. From

the side of Israelis, first peace group was organized in 1925 and it was named as Peace Covenant (Brit Shalom). This peace group emerged within the Jewish community so founded in Jerusalem. This group or association wanted to make a binational model by dealing with the Zionist leadership and the British Mandatory authorities. The main thrust of the model was that Jewish and Arab communities residing in the same area so they would have had equal political representation though they reside in different demographic size. To prevent the deadly struggle between these two conflicting parties this was a good step. This Peace Covenant released a statement regarding the deterioration of Arab- Israel relations where Jews were stated as partly responsible for the deterioration of their relationships. It also advocated that the Zionist movement give up their central aspiration to build a Jewish populated place in Palestine.

As far as the representation issue is concerned, this peace covenant was based on very highly elitist newcomers originated from Central and Western Europe. So it became a registered society rather than a think tank or a political movement. This covenant was described as an elitist group because the leading members of this covenant comprised of prominent academics from Hebrew University or high-level administrators in the Mandatory Palestine civil service or the Zionist establishment.

The Yishuv was a pre-state Jewish community in Palestine and the leaders of this community condemned the Peace Covenant and criticized that the group had a representation of elitism and naive bourgeois pacifism. So, the Peace Covenant was not able to propagate its message to all. Moreover, some severest critics accused the Peace Covenant of anti-Zionism, defeatism, and pandering to enemy interests. Despite this Peace Covenant remained in existence for eight years (1925–1933), but it was an active mode for six frustrating years. Unfortunately, all the recommendations offered by this Peace Covenant were rejected so the escalation of Arab- Jewish conflict became violent in due course of time. Later, the group's negative public image was projected onto peace activism. Since peace covenants had not gained any specific and positive result, it is not being remembered positively. It is regarded as an example of narrow-minded thinking of the peace groups so Israelis rather try to forget about this peace covenant. In Israel, there were other peace groups which were unpopular in those days. Few elite people like Martin Buber, a prominent philosopher, and Dr. Judah Magnes, the president of the Hebrew University established another peace group (Ihud) in 1942. The union established by these elite people was

not popular as people had a negative attitude on this union. Not surprisingly, this negative public attitude also was projected onto the highly visible but notably unpopular Union (Ihud) peace group. Bi-nationalism was also advocated by the activists of this particular union. And also a strong sense of moral pacifism encouraged them. One of the loopholes about this union was that this union did not have any concern to aggravate the Jewish mainstream. Provoking then Jewish mainstream people was a main important area of task for the other peace groups at that time. Notably, some of the members of another group called Magnes had tried to create a space for pointless advocacy because this group to hide their recommendation. Palestine was in a very critical state at that time it was very difficult to pursue any matter.

The offer or the idea of bi-nationalism was rejected because it was not what they wanted. Therefore, in the year 1947, the UN Partition Plan was accepted by the Zionist. As a result of their consensus, an independent Jewish state was declared. It was an independent Jewish state meant for the Israelis that established in the next year, i.e. 1948. This independency of the Israel was not freed from the idea of bi-nationalism. Antimilitarism has become a core issue for the peace group. During 1950's they tried to project antimilitarism as one of their core Jewish traditional value. The problem came to their path while they were unable to spread the idea of antimilitarism among the people. Losing the political support, this group lost its validity. Members of this group became frustrated and pessimistic. People began to lose their faith in peace. Expiry of one peace group led to the birth of another peace group. The Israeli Peace Committee (Va'ad Ha'shalom Ha'Yisraeli) was established as peace committee. The goals and objectives of this committee were slightly different. During 1950s antinuclear stand was another area of concern. The above committee was involved in peace making and anti-nuclear stand. Unfortunately, this committee was not able to create an impact on people. But it was able to make a political impact on the Israeli government. The committee had created a very big mass support against the nuclear campaigning. World Peace Council adopted the committee as their branch and antinuclear Stockholm Petition Campaign was a significant agenda of the World Peace Council. As a campaigning part, the Council collected 40,000 signatures from people. The allegation was brought up that most of the signatures of the huge numbers were duplicated though demand was made that among the signatories most of them were the adult population. The committee also lost its durability within less than three years. The reason behind it was that they dared to violate a number of political taboos. Moreover, this Council attempted to create its

own space outside the dominant political-party framework. They organized wide-ranging political activity from the grass root level. Their networks with other organization were very strong as left wings offered them their assistance. The two left wings were namely, Mapam and Maki. Their political stand was against the Zionist.

