

BLOCK III
PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Unit 1 : Peace in International Relations

Unit 2 : Peace Movements

Unit 3 : Conflict Resolution and Diplomacy

Unit 4 : UN and Peace Keeping Operations

Unit 5 : Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics

PEACE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Unit Structure:

- 1.1 Introduction**
- 1.2 Objectives**
- 1.3 Peace-concept and discourse**
- 1.4 Challenges to peace: Direct violence and Structural violence**
- 1.5 Creating peace**
- 1.6 Peacemaking and Peacebuilding**
- 1.7 Summing Up**
- 1.8 References and Suggested Readings**

1.1 Introduction:

The quest for peace has dominated humankind for centuries, it has proved to be truly elusive. Though all of humanity has denounced war and violence of all kind, yet the chances of having peace have not materialized. All religions condemn violence and give importance to peace, love and cooperation; world leaders have called upon the need for peace and global institutions have been created for establishing peace. But peace when achieved has proved to be temporary in character and violence again comes to the forefront. Peace is a rather psychological concept, always relative and juxtaposed to violence. The concept of peace is multifaceted and mainstream theories of international relations have always sought to address the ‘cause of war’ and the concept of peace was seldom given its due recognition. Peace is the pre-condition for long term stability and happiness of individual, communities and states.

1.2 Objectives

After going through this unit, you will be able to:–

- *analyse* the concept of peace in international relations,
- *understand* the mechanisms that create peace,

- *discuss* the importance peacemaking and peacebuilding institutions in world politics.

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1.3 Peace-concept and discourse:

If we begin with the need to survive, we immediately see that peace is a primary requirement of the human condition itself.

Johan Galtung (1995)

For centuries, humanity has grappled with the idea of ‘peace’, yet defining such a term has been a difficult task. Often, in politics, statecraft and international relations, it is its ‘absence’ that has taken centre-stage. Global institutions, multilateral treaties, international NGOs have talked about the importance of peace, but achieving the same has proved to be difficult.

According to the United Nations-

The nature of conflict and violence has transformed substantially since the UN was founded 75 years ago. Conflicts now tend to be less deadly and often waged between domestic groups rather than states. Homicides are becoming more frequent in some parts of the world, while gender-based attacks are increasing globally. The long-term impact on development of inter-personal violence, including violence against children, is also more widely recognized.¹

According to another report by the World Bank- ‘By 2030, up to 2/3 of the world’s extreme poor could live in fragility, conflict and violence (FCV) settings. Conflicts also drive 80% of all humanitarian needs’.² According to the Global Peace Index 2021 ‘there are now signs that militarisation is increasing’ and ‘the number of forcibly displaced people increased from just over 40 million in 2007, to over 84 million in 2020’.³ Hence violence does not seem to relent and peace has proven to be as obscure as ever before.

From spiritual to religious leaders as well as state leaders, all have stressed the importance of peace-‘inner’ as well as ‘external’. For states it is the ‘absence of hostilities’, for most it is a ‘regulative principle’ which should govern the lives of individuals and states. While humanity has progressed

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materially, seldom it has brought about the required benefits. International relations has sought to find answers to 'how to prevent war', rarely has it found the rights answers, with each war giving way another war. Violence certainly too has taken new dimensions- from interstate violence to intra-state violence; involvement of state and non-state actors in perpetuating violence has hurt one and all. Like other terms such as 'justice', peace is difficult to define for it is related with a set of conditions. Johan Galtung has made an important distinction between 'negative' and 'positive' peace. Negative peace essentially denoted 'absence' of fear, war and conflict. In contrast 'positive peace' is related with 'tranquility' and harmony with oneself and others. Peace is a 'dialectical' concept, wherein the state of peace is often determined 'negatively' or by the 'absence' of anger, fear and confrontation. Peace is seen as enabling condition for individuals and states to achieve results that are harmonious to one and all. Effectively, attainment of absolute peace is hard for it depends on conditions beyond one's control. Peace in international relations has been debated from various perspectives. For the idealists – positive view of human nature, the goals of disarmament and the possibility of cooperation are important facets of peace. Kant's central idea of 'perpetual peace' created an intellectual foundation for importance of peace in world politics. Over the years- humanitarian laws, the formation of ICRC (1863), the Geneva Convention of 1864 reveals that the global community was interested in pursuing 'peace'. During the interwar period, the formation of the League of Nations was a definite highpoint of idealism.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Geneva Conventions:

These are a set of treaties and protocols which form the core of international humanitarian law.

- First Geneva Convention: Convention (I) for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field. Geneva, 12 August 1949.

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- Second Geneva Convention: Convention (II) for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea. Geneva, 12 August 1949.
- Third Geneva Convention: Convention (III) relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949.
- Fourth Geneva Convention: Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949.
- Protocol I additional to the Geneva Conventions: Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), 8 June 1977.
- Protocol II additional to the Geneva Conventions: Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II), 8 June 1977.
- Protocol III additional to the Geneva Conventions: Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Adoption of an Additional Distinctive Emblem (Protocol III), 8 December 2005

For the realists, ‘anarchy’ is the hallmark of international relations. According to the realists, human nature is essentially ‘negative’, state interest is guided by national interest where ‘power’ plays an important role; uneasy ‘peace’ is achieved through balance of power. For neo realists like Kenneth Waltz, state behavior is guided by ‘structure’. War is inevitable and peace is bounded. While regimes and norms do play a role in world politics, in many parts of the globe, insecurity in the form of intra-state clashes, humanitarian intervention, global terrorism, forced displacement of people has reaffirmed the view that peace is ‘elusive’.

From the Marxist perspective, the international order should be based on principles of economic and social justice. The Marxists focus their attention on emancipation of individuals and are opposed to capitalism and imperialism.

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For Lenin, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, made peace impossible; and for A.G.Frank, who was extremely critical of the development model provided by the West, argued that this has caused ‘underdevelopment of development’ of the third world countries. Marxism as an ideology proposed ‘change’, but as events unfolded from the aftermath of the Russian revolution, it was anything but peaceful. Again, in many countries in Eastern Europe and Latin America, where communist governments were established, the domestic conduct of those governments left a lot to be desired.

The behavior of states in general is very much determined by a variety of factors- domestic forces, national interests and structural forces. Peace, if any and its many manifestations have emerged as an afterthought of interstate relations. In the new millennium, events in the Middle East, Afghanistan and North Africa reveal that violence and intra-state conflict has become endemic.

1.4 Challenges to peace: Direct violence and Structural violence:

Violence operates through various means at different levels. It operates through ‘threats’ and physical harm. Individuals are subjected to hate crimes because of their political orientation, colour, sexual orientation or the community to which they belong to. Since the end of the Cold War, security of nations state has come under increasing threat from non-state forces. Likewise, interstate wars and intrastate conflict are a major source of threat to peace and stability. Violation of human rights by state agencies and non-state agencies has increased; especially women and children have been targeted by different armed groups in civil wars in Afghanistan, Syria etc.

War	Year	Casualties (approx.)
The Second Congo War	1998-2003	5.4 million people
Napoleonic Wars	1803-1815	3.5-6 million people
The Thirty Years' War	1618 to 1648	8 million people
The Chinese Civil War	1927-1950	8 million people
The Russian Civil War	1917-1922	9 million people
World War I	1914-1918	7 million people
The Second Sino-Japanese War	1937-1945	25 million
World War II	1939 to 1945	70 million people
Major wars		
Source: brojenproject.org		

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In direct violence, 'peace' is general is threatened in a variety of ways. The scale and magnitude of violence varies according to circumstances-it may range from two person 'intimate violence' to genocide. Usually violence occurs when two or more groups see each other as a threat to their identities and goals. Domestic violence, fratricidal clashes and state sponsored violence and war are some of the key threats to the individual, community and the state. Such direct violence is often meant to physically hurt the opposing party. Often intermittent, the enemy is directly identified before perpetuating violence.

In contrast, 'structural violence' is 'impersonal'. It is continuous and not observable; however, the victims of such violence do feel it in the form of deprivation, poverty and neglect.

Direct Violence	Structural Violence
Kills people directly	Kills people indirectly
Kills quickly	Kills slowly
Somatic harm	Somatic deprivation
Dramatic	Commonplace
Personal	Impersonal
Acute insult to well-being	Chronic insult to well-being
Intermittent	Continuous
Subject-action-object observable	Subject-action-object unobservable
Intentional and immoral	Unintentional and amoral
Episodes may be prevented	Inertia may be mitigated

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Differences between direct violence and structural violence⁴

Source: Introduction To Peace Psychology by Daniel J. Christie, Richard V. Wagner, and Deborah Du Nann Winter

Structural violence is often related with conditions related to societal and economic structures of the society. Over a period of time, such structures stabilize and it often favours the dominant class-resulting in deprivation, exploitation and exclusion of a sizeable section of the society. Growing income inequalities, unemployment, poverty has also led to undermining of 'choices' of the marginalized communities. According to Gandhi, 'poverty is the worst form of violence'.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Human Security:

It is a 'concern with human life and dignity'. As an approach, it adopts a people centered approach to security that seeks to achieve a world free from 'fear, want and dignity'. Human security encompasses-

- Economic security
- Food security
- Health security
- Environmental security
- Personal security
- Community security
- Political security.

1.5 Creating Peace:

Conflict in the post-Cold War era has assumed new dimension- 'postmodern wars' in the form of ethnic conflict and humanitarian intervention. Religion, culture and identity based conflict has come to the forefront in most of the developing world. Unlike traditional wars, these postmodern wars often are long, intermittent, fragmented leadership and assume non-traditional warfare. Often women and children are targeted and 'laws of war' are seldom followed. Again, reconciliation has proved to be difficult in conflicts like those in Palestine/ Israel , Afghanistan and Rwanda.

Resolution of conflict in inter-state level has proved to be an arduous one, especially when goals and visions of the several warring parties are completely on opposite ends. The importance of Track II initiatives need to be highlighted here. Often discussion between Heads of States do not materialize or bring about peace, it is here that Track II diplomacy becomes important. These are activities that go beyond the official realm. It involves NGOs, academicians *etc.* who offer more creative ways for achieving peace. Workshops, capacity building programmes, humanitarian workers do provide the necessary impetus to bring together different groups to solve matters in a more closed environment. Peace can only be meaningful if it emerges from within rather than being imposed by outsiders.

Johan Galtung's TRANSCEND approach is important for it seeks to address and transform structural and cultural violence. It is also in 'favour of integration, consensus, cooperation, mutual learning and creative collaboration, the aim is for equity and symmetric power structures.'⁵ This approach argues, regardless of cultural backgrounds, in no hierarchical order, that all human beings have certain basic needs which are universal in character- *i.e.* survival, wellbeing, identity and freedom. At the heart, is the idea of 'nonviolence' which is essential for the transformation of the society. Among other forms of violence, cultural violence is the hardest to transform for it is more deeply rooted in the psyche of the people, which in turn legitimizes structural and direct violence. Every conflict encompasses –attitudes, behavior and contradictions (ABC), and arriving to a peaceful solution should be multipronged rather than linear in approach.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Nonviolence:

For Mahatma Gandhi it is more than 'pacifism'; rather 'non-violence is a weapon of the strong'. It is more than a tool for achieving political ends, rather it is a way of life. 'Satyagraha' was advocated by Mahatma Gandhi to achieve social progress and independence for India. Martin Luther King, a black civil rights leader led the March on Washington (1963). He successfully led the civil rights movement in the United States, which ultimately resulted in ending the legal segregation of African Americans in the country. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964.

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For peace to prevail, respect for human rights is generally regarded as an essential condition. The conventional approach to human rights is rather inadequate to understand the complex nature of the same in the twenty first century. Human rights abuse has assumed new dimensions, perpetuated by state and anti-state forces—from rape, to summary executions to denial of civil liberties. Many states have adopted harsh anti-terror legislations; in the name of national security human rights of vulnerable sections of the society are abused.

While the issue of human rights remains ‘constructed’ from above, meaning that it is formulated by state authorities and international agencies, over the years, the idea of ‘human rights from below’ has gained momentum; this idea is linked with rights and responsibilities of local communities. The concept of human rights for the local communities arise from shared experiences, traditions and cultures which the state must give due importance.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Human Rights:

These are certain universal rights, regardless of sex, religion, ethnic origin etc. that make our life meaningful and help us live with dignity. These rights range from right to education, food, health, liberty etc. Most of these rights are recognized by states and international community. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) laid the foundation of international human rights law. Together with the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (1966), and the International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) –constitute the International Bill of Rights.

The idea of reconciliation is important for peace. All religions mention about the importance of forgiveness and reconciliations. In South Africa (1996-2003) the Truth and Reconciliation Commission played an important role in putting forward to the public the atrocities that were committed during apartheid years. Such a commission was established in Australia too, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (2001) which identified the ‘historical wrongs’ committed on the aboriginal community.

Peace is identified with tranquility of the individual, harmony between communities and cooperation between states. As such it is dependent upon a variety of factors. Any attempt to have long term 'peace' at different levels is a misnomer.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is peace?
2. What is the Geneva Conventions?
3. What are human rights?
4. What is TRANSCEND?
5. What is Track II diplomacy?

1.6 Peacemaking and Peace-building:

Conflicts often lead to direct violence, and resolution of the same depends on a large number of factors. 'Peacemaking' as a concept is related with measures taken by different actors to reduce the intensity and frequency of direct conflicts. Conflict and its resolution largely depend on how an individual or a state sees it to be, *i.e* through 'lenses'.

Globally, the United Nations and its agencies have played an important role in conflict management and its resolution. The United Nations has been involved in a number of peacekeeping operations since its formation. It was in 1948 when the Security Council authorized the deployment of UN military observers to the Middle East- United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO); since then the UN has conducted more than 70 such operations across the globe.⁶ The early years were confined to-

Peacekeeping was primarily limited to maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing situations on the ground, providing crucial support for political efforts to resolve conflict by peaceful means. Those missions consisted of unarmed military observers and lightly armed troops with primarily monitoring, reporting and confidence-building roles.⁷

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In the post-cold war era, owing to the change of nature of conflict, the mandate of UNPKOs completely changed. They are now engaged in a variety of activities which range from- 'helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, to human rights monitoring, to security sector reform, to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants'.⁸

STOP TO CONSIDER

Principles of UN Peacekeeping Operations:

UNPKO are based on three mutually reinforcing and inter-related principles. These are-

- Consent of the parties
- Impartiality
- Non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate

Likewise the NATO, formed in 1949, is a 'crisis management organisation that has the capacity to undertake a wide range of military operations and missions'.⁹ Resolving a conflict and ensuring long term peace can be achieved through an interest based approach', which is a compromise based solution between the opposing camps. Again, the underlying principle of conflict resolution is a commitment of all parties concerned to peace and 'non-violence'.

