CHAPTER 2: PEACE AND SECURITY - A LITERATURE STUDY

This [a peaceful society] will not be possible, however, without freedom of religion, of expression, of assembly, and basic equality under the law. Indeed, the lesson of the past century has been that where the dignity of the individual has been trampled or threatened – where citizens have not enjoyed the basic right to choose their government, or the right to change it regularly – conflict has too often followed, with innocent civilians paying the price, in lives cut short and communities destroyed – Kofi Annan's acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001 (Nobel Foundation, 2001).

This [a peaceful society] must be a world of democracy and respect for human rights, a world freed from the horrors of poverty, hunger, deprivation and ignorance, relieved of the threat and the scourge of civil wars and external aggression and unburdened of the great tragedy of millions forced to become refugees – Nelson Mandela's acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 (Nobel Foundation, 1993).

2.1   INTRODUCTION

In layman's terms, 'peace' is mostly understood as a contrast to war, or as opposed to having a state of non-war, and associated with material well-being and socio-economic progress (Bonisch, 1981:165). For instance, ancient Greek society conceptualised a peaceful world in terms of a lack of civil disturbances (Nussbaum, 1997:32) and considered war as an evil (Sage, 2008). The Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484–c.430) blamed war for overturning the natural state of being: *"In peace, sons bury their fathers. In war, fathers bury their sons"*; likewise, the philosopher Plato (ca. 428–348 or 347 BCE) asserted that one should pray to be spared from war and civil strife and that no man can be a true statesman unless he prepares for war only as a means to peace (Sage, 2008).

Similarly, Chatfield and Ilukhina (1994:5) explain that the vision of a world without war was embraced as the core approach to peace in the Hellenic civilisation, while in the Roman and Medieval periods peace implied stable relationships among units of society and control over organised violence (Chatfield & Ilukhina, 1994:5). In Enlightenment thinking, violence and conflict, seen as the greatest evil in history, were ascribed to a disorderly world (Jeong, 2000:8).

In the 19th century governments started to play an increasing role in seeking to abolish or diminish warfare of which the most notable developments were, as cited by Kuehl (2009): the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) which sought to stabilise Europe after Napoleon I through wide-ranging agreements and the setting of new borders for European states (Donohue, 1999); the Permanent Court of Arbitration which was created at The Hague in 1899, which dealt with issues of armaments, rules of warfare, and arbitration processes; the League of Nations established by 42 countries in 1919 in Paris; the Kellog-Briand Pact of 1928 which aimed to outlaw war, especially another world war (USDS, 2009); and the creation of the United Nations in 1945. Kuehl (2009) further notes that after World War I, peace was often associated with the League of Nations, the United Nations and the idea of collective security.

2.2   THE MODERN CONCEPT OF 'PEACE'

The modern debate on the concept of peace, according to Stephenson (2008), continues to revolve around the questions of whether peace is defined simply as the absence of war and direct violence, or whether the concept encompasses both the absence of war and direct violence plus the presence of social justice.

2.2.1   The relationship between violence and peace: "the absence of violence leads to peace"

Johan Galtung (1930-present), generally regarded as the father of modern peace research and education and the founder of the world's first Peace Research Institute in Oslo in 1959 (CCTP, 2000; Claske, 2007), believed there is a correlation between violence and peace: where there is an absence of direct (personal) violence a

"negative peace" ensues; and where there is an absence of indirect (structural) violence a "positive peace" ensues (Figure 2.1) (Galtung, 1969:183). These two concepts of peace, positive and negative, came to be the most popular peace paradigms in modern times (Rinehart, 1995). The concepts of negative and positive peace and direct and structural violence will be discussed next.
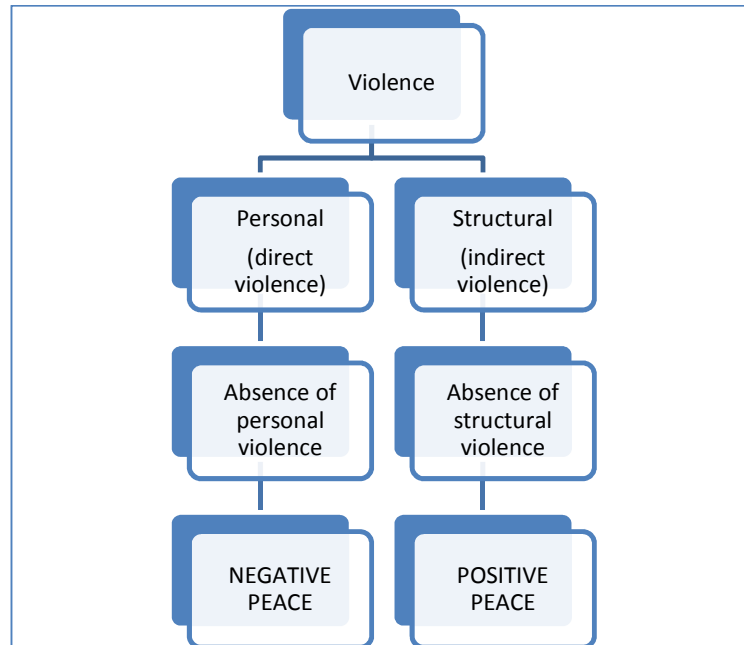
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                        ┌─────────────┐
                        │   Violence  │
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Figure 2.1: The relationship between violence and peace (Galtung, 1969:183).

2.2.1.1 Negative Peace

Negative peace refers to the absence of violence, for example when a ceasefire is enacted. It is negative because something undesirable stopped happening (e.g. the violence stopped, the oppression ended), explains Claske (2007). The Gale Group (2001) typifies negative peace as an absence of war or other armed conflict caused by direct violence which is generally achieved through political and military means. Kelman, as quoted by Stephenson (2008), includes in the "negative peace" definition, the absence of systematic, large-scale collective violence, accompanied by a sense of security that such violence is improbable.