Almost one decade was left without any effort of peace building in this Middle East region. The absence of legacy among the Israeli groups was the cause for it. Therefore, no step for peace building had been witnessed during the late 1950s to 1960s.

War again escalated in 1967. Peace camp rejuvenated after the end of the war of 1967. New peace committees came to the forefront with new agendas. For example, Movement for Peace and Security was established with a new purpose. They demanded an immediate and total annexation of the occupied territories. This rise of movement was blowing towards the favor of the right wing.

It was occupied with only hundred numbers of members. This group had changed the idea of peace building. They dared to raise their stand against the occupation. They made the people aware of the risk of the occupation's political, social and military dangers. Therefore, an appeal was conferred by them to abandon the occupation. They made people aware that the dangerous occupation would become an unavoidable part of people's lives if they did not abandon it from their lives very soon. Direct peace dialogue between the Arab leader and any group was advocated by them. They made it clear that if Israel administration occupies the territory with force then Palestinian would inject rebellion as an answer for that. So, they wanted a direct dialogue to bargain the territorial concessions. The intellectuals supported the cause of the Movement for Peace and Security. Prominent academics, intellectuals, artists, and other public figures supported their cause to remain in the Israeli mainstream. The opponents criticized the activities of Movement and made the move as null and void by declaring their ideas as unrealistic. They mainly criticized the ideologies of the movement as the ideas were not favorable for the security of the Israelis. As the movement had failed to recognize their counterpart for a peace dialogue, it had faced immense criticism. The rights who were once their supporters became their strongest criticizers. The movement was also faced criticism from another dominant political party in there. The political party titled Mapai criticized the movement's sense of patriotism and political rationality. Later this movement vanished from the

scene of Arab aftermath the traumatic 1973 war. A heavy criticism and placed this movement in isolation.

Though the movement ended up with the disappearance in the horizon, the history of Arab-Israel conflict registered their contribution with respect. Their contribution to peace building initiated a new discourse. It was recognized as successful peace activism. Causalities of conflict between Arab and Israel witnessed in a drastic way during the 1973 war. This time Arabs attacked the Israelis in a surprising way. A surprise attack by the side of Arabs compelled the Israelis to rethink on their security issues. They started to give an importance to long-term national security. And for them, long-term security depended on a political solution rather than a militaristic settlement.

In due course of time, grass root level emergence of political activism had been noticed in the scenario. As an activism from the grass root level, one particular religious group emerged in the mid of seventies in that century. The group was named Strength and Peace (Oz Ve'shalom). Background of the members of this group was from universities. But this group was not able to maintain the ideological and political influence in the due course of time.

Large numbers of peace dialogues had been organized in the eighties of the last century. These dialogues were held between Israeli- Palestinian throughout the country. So in the last of the 1980s peace building was became an important part of the Israeli political life.

The important peace agreement was the Oslo Peace Accord, so far as the Arab-Israeli conflict and peace building is concerned. In the history of Arab-Israeli peace building, the Oslo Peace Accord has a significant role. This accord was not succeeded to maintain peace in that region and Conflict and violence had turned a new dimension.

The Arab- Israeli conflict has a broad perspective to study how conflict can be resolved. Peace building activism in Arab-Israeli conflict can give us an understanding of many points from the perspective of peace building. It helps us to understand how peace is manipulated, contaminated by civil society.