Peace-building, on the other hand is a long term commitment, a process which encourages reconciliation of warring groups and reformation of political institutions. It involves transformation of relations between peoples, communities and nations-through negotiation and dialogue. According to the 'Agenda for Peace'¹⁰ a report published by then UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, peacemaking and peacekeeping operations must be complemented by post-conflict peace-building efforts which includes implementation of projects that bring the warring camps together. Amongst others, it includes 'freer travel, cultural exchanges and mutually beneficial youth and educational projects'. In post conflict zones, peace-building must address the issue of 'landmines', capacity building programmes for officials and measures to strengthen public participation and democratic institutions.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is UN Peacekeeping Operations?
2. What are Human Rights?
3. What is the Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa?
4. What is human security
5. What is peacebuilding?
6. In which year was the IPCC awarded the Nobel Prize?
7. In which year was Martin Luther King awarded the Nobel Prize for peace ?
8. What is the full form of UNMOGIP?
9. What is the full form of UDHR?
10. In which year was the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights adopted by the UN?
11. When was the NATO formed?
12. Discuss the concept of negative and positive peace.
13. Discuss the role of UNPKO in bring about peace in world politics.
14. Evaluate the challenges to ‘creating’ peace.
15. Discuss Johan Galtung’s contribution to peace research.

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SAQ:

Q. Evaluate the concept of nonviolence and its relationship with peace.

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1.7 Summing Up:

Violence and conflict have proved to be an endemic feature of global politics; peace though is a universal goal for all actors, has proved to be elusive. State behavior of often influenced by structural conditions, and power as well as national interest have often been key determinants in a states’ foreign

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policy. The absence of direct violence may or may not indicate the prevalence of peace. Structural violence often creates challenges for the vast majority of humanity which makes peace unattainable.

1.8 References and Suggested Readings:

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(Endnotes)

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 - ⁶ For complete list of UN Peacekeeping Operations ,available at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/peacekeeping/en/operationslist.pdf>
 - ⁷ Our History, United Nations Peacekeeping,available at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>
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UNIT- 2
PEACE MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure:

- 2.1 Introduction**
- 2.2 Objectives**
- 2.3 Peace movements-concept**
- 2.4 Origins of peace movements**
- 2.5 Peace movements in the post-Cold War era**
- 2.6 Peace movement-an evaluation**
- 2.7 Summing Up**
- 2.8 References and Suggested Readings**

2.1 Introduction:

While the importance of peace has always been advocated by all the political actors, seldom has it been achieved. The growing incidence of violence and wars globally reveal that the steps by various states to address insecurity and violent conflict have proved to be inadequate. Some form of structural violence pervades across nearly all sections of the society. Peace movements have been instrumental in shaping international law as well as in influencing state behavior. Over the years, the nature of peace movements has changed to include anti-war movements, anti-nuclear movements, civil rights movement etc. World politics in the new millennium has changed and so too has the threats. Increased militarization, global terrorism, refugees and involuntary displacement of people are some of key problems faced by greater humanity. Peace movements have sprung up across the globe, they do face daunting challenges.

2.2 Objectives:

After going through this unit, you will be able to:–

- *know* the concept of peace movement,
- *trace* the origin of peace movements,
- *understand* the challenges to peace movements in contemporary times.

2.3 Peace Movements- Concept:

Peace movements are a kind of social movement which have come to play an important role in pressurizing states and non-state agencies in renouncing wars, greater adherence to international humanitarian laws and respect for human rights. Such movements seek to reduce violence and achieve peace between different warring camps. They adopt various means to achieve these goals which include- lobbying for anti-war legislation and supporting political parties which have a strong anti-war manifestoes. Through political demonstrations, peace marches, promote people to people activities and greater use of social media, such movements try to influence public opinion and shape national legislation. Often such movements are supported by environmentalists, feminists and civil rights groups. Very often peace movements are event driven, and peace activists and groups lead such movements from different parts of the world.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Social Movements:

It is a form of sustained collective action to promote or preserve a change. Rather than an individual actor, it consists of a dense network of relations who are working towards a common goal. They are developed by a group of individuals, who are supported through different networks, who share strong 'collective identity'. Many a times, social movement question state policies on development or its attitude towards civil liberties. Social movements have led to alteration of state policies on environments, race relations and militarism.

A peace movement starts with the belief that human beings should engage in war or violent conflict including ethnic cleansing etc. They oppose militarization of state and society as well as the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The character of peace movements has changed – as they now target issues of social justice and protection of human rights.

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2.4 Origins of Peace Movements:

The beginnings: The earliest forms of peace movements were more ‘religious’ in nature as it was led by the Church often seeking to restrain violence by the nobility, the Peace and Truce of God in the Middle Ages (5th-15th centuries), it laid down the foundation of modern peace movements in Europe. By the 16th century, new Christian sects like Quakers, Amish and the Mennonites started to make their presence felt by advocating ‘pacifism’. In the 18th century, works by Immanuel Kant -*Thoughts on Perpetual Peace* and efforts by Jeremy Bentham for the formation of a peace movement was well recognized. It was during Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), that universalist ideals emerged; anti-war petitions and anti-war demonstrations took place in Britain. The first peace movement in the United States was launched by David Low Dodge- New York Peace Society in 1815. Subsequently the London Peace Society was launched in 1816 and the First International Peace Congress was convened in London (1843). The American Civil war (1861-65), the Crimean War (1853-56) did highlight the horrors of war to the general public.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Peace:

As a concept, it is a process as well as a goal. While it refers to ‘tranquility’ on one hand, it is also seen as ‘absence of violence’ on the other side of the spectrum. Johan Galtung distinguishes between ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ peace; the former is related ‘absence of war’ and the latter is related ‘transformation’ of individual and state behavior. Peace is often strained through ‘direct violence’ and ‘structural violence’. ‘Peace’ as a tool to further political change has been advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr.

Early Twentieth Century: In the backdrop of spread of industrialism and Spanish flu epidemic, the First World War (1914-1919) resulted in deaths of 20-50 million people.

During the war, several groups emerged protested against the war- Fellowship of Reconciliation (1914) Woman’s Peace Party (1915), the

American Union Against Militarism (1915). The use of chemical weapons against combatant and non-combatants renewed the debate on the need for humanitarian laws and restraint on the use of particular weapons. The formation of the League of Nations (1920) presented a slender hope for peace in world politics.

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STOP TO CONSIDER

Gandhi and Nonviolence:

Considered to India's 'father of the nation', Mahatma Gandhi through his ideas of nonviolence (ahimsa) greatly shaped the course of India's independence and world politics. Influenced by the pacific ideas of Leo Tolstoy, he employed the methods of nonviolent resistance to British rule. Mahatma Gandhi steered nationwide campaigns against untouchability, respect for rights of the women, and attainment of 'swaraj'. His notable work includes –The Story of my Experiment with Truth.

World War II (1941-45) and its aftermath: While several anti-war groups continued to operate, growing nationalism ensured that its activism and sentiment towards it declined. Pacifists in general were targeted by the Third Reich in Germany. Eminent personalities like Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein adopted two varying strands towards the war. For the former, adopting a position of 'relative pacifism', argued that war was necessary to defeat the Nazis; Einstein in his book *Ideas and Opinions* (1954) argued about the continuing need to loathe violence, but realized that "these hateful weapons provided the only effective protection." It is estimated that World War II led to deaths of more than 75 million.

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki left a deep impact on Japanese society; subsequently peace movements became prominent in Japan. The Anti-nuclear movement was led by the *Japanese Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs* and in the UK the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (1958) was held. Research by scientists and increasing public pressure led to a moratorium on over-ground nuclear tests and the

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signing of Partial Test Ban treaty (1963) by the governments of US, USSR and the UK. Anti-nuclear protest marches took place across the United States including the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament (June 20, 1983) and the Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament (1986).

STOP TO CONSIDER

Vietnam War:

Also known as the Second Indochina War (1955-75) was fought between North Vietnam (supported by the Soviet Union and China) and South Vietnam (supported by the USA, South Korea etc). During 1967-69, as death tolls began to rise, anti-war marches took place in several cities across the US. In 1967, Martin Luther King Jr., a civil rights activist, bolstered the anti-war movement by his opposition to the Vietnam War. This war also drove the 'underground papers' which were published independently in the United States and advent of Woodstock music festival.

Three Generations of peace approach¹: According to Johan Galtung (2008) that there are three generations of peace approach. The *first generation* to peace was a 'reaction against war'. Lasting efforts till World War II, this generation of peace movements advocated the abolition of war as a social institution. Stressing the need for global governance, it advocated mechanisms of 'democracy, human rights and regimes'. The motto for this generation was 'Peace is too important to leave to the generals.'

STOP TO CONSIDER

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC):

The ICRC is an agency which is 'independent, neutral organization' that ensure 'humanitarian protection and assistance for victims of armed'.

It takes action in response to emergencies and at the same time promotes respect for international

humanitarian law and its implementation in national law. The work of the ICRC is based on the Geneva Conventions of 1949, their Additional Protocols, its Statutes – and those of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement – and the resolutions of the International Conferences of the Red Cross and Red Crescent.

The Red Cross has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize four times- 1917, 1944, and 1963 as well as award to Henri Dunant (1901), who was the ‘father’ of the Red cross.

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The second generation to peace, between the World War II and the end of the Cold War, was a ‘reaction against governments’. People were questioning state policies towards wars and violent conflict. This generation gave importance to peace education and nonviolence. It advocated conflict transformation in a more creative manner. Icons such Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi came to the forefront. NGOs were increasing becoming active in resolving violent conflict. The motto for this generation- ‘Peace is too important to leave to the states’.

The third generation to peace approach started at the end of the Cold War. By the motto ‘Peace is too important for shallow approaches’, it advocated the importance of ‘peace cultures’ and creation of ‘peace structures’ that address increasing gulf between different classes and gender. According to this generation, the states must address the ‘basic needs’.

Peace Marches			
Peace Marches/walks	Goal	Place	Year
Aldermaston Marches	Anti –nuclear demonstration	England	1950-60
European Peace Marches	Protest arms race and against military spending	UK , Germany	1978-1992
The Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament,	Elimination of nuclear weapons	USA	1986
Black coat protests or lawyers’ movement	Independence of judiciary	Pakistan	2007
Olof Palme peace march	Opposition to nuclear arms race	East Germany	1987
The World is Bordo	Anti-terrorism rally	Tunisia	2015
The Women’s Peace Crusade	Spread the idea of ‘people’s peace’	Great Britain	1916-18

2.5 Peace Movements in the post-Cold War Era:

The end of the cold war reflected new realities- a unipolar world, the stress on ‘democracy’ by the international community, the prevalence of a liberal order. But it only reflected only one part the world, while most countries in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia continued to grapple with conditions of poverty, corrupt authoritarian regimes, and rampant abuse of human right of vulnerable sections of the society. While the goal of peace activism shifted from disarmament and nuclear arms, at an international level, there was renewed focus on opposition to humanitarian intervention. Opposition to “operation Desert Storm’ did cause a little discomfort to US government, peace movements in Europe were fairly intense in opposing NATO’s intervention in the conflicts in Yugoslavia more particularly, Kosovo.

The impact of peace movements on global politics and state policies is a matter of debate. The anti-war protests led to withdrawal of the US from Vietnam, it did not affect its long term policies as it continued to indulge in ‘humanitarian intervention’ in different parts of the world. Again, anti-nuclear protests did yield in in some form of moratorium on the testing and use of nuclear weapons; however, it is conventional weapons that are causing more fatalities in the twenty-first century. The growth of non-conventional security threats to humankind has meant that the nature of peace activism and movements too has changed. In the late 1990s, issues of peace and peace-building became integrated to a broader agenda of ‘global justice movement’. Such movements are part of the new social movements which are different from the traditional social movements which were more related with labour and workers. On February 15, 2003, under the banner ‘the world says non to war’, 12-14 million people came out to protest against war in Iraq across 800 cities around the globe, crying out slogans such as ‘Not in my name ‘ and ‘No blood for oil’. It must be recalled that mass movements’ proceeds in cycle wherein ‘periods of mobilization and demobilization alternate.’² The demography of participants had changed too as it included activists with high levels of education, a relatively large proportion of whom were women, belonged to the younger age cohorts, and predominantly worked in the human service sector.³ Today, peace movements do not operate in isolation, but rather are part of factors which contribute to

transformation of society and state policies by stressing on the need for peaceful change.

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Check Your Progress

1. What is peace?
2. What is a social movement?
3. What is nonviolence?
4. What is the ICRC?
5. What are peace movements?
6. What are International Humanitarian Laws?

2.6 Peace Movements: An Evaluation

Seldom have the trajectory of wars been decided by peace movements; most end with heavy casualties for all parties concerned. The growing voice of nationalism often prevents the goal of achieving international solidarity that is in favour of 'peace'. The importance of peace movements should be judged by their ability to influence state behaviour and its policies.

Protests that led to social and political changes		
Incident/event	Place	Year
The Salt March	India	1930
Suffrage Parade	USA	1913
Delano Grape Boycott	USA	1960s
Montgomery Bus Boycott	USA	1955-56
Singing Revolution	Estonia	1988

The impacts of peace movements have been felt mostly in Europe where they successfully helped transform public opinion towards wars and violent conflict. The voices of peace movements continue to remain intermittent at best. The threat of use of nuclear weapons and conventional wars has greatly reduced. The unconventional wars- global terrorism, ethnic conflict, genocide however continue in different parts of the world. Unlike the western world, peace movements are yet to gather momentum in the developing countries and those countries that are being directly affected by violent conflict. For peace movements to be successful, they need to mobilise sufficient support

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towards the greater goal, *i.e.* sustainable peace. Often, a tattered coalition of different NGOs seldom works in achieving this goal. Non-violent protests and marches do help bring about more state accountability, but most movements rarely go the distance. Often resolution of conflicts are interrelated with a host of ‘support factors’- human rights violation, refugees, displacement, achieving human security. Therefore peace movements often go beyond the issue of peace and look to address the ‘support factors’ that bring peace.