2.2.1.2 Positive Peace

Galtung (1969) was of the understanding that positive peace would entail the removal of both structural violence and direct violence and would be attained through the development of just and equitable conditions associated with the elimination of inegalitarian social structures. Positive peace, according to The Gale Group (2001), incorporates the elements of negative peace and the absence of any type of exploitation, including indirect cultural or structural violence. Positive peace is created through a combination of political, military, economic and cultural institutions and actions (The Gale Group, 2001). Positive peace is filled with positive content such as the restoration of relationships and the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population and the constructive resolution of conflict (Claske, 2007). Conflict prevention through development and social transformation is central to the concept of sustainable peace (Keating & Knight, 2004:357). Due to the close correlation between peace, both positive and negative, and violence, the next sections will delineate direct and structural violence.

2.2.1.3 Direct violence

Direct violence or behavioural violence is an event (Pilisuk & Tennant, 1997:25) which refers to the physical infliction of pain caused by a specific person (Weigert, 2008). Direct violence can be simply "*the hunting and killing of people with deliberate force*", says Fischer (2008). Direct violence constitutes the concrete manifestation of war (Ropp, 2009).

Ropp (2009) describes war as a violent conflict between states or people and an act of physical force to compel an adversary to do one's will. Similarly, Vogele (2009) depicts war as the organised use of direct violence between independent political groups, and distinguishes and groups wars as follows:

- International wars which involve the use of force between states or countries;
- Civil wars which are violent conflicts between political communities within the same state or country;

- Violent rebellions or revolutionary wars which are violence between a government and a substantial opposition group within the country; and

- Cold wars which are struggles conducted through diplomatic, economic, and psychological means but not by means of direct conflict.

Armed conflict is described to be a contested incompatibility that concerns the government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties (of which at least one is the government of the state) results in 25 battle-related deaths (Hewitt, 2008:22). Hewitt (2008:22) identifies four types of armed conflict, grouped either under Interstate Conflict or Internal Conflict:

- Interstate Conflict:
  - Extra-systemic armed conflict which involves a state against a non-state actor outside the territory of the state; and
  - Inter-state armed conflict which involves two or more independent states.
- Internal Conflict
  - Internal armed conflict which involves the government of a state against one or more internal actors; and
  - Internationalised internal armed conflict which involves the government of a state against one or more internal actors with outside intervention by at least one other state in support of either the government or the internal opposition groups.

Mass violence, such as war or revolutions, usually results from initial deliberate political calculations and decisions which bring about social change and a power imbalance within a state or society (Jeong, 2000:20). This observation is perhaps the most significant outcome of the events in Rwanda in 1994 (CCPDC, 1997:3) when, on 6 April 1994, President Habyarimana of Rwanda and President Ntaryamira of Burundi died when their plane was shot down while on approach to the Rwandan capital of Kigali. Sporadic violence broke out within hours and on 7 April 1994, the Rwandan prime minister was killed along with ten Belgian peacekeepers. Eventually between 500 000 and 800 000 people were killed over the course of the next 100

days, mostly from the Tutsi minority but also members of the Hutu opposition (CCPDC, 1997:6; UHRC, 1994).

Both states and persons use direct violence as an instrument; Nicholson (1992:17) explains that whereas violence in inter-personal relations may be employed as an instrument for robbery, revenge or honour, states use organised violence to achieve foreign policy goals. Jeong (2000:20) notes that the infliction of physical injury or death on other people is a deliberate policy that serves particular interests, which is institutionalised in prison systems, concentrations camps, military forces and militia. Physical violence such as imprisonment and torture is often used for political purposes. Nonetheless, violence does not necessarily need to be physical – it can also be applied indirectly and will be discussed next.

2.2.1.4 Structural violence

Structural violence, also called indirect violence or institutionalised violence, refers to preventable harm or damage to persons where there is no actor committing the violence or where it is not practical to search for the actor; and emerges from the unequal distribution of power and resources (Weigert, 2008). Bunnin and Yu (2004) believe that structural violence does not necessarily involve physical force but that it is used as a term for social and institutional injustice, such as apartheid in South Africa, rather than conflict and injury caused by force. It is exemplified by unfair laws or entrenched customs that deny certain groups in the community fair access to the available social, economic, political, or cultural opportunities. Accordingly, Wenden (1995:3) considers structural violence to be typically built into the very structure of society and cultural institutions and, as such, inegalitarian and discriminatory practices can be imposed on individuals or groups in systematic and organised ways by political institutions.

The result of structural violence may include poverty, hunger, repression and social alienation. These conditions are associated with uneven life chances, inequitable distribution of resources and unequal decision-making power (Galtung, 1969; Jeong, 2000:21). Wenden (1995:3) added that, given its indirect and insidious nature,

structural violence most often works slowly in eroding human values and shortening life spans. Specific examples of structural violence, as listed by Schnabel (2008:87), include civilian grievances as a result of economic blockades or the discriminatory practices of global trade regimes; unequal access to political power, resources, health care, education, or legal standing causing significantly higher risk for people from particular segments of society to suffer and prematurely die from communicable diseases and non-communicable diseases or extreme poverty; and institutionalised race segregation (such as Apartheid South Africa). Though the above views on peace and violence and the relationship between them are commonly accepted in the literature, there are also deviant views. Some of the extended views on peace will be presented in the following section.

2.2.1.5 Critique on the idea that "peace is equal to the absence of violence"

The concept of peace is basically understood to be found in situations that guarantee positive human conditions and is not only equivalent to the absence of manifest violence or war between states; instead, a peaceful world belongs to a society where people can work and live together in harmony and friendship, argues Jeong (2000:7). According to Jeong (2000:7), peace, ultimately, has to be obtained by changing social structures that are responsible for death, poverty and malnutrition. Taking this view, Jeong believes that peace therefore implies a lack of conflict of any serious kind and the coexistence of different cultures and societies on the basis of improved communication with others, common sense of understanding and the ability to tolerate one another. Claske (2007) emphasises that peace does not mean the total absence of any *conflict* but instead means the absence of *violence* in all forms and/or the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way. In recent times, the UN General Assembly recognised in its Resolution 53/243, the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (GA, 1999), that peace is not only the absence of conflict, but also requires positive, dynamic participatory processes to discourage conflict and to solve conflicts through mutual understanding and cooperation.