South Asia has witnessed the myriad of armed conflicts in different times. The nature of conflicts in South Asia is basically consigned to ethnic conflict. But violence perpetrated by terrorists

caused the death of many innocent people in recent times. Sri Lanka is one of the most conflicts affected South Asian countries situated in the Indian continental. Sri Lanka was in the grip of ethnic conflict and insurgency led by Tamil leader Velupillai Prabhakaran under the insurgent organization named Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) with the objective of establishment of an independent Tamil state. Indian Government played a crucial role in the peace making process in violence-torn Sri Lanka. Indian Government entered into a series of intensive diplomatic exchanges and negotiations culminating in July 1987 with the signing of the Indo Sri Lankan Peace accord. Aftermath the signing of the Peace Accord, an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was assembled to oversee implementation of the accord. This peace keeping force deployed with some 7,000 Indian troops to northeastern Sri Lanka between July and August 1987 (Chalk, p. 132). Civil society in Sri Lanka was always active to maintain peace by creating peace movement. Indeed, for those expecting a massive popular uprising against war and violence, the peace movement in Sri Lanka has been a disappointment. But even so, a range of actors—peace and human rights activists, intellectuals, artists, religious leaders, victims of war and various nongovernmental organizations—have engaged in activities to promote peace (Orjuela, 2008, p. 102).

3.10 The road from Conflict Resolution to Conflict Transformation:

Peacemaking is the term mostly used in globally. Civil society facilitates communication through Track II dialogue processes. Lederach has given suggestions for conceptualizing of conflict transformation. In Track II dialogue process all members of the society take part. Public dialogue can be done to create 'pragmatic peace' for strengthening local CSO capacities for peace building. Negotiation between conflicting parties can address the future. Peace building needs to resolve the conflict as far as the conflict in the world is concerned. Contemporary conflicts are protracted conflicts in nature. Examples of conflicts reveal that it cannot be ended but only can solve. Thus the conflicts that only tried to solve were under the conflict resolution process. The durability of peace building tools like peace agreement should be proactive in nature. Hence it is argued that the best way to guarantee the durability of any agreement is to be proactive and allow for higher mutual participation by the conflict groups, the term conflict transformation has carved a niche for itself in the peace studies and conflict resolution structure (Gawerc, 2006, p. 439). Conflict transformation is a healing tool that not only tries to end or control conflict but

tries to changes or transforms events, people, relationships that created the initial conflict (Lederach, 1995). In the real world, it is very hard to end the conflict because it changes the perceptions of people in a destructive way. Through transforming perceptions, actions of people or group of peoples' conflict transformation process improves mutual understanding.

Johan Galtung's conception of peace building actually associated with the process of conflict transformation. The main focus of conflict transformation is on changing the social, psychological and the economic environment at the grass root level. Vayrynen argues that conflict theory based on the idea of transformation rather than settlement, stresses the importance to understand how conflicts are transformed. Hugh Miall and others talk about various forms and levels of intervention for Conflict Transformations:

1. The term Context Transformation is conducted at the international, regional and social level to transform conflict.
2. Root causes of conflict are focused through Structural Transformation.
3. In any conflict, the leaders of the warring parties can change the scenario. Therefore, conflict can be transformed through changing the beliefs and attitudes of the leaders or the conflict-ridden constituencies and this process is called as Actor Transformation. Through a change of leaders or the constituency or by a change in their beliefs or attitudes.

The most accepted method for peace building is multitrack or multi-level diplomacy as far as conflict transformation is concerned. Consensus has been built in the peace building field comprising both peace studies and conflict resolution on success and sustainability of peace process can be achieved through multitrack diplomacy and public involvement. It has been argued that in the case of both Northern Ireland and South Africa, the informal diplomacy, public involvement, and grassroots dialogue were the critical elements in their relatively successful peace process (Gawerc, 2006, p. 442). Responses at different levels should be given emphasis to resolve and to transform contemporary conflicts so Miall et al. argue that attention may need to be paid to the international and regional level to create contextual change, the state level for structural change, the conflict party level for relational change and reconciliatory work, and finally at every level, cultural change to transform institutions and discourses that act to maintain and recreate/perpetrate violence (Gawerc, 2006, p. 442). As mentioned above conflict

transformation involves multilevel or multiple tracks, McDonald coined the term "multitrack diplomacy" and he and another researcher Diamond argue that it is "a systems approach to peace" (McDonald, The need for Multi Track Diplomacy, 2002). An important approach or component of the above-mentioned "systems approach to peace" is second track diplomacy or track two diplomacies that bridge a building among scholars, senior journalists, opinion leaders, former government officials, or other politically influential individuals from conflicting parties to work together. These people meet and work together with the great intention of clarifying long-standing disagreements, explore different possibilities for resolving them, and then try to gain insight into the ways in which collaborative process could be promoted. Second track diplomacy can be differentiated from traditional dialogue in that communication and dialogue is not an end in itself, but rather in track two is linked to the negotiations and the larger political process. Thus Kelman argues in support of the interactive problem-solving workshops (Gawerc, 2006, p. 444).