Peace movements are not monolithic in character- they differ in organization, scope and methods in achieving their goals. In the long run, the success or failure of peace movements should be judged by their ability to transform lives of combatants and non-combatants as well as alter state policies.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Humanitarian Law:

These are a set of laws which are related with armed conflict; it seeks to ‘humanise’ arm conflict. It seeks to protect human rights of combatant and noncombatants. Also referred to as ‘laws of armed conflict’, it seeks to regulate ‘jus in bello’ or ‘conduct of war’. Over the year, conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan reveal that warring parties have seldom respected international humanitarian law (IHL) and have engaged in ‘war crimes’. The Geneva Conventions (1949) form the bedrock of IHL.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. In which year did the ‘Suffrage Parade’ take place?
2. Who is Olof Palme?
3. In which year was Henry Dunant awarded the Nobel Peace prize?
4. What Were Aldermaston Marches?
5. Who was Martin Luther King Jr.?
6. In which year did the ‘Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament’ take place?

7. Discuss the concept of peace movement.
8. Write a brief note on the three generation of peace approach.
9. What are the reasons for the limited success of peace movements?
10. Discuss the origins and changing nature of peace movements.

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SAQ:

Q. Discuss the importance of peace movements in the post-Cold war era.

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2.7 Summing Up:

After reading this unit you have learnt that people’s grievances against the state and its policies have been on an upward trajectory. The Arab Spring and other movements like the ‘Occupy Wall Street, ‘Black Lives Matter’ and the ‘Me Too’ reflect the diversity of global justice movement where the stress has been on ‘dignity’ of the individual or their community. Globalisation and neoliberalism has affected lives of millions of peoples worldwide, and increasingly women, workers, minorities, LGBTQ are part of this global coalition which is seeking justice from states and questioning social structures. The Middle East, Tunisia, Syria, Lebanon have all witnessed clashes between state authorities and students; protest movements have become common in the West too. Racism and discrimination continues challenge greater humanity. Authoritarian regimes and their use of indiscriminate anti-terror laws on minorities reflect that ‘peace’ is still far away for most of the general population. In contemporary times, peace movements continue to ‘event specific’ and are rather disjointed in their efforts to achieve their goals. But a world where ‘insecurity’ has been the more dominant factor that has guided the behavior of communities and nation-states, peace movements will continue to remain in shadows. Operating through a large coalition, peace movements still have a long way road ahead. With the advent of social media, peace activism has

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become more mainstream and the role of the state is evermore scrutinized. There is an urgent need to have global institutions that are more broad-based in character where human rights and dignity of all is well respected.

2.8 References and Suggested Readings:

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2. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005), *Understanding International Relations* (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
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4. Hermann T. (1992). 'Contemporary Peace Movements: Between the Hammer of Political Realism and the Anvil of Pacifism'. *Western Political Quarterly*. 45(4):869-893.
5. Johnson, Richard L. (1996) 'Failures and Successes of Peace Movements', *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 2:2, 173-175, DOI: 10.1207/ s15327949pac0202_6.
6. A. Snow, David and Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, (2004) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd (UK).
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8. Cortright, D. (2008) *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, Cambridge University Press (UK).
9. Berger, S. and Holger Nehring (2017) *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective - A Survey*, Palgrave Macmillan (UK).

(Endnotes)

- ¹ Galtung, Johan (2008). 'Searching for peace in a world of terrorism and state terrorism' in Shin Chiba, Thomas J. Schoenbaum (eds) *Peace movements and pacifism after September 11* , Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, (UK) 2008, pp42-43.

- ² Klandermans, B. (2010). Legacies from the Past: Eight Cycles of Peace Protest. In Tarrow S. (Author) & Walgrave S. & Rucht D. (Eds.), *The World Says No to War: Demonstrations against the War on Iraq* (pp. 61-77). University of Minnesota Press. Retrieved August 29, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctts43x.8>
- ³ Giugni, Marco. (2015). Peace Movements. International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. 10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.96021-5.

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UNIT-3
CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND DIPLOMACY

Unit Structure:

- 3.1 Introduction**
- 3.2 Objectives**
- 3.3 Conflict: Sources and Types**
- 3.4 Meaning and evolution of Conflict Resolution**
- 3.5 Methods of Conflict Resolution**
- 3.6 Diplomacy: Meaning and Definition**
 - 3.6.1 Functions of Diplomacy**
 - 3.6.2 Types of Diplomacy**
- 3.7 Future of Diplomacy**
- 3.8 Summing Up**
- 3.9 References and Suggested Readings**

3.1 Introduction:

To quote Joseph Frankel, 'An important dimension of international relations is found in the dominant modes in which states conduct their international behavior and engage in interaction.' Whenever there are human beings living together they enter into certain relationships with one another. Such interaction between individuals and groups in social life takes various forms such as cooperation, competition and conflict. When individuals or groups combine to gain a goal, it is called cooperation. Competition is a form of opposition or struggle in which two or more parties struggle for some mutually desired goal. It occurs whenever and wherever the goals available are limited in supply. It implies that there are rules of the game in which competitors must conform. When competition breaks through the rules it transforms itself into conflict. In conflict one party seek to obtain their goals by thwarting, injuring or even destroying the opponent in order to secure a goal. International relations are basically the study of interstate relations in these three aspects: cooperation, competition and conflict. In this chapter, we will have a detailed study on how nations enter into conflict with each other for various reasons and the various methods used for conflict resolution.

Similarly we will also understand the concept of diplomacy and its importance in international relations. Diplomacy is a part and parcel of international relations. Foreign policy comes into action only through diplomacy. The Oxford English Dictionary defines diplomacy as “The management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist.” Thus, diplomacy is one of the major instruments or techniques of executing foreign policy. The following chapter will help us to understand the types, functions, importance and future of diplomacy in international relations.

3.2 Objectives:

After reading this unit you will be able to:–

- *understand* the meaning of conflict,
- *analyse* the types and sources of conflict,
- *discuss* the methods of conflict resolution,
- *explain* the meaning, types, functions of diplomacy,
- *assess* the future of diplomacy in international relations.

3.3 Conflict: Sources and Types

The term conflict is used to mean a variety of things such as disagreement, fight, argue, debate, contest, clash, war etc. Lewis Coser, an American sociologist defines conflict as “Clash of values and interests, the tension between what is and what some groups feel ought to be.” International society is composed of a number of sovereign states which are governed by self-interest. These states do not recognize any superior authority standing over them. As a result all state relationships contain elements of conflict. The desires and beliefs of states can never be identical resulting in inevitability of conflicts between them. Competition takes place between states for scarce resources, trade, territory, status, security, influence or goodwill. Each of these is insufficient to satisfy the demands of all, conflicts occurs over how they should be divided and over what principles should determine that division. States compete with each other for some mutually desired goals. But competition often breaks between them which transform itself into conflict.

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International conflict arises between states. Conflict that occurs between states takes the form of revolutions, civil disorders, terrorism etc. International conflict arises from the aims and activities of independent states. Countries of greater capability will have wider and more varied interests and conflict between them will have regional or global significance. For example, during the cold war period, the conflict between USA and USSR created a hostile environment dividing the world into two poles. Both the superpowers had the potentiality to interfere in the conflicts of the lesser powers.

A careful study of the histories of major conflicts in the present century reveals the following sources of conflict. These are:

- 1. Limited territorial conflicts:** This type of conflict arise where there are incompatible positions with reference to possession of a specific portion of territory (Sino-Indian conflict over the MacMohan Line) or to rights enjoyed by one state in or near the territory of another (Soviet right in Sakhalin islands).
- 2. Conflicts over the composition of a government:** This type of conflict developed over the composition of a government more particularly during the cold war period. For example, the American and Soviet involvements in the Vietnam War revolved around the question what would constitute a legitimate government in that country and the two superpowers held incompatible positions.
- 3. Imperialism:** This is another source of conflict in which one nation seeks to subjugate other peoples by force for commercial and security purposes. For example, Nazi Germany's occupation of Austrian and Soviet occupation of a part of Poland in 1931 and in 1939 respectively.
- 4. Strategic Imperialism:** This type of conflict arises when one attempts to secure territorial rights or privileges from another state in order to protect its security interests. Israel's incorporation of some areas of Arab states is an example which is the result of strategic imperialism.
- 5. Liberation:** Conflicts may arise due to the liberation conflicts or revolutionary wars wages by one state to liberate the people of another state usually for security or ideological reasons. In this context, we may take the example of India's war against Pakistan to liberate the people of Bangladesh.

6. **Ethnonational confrontation:** Control over ethnic minorities is a major source of international conflict such as the present Iran-Iraq conflict and the Lebanese conflict.
7. **Unifying a divided country:** Conflicts may arise from a government's objective of unifying a divided territory for example: The Korean war of 1950.

• **Types of Conflict:**

International conflicts may be classified as the following:

1. **Great power conflict** as typically represented by Soviet-U.S cold war politics resulting in bipolar politics.
2. **Violent conflicts** as in the case of Korean War resulting from a) differing capacities, b) differing ideological and political systems, c) differing attitudes towards the settlements of problems of unification of the two Koreas, d) the ethno-national conflicts between Israel and the Arab countries.
3. **Hegemonic conflicts** which may arise for establishing hegemonic power in the world for example: U.S attempt to impose its will in Korea, Vietnam, as well as soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.
4. **Muted conflicts** such as the conflicts between Somalia and its neighbors which started with diplomatic exchanges and escalated to guerilla warfare and occasional clashes between regular armies. It finally ended in the conclusion of a series of agreements leading to the normalization of relation between Somalia and its neighbors.

Apart from this, another distinction has been made between **objective** and **subjective conflict**.

(a) Objective Conflict: Conflict over power relations, distribution of land and resources, and symbols such as prestige, influence and security is objective conflict. The traditional view is that all conflict, of which there a fixed amount to be shared in any is given situation, is of this nature. The result will either be victory by one side or the other (as in the case of zero sum game) or a compromise made by some form of third party intervention.

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(b) Subjective Conflict: Conflict is said to be subjective when it is value based though the parties may see it as a conflict of interest. In a number of conflicting situations the outcome could be equally satisfying to both sides. Thus there is the possibility that a conflict that appears to have arisen from objective differences of interest might be transformed into one when both sides could gain from collaboration. This happens when the parties in conflict originally could not assess the costs or outcomes of the conflict.

This was all about conflict. Now we have to understand the meaning of conflict resolution. In general term, conflict resolution means the process of resolving a problem or a dispute. Following discussions will give us a detailed analysis of the meaning of conflict resolution.

3.4 Meaning and Evolution of Conflict Resolution:

Conflict resolution involves the process of settling disputes or disagreements between parties to establish peace. It can be defines as “The development and implementation of peaceful strategies for settling conflicts-using alternatives to violent forms of language –are known as conflict resolution” (Goldstein, 2003). We may also say that conflict resolution is an umbrella term for a whole range of methods and approaches for dealing with conflict: from negotiation to diplomacy, from mediation to arbitration, from facilitation to adjudication, from conflict management to conflict transformation and from restorative justice to peacekeeping. Thus it refers to a range of process aimed at alleviating or eliminating sources of conflict.

The process of conflict resolution mainly started in 1950s and 1960s at the peak of the cold war period mainly when the development of nuclear weapons and the conflict between the two superpowers (USA and USSR) seemed to threaten human survival. A group of pioneers from different disciplines saw the value of studying conflict whether it occurs in international relations, communities, families or individuals. A group of people in North America and Europe began to establish research groups to new ideas. Thus the new ideas developed and the field of conflict resolution began to spread through scholarly journals by the 1980s. For example, in the war torn regions of Africa and South East Asia, humanitarian agencies were seeing the need to take account of conflict and conflict resolution as an integral part of their

activities. At the same time, International Organizations set up conflict resolution mechanisms and conflict prevention centers. Former US President Jimmy Carter became one of the most active leaders of conflict resolution and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

The first institution of peace and conflict research appeared in the twenty year period between (1945-1965). The peace research Laboratory was founded by T. F. Lentz at St-Louis, Missouri after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki 1945. Kenneth Boulding an economist at the University of Michigan initiated the journal of conflict resolution (JCR) in 1957 and also set up the centre for research on conflict resolution in 1959. Influence by Gandhian ideas, John Galtung found a unit for research in peace and conflict in the University of Oslo. He was also the founding editor of Journal of Peace research launched in 1964. Apart from this Adam Curle and Elise were other great scholars who later on developed practice of mediation and new voices of conflict resolution.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Growth of conflict resolution as a field of study since (1975-2010)

1976: (Latin American Council for peace Investigation), Latin American regional affiliate of IPRA Guatemala.

1979: University of Ulster, Centre for the study of conflict (Northern Ireland). 1980: University for Peace, UN University, Costa Rica.

1982: Carter Centre: International Negotiation Net Work.

1984: Nairobi Peace Group (from 1990, National Peace Initiative).

1984: United States Institute of Peace Washington.

1985: International Alert, United Kingdom. 1986: Conflict Resolution Network, Australia.

1986: Harvard Law School, Program on Negotiation.

1986: Jean B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, U.S.A.

1988: Institute for Conflict Resolution and Analysis, George Mason University, USA.

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1988: Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution/
European Peace University.

1990: Centre for Conflict Resolution, University of Bradford.

1991: First European on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution, Istanbul.

1991: Gastonz. Ortigas Peace Institute, Philippines.

1992: Centre for Conflict Resolution, University of Cape Town South
Africa.

1992: Institute for Multi -Track Diplomacy Washington.

1992: Academic Associates Peace Works, Nigeria.

1992: Institute Peruano de Resolution de Conflicts, Negotiation,
Medicacion, Peru.

1993: Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management,
Berlin.

1993: Organization of African Unity, Mechanism for Conflict,
Mechanism for Conflict, Prevention, Management and Resolution.

1993 : University of Ulster/United Nations University : Initiative of
Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity (INCORE).

1994: The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. 1994:
(Ibero-American Conferences on Peace and the Treatment of
Conflicts), Chile.

1994: International Resource Group Somalia, Kenya, Horn of Africa.

1995: UNESCO S Culture of Peace Programme.

1996: European Centre for Conflict, Prevention, Holland.

1996: Forum on Early Warning and Early Response-London.

2000: The Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution-
Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

2010: PG Diploma in Conflict Resolution- Department of West Asian
Studies, Aligarh Muslim University.