Rinehart (1995) criticises the paradigms of positive and negative peace to be largely materialistic, international, and external. Materialistic in the sense that it is associated

with a level of prosperity threatened by war and violence; international in that the appropriate starting point for peacemaking is at the level of relations between nations; and external in the sense that peace is more the product of social systems (i.e. institutions) than of inter-actional patterns or subjective states. The problem posed by these (popular paradigm) peace concepts, argues Rinehart (1995), is that in order to obtain peace, one has to control war and/or violence (both physical and structural) and therefore follow a macro-social approach to peace. Instead, he recommends following a micro-social approach to peace, implying that peace begins at the grass roots level, and social systems are transformed when a critical mass is reached in terms of new interpersonal relations: as more people develop peaceful relations, Rinehart (1995) argues, society is gradually reconstructed, moving upward to the level of the nation-state and its international relations. This approach he calls the "Numinar" paradigm of peace.

There are other approaches to attaining peace which are dependent on the way peace is interpreted and defined, believes Rinehart (1995). Stephenson (2008) indicates that in Northern Europe and much of the developing world, the concept of positive peace is more widely accepted, while in the United States of America the focus is more on negative peace. One reason for this phenomenon would simply be the way that different cultures come up with different approaches and solutions to the same problem. These differences could be attributed to different perspectives on reality which constitute a person's or society's worldview (Sire, 2004:17; Aerts *et al.*, 2007:6). Worldviews are highly influenced by and dependent on the person's geographical location, past personal perceptions and experiences connected to society, history, the cosmos and to reality as a whole (Aerts *et al*., 2007:5-7). It follows then that the emphasis placed on the concept of peace is dependent on the geographical location in the world as cultures, societies and histories differ from one geographical location to the other. *Section 2.2* examined the different views on peace; *Section 2.3* will follow by exploring ways to attain sustainable peace.

2.3   MEASURES TO ATTAIN AND KEEP PEACE

The previous section described the relationship between peace and violence and highlighted the manner in which individuals and states employ violence as an instrument for their own purposes. The point was made that even in the absence of violence it is not guaranteed that peace will ensue, but rather that peace is mainly dependent on favourable socio-political and economic conditions. However, violence/conflict/war is inescapably bound to, and part of, the peace paradigm. Schnabel (2008:87) sums it up by saying that 'if the basic human security of individuals and communities are guaranteed and they feel secure and protected from the threats that emanate from direct and structural violence, then human suffering on an individual level and violence and conflict on a communal, regional and international level can be significantly reduced'. Wenden (1995:5) and Jeong (2000:9) emphasised that the prevention and elimination of the manifest use of violence require resolving differences through negotiation or mediation rather than by using physical force. The following section will discuss the use of international agreements, peacebuilding and conflict prevention as measures to attain and keep peace and security among the international community.

2.3.1   International agreements and treaties

The first measure to attain and keep peace and security among the international community is the use of international agreements and treaties. The idea that peace will be kept through agreements and treaties has been part of philosophical thought and political practice for centuries, mentions Jeong (2000:8). Political philosophers such as John Locke in the 17th century and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the 18th century viewed war as unnecessary and believed that social contracts could prevent violence. Liberal reformists in the 19th century proposed institutionalised mechanisms to oppose the conquest of organised violence (namely inter-state war) (Jeong, 2000:8). Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) viewed the international society as a community that is joined together by the notion that states and rulers have rules that apply to them all. Therefore all men and all nations are subject to this international law established by written agreement and/or instituted customs (Oregon State University, 2009).

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) (as quoted by Covell, 1998:3) believed "*perpetual peace*" to be peace the realisation of which is dependent on the establishment of the rule of law in both the domestic and international spheres of politics.

The International Law Commission (ILC, 2009) notes that the intergovernmental regulation of legal questions originated at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), where provisions relating to the regime of international rivers, the abolition of the slave trade and the rank of diplomatic agents were adopted by the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Paris of 1814. Since then, international legal rules have been developed at diplomatic conferences. These include the laws of war on both land and sea, the pacific settlement of international disputes, the unification of private international law, the protection of intellectual property, the regulation of postal services and telecommunications, the regulation of maritime and aerial navigation, and various other social and economic issues of international concern. The ILC (2009) states that the intergovernmental effort to promote the codification and development of international law made a further important advance with the resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations of 22 September 1924, which envisaged the creation of a standing organ called the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, which was to be composed so as to represent "the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world" (ILC, 2009). According to the International Court of Justice (2009), the traditional sources of international law as stipulated in the Statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 38 (1) are:

- international conventions,
- international custom, and
- the general principles of law drawn from national law.

Pranger (2009) discerns that the rules of international law are generally divided into laws of peace, of war, and of neutrality and notes that peace is considered to be the normal relationship between nations. The United Nations (2009b) considers the rule of law at the national and international levels pivotal to its mission to attain peace and security and has therefore established respect for the rule of law to be fundamental to

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achieve a durable peace in the aftermath of conflict, for the effective protection of human rights, and for sustained economic progress and development. Shinoda (2001) maintains that the rule of law is key to coordinating peace operations or peace-building activities in particular, in post-conflict regions. Its application describes a situation in which people respect the fundamental rights of others, offering greater stability to the society as a whole.

2.3.2   Peace-building

The second measure used to attain and keep peace and security among the international community, is peace-building. Peace-building encompasses a multidimensional undertaking requiring a variety of approaches to generate positive social change (Smith, 2004) and must include the long-term objective of bringing about a fundamental transformation of conflict-ridden societies (Keating & Knight, 2004:358). Keating and Knight (2004:358) explain that such a long-term objective must be concretised by developing specific medium and short-term programmes, policies and practices that can be employed to resolve civil conflicts in various regions of the world and support norms of conflict prevention and a culture of peace. Alger (1999) points to 22 peace tools which were developed and used over the past centuries to promote or aid international peace efforts, divided into: those commonly used during the 19th Century; those developed after the First and the Second World War respectively; and recently developed tools. It should be noted that the list of tools expands and they do not replace one another. Considered to be a comprehensive list of peace tools aimed to encourage peace-building, each one will be discussed in more depth below, while utilising modern examples to explain their application.