People to people involvement are essential parts of the conflict transformation process. Participation of common or ordinary people in the grass root level plays a significant role in this process of peace building. These initiatives which have symbolic and cultural value involve a wide range of activities and are often called people to people projects. The process can best be described as "getting to know each other". While these initiatives cannot substitute for an official process in any way, the building of integrative ties and the establishing of relationships of shared interests can help create, build, stabilize or strengthen relationships between two people. Saunders gave emphasis on one activity that common people can initiate is dialogue and understanding. He called it as "getting to know the other side". The dialogue may involve communication between members of antagonist groups to promote conflict analysis and understanding of perspectives of the other side.

Table 1: Summary of Approaches to Peace

Name		Instrument
Diplomacy	I	Inter-state Communication
Peaceful Settlement		Good Offices, Conciliation, Arbitration, Courts
2nd Track Diplomacy		Non-State Actors
Preventative Diplomacy		Conflict Monitoring, Early Warning
Peacekeeping	II	Cease-Fire patrol/Observation
Humanitarian Intervention		Armed Intervention to Protect Human Rights Within States
Balance of Power	III	Military Balance
Collective Security		Military Superiority under System-Wide Authority
Disarmament	IV	No Weapons
Arms Control		Reduce Weapons
Defensive Defence		Reduce External Threat of Defensive Weapons
Conversion		Convert to Civilian Production
Nonviolent Politics	V	Diminish Need for Weapons as Instruments for Social Change
Citizen Defence		Diminish Need for Weapons for National Defence
Self-Determination	VI	Autonomy/Independence for Identity Groups
Human Rights		Legitimate Transnational Standards for Economic, Social, Political, and Cultural Rights
Functionalism	VII	Collaboration to solve Problems
Development		Overcome Poverty and Develop
Self-Reliance		Humans According to their Needs
International Communications Equity	VIII	Overcome One-Way International Communication
Ecological Balance		Overcome Destruction of Habitat
Governance for Commons		Sharing Equity in the Use for the Commons
Feminist Perspectives	IX	Illuminate Roots of Violence in Society
Peace Education		Learn about the Causes of Peace
People's Movements		Broaden Opportunities for Participation in Efforts to Implement Peace

Source: (Alger, 1999, p. 41)

The above table generously illuminates the different types of approaches to bring peace and the desired outcomes of such approaches to the society in a nutshell.

3.11Question of legitimacy on peace building activities by civil society:

Civil society as an organization is depended on funding for continuing their activities. NGO as civil society is basically depended on funding by foreign donor agencies and Paffenholz and Spurk (2006) argues that the NGOs whoever get funding from foreign donor agencies, strengthen NGOs based on urban areas, elite members led NGOs, which are far away from class, ethnic and political diversity of society at large. But legitimacy and transparency of such civil society organizations always remain in the area of suspicion. People do not find their activities as transparent as NGOs often have lack of democratic structures and broad mass base due to lack of true representation from the people in general. Whenever, any organization works in conflict zone, insufficient transparency of what they are doing may cause suspicion and doubt in societies polarized by conflict. Question of transparency and legitimacy of NGOs working in peace building arises in the minds of people as they show their concern more towards the foreign donor agencies than the local people for whom they are working. They try to prove their honesty to the donor agencies as they are doing a very good job. This anomaly happens as it becomes very difficult for the peace NGOs to raise money for involving in peace activities from the public or government in conflict ridden countries.

3.12 Criticism on peace building activities by Civil Society:

Role of civil society in peace building is not always weighted positively. In the present chapter, all positive aspects of civil society in peace building are discussed. As everything in the world has both positive and negative aspect and thus civil society is not free from criticisms by the critics. The critics find many problems involved with civil society contributions towards peace building. It becomes risky to over emphasize on civil society and peace NGOs as sole responsible for peace building. Although, few civil society actors are able to deal with the political economy of war but peace programmes often fail to address the real dynamics of political power which sustain conflicts. In the words of Jonathan Goodhand, 'NGOs and their activities are only a small part of the story of conflict. (Orjuela, The Identity Politics of Peace Building: Civil Society in War Torn Sri Lanka, 2008, p. 41). Reverse gear by peace NGOs and other civil societies who work for peace building can be clearly noticed by this statement. The picture of civil society as apparatus of peace building process is criticized by this comment.