In today's global world conflict resolution has immense importance and relevance. It can be said that it is only through the mechanism of conflict resolution, conflicts rivalries and disputes can be minimized and thus peace can be established. Conflict resolution has become a mechanism of peace building and peace making process. Conflict resolution lays emphasis upon

peaceful and non-violent methods such as diplomacy, negotiation, communication, arbitration, mediation and through cooperative and confidence building majors. It is well known that “Violence Begets Violence” and humanity can be preserved and protected from the onslaught of war and holocaust only when the conflicted parties are prepare to adopt conflict resolution mechanism for solution of their disputes. Conflict resolution is an integral part of social justice and social transformation which aims to tackle the human crisis through the peaceful means and avoid conflicts among the nation states. It can be argued that conflict resolution mechanism is the protector guardian and custodian of peace, harmony, social justice, and equity across the globe.

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SAQ:

Q. Do you think elimination of conflict is possible from international politics? Justify your answer.

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3.5 Methods of Conflict Resolution:

From the above discussion we have come to know about the meaning and evolution of conflict resolution. It is to be mentioned here that conflicts starts among people due to clash of interests and gains. Same is the case of the nation-states. Conflicts in human society can be resolved when we will give equal and due share to the marginalized and downtrodden sections of the society. In different societies there are different types of conflicts where different methods and techniques of conflict resolution have to be used. It is to be mentioned here that war is the last resort in political phenomenon. The aim of conflict resolution is not the elimination of war which is actually impossible and unrealistic. Rather the primary aim and objective of conflict resolution is to transform actual and potential violent situation into which is to establish.

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1. **Negotiations:**

Negotiation means a discussion of two or more people with the goal of reaching on agreement. It is an integral part of every human activity. The term negotiation means all the interactions, strategies, and face to face efforts to argue with and modify the position of an adversary. Negotiations between nations can be either bilateral or multilateral. Negotiations can be conducted either between Heads of States or Ambassadors or the representatives of the conflicting states involved.

2. **Mediation:**

Mediation is a voluntary and confidential method for handling conflict. It has become a popular term in the discussion of conflict resolution. Mediation implies that there is collaboration between conflicting parties with an unbiased third party acting as a mediator. The third party mediator who derives authority from the parties themselves would help the parties to assess the conflict situation realistically and stimulate the parties to reach an agreement among them which does not appear to be a compromise to either group. The mediator regulates a process of discussion and negotiation between conflicting parties to achieve the main goal of mediation, which is to establish an agreement that will resolve the conflict. However successful mediation depends on the skills and experience of mediators. For example, the former Soviet Union mediated a settlement between India and Pakistan at Tashkent in 1965.

3. **Adjudication and arbitration:**

The final method of resolving international conflict is adjudication and arbitration. Under this method the parties by mutual agreement submit the issues under contention to an independent legal tribunal, the International Court of Justice. The court is supposed to decide the case on the basis of international law and its jurisdiction usually extends to legal issues. This procedure is seldom used except to handle disputes and minor issues normally friendly states.

Check Your Progress

1. Why does conflict arise in international relations? Discuss its main sources.
2. What are the different types of conflict?
3. Distinguish between subjective and objective conflict.
4. What do you mean by conflict resolution? Discuss its importance in present international politics.
5. Discuss the various methods of conflict resolution with examples.

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3.6 Diplomacy: Meaning and Definition

Diplomacy is an art of maintaining relations between the states. It is an ancient instrument of foreign policy. The ancient Greek city states had diplomatic relations with one another. For example, according to the famous Greek political philosopher Thucydides, the ancient Greek city states developed a very well-structured diplomatic link in around 500 BC. This ancient art is still alive in the 21st century, despite many challenges and transformations. Today diplomacy is one of the major instruments or techniques of executing foreign policy though the terms foreign policy and diplomacy are used interchangeably and are inter dependent yet these are technically different. Foreign policy is the business of governments (top leaders as policy makers such as head of government, cabinet ministers, and top foreign ministry bureaucrats and advisors), whereas diplomacy is the job of trained officials (diplomats such as envoys, ambassadors, high commissioners, consuls general etc). The former is the substance, the latter is the method. However both the terms are interdependent and complementary in this complex contemporary world. Foreign policy comes into action only through diplomacy. It has become part and parcel of international relations. It is the method of communication among governments for the maintenance of international relations. The Oxford English Dictionary defines diplomacy as “the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist.” Nicholson, a great Frankel defines diplomacy as “the business of communicating between governments.” Harold Nicolson, a great scholar

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and practitioner of diplomacy in the twentieth century explains five different meanings of the word diplomacy. These are:

- a) As a synonym for foreign policy
- b) as negotiation
- c) the machinery by which such negotiation is carried out
- d) as a branch of the foreign service and
- d) as an abstract quality or gift, which, in its best sense, implies skill in the conduct of international negotiation; and its worst sense, implies the more guileful aspects of fact. Thus from the above definition, we can conclude that
 - i) Diplomacy is a technique of implementing foreign policy.
 - ii) It is a channel of communication between governments.
 - iii) It is a method of adjusting and managing inter-state relations.
 - iv) It is a quality or skill of international negotiations.
 - v) It is a bargaining game aiming at achieving maximum and giving minimum.
 - vi) It is the art of forwarding nation's interests.
 - vii) It is workable and useful both in peace and war.
 - viii) For successful and effective working of diplomacy requires trained and professional diplomats.

Thus diplomacy may be defined both in a broad and narrow sense. In a broad sense, diplomacy means the conduct of relations between states and other political entities (such as the UNO, SAARC and so on) through bilateral negotiations, multilateral conferences and international organizations. In its narrower sense, diplomacy refers to the process of representation and negotiation by which states commonly deal with one another.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Classification of Diplomats:

In a technical and professional sense diplomacy includes two types of personnel. These are:

1. Diplomatic personnel: the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) divided the heads of diplomatic missions into three categories. The first category comprises ambassadors and high commissioners, the second categories comprise Envoys extra-ordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary and the third category

is made of charges d'affaires. The diplomats of first two categories are accredited to the head of the host state where as charges d'affaires are accredited to the foreign minister or secretary of the state of the host country.

2. Consular Personnel: related to the diplomatic function is the consular function and services. Consular functions (codified in the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1963) include processing and issuing entry and exit visas, facilitating commercial and other activities related to investment and providing information about the home state to all invested parties. Moreover consuls are divided into five classes: a) Consul general b) Consuls c) Consuls of career d) Vice consuls not of careers and e) Consular agents. Consular personnel enjoy less diplomatic privileges and immunities than diplomatic personnel in the host country.

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SAQ:

Q. Establish the relation between diplomacy and foreign policy.

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3.6.1 Functions of Diplomacy:

In the contemporary times, diplomacy has assumed new role and significance in many ways. The main functions of diplomacy are as follows:

1. Representation:

The diplomat represents his country abroad. In this sense, the diplomats are the chief representatives of their countries in a foreign land. This representation is of three types- symbolic, legal and political. As symbolic representative, the diplomat attends a number of ceremonies and functions such as Independence Day, Republic Day etc. As legal representative, he casts his vote at international conferences on behalf of his government. As political representative, the diplomat is to sell the

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foreign policy of his country and project a favorable image of his country. A diplomat connects two countries, their states and the states where they are working. Their main duties are thereby to implement the foreign policies of their governments and to protect the national interests of their countries in the alien land. The function of representation is thus very important for the diplomats as well as their country.

2. Negotiation:

The second important function of diplomat is negotiation. A successful diplomat must be an able negotiator. He may have to participate in bilateral, trilateral and multilateral negotiations in international relations; it is possible to resolve tensions through negotiations. As a negotiator, diplomat is to bargain and strike a balance between 'giving what is asked and getting what is wanted.' However the success of negotiation depends upon several factors such as preparation of agenda, maintenance of due secrecy, the strength of economic and military power backing it etc. the success of foreign policy and the prestige of a nation often depend upon successful negotiation.

3. Obtaining Information:

Another important task of diplomat is to collect data and information from his or her bargaining activities. Only a resident diplomat can have the real feel of the political, economic, social and other conditions prevailing in the host country.

4. Reporting:

After gathering information, the next step is reporting the same to the home country. This indeed helps the home country to take an effective decision. For example, political officers usually report on the structures, processes and personalities of political movements and political parties, the friendliness or hostility of the host country towards the home country. Similarly the military attaché's send information regarding the host country's military force, the quality of its military leadership, military equipment, weapon system etc.

5. Protection of Nationals and National Interest:

The diplomat has to protect the nationals of his country resident in the land in which he is stationed. He has to safeguard the interests of his

nationals and prevent any sort of discrimination against them in foreign land. At the same time, the diplomats have to look after national interests as interpreted by policy makers and according to treaties and principles of international law. For example, the Indian Ambassador in Afghanistan shall protect the interests of the citizens of India in Afghanistan. Indian citizen can contact the Indian Embassy in Afghanistan during any crisis or emergency.

6. Policy making:

Today diplomats also provide advice to the makers of foreign policy. They provide a large portion of information upon which policy is based. A principal contribution of diplomats in the policy-making process thus comes from their skill of interpretation and judgment about conditions in the country to which they are accredited.

7. Substantive functions:

Apart from the above, the diplomats also perform some substantive functions such as a) conflict management b) problem solving c) cross-cultural interaction d) negotiation and bargaining e) programmed management.

Thus from the above discussion, it becomes clear that a diplomat performs a number of tasks which helps the home country in taking effective decision in relation to the host country. Apart from this, Hans J Morgenthau in his book 'Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace' identified four major tasks of diplomacy. These are:

- i) Determine the objectives of the state and the power actually available to fulfill these objectives.
- ii) Assess the objectives of other states and the power actually available to fulfill these objectives.
- iii) Diplomacy must assess to what extent these objectives are compatible with each other.
- iv) Diplomacy must employ the means suited to the pursuit of these objectives.

Thus according to Morgenthau the failure of any of these tasks may jeopardize the success of foreign policy. Every nation must set its objectives in accordance with its national power. Diplomats must also assess the

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objectives of other states and whether they have available power to fulfill their objectives. Though this assessment is not an easy task for a diplomat, yet it is a vital function. Morgenthau also viewed that a diplomat must continuously compare the objectives and powers of his nations with that of other nations. For example, Indian diplomacy must assess the objectives and powers of India with those of China or Pakistan or USA. Lastly, according to Morgenthau, diplomacy must ensure all possible means to fulfill its interest. It may engage in negotiation, persuasion, appeal or threat of use of force. However, it is to be mentioned here a state with weak military power cannot threaten cannot use force to fulfill its objectives. Morgenthau thus analyzed diplomacy in the context of power. As an exponent of realist theory, Morgenthau believes that international politics is a game of power. However an analysis of diplomacy in the context of power is not free from criticisms. For example, it is easy for a diplomat to assess the power of his state but it is not possible to assess accurately the power of another state. But in spite of it, we can say that the 'four main tasks of diplomacy' highlighted by Morgenthau has the fact that a diplomat will always apply his reason and wisdom to assess his objectives and also that of other nations. Diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy is actually put into practice by the diplomats.

3.6.2 Types of Diplomacy:

Diplomacy may be classified into various types on the basis of time, techniques, practices etc. Some of the major types of diplomacy prevalent in the present times can be discussed as below:

1. Old Diplomacy:

This type of diplomacy developed towards the close of the 16th century and continued up to 1918-1919. This type of diplomacy was mainly confined to Europe. The non-European countries were outside its purview. It was mainly a big power affair of European countries. Even the smaller countries of Europe had no role in old diplomacy. The diplomatic officers were selected and appointed by the monarch who were solely responsible to the king. Thus they were not recruited on merit through competitive exams. Strict secrecy was maintained while

conducting negotiations. For serving national interest Diplomats often resorted to means and practices such as bribing and murder.

2. New Diplomacy:

The era of new diplomacy emerged in the 20th century and especially after the First World War. It is beyond euro centrism and thereby includes a number of new states. New diplomacy is subjected to democratic control. The process of negotiation are democratically determined and subjected to democratic scrutiny and control. Important political issues are directly discussed by summit level political leaders of concern countries. The main differences between old and new diplomacy are:

- i) The old diplomacy was mainly confined to Europe whereas the new diplomacy is truly international in nature.
- ii) Unlike old diplomacy, new diplomacy is not dominated by big powers of Europe.
- iii) The old diplomacy was aristocratic whereas the new diplomacy is democratic. The diplomats in the past were mainly selected from the aristocratic class whereas a new diplomacy the diplomats are recruited from public on the basis of merit.
- iv) In the old diplomacy the negotiations were more secret however there is no place for secret agreements and treaties in new diplomacy.
- v) Old diplomacy was run by generalist whereas the new diplomacy is dominated by specialist from commerce, economics, science and military.

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Factors responsible for the rise of new diplomacy:

1. With the emergences of several new sovereign independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. International politics is no longer confined to Europe thus new diplomacy assumes worldwide character and was no longer confined to Europe.

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2. Acceptance of the equal status of all states, the extension of principal of democracy to the international field, expansion of mass media, etc replaced old democracy with new democracy.
3. Military alliance system after the Second World War and more particularly after the cold war politics have given birth to co-alliance, economic diplomacy (new diplomacy).
4. New techniques of communication such as telephone, radio, television, internet, satellite communication, computer together with fast supersonic air transportation have drastically altered the tempo and temper of diplomacy. The foreign minister of government and direct virtually all diplomatic representatives.
5. The growing importance of public opinion has made all states very sensitive. One of the main function of diplomats today is reporting on the attitudes of people in the host countries which is another factors responsible for decline of old diplomacy and rise of new diplomacy.

3. Secret Diplomacy:

Secret Diplomacy was an important sub category of old diplomacy. Old diplomacy was marked by secrecy and secret agreements. The congress of Berlin of 1878 was a fine example of Secret Diplomacy in the 19th century. History is full of such secret treaties for example during first world war a good number of promises were made by the allies to Italy and other states to keep them neutral or to ensure their participation in the struggle. Similarly there were secret treaties signed between Britain and France signed in 1984. However this process of secret diplomacy generated fear and suspicion at the international level. Policy making should never be secret nor theirsecret agreements.

4. Open Diplomacy:

Open diplomacy developed with the growth and advent of democracy especially in the 20th century. It was US President Woodrow Wilson who developed open diplomacy after the WW1. Later on, the principle of open diplomacy was adopted by the League Covenant and the UN Charter. But open diplomacy is difficult to achieve in reality. The chief

profounder of open diplomacy that is Woodrow Wilson himself concluded secretly a series of negotiations with British Prime Minister Lloyd George and French Prime Minister Clemenceau at Paris after the WW1. Thus it can be said that secret diplomacy is mainly for open agreements and treaties and not for totally open negotiations.