2.3.2.1 Nineteenth Century Heritage

During the 19th century 'diplomacy' and 'maintaining a balance of power' became the main tools employed by states to keep or attain peace. These two tools remained the primary tools used until the end of World War I.

2.3.2.1.1   <u>Diplomacy</u>

Diplomacy is one of the first peace tools used to facilitate peaceful relations between states (Alger, 1999). Dress (2005:13) touches upon two types of diplomacy: the "Track 1" type, which refers to official/formal diplomacy; and the "Track 2" type, which is thought to be more informal and to include the notion of citizen diplomacy (see *section 2.3.2.5.1*). The application of formal diplomacy has been adapted over time to fit changing international challenges in peacekeeping, international affairs and negotiations, remark Keating and Knight (2004:361).

2.3.2.1.2   <u>Balance of power</u>

A state leans towards a 'balance of power' when it attempts to acquire sufficient military and related capacity to deter aggression, or attempts to deter aggression by making alliances with other states. In some cases, when balance of power is employed as a deterrent it does indeed deter aggression. On the other hand, reciprocal application of balance of power does sometimes lead to arms races (Alger, 1999). A case in point was when the USA embarked on an arms build-up designed to reverse the perceived USSR lead in conventional forces during the Korean War in 1950. The USA believed the war in Korea could be a prelude to a much wider conflict with the USSR, exacerbated by the escalating tension between the USA and former USSR after the Soviet detonation of an atomic weapon, and the collapse of Chinese nationalist resistance in mainland China in 1949 (Ojserkis, 2003:2). The proliferation of nuclear arms by the USA and the USSR was based on the principle of 'mutual deterrence' where both sides possessed an evident and secure capability for devastating nuclear retaliation (Payne, 2001:17).

2.3.2.2 The League of Nations Covenant

After the First World War, the 'League of Nations Covenant' introduced and focused on 'collective security' among states, 'peaceful settlements' to disputes and 'disarmament/arms control'. These tools were in addition to those described in the previous section and were later incorporated into the UN Charter. They will be

brought into the perspective of the United Nations framework in the following sections.

The League of Nations was an organisation for international cooperation established at the end of World War I as a means of preventing another destructive world conflict. A League Covenant, embodying the principles of collective security (joint action by League members against an aggressor), arbitration of international disputes, reduction of armaments, and open diplomacy, was formulated and subscribed to by the Allies at the Paris Peace Conference (1919). The Covenant established the League's directing organs, including a Permanent Court of International Justice and a system whereby colonies in Asia and Africa would be distributed among the Allied Powers in the form of mandates (League of Nations, 2009). The main contributions of the League of Nations' Covenant to the peace tool chest were the principles of collective security, peaceful settlement of disputes, and disarmament. As stated above, these tools were subsequently incorporated into the UN Charter.

2.3.2.2.1   <u>Collective security</u>

The first tool of the League to be discussed is collective security. Koetje (1999) describes collective security as collective self-regulation: a group of states attempts to reduce security threats by agreeing to collectively punish any member that violates the system's norms. Alger (1999) elaborates that it was devised to overcome the weaknesses of balance of power as a deterrent to aggression and obligated all who were members of the League to collectively protect each other's territorial integrity and existing political independence against external aggression. In today's terms, it means the establishment, or efforts to establish, peace between nations based on legal standards that are enforced collectively by the nations of the world through a variety of means, including diplomatic pressure and military force. The United Nations is an example of an organisation founded to achieve collective security (Horrigan *et al.*, 2008; Conflict Research Consortium, 1999).

2.3.2.2.2   Peaceful settlement

The second tool of the League to be described is the 'peaceful settlement' of disputes. In cases where formal diplomacy had failed to prevent the outbreak of violence, the League's Covenant required states to submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the League Council. In other words, members involved in a dispute agreed, where required, to involve certain "third parties" when they alone could not control escalating hostility (Alger, 1999). In the aftermath of World War II and the subsequent dissolving of the League of Nations, Mani (2007: 300) explains that the United Nations focused on reorienting international affairs away from aggression and unilateralism and toward cooperation and multi-lateralism. Article 2 of the UN Charter lays out the principle under which the United Nations and its members are required to pursue the aims of Article 1 to maintain international peace and security. Mani (2007: 300) comments that Article 2 (3) of the UN Charter states "all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered". The third and last tool from the League is disarmament which will be analysed next.

2.3.2.2.3   Disarmament/arms control

Following World War I, the rationale was that the elimination, or at least the reduction, of arms would enhance the chances of peace. In this regard, the League of Nations Covenant aimed to codify disarmament and proposals for arms control which were followed by negotiation about numerous arms control measures in the 1930s (Alger, 1999). Krause (2007:288) concludes that the failure of the League to achieve progress towards comprehensive disarmament led to the inclusion of disarmament and the regulation of armaments as one of the key missions of the United Nations.

Though the League was successful in dealing with minor conflicts in the 1920s, it failed to prevent World War II and was officially dissolved on 18 April 1946 (Fomerand, 2007:24). The development of the new international organisation, namely the United Nations, which followed World War II, incorporated all of the

abovementioned tools and led to the development of additional ones. These will be the subjects of the following sections.