Again, notion also goes that civil society may escalate danger by intensifying divisions, and reinforcing prejudices among people in the war zone. Thus, Barnes says that this risk may appear in the conflict zone particularly either peace workers without experience try to resolve the conflict or organizations engage in short term projects with less knowledge and information in the context of local society and culture.

Civil society bears the burden of complement the official process of peace building through the mode of negotiation, dialogue and workshop etc. between the conflicting parties. But civil society does not have the supreme power or the sole power to end the conflict. Rather the international donors and diplomats make the statement that civil society actors can provide a humanitarian gloss on intervention and act as a substitute for political actions. The endeavor offered by the peace organization in a conflict area may be isolated to make a generous difference between the natures of conflict.

3.13 Relevance of peace building theories in the context of Assam:

The peace building can be successful when certain conditions are fulfilled. Because we can see that civil society's role in this regard is different from other activities. Camilla Orjuela said that 'Civil society', 'peace movements' or peace organizations are in no way unitary actors (Orjuela, 2003, p. 3). So, for conducting peace work and to make the peace work successful certain things have to be followed. Thus on the basis of certain assumptions, the civil society peace works can organize peace.

1. Peace depends on the leaders of the conflicting parties. Interests for peace building can be increased by civil society peace work and peace can be brought by information and advocacy works so that the leaders are enlightened on possibilities for peace. They have to be entrusted with that they will gain from making peace and they will lose if they continue to engage in war. An environment for peace has to be created in the constituencies of the leaders, enthusiastic opinion makers have to speak in favor of peace then only the key leaders will rethink and will redefine their agenda. This assumption for a successful peace building is very relevant in the context of Assam. As the conflicting parties do not want to peep at the brighter side of conflict resolution, so the next chapter is going to check whether this assumption is being applied by the civil society groups. How do the civil society groups in Assam try to create a constituency for the leaders of both sides?

2. Change at the grass root level is very important as change at the local level will fuel large-scale change. Ordinary people are the local people in an area so they have to be given importance. Each Individual has their own beliefs, attitudes and they maintain relations with another person in a good or bad way. Moreover, each of them may support violence or may not support violence. These things are the center of attention and if changes come at this stage, this change at the ground level can lead to the end of the war. It is also assumed that the key to lock the supply of human resources and goods to the war-making system is in the hands of ordinary people only. If they break down the divisions and prejudices, the war-making system will collapse automatically. Or ending up of divisions and prejudices will reduce the levels of violence locally. Therefore, Church and Shouldie say that a large number of populations need to be involved in this process to see a tangible effect in the society. Moreover, change that may come at the local level will be durable only when same change happens in different places at the same time or change is reproduced and disseminated. Civil society initiatives for building peace created a phenomenon in Assam. Do the initiatives by civil society in Assam able to change the local level and are these civil society initiatives involved a large number of populations?

3. A small-scale peace work can act as a catalyst of change in socio-political structures. Peace can be ensured only by stable and reliable social institutions that guarantee democracy and human rights. These social institutions have to look after some underlying issues of peace like justice, exploitation, threats to identity and security. In order to maintain the order of peace efficiently, not only need the personal levels may rise but also change in the socio-political level also necessary. Anderson and Olson argue for finding a potential for sustainable and wide-ranging transformation. But there are certain problems in the way of the transformation process. The changes in the individual level do not recognize a change in the structures, for example, political power, legal systems, distribution of resources or education policies cannot be changed on the basis of individual change (Orjuela, 2008, pp. 46-47) In the context of Assam, the study has encompassed the role of human rights organization in peace building. Does human rights organization in Assam try to look after the above-mentioned underlying issues of peace like justice, exploitation, a threat to identity and security? As this basic assumption is

required for meeting the turning points of peace building, so the next chapter is an attempt to analyze the applicability of these assumptions.