5. Personal Diplomacy:

When foreign ministers, prime ministers and even heads of states directly and personally participate in diplomatic parleys, it is called personal diplomacy. When vital national interests and major political considerations are involved in any issue, the negotiations are usually conducted by top level political leaders, for example, the Shimla Summit attended by Indira Gandhi and Bhutto in 1972, Lahore Summit by Vajpayee and Sharif in 1999 Washington Summit between Yeltsin and Bush in 1992 etc. are example of personal diplomacy.

6. Conference Diplomacy :

A large part of international dealings is conducted through the medium of international conferences and the periodic meetings regional and international organizations. This is known as conference diplomacy. It is a multilateral method of diplomatic negotiation in which leaders or representatives of more than two countries participate. Some of the examples of conference diplomacy include The Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907, The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944, The Yalta Conference of 1945, The NPT review Conference of 1995 etc. The nations usually resort to this type of diplomacy to discuss and solve common problems to achieve special objectives and to make international treaties.

7. Institutional Diplomacy:

A new type of diplomacy has developed that is Institutional diplomacy with the rise of international and Regional institution like the U.N, IMF, NATO, European Union etc. In this type of diplomacy negotiation are usually conducted by international institution with a view to solving international conflicts and problems. In this context we may refer to the role of the United Nations in solving various international conflicts and crisis such as The Korean conflict in 1953, The Congo crisis of 1950, The Middle East war of 1967, etc.

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8. Bilateral Diplomacy:

Sometimes modern states don't want to solve its external relation through the United States or the regional organizations. Bilateral Issues and matters between two countries are continued to be tackle through Bilateral Diplomacy. It normally requires negotiations by two concern nations for example India and Pakistan, India and China, India and USA, etc meet a number of times to solve out their differences bilaterally.

9. Economic Diplomacy:

Economic Diplomacy has also made a significant place for itself in the contemporary international relations. The role of "Oil diplomacy and Dollar diplomacy" in the present times illustrates the importance of Economic Diplomacy. This type of diplomacy has developed with the idea of liberalisation and globalization on the one hand and the growth of regional blocks such as NAFTA, SAFTA, APEC, European Union, etc on the other. It is also to be mentioned here that economic method are used both in times of peace and war. International trade economic aid and assistance are used as convenient tool of diplomacy in peace time. During war it is used as a means of coercing the adversaries.

All the above mentioned types of diplomacy have their own merits and demerits. However each type of diplomacy is used in present times except the old diplomacy.

3.7 Future of Diplomacy:

In the age of information technology there has been a significant change in the role and importance of diplomacy. Infact information technology (IT) has revolutionized every aspect of life in the 21st century. Tele conferencing, Email, Internet, Satellite T.V, etc are the new buzzword of the present century. This has vastly improved the security and speed of communications between nations. As a result governments can quickly react to world events and maintain a closure and constant dialogue with their representative abroad and thus with other governments. For example two heads of government can directly communicate between themselves over telephone, fax, email or video conferencing and discuss necessary political and other related issues. This trend has raised doubts over the future of diplomacy. For a long period

of time professional diplomats were the undisputed channels of diplomacy. But since the Second World War with the development of science and technology traditional notion of diplomacy faced a crisis. Now the question arises about the role of diplomacy in present context. It must be pointed out here that neither diplomacy nor the importances of diplomacy have decreased over the years. When two heads of governments are talking directly they are also engaged in diplomacy which is known as direct diplomacy. It is to be noted here that the politicians are not very well acquainted with very details of foreign policy. So when the heads of government meet directly, they are accompanied by senior diplomats and bureaucrats. Moreover every nation carries out diplomatic mission in other countries in order to maintain a healthy relation with others as well as to protect its national interest and implement its foreign policies in other nations. The role of diplomacy is very crucial in this context.

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Check Your Progress

1. Diplomacy is an important tool of foreign policy. (Write true or false).
2. Who is the author of the book 'Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace'?
3. Distinguish between Old and new Diplomacy?
4. What are the 'main task of diplomacy' highlighted by Morgenthau?
5. Discuss the various types of diplomacy with examples.
6. Discuss about the future of diplomacy.

SAQ:

Q. Do you think diplomacy has lost its significance in this era of Information and Technology? Justify.

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3.8 Summing Up:

From the above discussion we can sum up that conflict, conflict resolution and diplomacy are essential part of international relations. When nations try to fulfill its respective national interest they enter into conflict with other nations. In order to solve those conflicts the idea of conflict resolution has emerged. Conflict resolution involves the various methods like negotiation, mediation, adjudication and arbitration to resolve international conflicts. Similarly, diplomacy is an important tool of foreign policy. Infact there is a close relationship between diplomacy and foreign policy. Diplomacy is a crucial and continuous activity in international relations. Though with changing times and ever changing requirements of nations, diplomacy has changed its forms and style yet its importance has remained intact as ever.

3.9 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Basu, R. (2012). 'International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues' New Delhi: Sage Publications.
2. Bhattacharya, D.C. (2010). 'International Relations Since The Twentieth Century' Kolkata: Vijoya Publishing House.
3. Chatterjee, A. (2010). 'International Relations Today: Concepts and Applications' New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt. Ltd.
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UNIT- 4

UN AND PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS

Unit Structure:

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 History of Peacekeeping Operation
- 4.4 Women and Peacekeeping
- 4.5 Difference between Peacekeeping and Collective Security
- 4.6 Impact of Peacekeeping Operations
- 4.7 Challenges of Peacekeeping Operations
- 4.8 India and the Peacekeeping Operations
- 4.9 Summing Up
- 4.10 References and Suggested Readings

4.1 Introduction:

Whether it was League of Nations or the United Nations, the development of international organizations were designed to maintain international peace and to protect their members from the threat of war. From its establishment, the UN has been trying to protect and promote peace and security in the world. The UN Charter clearly stipulates that membership is open to all 'peace loving' countries. It serves as a framework which co-operatively find solution to the problems of the states like inter-state conflicts and also maintain post war peace and security. In order to perform its significant and foremost role of maintaining peace and security there are three methods employed by the UN. These are pacific settlement, collective security and preventive diplomacy or peacekeeping. The first two are provided in the UN Charter whereas the third one was invented by its most active Secretary General. Thus the then UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold vigorously pursued the peacekeeping operation as a means to establish peace. Peacekeeping is a way to maintain international peace and security. The Principal organs responsible for the UN Peacekeeping are the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat and the United Nations

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Department of Peacekeeping Operations which are involved in planning, mounting and supporting the UN sponsored peacekeeping missions. The UN has often taken measures to prevent disputes from escalating onto war, to persuade the opposing parties to go for negotiation rather than use of arms and thus help to restore peace. Peacekeeping is thus one of the major mechanisms to ensure peaceful resolutions of conflicts in post conflict situations. The peacekeeping forces were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in September 1988 by the Norwegian Nobel Committee.

In this chapter, we will have a detailed study on the idea of peacekeeping, its evolution and the problems associated with it.

4.2 Objectives:

The UN peacekeeping helps the countries torn by conflict create conditions for lasting peace. After reading this unit you will be able to:–

- *trace* the history of the peacekeeping operation,
- *know* the relation between women and the peacekeeping operation,
- *trace* the difference between peacekeeping and collective security,
- *analyse* the impact of the peacekeeping operation,
- *know* the challenges of the peacekeeping operation,
- *assess* India's role in peacekeeping operations.

4.3 History of the Peacekeeping Operation:

Now let us understand the history of the UN peacekeeping operation. The UN was established in 1945 mainly for the promotion and protection of peace and security in the world. The concept of 'peacekeeping' has been an offshoot of the 'preventive diplomacy' ideas of the UN's second Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold. He considered it as the first task of the UN Secretariat to stabilize areas of conflict so as to bring together the parties in conflict to resolve or try to resolve their differences by peaceful means. In fact, peacekeeping emerged in response to the failure of the collective security due to the East West confrontation.

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Preventive diplomacy is a step taken ‘to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts’. In simple terms, it can be defined as a way of preventing conflict, both internal and external within states and between states, as well. Preventive diplomacy encompasses all aspects of peacekeeping. It is based on the assumption that it is better to forestall conflict than to allow it to spread. The idea of preventive diplomacy is the result of the following factors:

1. Cold war rivalry between USA and USSR.
2. The threat that the entire world was facing due to race for armaments.
3. The increase in the number of non-aligned countries developing countries whose interests and objectives are not necessarily the same as those of superpowers.
4. Lastly, not the least, UN Secretary general Hammarskjold’s frustration with the UN’s legal structure, particularly the inability of the Security Council to adequately perform its function of maintaining peace. Thus the role of the executive organ of the UN was expanded by mediating between contending parties and by enlisting the UN’s administrative support for peacekeeping operations.

Peacekeeping is one of the major ways which helps UN to maintain peace and security. It may be mentioned here that the word ‘peacekeeping’ was not anticipated in the UN Charter. However there are many provisions with regards to peaceful settlement of disputes, the use of force to end conflict and how to maintain international peace and security. Accordingly, peacekeeping has been defined as ‘an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, established by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict.’ The first UN peacekeeping operation was started in 1948 and 1949 in relation to the issues of Middle-East and Indo-Pak border issues respectively. Over the years, peacekeeping has evolved from a primarily

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military model of observing ceasefires and separation of forces after wars to help lay the foundations for sustainable peace. The UN peacekeepers provide security and peace building support to countries to restore peace. Peacekeeping does not proceed with the moral or legal idea of crimes in which there are ‘aggressor’ and ‘victims’ rather, it relies on the realist concept of conflicts in which all are ‘victims’. Peacekeeping forces are instructed to maintain complete impartiality between the conflicting parties. Of course, they have the right to self-defence and are supposed to use minimum force when necessary. They have the responsibility to create the safe environment for the passage of humanitarian aid and evacuation of innocent civilians to safer areas. The UN has also declared 29th May as International Day for peacekeepers to honour the memory of UN Peacekeepers who have lost their lives in the cause of peace. The UN peacekeeping has political, military and humanitarian dimensions by way of intervention, mediation, supervision and observations and assistance. The UN peacekeeping forces include troops and military observers, civilian police monitors and civilian support staff. Although UN is a legally authorized body to intervene in a conflict or war situation particularly through peacekeeping operations, it is necessary to affirm its three basic principles that is consent, impartiality and use of force for self-defence. These three principles are inter-related and mutually reinforcing.

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Principles of Peacekeeping:

UN peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles:

1. Consent of the parties: UN peacekeeping are deployed with the consent of the main parties to the conflict. This requires a commitment by the parties to a political process. Their acceptance of a peacekeeping operation provided the UN with the necessary freedom of action, both political and physical to carry out its mandated tasks. In the absence of such consent, peacekeeping operation becomes risky which may lead to conflict keeping away the peacekeeping operation from its mandate of establishing peace.

2. **Impartiality:**The UN peacekeepers should be impartial in their dealings with the parties to the conflict, but not neutral in the execution of their mandate. A peacekeeping operation must avoid activities that might compromise its image of impartiality.
3. **Non use of force except for self defence:**UN peacekeeping are not enforcement tool. However, they may use force only with the authorization of the Security Council and that too for self defence. In certain cases, the Security Council has given peacekeeping operations ‘robust’ mandates authorizing them “to use all necessary means” to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical attacks and assist the national authorities in maintain law and order. Robust peacekeeping involves the use of force at tactical level with the authorization of the Security Council and consent of the host nation and or main parties to the conflict.

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The UN peacekeeping operations are varied in nature. It involves activities such as facilitating ceasefire agreements, mediating conflicting situation to find lasting solution, monitoring elections, restoring representative democracy, promotion of human rights, establishing rule of law for political reconstruction as such. During the period of cold war, peacekeeping mainly evolved the deployment of unarmed or lightly armed military personnel between conflicting parties. But in the post cold war era, there has been a shift in the UN peacekeeping towards multi-dimensional operations. There has been an expansion in the non-military components of the peacekeeping operations such as deploying civilian workers in key areas such as protecting and promoting rule of law, good governance, protecting the rights of children and women, providing relief and recovery of victims of conflicts and wars etc.

The UN peacekeeping operations include multi-dimensional activities connected with political, military, economic and humanitarian aspects. The political activities of the peacekeeping includes restoring democracy, rule of law and good governance such as support to conducting free and fair election, judicial reforms, empowerment of civil society as such. Supporting to disarmament, reintegration, local security and law and order are some of

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the major military activities of peacekeeping. Humanitarian activities of peacekeeping include relief distribution, providing shelter, sanitation facilities, water supply and other basic human needs. The economic activities are associated with the presence of a peacekeeping mission in a certain location include catering services to foreigners, including those provided by hotels, restaurants, bars and in the transportation sectors etc. The UN has no standing army or police force of its own. The member countries contribute military and police personnel required for each operation. The peacekeepers wear their countries uniform and are identified as UN peacekeepers by a UN blue helmet and a badge. The UN peacekeepers come from all walks of life. Though they have diverse backgrounds, they share a common purpose that is to protect the most vulnerable and provide support to countries to establish peace. It may be mentioned here that over 3,500 peacekeepers have lost their lives for the cause of peace. They included military, police, international civil servants, UN volunteers etc. Although peacekeeping has conflict reducing effect, all are not equally effective.

Check Your Progress

1. The primary function of UN is to maintain world peace and security. (write true/false)
2. Name the Secretary General associated with the idea of preventive diplomacy.
3. Which day is celebrated as International peacekeepers day?
4. Discuss the role of UN peacekeeping in the post cold war period.

4.4 Women and Peacekeeping:

Women have also played an important role in peacekeeping. Women are deployed as police and military personnel, civilian and have made a positive impact on peacekeeping environments. They inspire other women and girls to fight for their rights in a male dominated society and push for participation in peace processes. They have proved that they can perform the same roles to the same standards and under the same difficult conditions as their male counterparts. Infact the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres is

committed to building the number of women peacekeepers. Thus, a top priority of UN peacekeeping is to increase the number of female military personnel in peacekeeping operations, including women staff officers and military observers to 15% by the end of 2018. Currently, only 6.6% of all uniformed military, police and justice and corrections personnel in field missions are women. While the UN encourages and advocates for the deployment of women in peacekeeping, yet the responsibility of deployment of women in the police and military lies with the members states. By 2028, the target for women serving in police units is 20% and 30% for individual police officers. If more women are engaged in peacekeeping then it will result in more effective peacekeeping. Women peacekeeper have greater access to communities, help in promoting human rights and the protection of civilians and also encourage women to become a meaningful part of peace and political processes. Following are some of the reasons that help us to find out the importance of women in peacekeeping.