2.3.2.3 The United Nations Charter

The UN Charter is the constituting instrument of the United Nations, setting out the rights and obligations of Member States, and establishing the United Nations organs and procedures; it was signed into effect in June 1945 by 50 states (Patil, 2003:4-5). Alvarez (2007:58), however, points out that the UN Charter was not intended to be an instrument for governing the world but only to improve on the mechanisms for collective security contained in the League of Nations Covenant, thereby seeking to protect sovereignty and not to undermine it by interfering with states' ability to govern themselves. Following World War II, they promoted and utilised the peace tools of 'functionalism', 'self-determination' and 'human rights', to be implemented by means of 'United Nations practice' ('peacekeeping', 'economic development', 'international economic equity', 'ecological balance/protection' and 'provisions for governance for the commons', such as for space and the sea). The additional tools ('functionalism', 'self-determination' and 'human rights') envisioned in the Charter will be elaborated on next, followed by the practical means of implementing them.

2.3.2.3.1   Functionalism

Functionalism is an approach in which states cooperate in efforts to solve common economic and social problems that might disrupt normal relationships and even lead to violence, such as the worldwide depression in the 1930s and the inability of states to collaborate in coping with this disaster (Alger, 1999). Fomerand (2007:129) notes the approach is based on two assumptions: a) states should seek to cooperate in technical areas, such as the social and economic, and areas of common concern rather than dealing with intractable security issues, and b) that the habit of cooperation in one area will spill over into others, thus creating a cumulative process of mutual gains and confidence building.

2.3.2.3.2   Self-determination

Self-determination is the principle whereby people have a right to choose how they will organise and be governed, according to Fomerand (2007:289). It is contained in Article 1(2) of the UN Charter, which states that one of the United Nations' essential purposes is to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, as quoted by Fomerand (2007:289). This followed the World War I peace settlements which recognised self-determination as a tool for building future peace. In addition, parts of the former Ottoman Empire outside of Europe and other colonies of defeated states were placed under a Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. These included Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon in the Middle East; Cameroon, Ruanda/Urundi, Tanganyika, Togoland, Somaliland and Southwest Africa in Africa; and areas in the Pacific (Alger, 1999).

2.3.2.3.3   Human rights

Although these words were never used in the League Covenant, human rights are aimed to help prevent the creation of unacceptable conditions of human depravity that may lead to severe unrest and even fighting (Alger, 1999). The concept is mentioned seven times in the UN Charter, including the second sentence of the Preamble which announces a determination "*to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small*" (UN, 2009a). Fomerand (2007:156) points to Article 1(3) of the UN Charter which stipulates that one of the principle tasks of the organisation is to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without the distinction of race, sex, language, or religion. The United Nations therefore promotes human rights through a variety of approaches, such as the cataloguing and codifying of human rights, by the training of national armed forces, police forces and the legal professions, and by the provision of advisory services to incorporate international human rights norms and standards in national legislation (Fomerand, 2007:156).

The second part relating to the United Nations is the practical way in which to implement the principles described above. These are explained under the heading of 'United Nations Practice'.

2.3.2.4 United Nations Practice

The United Nations has numerous peace tools at its disposal. It incorporated all of the 19th Century Heritage tools together with those from the League of Nations, and developed some additional tools and principles. These new tools include peacekeeping, economic development, and a new focus on international economic equity as well as ecological balance, and governance for the commons. These will be discussed next.

2.3.2.4.1   Peacekeeping

The term 'peacekeeping' is not found in the United Nations Charter and was first used to describe the activities of the 1957 United Nations Emergency Force, as mentioned by Fomerand (2007:250). Nonetheless, peacekeeping developed as an impromptu reaction to the political constraints of the bipolar world. The Charter's designs to establish a standing United Nations army that would be "on call" and at the Security Council's disposal became unrealistic with the onset of the cold war as the five permanent members of the Council were unable to agree upon a collective security regime. The concept of peacekeeping thus emerged as a workable alternative, as mentioned by Berman and Sams (2000:26). During the Cold War, peacekeeping required the consent of the parties involved and was intended to discourage a renewal of hostilities while providing an environment conducive to the settlement of their dispute. Since the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping has encompassed missions with multiple tasks performed by both military and civilian personnel, ranging from preventative deployment to humanitarian assistance (Fomerand, 2007:250). Alger (1999) attests that although some variations have been employed, peacekeeping essentially involves a cease-fire, followed by the creation of a demilitarised corridor on each side of a truce line and a UN peacekeeping force

patrolling the neutral corridor. 'Peacekeeping', however, falls under the umbrella of United Nations 'peace-support' operations.

In the United Nations context, peace-support operations include preventive deployments, peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations, diplomatic activities such as preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-building, as well as humanitarian assistance, fact-finding and electoral assistance (UN DPKO, 1998). Peace-support operations are also described as multifunctional operations in which impartial military activities are designed to create a secure environment and to facilitate the efforts of the civilian elements of the mission to create a self-sustaining peace (Alusala & Thusi, 2004:34). They may include peacekeeping and peace-enforcement as well as conflict prevention, peace-making, peace-building and humanitarian operations (Alusala & Thusi, 2004:34). The different types of peace operations and activities undertaken under Chapter VI (Peace-making operations) and Chapter VII (Peacekeeping and Peace-enforcement operations) of the United Nations Charter will be discussed in Chapter Three.

In the aftermath of a conflict the United Nations engages in peace-building operations. This entails identifying and putting in place support measures and structures to solidify peace, build trust and facilitate interaction among former enemies, in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. It often involves elections being organised, supervised or conducted by the United Nations; the rebuilding of civil physical infrastructures and institutions, such as schools and hospitals; and economic reconstruction (UN DPKO, 1998). Peace-building operations, according to the UN DPKO (2008:18), entail a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. It covers actions that support political, economic, social and military measures and structures aiming to strengthen and solidify political settlements in order to redress the causes of a conflict. This includes mechanisms to identify and support structures that tend to consolidate peace, advance a sense of confidence and well-being and support economic reconstruction (ISS, 2000:43). Keating and Knight (2004:363), argue that central to peace-building is the notion of dispute resolution; no peace can

be initiated or sustained unless mechanisms are in place for resolving potential, incipient and actual conflicts. Therefore, continue Keating and Knight (2004:363), peace-building should include mechanisms of negotiation, early warning, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and resorting to regional agencies or arrangements. When these mechanisms are used to prevent conflict they are considered to be tools of conflict prevention and resolution. The United Nations also focuses on economic development as part of its peace initiative. This will be discussed next.