1. **Better access:** Women peacekeepers can have better access to the population including women and children by supporting the survivors of gender based violence and violence against children. Thereby, they will help to generate critical information that would otherwise be difficult to reach.
2. **Building trust and confidence:** Women peacekeepers are essential enablers to built trust and confidence with local communities and help improving access and support local women. For example, they can interact with women in societies where they are prohibited from speaking to men.
3. **Inspiring and creating role models:** Women peacekeepers serve as powerful mentors and role for women in post conflict situation in the host community, setting examples for them to advocate for their own rights and pursue non-traditional careers.
4. **Role in Covid-19:** UN peacekeepers are facing one of their greatest challenges in the covid-19 pandemic. Peacekeepers are assisting governments and local communities to face the pandemic including protecting the vulnerable communities. Women peacekeepers are on the front lines in this fight and are an integral part of the Covid-19 response, implementing their mandates within current constraints while taking all precautionary measures.

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Thus qualified women are given priority for individual staff military positions at UN Head Quarter and field missions. Thus the Member States are now requested to nominate a minimum of 20% women for individual police officer positions and 30% for justice and corrections government provided personnel. Thus attempts have been made to increase women in the peacekeeping family and thus make the operations more effective.

SAQ:

Q. Discuss the role of women as peacekeepers. Why do you think it is necessary to include more women in the field of peacekeeping operations?

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4.5 Difference between Peacekeeping and Collective Security:

The principle of collective security mainly stands for ‘one for all and all for one’. It is a process of joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established order. It is a security technique used by inter-governmental organizations to restrain the use of force among the members. The principles of peacekeeping are quite different from the principles of collective security. It may be compared with collective security only in the respect that each may involve the deployment of military forces. However in other aspects, both the processes are different which may be mentioned as below:

1. The collective security lays emphasis to check aggression through collective enforcement. On the other hand, the peacekeeping emphasis on non-coercive activities which mainly aims at re-establishing and maintaining peaceful international order.
2. Unlike collective security, in peacekeeping operations, the purpose is not to fight or defeat an aggressor but to prevent fighting and thus keep order and maintain a ceasefire.

3. The peacekeeping forces maintain an attitude of neutrality and impartiality regarding the adversaries which is not possible under collective security measures.
4. Unlike collective security's enforcement measures and military action, the mission of peacekeeping is to keep peace using measures short of armed force, a role that is more of police rather than military.
5. The collective security measures cannot be undertaken without the support of one or more superpowers. Whereas, the peacekeeping was mainly designed to stop the intrusion of superpower rivalry into a potentially explosive situation.
6. Some of the examples of the peacekeeping missions are the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in Egypt from 1956-1967 in the wake of the Suez Crisis, the United Nations Congo Operation (UNCO) to avoid clashes between Congo and Belgium (1960-64), the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in 1978, etc. Since 1945, the Collective Security has been put into practice a number of times. The idea of collective security was extensively discussed during the WWI which took shape in the 1919 League Covenant and again in the Charter of the UN after the WWII. The Collective security system of UN was put into practice for the first time in 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea. Since then it has been used in a number of occasions.

Thus we can say that though peacekeeping and collective security has some differences yet the aim of both is to maintain peace and security in the world. We can therefore say that peacekeeping is an extension of the collective security system.

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Collective Security:

Collective security is as valuable device for crisis management in international relations. It is mainly designed to protect international peace and security against war and aggression in any part of the world. It is also regarded as a deterrent against aggression in so far as it lays

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down that the collective power of all nations will be used to repel aggression or war against any state. It is based on the principle 'Aggression against any one member of the international community is an aggression against international peace and security. Thus it has to be met by the collective efforts of all the nations.' Thus the underlying principle of collective security has been 'One for all and all for one'. Aggression or war against any one nation is a war against all the nations. Therefore, all the nations are to act collectively against every war/aggression.

4.6 Impact of Peacekeeping Operations:

The UN is an authorized institution to respond to a conflicting situation through different means. Peacekeeping is one such means through which UN has been trying to establish peace and maintain world order. Peacekeepers have been playing an indispensable role in internal and institutional peacebuilding. According to the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO), since 1948, there were 71 peacekeeping operations initiated by the UN and 14 of them are underway at present. Over 124 countries contribute to the UN peacekeeping operations with nearly 100,000 troops, police and civilian personnel. Among them 95 percent are missionaries with a mandate to protection of civilians. Over 600 human rights are involving in supporting the promotion and protection of human rights.

It was during the cold war period that the peacekeeping operations of the UN emerged. In the late 1940s, the Security General and the General Assembly had authorized the UN Secretary General to send ceasefire observation groups to Greece, Palestine, Kashmir and Indonesia. UN peacekeeping did not develop fully until the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF1) was created to step in between Egypt and Israel to allow the withdrawal of British and French troops that had joined Israel in taking armed action against Egypt in the Suez crisis on November 1957. Since then similar operations had been undertaken in Congo (ONUC) in 1960, Cyprus (UNFICYP) in 1964, Lebanon (UNIFIL) in 1978, Namibia (UNTAG) in 1989, Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) in 1992, Cambodia

(UNTAC) in 1992. The UN peacekeeping involves two types of functions: observation and peacekeeping. Observers are unarmed military personnel sent to a troubled area to watch the situation and report back to the UN. Observation is not an easy job. Observers are required to monitor the prevalence of human rights and democratic principles in troubled areas. In other words, they help in the process of transition from war to democracy. This function of observation proved immensely beneficial for Nicaragua and El Salvador after the cold war. For the purpose of peacekeeping, lightly armed military are sent to the troubled zone to dissuade warring parties and negotiate with their military leaders. Their role is very sensitive. They must be impartial in their approach as peacekeeping efforts would have little chance of success if considered biased by any side.

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Types of Peacekeeping:

In reality peacekeeping operations have been of two types: armed forces type operations and observer operations. Following are some of the operations involving multinational armed forces:

1. The United Nations Emergency Force(UNEF-I) in Egypt from 1956-1967 in the wake of the Suez crisis.
2. The United Nations Congo Operation (ONUC) in 1960-64 to avoid clashes between Congo and Belgium.
3. The United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)in 1964.
4. The UNEF –II dispatched to the Middle East in 1973 and terminated in 1979.
5. The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) Created in 1978.
6. A United Nations Security Force (UNSF) composed primarily of Pakistan troops also served as the military arm of the UN Temporary Executive Authority(UNTEA) in West Irian in 1962-62.

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Some of the observer type missions were:

1. The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOM) established in 1947 to investigate the Greek border situation
2. The United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) operating since 1949 to report on ceasefire and armistice violations by Israel and its neighbours.
3. The United Nations Commission for Indonesia (UNCI) observing ceasefire and with aiding negotiations for Indonesian independence in 1949
4. The United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) responsible since 1949 for patrolling the ceasefire line in Kashmir.
5. The United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM), established to patrol the border between India and Pakistan during and immediately after the 1965 war between these two countries.
6. The United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) established in 1991 to monitor the demilitarized zone along the Iraq Kuwait border.
7. The United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM) established in 1963 to observe and certify the implementation of the disengagement agreement between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic.

During the cold war, most of the peacekeeping operations were mainly confined to the Middle East, part of Africa and other regional conflicts which were mainly associated with decolonization. These peacekeeping operations were largely military in nature. In the early 1990s, the peacekeeping operations largely expanded which included activities like resettlement of refugees, police training, protection of humanitarian relief efforts, electoral assistance, disarmament etc. it may be mentioned here that during this period, particularly in 1988, Noble Peace Prize was awarded to the UN peacekeepers for their contribution towards establishing peace

in many conflicting situations. It is to be mentioned here that, there are also many shortcomings in the UN peacekeeping. However, in the last two decades, they worked effectively in establishing peace and resolving conflicts in many parts of the world. It was able to transform some major conflict into minor conflicts. The UN peacekeeping operations have helped to serve thousands of human lost and displacement. They have helped to prevent conflict from breaking out or recurring. They have been successful in reducing the intensity of the conflicts in many instances. They have also helped to reduce duration of conflict. Similarly, the UN peacekeeping have also helped to increase the duration of post conflict peace. By reducing conflict, peacekeeping can prevent displacement of civilians, thus further reducing the humanitarian sufferings that extend beyond the countries.

It can also be argued that peacekeeping operations have also positive economic effects in different ways. They help to increase agricultural production by reducing the conflicts. Peacekeeping helps to recover the local economy and institutional building by ensuring lasting peace. The UN peacekeeping have also impact on human rights since human rights protection and promotion is a core focus of UN peacekeeping operations. Most of the UN peacekeeping operations include human rights office and officers implementing human rights functions. They commit to contribute to the protection and promotion of human rights, empower the population to assert and claim their human rights and enable states to implement their human rights obligations and uphold the rule of law. Thus the peacekeeping is one of the most important conflict management mechanisms of the UN to respond to global security threats. Therefore, the UN peacekeeping missions deployed in violent civil wars are increasingly expected to prevent human rights violations. At the same time, the peacekeeping operations have become more complex in nature because of the complexity of the inter-state and intra-state conflicts. The success of the operations were always questioned and criticized because of the challenges related to the aspects of the peacekeeping. The following section examines the major issues that imposes challenges to the successful operations and implementation of UN peacekeeping.

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Check Your Progress

1. In which year was the UN peacekeeping awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize.
2. What are the two types of peacekeeping operations? Give examples.
3. Discuss the main differences between collective security and peacekeeping.

4.7 Challenges of the Peacekeeping Operations:

So far we have discussed the impact of the peacekeeping operations. But as mentioned earlier, the peacekeeping faces some challenges in its successful operations. Although we have seen that the UN peacekeeping through its various mechanisms, resolutions and resources have been successful to some extent to control violence and other casualties, still there are some issues challenging the successful operations of the peacekeeping. For an operation to be successful, collaboration and support of the conflicting parties are very essential. However, in recent operations, it has been seen that the UN has to act without the clear consent of the parties in conflict which in turn imposes a number of issues and challenges. There are different kinds of issues challenging the successful operations of the peacekeeping. However in this unit, we have mainly focused on the political, military and humanitarian issues that are challenging the operations to a great extent.

1. Political Issues:

Political issues are influential in making the UN peacekeeping operations so difficult. Consent of the host country, political stability of the post conflict situation and political will of the host country are some of the political factors that greatly influence the smooth functioning of the peacekeeping.

The UN has adopted the fundamental principle that the peacekeeping missions will be deployed only with the consent of the host state and the other parties to the conflict. Otherwise, this may prevent the peacekeepers from implementing their mandates and also lead to risk in peacekeeper's safety and security. The absence of genuine

host state consent represents one of the greatest threats to the success of UN peacekeeping operations. The success of the peacekeeping operations also depends on the political stability of the state. The crisis in the UN peacekeeping in Somalia was due to the political and social instability resulting in breakdown of the infrastructure, communications, transport and system for the distribution of goods and services leading to increasing tensions among the population. It was evident in the UN peacekeeping operations of the former Republic of Yugoslavia, Cambodia and Haiti too. Lack of international support from all UN member countries is another political issue which makes peacekeeping difficult. The UN peacekeeping missions face financial problems due to the late payment or withholding of assessed contribution resulting in immense difficulties in fulfilling their missions. Moreover, without the political support of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, more particularly of the logistical, financial and political support of the USA, no operation has ever been completed successfully. This was the main reason for the failure of the operations in Somalia and Haiti in relation to disarmament and demobilization after civil war.

2. Military Issues:

Like the political issues, UN peacekeeping operations are also made difficult by some military issues. Military personnel and their conduct in peacekeeping operations will influence the destiny of the operations. Peacekeeping are not combat forces. They merely monitor the previously declared ceasefires and truces. For example, in Rwanda almost 800,000 people were killed in a period of one month by the armed groups even when the peacekeeping forces were there. This clearly indicates the limitation of UN peacekeeping mandates to control violence or human rights violations during operations. There are also instances of misconduct, human rights violations and abuse of military forces that also challenges the peacekeeping operations. There are many violation and abuse cases of peacekeepers in Iraq and Afghanistan peacekeeping operations.

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Similarly, in Cambodia some military contingents were guilty of misbehavior such as abusing the local population, black marketing and running prostitution business. Inefficiency and credibility also effect the UN peacekeeping operations. Peacekeeping without the ground peace also poses a serious challenge to the peacekeeping operations. For example, in Somalia, the UN peacekeeping troops were unable to disarm the combatants or impose peace due to the absence of ground peace.

3. Humanitarian Issues:

Providing humanitarian assistance in post-conflict situation is one of the functions of the UN peacekeeping. Assisting to return the refugees and displaced people, distributing relief and providing essential amenities are some of the major duties of the UN peacekeeping humanitarian workers. They perform this tasks either themselves or with the support of some International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs). However it has been seen that lack of political and social instability sometimes makes it difficult to effectively perform this task. Peacekeeping also perform a number of task at the local or community level such as medical support, relief distribution, repairing basic infrastructure and so on. However, lack of co-ordination, commitment of civilians and political support make restraints this function of the peacekeeping too. Success of peacekeeping also depends on the effective co-ordination between military peacekeeping forces, NGOs and other civilian staff. In the absence of effective co-operation, UN peacekeeping cannot secure its desired goals. For example, the UN Refugee Agency, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Kosovo was frustrated by the inability of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) police to provide security for returning refugees. Moreover, capturing humanitarian and development aids, kidnapping, holding hostage and killing of humanitarian workers by the rebel or arm groups are some of the major issues that the peacekeeping forces face.

It is thus worth mentioning that, peacekeeping is a risky activity. Since 1948 to 2017, more than 3,500 personnel have lost their lives in serving the peacekeeping missions. This is mainly because of the fact that the UN and member states are failing to adopt and take necessary measures needed to operate securely in dangerous environment. Thus the UN and the troop or police of contributing countries should take appropriate measures so that the peacekeeping can successfully complete its tasks without any harm.

SAQ:

Q. What do you think the international community can do to make the peacekeeping operations successful? Give your view points.

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4.8 India and the Peacekeeping Operations:

As an ‘original’ founder member of the United Nations, India has never hesitated to the calls of the UN to contribute troops for maintaining international peace and security. In 1950, soon after India’s independence, the 60 Parachute Field Ambulance of the Indian Army was sent to provide medical cover to forces engaged in the Korean war. Infact, the unit served in Korea for a total of three and a half years (1950-May1954). It is the longest single tenure by any military unit under the UN flag. Indian peacekeepers have served in UN peacekeeping around the world. More than 200,000 Indians have served in 49 out of the 71 UN peacekeeping missions established around the world since 1948. Around 3802 troops from UN member-states have given their lives defending the UN charter between 1948-2018. Out of this, around 175 are from India who have laid down their lives while serving the UN peacekeeping operations. Some of the peacekeeping missions in which India has contributed troops are Korea(1950-54), Middle East (1956-67), Congo (1960-64), Cambodia (1992-93), Mozambique (1992-94), Somalia (1993-94), Rwanda (1994-96), Angola (1989-99), Sierra Leone (1999-2001), Ethiopia-Eritrea (2006-

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08). At present, Indian troops are undertaking the following UN peacekeeping operations (out of total 16 missions underway):

1. Lebanon (UNIFIL) since December, 1998,
2. Congo (MONUC/MONUSCO) since January, 2005,
3. Sudan (UNMIS/UNMISS) since April, 2005,
4. Golan Heights (UNDOF) since February, 2006.
5. Ivory Coast (UNOCI) since February, 2017.
6. Haiti (MINUSTAH) since December, 1997.
7. Liberia (UNMIL) since April, 2007.

They protect civilians and support peace processes, and also carry out special tasks. For example, in Eritrea Indian engineers helped to rehabilitate roads as part of the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE). Indian doctors provide medical care to the local population in missions around the world. Veterinary doctors are also sometimes deployed as part of the peacebuilding process. Indian peacekeepers have served in some of the most physically demanding and harsh environments including South Sudan. They have also brought the ancient Indian practice of Yoga to UN missions. Moreover, India has a long tradition of sending women on UN peacekeeping missions. In fact, in 2007, India became the first country to deploy an all women contingent to a UN peacekeeping mission. For example, The Formed Police Unit in Liberia provided 24 hour guard duty and conducted night patrols in the capital Monrovia and helped to build the capacity of the Liberian police. India is one of the major troop contributing countries to the UN peacekeeping forces. At present, there are more than 6700 Indian troops are deployed in the UN peacekeeping missions. Thus India today stands as the largest contributor of troops to UN peacekeeping Operations.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the full form of UNDPKO?
2. Discuss the role of UN peacekeeping in the post cold war period.
3. What are the various issues that effect the smooth functioning of the peacekeeping operations? How can this problem be overcome?

4. Mention some ongoing peacekeeping operations around the world.
5. Write the role of India in UN's peacekeeping operations.

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4.9 Summing Up:

Thus from the above discussion it becomes clear that the UN peacekeeping remains one of the most effective tools to respond to the challenges of world peace and security. The UN peacekeeping continued to be a dynamic and demanding activity responding to conflicts between states. Everyday, the UN peacekeepers are protecting millions of civilians at conflicting situations, and help in finding sustainable peace. At the same time, it is also true that the UN peacekeeping at times becomes difficult due to issue discussed above (political, military and humanitarian). Therefore, there is a need of reforms in structures and processes of the UN peacekeeping operations to overcome the various problems associated with it and for the smooth functioning of the operations. There should be active coordination of UN and other related organizations for peacekeeping. At the same time, enthusiastic support and commitment of the global community, specially a friendly political and military support of superpowers are very much needed in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations. Moreover, all components of the UN peacekeeping operations should respect international laws and customs of the indigenous people of the country in implementing peacekeeping mandates. One of the major challenges in UN peacekeeping operations is the absence of permanent peacekeeping force. Therefore, a distinct, full-fledge UN peacekeeping force should be formed trained adequately including other resources. The mandate for peacekeeping operations also must have clear and achievable mission that should integrate strategies to achieve sustainable peace. If all these problems are solved then definitely it will strengthen coherence between political, military, humanitarian and development related activities of UN peacekeeping operations in future.

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4.10 References and Suggested Readings:

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3. Ghosh, P. (2020). 'International Relations' Delhi; PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd.
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UNIT- 5

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN WORLD POLITICS

Unit Structure:

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 Meaning and definition
- 5.4 Evolution of the concept of humanitarian intervention
- 5.5 Differences between humanitarian intervention and humanitarian aid
- 5.6 Humanitarian intervention and the 'war on terror'
- 5.7 Conditions for humanitarian intervention
- 5.8 Is humanitarian intervention justified?
- 5.9 Summing Up
- 5.10 References and Suggested Readings

5.1 Introduction:

The discussion on the promotion of human rights at the international level has proliferated in the post cold war period. There is a growing tendency to see a linkage between human rights violations and international security. The changes in international relations since the end of the cold war more particularly have increased the probability of intervention with or without the consent of the UN Security Council. 'Intervention' refers to various forms of interference in the affairs of others. Humanitarian intervention is a military intervention that is carried out in pursuit of humanitarian rather than strategic objectives. The 1990s can be seen as the 'golden age of humanitarian intervention'. Thus humanitarian intervention involves the use of military force by states to end violations of human rights without the consent of the target government and with or without the UN authorisation.

In this chapter, we will have a detailed understanding about the concept of humanitarian intervention in global politics. We will also learn about the evolution of the concept during the cold war and its application in the post

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cold war period. It will also seek to highlight the changes and continuity of the concept of humanitarian intervention from human rights protection to establishment of peace and security in the world.

5.2 Objectives:

As we have already known that humanitarian intervention is a means to prevent human rights violations in a state where such state is either incapable or unwilling to protect its own people or is actively persecuting them. After reading this unit you will be able to–

- *understand* the meaning and definition of the concept of humanitarian intervention,
- *trace* the evolution of the concept of humanitarian intervention,
- *discuss* the differences between humanitarian intervention and humanitarian aid,
- *analyse* the relationship between humanitarian intervention and war on terror,
- *know* the conditions for humanitarian intervention,
- *understand* the justification of humanitarian intervention.

5.3 Meaning and Definition:

The state system has traditionally been based on a rejection of intervention. The international law has been constructed on the ground of respect for state sovereignty. However, it has long been recognized that intervention may be justifiable on humanitarian grounds. Humanitarian interventions are military actions taken with the aim of reducing human suffering and preventing atrocities. For example, in 1827 in the battle of Navarion, the British and French destroyed the Turkish and Egyptian fleets off south-west Greece to support the independence of Greece. However, the modern idea of humanitarian intervention was a creation of post cold war period which was closely linked to the establishment of a ‘new world order’. The issue of humanitarian intervention is related to international law, morality and international relations. Humanitarian intervention has been defined differently by various scholars. According to Bhikhu Parekh, “Humanitarian intervention

is an act of intervention in the internal affairs of another country with a view to ending the physical suffering caused by the disintegrations or gross misuse of authority of the state, and helping create conditions in which a viable structure of civil authority can emerge.” Humanitarian intervention has been defined by Adam Roberts as “a military intervention in a state, without the approval of its authorities, and with the purpose of preventing widespread suffering or death among the inhabitants.” Tonny Brems Knudsen defines humanitarian intervention as “dictatorial or coercive interference in the sphere of jurisdiction of a sovereign state motivated or legitimated by humanitarian concerns.” Thus humanitarian intervention includes:

- Use of military force
- Absence of the targeted state’s consent which makes it different from the peacekeeping missions
- Its aim is to help non-nationals.

Check Your Progress

1. Which period is known as the ‘golden age of intervention’?
2. “Humanitarian intervention is an act of intervention in the internal affairs of another country with a view to ending the physical suffering caused by the disintegrations or gross misuse of authority of the state, and helping create conditions in which a viable structure of civil authority can emerge.” Who said this?
3. The aim of humanitarian intervention is to help national/non-nationals. (Tick the correct answer.
4. The main aim of humanitarian intervention is to protect human form gross human rights violations. (Write true or false)

5.4 Evolution of the concept of humanitarian intervention:

The early discussion of the humanitarian intervention be traced back to the 16th and 17th century classical writers on international law, particularly in their discussions on just wars. Vitoria, Gentili, Vattel and Grotius are some well known names in this tradition. Grotius, in his De Jure Belli ac Pacis of

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1625, stated that states are entitled to exercise the right 'vested in human society on behalf of the oppressed individuals'. It allows the use of force to end human sufferings. This idea of Grotius has been represented today by writers like Vincent, Lillich and Lauterpacht. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, philosophers of political liberalism, such as Mill, related the concept of humanitarian intervention to the concept of human rights.

The modern concept of humanitarian intervention started with the states justifying their acts of intervention for humanitarian reasons. Some of the well known examples in this context are intervention against the Ottoman empire for the protection of Christians, the Greek war of Independence, Lebanon-Syria, the Bulgaria agitation and Armenia. The strategic motives behind all these interventions throw light on the humanitarian character of the intervention. The lack of prohibition on the use of force in international relations was an important reason to explain the existence of this practice. Therefore international lawyers discussed this in the framework of just wars.

The UN Charter introduced a new solution to the use of force in international relations. Firstly, it extended the doctrine of non-intervention to all states as a universal norm and secondly it allowed the use of force only in case of self defence or collective security measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Thus it justified the intervention in the domestic affairs of a state only for the sake of international peace and security. Moreover, all acts of intervention were made subject to UN authorization as it is the representative of the international community. Along with the emergence of non intervention as a universal norm, the UN initiated a parallel development that is the development of human rights as a global issue. Infact Article 1 of the UN Charter emphasis on promoting respect for human rights and justice as one of the fundamental missions of the organization. Humanitarian intervention, as the most assertive form of protecting human rights was clearly incompatible with the norms of non-intervention and state sovereignty. As a result, the UN Security Council, since 1945 had the right to authorize the use of force to end human rights violations. On the contrary, throughout the cold war period, the UN Security Council was hardly able to implement the UN Charter's provisions due to the ideological war between the two super powers, the emergence of China as a global power, North South division

and so on. This resulted in some unilateral interventions by some countries to defend human rights in other countries. Mentioned may be made of the Indian intervention in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), the Tanzanian intervention in Uganda etc. These interventions may be labelled as humanitarian as they were responses to humanitarian crisis. They rather justified their act on the ground of self defence. UN's response was limited to condemning such interventions.

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STOP TO CONSIDER

Some potential examples of humanitarian intervention are as follows:

1. Bombardment of Algiers in 1816: It was an attempt by Britain and Netherland in August 1818 to end the slavery practices of Omar Agha, the Dey (ruler) of Algiers. The attempt was partially successful as around 3000 Europeans were set free following the bombardment and signed a treaty against the slavery of Europeans.
2. The Battle of Navarino, 1827: It was fought in the Navarino Bay (modern Pylos) in 1827 by Britain, France and Russia against the Ottoman and the Egyptian forces mainly to help the Greece in its war of independence.
3. Northern Iraq, 1991: In the aftermath of the Gulf War, the USA launched Operation Provide Comfort to establish 'safe havens' for the Kurdish people in Northern Iraq by establishing a no fly zone policed by US, UK and French aircraft.
4. Somalia, 1992: On the brink of humanitarian catastrophe, a UN authorized and US led intervention that is Operation Restore Hope sought to create a protected environment for conducting humanitarian operations in Southern Somalia.
5. Haiti, 1994: Following a military coup and the growing lawlessness and emigration to USA 15000 US troops were deployed at Haiti to restore order and help in the establishment of civil authority.

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6. Rwanda, 1994: Following the Rwandan genocide, Operation Turquoise was launched by French to establish a safe zone for the Hutu refugees.
7. Kosovo, 1999: In the context of ethnic cleansing of the Albanina population, the US led NATO forces campaigned air strikes and forced the Serbs to agree their forces from Kosovo.
8. East Timor, 1999: In 1999, a multinational UN Force under the aegis of Australia (International Force for East Timor or INTERFET) was sent to East Timor to bring peace and support East Timorese efforts to achieve independence and self-determination from Indonesia.
9. Sierra Leone, 2000: After a prolonged civil war in Sierra Leone, the UK government sent a small force initially to protect UK citizens, but ultimately to support the elected government against the rebel forces that were being accused of carrying out atrocities.
10. Libya, 2011: In 2011, a multi-state NATO led coalition began a military intervention in Libya to implement the UN Security Council resolution 1973 to have an immediate ceasefire in Libya to end the attacks on civilians and imposed a no fly zone.

The end of the cold war has brought substantial changes in the respect of humanitarian intervention. The changes in the nature of international system mainly due to the end of the super power rivalry have to some extent removed the systematic constraints on intervention in domestic affairs. With the end of the cold war, the norms pertaining to the protection of individual rights resulted in a suitable political atmosphere for initiating interventions. The majority of armed conflicts in the post cold war era are internal or civil war. This has resulted in the increase in the number of interventions which can be seen in the growing number of UN Security Council resolutions under Chapter VII. Moreover in some cases, the Security Council defined gross violations of human rights as a threat to international peace and security and thus imposed economic sanctions or authorized the use of force. Since 1989, it has imposed economic sanctions on almost 14 occasions (compared with twice between 1945 and 1989) and used force almost 11

times other than self defence (as opposed to three times between 1945-1988). Thus the definition of humanitarian crisis is no longer confined to protecting fundamental rights but it is extended to the question of upholding humanitarian laws of war and providing humanitarian assistance. During the cold war period, intervention was somehow limited as it was considered illegal due to the violation of the principle of sovereignty and self determination. But in the post cold war period, interventions were in some way related to regional or global interventions and legitimized by the UN Security Council resolutions. At the same time, there are also instances of interventions without the authorization of UN in the post cold war period such as the Economic Organisation of West African States' intervention in Liberia, the US, UK and French led intervention in Iraq since 1991, NATO's intervention in Kosovo etc. the cases of Iraq and Kosovo are still complicated in the sense that there were prior Security Council resolutions defining the situation as a threat to international peace and security, but did not receive authorization to use military force. Thus the debate among the scholars has not been settled yet.

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5.5 Differences between humanitarian intervention and humanitarian aid

Humanitarian aid is the process of helping people in need who are affected by conflicts, disasters and conflicts. Its main aim is to assist and protect people by giving them resources to rebuild their lives. On the other hand, humanitarian interventions are military actions taken against a government or armed group with the aim of ending violence and stopping atrocities against civilians. Both concepts arose in the 19th century, but from different routes. Humanitarian aid is generally considered to come from the ideas of Henry Dunant and the foundation of the Red Cross. The British, French and Russian involvement in the Greek war of Independence in 1827 is generally viewed as the first instance of humanitarian intervention.