2.3.2.4.2   Economic development

One of the founding principles of the United Nations is the conviction that economic development is the surest way to achieve political, economic and social security (DPI, 2004:144). The basic idea is that the rich-poor gap could be diminished if the rich countries provided development aid to the poor countries for developing their own economies (Alger, 1999). To facilitate economic development, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) established Regional Commissions with the mandate of initiating measures that promote the economic development of each region and strengthen the economic relations of the countries in the region, both among themselves and with other countries in the world (UN DPI, 2004:32). Economic development needs to have a balance and the United Nations also undertakes efforts to ensure economic equity among nations.

2.3.2.4.3   International economic equity

The Third World movement for a more equitable international economic system was centred in the Non-Aligned Movement formed in 1955, an organisation of some 100 countries from all parts of the world that were neither aligned with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) states nor with the Warsaw Pact states, and in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). In 1974 these two organisations the Third World devised a programme for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) (Alger, 1999). Fomerand (2007:227) recalls that the demands contained in the NIEO stemmed from the growing concerns of developing

countries that had argued in the 1950s and 1960s for structural changes in the world economy, fairer terms of trade, and greater flows of finance for development on more liberal terms. Though the NIEO ceased to function in the 1990s, the idea to have more economic equity among states, especially between developing and developed states, continued through the work of the Group of 77. The Group of 77, founded in 1964, is the largest intergovernmental organisation of developing states in the United Nations, and provides the means for the countries of the South to articulate and promote their collective economic interests and enhance their joint negotiating capacity on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system, and to promote South-South cooperation for development (The Group of 77, 2008). Having economic equity would not make sense if the environment people are living and working in, is not protected. The next section will describe the leading role of the United Nations in environmental protection.

2.3.2.4.4   Ecological balance

Peace and ecological well-being are mutually reinforcing human aspirations. Peace advances environmental causes, while environmental stability enhances the prospects for peace. Despite the interrelatedness of peace and the environment, these values have been promoted by distinct communities of activists and scholars, who have tended to operate independently of one another (Soroos, 2004:1). However, the United Nations has pioneered the development of international environmental law, brokering major treaties that have advanced environmental protection. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) administers many of these treaties (UN DPI, 2004:272). Since not all of the land and seas on the planet belong to a nation or a state, the United Nations pursues efforts to protect these environments. This is called the "governance for the commons", and is discussed below.

2.3.2.4.5   Governance for the commons

The United Nations has put in place treaties to protect the five global commons which are considered to belong to all of mankind: space, the oceans, Antarctica, weather and information (Lynn, 1999). Alger (1999) notes that the rapidly growing intrusion of

new technologies on the commons makes provisions for governance of the commons an increasingly significant peace issue. The aforementioned describes only efforts of the United Nations to ensure a peaceful world. Civil society and people movements are, however, important actors which can act as pressure groups to multiply efforts to attain peace.

2.3.2.5 Non-Governmental Organisations and People's Movements

Following the previous sections, the United Nations is not the only actor to use peace tools in the pursuit of peace. The next section will describe the tools that non-governmental organisations and people's movements employ to supplement peace efforts. These will include second-track diplomacy, conversion of military production, defensive defence, citizen defence, the principle of non-violent means, self-reliance, the feminist perspective, and peace education.

2.3.2.5.1   Second track diplomacy

Track 2, or informal diplomacy, addresses the limitations of Track 1 diplomacy and peaceful settlement by recognising that negotiations stalled or broken off by governmental representatives may be revived through initiatives outside of government (Alger, 1999). Fisher (2005:1) notes that increased attention in the field of international conflict resolution is given towards a variety of unofficial, facilitated interactions between antagonists in violent and protracted conflicts of both an intrastate, often ethno-political nature and an interstate character. This, Fisher (2005:1) continues, is being carried out by involving high-level influentials who have the ear of leadership; mid-level influentials from a variety of sectors, who can influence policy making and/or public opinion; and grassroots leaders, who are essential in shaping public attitudes and implementing peace building initiatives on the ground. The following four peace tools: conversion of military production, defensive defence, citizen defence, and the principle of non-violent means; focus on military and self-defence measures.

2.3.2.5.2 Conversion of military production

Slow progress in disarmament/arms control negotiations led to the development of approaches that would diminish the need for specific kinds of weapons and offer non-violent substitutes for weapons (Alger, 1999). One such approach, defence industry conversion, refers to a process where there is direct re-use of defence industrial hardware, technology and personnel for alternative civilian production (Alger, 1999; Abrahams, 2001). For effective conversion to take place, industries should consider utilising the benefits of defence industry production for creating spin-offs into the commercial market (Abrahams, 2001).

2.3.2.5.3 Defensive defence

The second approach is to employ weapons that are defensive in nature rather than offensive. This is called defensive defence (Alger, 1999). Defensive defence aims to ensure adequate defence against military aggression while minimising offensive capabilities. It seeks to eliminate, in particular, retaliation and escalation strategies, and the capacity for large-scale offensive action and surprise attack. It furthermore rejects a cardinal premise of conventional arms control negotiations, namely that military stability is achieved through a balance of force. It argues instead that stability is achieved through an imbalance of defensive over offensive strength. The ultimate objective is 'mutual defensive superiority', whereby the defensive capability of each party is greater than the offensive capacity of the other party (Nathan, 1992).

2.3.2.5.4 Citizen defence

Fundamental to civilian defence is deterrence by convincing a potential invader that the invader would be continually challenged (Alger, 1999). An example of citizen defence is the 'Home Guard or Local Defence Volunteers' in England which was formed in 1940 when there was a real risk that Hitler might invade Britain. As well as preparing themselves to be ready to fight off a German invasion, the Home Guard also guarded buildings that had been bombed to prevent looting, helped to clear bomb damage, helped to rescue those trapped after an air raid, guarded factories and

airfields, captured German airmen who had been shot down and set up roadblocks to check people's identity cards (History on the net, 2009). The third tool which focuses on military means or self-defence is the principle of non-violence.