There are some basic differences between humanitarian aid and humanitarian intervention which may be discussed as below:

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- Humanitarian aid is non-military whereas humanitarian intervention is use of military force. In humanitarian interventions, military is used to prevent a crisis. Humanitarian aid is used to help people affected by crisis. This is a crucial difference between the two.
- Humanitarian aid is often enacted with co-operation of a state. An important aspect of humanitarian aid is that it is delivered with approval and co-operation of a state government. Whereas humanitarian intervention violates a state's sovereignty by use of military force with the aim of protecting civilians and ending atrocities.
- In humanitarian aid, no legal bases are needed. In order to deliver humanitarian aid to the people in need no international legal authorization is required. But humanitarian intervention should seek legal justification. This is mainly because humanitarian interventions require the violation of a state's sovereignty by military action.
- Humanitarian aid is led by international organizations and NGOs but humanitarian intervention is mostly led by states or multiple states.
- The aim of humanitarian aid is to help people affected by crisis. It provides material assistance and protection to disaster affected people. Whereas humanitarian intervention aims to protect civilians from war crimes. It is a military action that tries to prevent atrocities against civilians.

These are some basic differences between the humanitarian aid and humanitarian intervention. The former provides assistance to people affected by crisis and disaster and the latter use military force to protect people from human rights violations. They both aim to assist people, but the methods used vary greatly. Some of the best known examples of humanitarian aid are 2010 Haiti earthquake, 2004 Asian tsunami, 2015 Nepal earthquake, 2013 Pakistan flood etc. US led operation Provide Comfort in Northern Iraq in 1991, US and UN led intervention in Somalia in 1992-1993, NATO intervention in the Kosovo War in 1999, UN authorized and Australia led intervention in East Timor in 1999 etc are some well known examples of humanitarian intervention.

Check Your Progress

1. Mention one writer associated with the concept of humanitarian intervention.
2. Write the factors responsible for the growth of humanitarian intervention in the post cold war era.
3. Discuss the main differences between humanitarian aid and humanitarian intervention?
4. Give two examples of humanitarian intervention during the cold war period.

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5.6 Humanitarian intervention and the ‘War on terror’:

The war on terror has cast the issue of humanitarian intervention into a very different light. Whereas, before 2001, there was a growing belief that there had been too few humanitarian interventions, in the post 2001 there has been the perception that there have been too many humanitarian interventions. This is mainly because of the controversial wars in Iraq and Afghanistan which were, in part, both justified on humanitarian grounds. But strictly speaking, neither the Afghan war nor the Iraq were examples of humanitarian interventions. Rather in both cases self-defence was the primary justification for military action. Their purpose was to prevent future 9/11 incident. However, supporters of the wars to a greater extent, portrayed them as humanitarian ventures. In case of Afghanistan, the Taliban regime was seen to have established a brutal and repressive regime, that provided a safe haven to terrorist group like Al-Qaeda, violated the rights of women, excluding them from education, careers and public life. In case of Iraq, the Saddam Hussain regime was seen as ongoing threats to the Kurds in the north and the majority Shia population, both of them had been subject to political exclusion and physical attack. Moreover there was the suspicion that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, the overthrow of Taliban and Saddam Hussain leading to the ‘Regime change’ promised to bring about respect for human rights, greater toleration and the establishment of democratic government. Therefore, the supporters of the ‘war on terror’ further extended the doctrine of humanitarian intervention for wiping out the problem of terrorism from the world.

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During the 1990s, humanitarian intervention was seen to have limited objectives. Military action was taken mostly in emergency situations mainly to restore peace and order. It was not linked to restructuring of society. However, in case of Afghanistan and Iraq war, the idea of humanitarian intervention was mostly linked to liberal interventionism. Liberal interventionism also known as Liberal internationalism advocates that liberal states should intervene in other sovereign states mostly to pursue liberal objectives which can include both military action and humanitarian aid. Liberal interventionists therefore link humanitarian intervention to the goals of regime change and promotion of democracy to establish liberal values. The critics of the ‘war on terror’ however have argued that such goals were only means to establish American hegemony in the world and more particularly to secure oil supplies from the Middle East. Moreover, the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq proved to be more problematic as both wars resulted in protracted counter-insurgency struggles. It has surfaced the doubts of imposing western style democracy and human rights from above as well as it has also resulted in increasing tensions between the Islamic world and the West. Thus if liberal values like human rights and multi-party democracy are not universally applicable, then it is difficult to establish standards for intervention that have a humanitarian basis. In such a situation it has become difficult mobilize support for humanitarian intervention since 2001. There has been example of non interventions in places such as Darfur, Zimbabwe and Burma. Since 2004, the conflict in the Darfur region of Western Sudan has led to the deaths of at least 200,000 people and forced more than 2.5 million to flee their homes. Nevertheless, the UN has left the task of peacemaking to a relatively small African Union Force. More systematic intervention has been prevented due to the opposition of China and Russia, lack of public support for intervention in USA was the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq persisted and the UN’s lack of resources and political will. Zimbabwe, during the regime of President Robert Mugabe in 2000, faced many problems like poverty, unemployment, political conflict etc. but it failed to mobilize support for Western intervention due to strong opposition of South Africa, which is a major power in the area. In Burma, known as Myanmar today, a military junta has been in power since 1988 which has been accused of gross human rights violations, forcible relocations of civilians, widespread use of forced

labour including children and the brutal suppression of Political opposition. In this case also intervention has been restricted by the fact that it is not a threat to regional stability. Moreover, China has rejected any form of Western action in this area.

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SAQ

Q. What do you think are the reasons behind the increase of the Humanitarian intervention so markedly in the 1990s? (80 words)

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5.7 Conditions for Humanitarian Intervention:

Considerable attention has been focused on the attempt to establish if ever humanitarian intervention is justifiable. Although the doctrine of human rights provides a moral framework for humanitarian intervention, human rights do not in themselves provide adequate guidance about justification for intervention. The moral challenges posed by humanitarian intervention include the following:

- It violates the established norm of non intervention. It is therefore difficult to reconcile humanitarian intervention with the conventional notion of state sovereignty under which states are treated as equal and self-governing entities.
- It goes beyond the just war idea that self defense is the key justification for the use of force. But in case of humanitarian intervention, the use of force is justified by the desire or action taken to defend or safeguard people from different societies. It allows states to risk the life of their military personnel in order to ‘save strangers’.
- It is based on the idea that the doctrine of human rights provides standards of conduct that can be applied to all governments and all peoples in spite of religious and cultural differences across the world establishing contrasting moral frameworks.

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In an report ‘The Responsibility to Protect’ (R2P) produced by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) set up by the Canadian Government in 2000 outlines two criteria for military action. Firstly, if there is large scale loss of life actual or apprehended which may be the result of state neglect or inability of the state to act or a failed state situation. Secondly, in case of large scale ethnic cleansing these two criteria the ICISS asserts that there is not merely a right to intervene but also the responsibility of the international community to protect those who are in an imminent danger of becoming victims of these acts. Intervention is therefore justified if the state is unwilling or incapable to save its people from starving to death. The R2P has developed the concept of ‘responsible sovereignty’. The state is merely the custodian of a sovereignty that is ultimately located in the people. It recommended that moral content should be put into sovereignty that is, state’s right to sovereignty should be concerned with protecting its citizens.

SAQ

Q. Can humanitarian intervention ever be reconciled with the norm of state sovereignty? (80 words)

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5.8 Is humanitarian intervention justified?

Humanitarian intervention is one of the most disputed issues in global politics. While some justify it on the ground of humanity while others regard it as violation of sovereignty of a nation state. The positive aspect of humanitarian intervention may be discussed in this regard.

- 1. Indivisible Humanity:** humanitarian intervention is based on the belief that there is a common humanity. This implies that moral responsibilities cannot be confined merely to one’s ‘own’ people or state rather it should extend to the whole of humanity.

2. **Global Interdependence:** In the age of globalization, there is global interconnectedness and interdependence. States can no longer act as if they are islands. Events or incidents on one side will automatically have its impact on the other side of the world. The responsibility to act in relation to events in other side of the world has increased by a recognition of this interdependence among nations. Humanitarian intervention is therefore, justified on the grounds of enlightened self interest. For example to prevent a terrorist problem or a refugee crisis that may create political and social strains in other countries.
3. **Regional Stability:** Humanitarian emergencies particularly in the context of a failed state tend to have radical implications for the regional balance of power, leading to instability and wider unrest. This provides an incentive for neighbouring states to support intervention by major powers in order to prevent a possible regional war.
4. **Promoting Democracy:** Intervention is also justified on the ground of violation of democratic rights of the people. Humanitarian intervention therefore, invariably take place in the context of dictatorship or authoritarianism. Promoting democracy is a legitimate goal of intervention as it will strengthen respect for human rights and reduce the chances of future humanitarian crisis.
5. **International Community:** Humanitarian intervention not only provides evidence of the international community's commitment towards preservation of peace, prosperity, democracy and human rights but also strengthens these values by establishing guidelines for the way in which governments should treat their people, reflected in the principle of 'Responsible sovereignty'. Therefore, the first and primary goal of the state is to protect its citizens from various types of crimes, cruelties and violence.

On the other hand there are others who do not justify intervention in the internal affairs of other states. The following points may be considered in this regard.

1. **Against International Law:** International law clearly authorizes intervention only in the case of self defence. Respect for state sovereignty is the most important means of upholding international order.

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If humanitarian intervention is permitted then, international law at best becomes confused and the established rules of world order are weakened.

2. **National Interest:** As realists argue, states are always guided by its national interests. Their claim that military action is motivated by humanitarian considerations is invariably an example of political mendacity. On the other hand, if an intervention is genuinely humanitarian. The state in question would be putting its own citizens at risk in order to 'save strangers' violating its national interest.
3. **Simplistic Politics:** The case for intervention is invariably based on a simplistic 'good or bad' image of political conflict. It ignores the moral complexities that attend all international conflicts.
4. **Moral Pluralism:** humanitarian intervention can be seen as a form of cultural imperialism. It is based on an essentially western notion of human rights that may not be applicable in other parts of the world. It is difficult to establish universal guidelines for the behavior of the governments due to historical, political, cultural and religious differences among the various nations of the world.

STOP TO CONSIDER

The UN Justification: Threat to Peace and International Security:

When we look at the at the involvement of UN in the cases of humanitarian intervention, the most important point to be noted is the tendency to link human rights and human rights violations within a country to Chapter VII of the UN Charter. In this way, the traditional understanding that humanitarian intervention is unlawful because it neither involves self-defence (Art. 51) nor enforcement action under chapter VII was overcome. Furthermore, the ban on UN intervention in domestic affairs without the consent of the target state regulated in Article 2(7) is eliminated since it makes an exemption in that "this principle shall not prejudice the application of the enforcement measure under Chapter VII." Here the most interesting point is that there is nor

reference to Article 55 and 56 of the UN Charter, which require member states to take joint and collective action for the achievement of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all instead of referring to these articles, in recent UN authorization, a linkage between threat or breach of international peace and the situation at hand was made. By doing so, intervention was related to the international peace and security. It may be mentioned here that there was no clear legal Security Council authorisation in case of Northern Iraq and Kosovo for the member states armed forces to intervene. In the case of Northern Iraq, the US, Britain and France launched Operation Provide Comfort, by creating safe havens and imposing no-fly zones. In Kosovo, NATO countries conducted a full-scale operation against Yugoslavia. In this case, the UN Security Council had defined this situation as a threat to international peace and security. This broad interpretation of 'threat to peace and international security' in the Post cold war era has resulted in considering internal conflicts and humanitarian catastrophes with cross-border repercussions as constituting threats to international peace and security. However, some states object to this interpretation of humanitarian intervention authorized by the UN Security Council on the basis that Security Council may act arbitrarily in future cases. Furthermore, the argument that the Security Council, under the UN Charter and its practices, is not entitled to authorize humanitarian intervention based purely on human rights violations with no cross-border repercussions raise questions about the legal and structural limits of the Security Council on humanitarian intervention.

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Intervention should not be judged in terms of its motives or intentions, or in terms of international law, but in terms of its outcomes. It remains as a question that can never be settled. However, there are certain examples of interventions that produced beneficial outcomes. For example, establishment of a 'no fly zone' in northern Iraq in 1991 prevented reprisal attacks and even massacres after the Kurdish uprising. It also allowed the Kurdish areas to develop a significant degree of autonomy. Similarly, the intervention in Kosovo in 1999 succeeded in its goal of expelling Serbian police and military from the area. It helped to end a massive displacement of population and prevented possible further attacks. These two operations were carried out

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by NATO, involving minimal casualties. Estimates of the civilians and combatants killed in Kosovo range from 1500(NATO) to 5700 (Serbia). Moreover intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000 was effective in bringing an end a ten year long civil war that has killed almost 50,000 people. It also provided that basis for parliamentary and presidential elections held in 2007. However, at the same many interventions have been far less effective. In many instances, UN Peacemakers have been sidelined (Congo) or in some cases interventions have been quickly abandoned (Somalia) or have resulted in counter insurgency struggles (Afghanistan and Iraq). The deepest problem here is that interventions may do more harm than good. For instance, to replace a dictator by foreign occupying forces may only increase tensions create a greater risk of civil war, which then subject civilians to a state of constant warfare. Thus, while political stability, democratic governance and respect for human rights may all be desirable goals, it may not be possible for outsiders to impose or enforce them. Many humanitarian interventions have failed because of adequate planning for reconstruction and an insufficient provision for resource building. Therefore, emphasis should be laid not merely on the ‘responsibility to protect’ but also on the ‘responsibility to prevent’ and the ‘responsibility to rebuild’.

5.9 Summing Up:

After reading this unit you have learnt that humanitarian intervention is mainly military intervention carried out with objectives of protecting people from human rights violations as well as to restore international peace and security. The idea of protecting non nationals developed in the 16th and 17th centuries. The liberal thinkers mainly related the concept of intervention for protecting the liberal values like rights, peace, democracy etc. the cases of intervention mainly increased in the post cold war period owing to various factors like change in the nature of international system, end of super power rivalry and so on. There many instances where humanitarian intervention were carried out without the proper sanctions of UN by multinational states more particularly under the leadership of NATO. There is a question regarding the justification of intervention in the context of state sovereignty. Now this is one debatable question still prevalent. Nevertheless, emphasis should be laid not merely on the ‘responsibility to protect’ but also on the ‘responsibility to prevent’ and the ‘responsibility to rebuild’.

5.10 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Baylis, S. & Smith, S, The Gloablisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.
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3. Ghosh, Peu, International Relations, PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd, Delhi, 2020.
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