2.3.2.5.5 Non-violence

The peace tool of non-violence is employed in the pursuit of social change and can be viewed as a substitute for the use of arms. Adoption of non-violence diminishes the need for police and military forces, employed for internal security within a state, to use their weapons (Alger, 1999). The success of nonviolent defence depends on psychological and organisational factors, including the morale, unity, and will of the nonviolent resistance; the knowledge, understanding, and strategy of the resistance; and the coordination, decision making, and leadership of the resistance (Martin, 2008). The final tool which focuses on military or self-defence is the principle of self-reliance.

2.3.2.5.6 Self-reliance

Self-reliance emerged as a peace tool in the context of a dialogue focused primarily on the economic dimensions of peace, which evolved from functionalism, to economic development, to international economic equity - each successive approach attempting to cope with limitations of that which had preceded it (Alger, 1999). African states, through the African Union, seek solidarity and collective self-reliance by means of a self-sustained, endogenous development strategy, and self-sufficiency in basic needs (ISS, 2001). The final two peace tools broaden the approach and paradigm of peace itself and include an alternative way to look at the origins of conflict, and note the importance of peace education. The feminist perspective will be explored next followed by a section on peace education.

2.3.2.5.7 Feminist perspective

The feminist perspective provides a vision of an alternative society, mentions Alger (1999). In the orthodox male-dominated society, women are exposed to violent

behaviour, such as rape and family violence. At the same time it is women, and their children, who suffer most extensively from militarisation and war as a result of political and military decisions (Alger, 1999). Baradat (2000:300) signifies that it is not surprising that revolutionary feminists demand a world based on feminine-orientated values. In this world, society should be reformed to reflect a woman's way of looking at things while art, religion, education, government, law, science, and academics should be made to turn away from male-orientated power relationships, towards feminine values of mutual consideration and nurturing.

2.3.2.5.8   Peace Education

Peace Education is a mechanism for transformation from a culture of violence to a culture of peace by raising the consciousness of peoples to their world, their rights, and the issues at the core of their contemporary terrene, such as their commonalities (Kester, 2007) and encompasses all the peace tools mentioned above, believes Alger (1999). Alger (2000) outlines that peace education curricula must take a broad, systemic view of peace building to ensure that peace educators/builders, though having only one role in a complicated social network, should also know the nature of the entire network, where they fit in the network, and how they are linked to, and interdependent with, other roles. However, this should not negate the need for specialised training of mediators, human rights monitors, those who deliver humanitarian aid, and peacekeepers. Bjerstedt, as quoted by Brock-Utne (1996), deems the main focus of peace education should be on:

- The different global perspectives on peace
- The ability to generate alternative visions of peace
- Ensuring intercultural awareness
- Providing insight into the present injustice and lack of equality in world society
- Promoting readiness to work for justice and more equal distribution of resources

The final measure to attain and keep peace and security among the international community that will be discussed in this chapter, is conflict prevention.

2.3.3 Conflict prevention

Conflict prevention refers to policies and techniques designed to avoid the escalation of a dispute, and draws from and expands on the practice of preventative diplomacy. It includes measures such as early warning mechanisms based on specific indicators to predict impending violence, the creation and monitoring of demilitarised zones, confidence building measures, and the deployment of United Nations forces to forestall the outbreak of violence (Fomerand, 2007:66). Dress (2005:13) distinguishes between operational prevention (measures applicable in the face of immediate crisis) and structural prevention (measures to ensure that crises do not arise in the first place). Operational prevention, according to Schnabel (2002:2), refers to crisis prevention when problems appear, they can be detected through early warning tools that, in turn, should ideally trigger appropriate response mechanisms, such as preventive deployment and, in some situations, the establishment of demilitarised zones. Operational prevention is dependent on preventive diplomacy which needs early warning based on information gathering and informal or formal fact-finding (Schnabel, 2002:2).

Dress (2005:13) portrays structural prevention as long-term peace-building, which comprises strategies such as institution-building, strengthening of international legal systems, and developing national dispute resolution mechanisms. It also includes meeting basic economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian needs, and rebuilding societies that have been shattered by major crises. Schnabel (2002:2-3) regards structural prevention as focusing on much earlier recognition of degeneration, and the early application of preventive measures, so as to take on a longer-term approach, aimed at addressing the structural causes of conflict and fostering institutions which will promote the kinds of distributive and procedural justice that have been shown to make violent conflict less likely. This, Schnabel (2002:2-3) continues, reflects an agenda for prevention that incorporates development, democracy, human rights and peace, and one that is based on the key principles of the recent debate on human

security. Addressing structural causes of conflict and strengthening institutions that can foster democracy, development, human rights and peaceful relations between groups and states, are fundamental components of a long-term, early approach to conflict prevention. This also holds true for successful post-conflict peacebuilding strategies: actual conflict resolution, beyond mere settlements, is key to the prevention of renewed violence (Schnabel, 2002:3).

This section of the chapter has deliberated on the measures taken and those tools which could be employed to attain and keep peace among the international community. The following part will focus on the analysis of these measures.

2.4   HUMAN SECURITY

So far, this chapter has dealt with the 'peace' side of peace and security. In this regard, peace-building was described as being multi-faceted and an integrated effort by both governments and civil society, and that both states and civil society employ tools to attain and keep peace. Peace tools and conflict prevention centres on the multiple dimensions of power and politics, culture and society, the economy, the environment and development. This section will deal with the 'security" side of 'peace and security'.

Traditionally, specifies Ogata (2001:8), security threats were assumed to emanate from external sources. Security issues were therefore examined in the context of "state security," i.e., the protection of the state, its boundaries, people, institutions and values from external attacks. Territorial boundaries were inviolable, and external interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states was prohibited. States set up powerful military systems to defend themselves. People were considered to be assured of their security through the protection extended by the state (Ogata, 2001:8). However, most wars in the past two decades have taken the form of internal conflicts, fought over competition for resources and land, triggered by identity politics, ineffective governance and corruption, political and economic transitions, as well as growing inequalities (UNESCO, 2008:164). The evolving nature of conflict has seen an increase in violent insurgencies that deliberately target civilians, recruit child

soldiers and refuse to negotiate ceasefires (UNU, 2009). Some state actors also terrorise civilians, engage in asymmetric warfare and employ counter-terrorist strategies that violate human dignity. In this context, the concept of state sovereignty has gradually evolved towards the responsibility to protect people at risk. Human security has displaced territorial security as a central concern, with the aim of achieving the twin goals of freedom from want and freedom from fears (UNU, 2009).

In like manner, the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) Declaration adopted in 2000 (DFA, 2002) noted that peace constitutes the basis of all wholesome human interactions and the lack of democracy, denial of personal liberty and abuse of human rights are causes of insecurity. The concept of security, the Declaration continues as quoted by Aderinwale (2001:65-66), transcends military considerations and includes conflict prevention, containment and resolution, all of which relate to the aim of collective continental security. Security also embraces all aspects of society, including the economic, political and social dimensions of the individual, family and community, to take in national and regional stability. The Declaration posits that the security of a nation must be construed in terms of the security of the individual citizen, not only to live in peace but also to have access to the basic necessities of life, to participate freely in the affairs of society and to enjoy fundamental human rights. Therefore, the concept of security must embrace all aspects of society including the economic, political, social and environmental dimensions of the individual, family, community, and local and national life. Aderinwale (2001:65-66) emphasised that the security of a nation must be based on the security of the life of the individual citizens to live in peace and to satisfy basic needs while being able to participate fully in societal affairs and to enjoy freedom and fundamental human rights.

Based on the CSSDCA Declaration Nathan (1992) argues that a sound national economy is the only durable basis for security and political stability, and that democracy is in turn a prerequisite for economic development. Nathan (1992) accordingly proposes a new thinking on security:

- Security should be conceived as a holistic phenomenon which is not restricted to military matters but be broadened to incorporate political, social, economic and environmental issues.

- The subjects whose security is sought should not be confined to states but extended at different levels of society to include people, geographic regions and the global community.

- Threats to security should not be seen as arising solely from armed forces or limited to challenges to state sovereignty and territorial integrity; they also include poverty, oppression, injustice and a host of ecological problems.

- The overriding objective of security policy should therefore go beyond achieving an absence of war to encompass the pursuit of democracy, sustainable economic development, social justice and a safe environment.

- The formulation of security policy is not confined to executive and administrative officials; it requires greater accountability, open debate and the active participation of elected representatives and the public.

- Regional security policy should seek to overcome adversarial relations and advance the principles of 'common security', co-operation, non-aggression, non-interference in domestic affairs and peaceful settlement of disputes.

- Military force should be viewed as a legitimate means of defence against external aggression but an unacceptable instrument for conducting foreign policy and resolving inter-state conflict.

The concept of human security emphasises the protection of individuals. It takes as its objectives peace, international stability and protection for individuals and communities and it comprises everything that is 'empowering' for individuals: human rights, including economic, social and cultural rights, access to education and health care, equal opportunities, good governance, and so forth (UNESCO, 2008:3). An essential element making up human security lies in guaranteeing the right of all people to live in peace and security within their own borders. For this to be a reality, people and states must be able to prevent and resolve conflicts through peaceful and non-violent means, and they must be able to carry out reconciliation efforts in an effective way once the conflicts come to an end (UNESCO, 2008:46). Nevertheless, Van Ginkel (2003) maintains that human security does not replace, but complements,

state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development. Nef (1999:24-25) and Thakur (2007:72-73) echo this view and add that while 'security' is based on the probability of "risk reduction" the abatement of insecurity; human security implies a number of interwoven dimensions centred on human dignity, namely environmental, economic, societal, political and cultural, of which the political dimension holds the key to human security. Security in Africa, viewed in terms of identity and interests, should be regarded as the protection of people and the preservation of norms, rules, institutions, and resources, in the face of military and non-military threats, such as disasters, ecological and environmental degradation, poverty, severe economic problems, human rights abuses, and the erosion of democratic rule (Makinda and Okumu, 2008:5). In the African context, Makinda and Okumu (2008:5) conclude that security equates to human emancipation.

2.5   CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to analyse the concepts of 'peace' and 'security' to provide a fundamental understanding of what is meant by the task of the United Nations being to 'maintain international peace and security'. The relationship between violence and peace was clearly pointed out. Focusing, however, only on the prevention of violence does not secure the road to sustainable peace nor does it address all the dimensions of peace. A focus on positive peace promises to be effective in conflict prevention and the road to sustainable peace, and therefore necessitates measures be put in place to prevent both direct and structural violence on an interstate- and intra-state level. Structural violence prevention, conflict prevention and peace-building all share the premise that peace requires positive social change or transformation to ensure prevailing and equal access to social, economic, political, environmental and cultural opportunities. The codification of international law thereby ensuring respect for the rule of law was one of the most important accomplishments to curb violence and to ensure equal access to these opportunities. States and non-governmental entities have equal parts to play in the pursuit of peace and have a wide array of tools at their disposal aimed at building sustainable peace. Furthermore, conflict prevention involves the prevention of operational and structural violence which could be equated to the prevention of direct and structural violence.

Lastly, the old thinking of protecting state security by military means has been replaced by the new paradigm that protecting human security is the foundation for sustainable development, individual security, state security and peace. It therefore holds true that peace starts from the individual level going all the way to the international level by meeting the needs of the people and protecting the people. Throughout the chapter it became evident that no organisation is so focused and specifically involved with the maintenance of peace and security, as the United Nations. In the following chapter, the theme to be explored is how and to what extent, the United Nations maintains international peace and security