

# CONFLICT AND PEACE

## UNIT TWO: UNDERSTANDING PEACE

A PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES COURSE  
FOR MYANMAR

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ဝန်ခံမှုများ - Conflict and Peace Unit Two: Understanding Peace (Student Book),  
by Daniel Korth and Alyssa Paylor

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BEFORE YOU START USING THE BOOK, PLEASE READ THE INFORMATION ON THESE TWO PAGES. IT WILL EXPLAIN HOW THE BOOK IS DESIGNED, AND GIVE A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC OF PEACE EDUCATION.

## WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF CONFLICT AND PEACE?

Conflicts are all around us. It is challenging to transform those conflicts into peace.

*Conflict and Peace* will help you gain a deeper understanding about the reasons why conflicts exist, and the methods for transforming conflicts into sustainable and just peace. You will examine the impacts of conflict, violence, and peace on yourself, your relationships, and your communities. You will increase your understanding of empathy, tolerance, non-violence and pluralism, and develop critical and creative thinking skills. You will gain skills in the following areas:

- communication;
- management and awareness of emotions in situations of conflict;
- de-escalation of interpersonal conflicts;
- conflict analysis;
- non-violent conflict transformation;
- reconciliation of personal relationships;
- initiating peaceful social change;
- developing a peace project.

Some topics in this book will be new to you. Your teacher may also ask you to explore familiar topics in ways that you have not thought about before. Many tasks in this book do not have clear, “correct” answers, and the process of exploring these topics is more important than finding a perfect or correct answer.

The purpose of *Conflict and Peace* is to explore everyday conflicts in personal relationships, in society and as nations.

### THE “GROAN ZONE”

Peace education is different from other types of education. Knowledge about the subject of conflict and peace is useful, but it is more important to be ready and willing to explore complex ideas and topics.

You will be asked to think about topics and ideas that challenge your personal beliefs. This might feel uncomfortable and unpleasant to do at first. However, it is necessary in order to develop a deeper understanding about the complicated problems of conflict and peace. There will be times in this book when you may disagree with other students or your teacher. This is a normal and necessary part of developing the knowledge, skills, and values of peace education. There may be times when you feel yourself groan with frustration, or feel like it’s impossible to agree on something. This is also a normal and necessary part of the course.

Here are a few ways you can get through the groan zone:

- Take breaks.
- Work on small parts of a larger problem step by step.
- Organise your discussion and reflection tasks to include the perspectives of every group member.
- Don’t be afraid to make mistakes or have an incorrect answer.
- Ask questions and listen to the answers, even if you disagree with them.

## TRIGGER WARNING

*Understanding Conflict* includes images and descriptions of violence and pain. There are discussion and reflection questions that may cause you to remember traumatic events from your own life. If this happens, it is okay to skip the text or task, or take a break and come back to it later.

If you find a topic in this book that you know will cause you to feel extremely upset or frightened, please consider skipping it or waiting to work on it until you feel more comfortable.

## HOW TO USE UNDERSTANDING PEACE

### COURSE STRUCTURE

Mote Oo's peace education course comprises two books.

Book One, *Understanding Conflict*, looks at ways to analyse conflict, and describes destructive and constructive ways of dealing with conflicts.

Book Two, *Understanding Peace*, focuses on how we can reach and maintain a peaceful society.

We have to learn about conflict before we can reach peace, because peace is *not* the absence of conflict. Peace is when people solve their conflicts constructively and without violence. Both books should be used together.

### BOOK TWO STRUCTURE

This book is divided into five chapters. Each chapter tries to answer a question:

- Chapter 1, What is peace?
- Chapter 2, How do we make and keep peace?
- Chapter 3, What is peacebuilding and where does it happen?
- Chapter 4, What is reconciliation?
- Chapter 5, How can individuals be peacebuilders?

### LEARNING GOALS

Each chapter begins with the learning goals for that chapter. These are the **KNOWLEDGE**, **SKILLS** and **VALUES** you will focus on throughout the chapter .

- **Knowledge goals** tell you what you should know by the end of the chapter.
- **Skills goals** tell you what you should be able to do by the end of the chapter.
- **Values goals** tell you what issues you will have reflected on by the end of the chapter

### TASK TYPES

To help you in your learning, there are several types of task in this book:

- **Previews.** Every section starts with a preview. These encourage you to think about the topic you are going to study. They may also focus on what you already know and think about the topic.
- **Exercises** focus on increasing your *knowledge* about the topic and checking your understanding of topics.
- **Activities** focus on developing and practicing important application, analysis and evaluation *skills*, and various types of critical thinking.
- **Discussions** focus on how the issues and ideas in the book affect your community and country. They encourage you to develop your understanding by expressing your opinion and listening to the views of others.
- **Reflections** ask you to think about your feelings. They encourage you to analyse the ideas in the text and how these relate to your personal *values*.
- **Conclusions** are exercises and activities that test your understanding of the chapter. You can use these activities to assess how well you understand each chapter.

### FOCUS ON MYANMAR

In most sections of the book, there are "Focus on Myanmar" texts. These are Myanmar case studies of the issues in the section, and short exercises to check your understanding of these.

### GLOSSARY

To help you with the more difficult words used in peace studies, there is a glossary of these words at the back of the book, and Myanmar language translations for each.



# CHAPTER 1 – UNDERSTANDING PEACE

## LEARNING GOALS FOR CHAPTER 1

### KNOWLEDGE

In this chapter, you will increase your knowledge of:

- levels of peace in a society;
- **the differences between incomplete and complete peace;**
- structural violence;
- the relationship **between peace and social justice;**
- **symbols of peace and their meanings;**
- gendered violence and its impacts on society.

### SKILLS

In this chapter, you will develop your ability to:

- identify the features of complete and incomplete peace;
- **differentiate between types of violence in a variety of situations;**
- analyse societies for direct and structural gendered violence.

### VALUES

In this chapter, you will reflect on:

- your personal understanding of peace;
- social justice;
- gender equality as essential for complete peace.



▲ What kind of “peace” is happening in each picture?

### PREVIEW

Close your eyes and think about peace. What picture do you have in your mind? In pairs, describe it.

## 1.1 – WHAT IS PEACE?

We can talk about peace at different levels:

- **INDIVIDUAL PEACE** describes a calm state of mind. When we are in this state of mind, we are not worried, angry or disturbed. Some people call this *inner peace*. This state of mind is helpful in situations of conflict.
- **INTERPERSONAL PEACE** describes peace between two (or more) people, for example family members, friends or colleagues. Two people are at peace if they are not fighting each other, and if there is no anger or unfriendliness in their attitudes or actions.
- **INTERGROUP PEACE** describes peace between different groups in a society.
- **INTERSTATE PEACE** describes peace between two or more countries.

This unit focuses on peace at intergroup and interstate levels, and answers the following questions:

- What do we mean when we talk about a “peaceful society”?
- How do we know when a society is “at peace”?
- What do we mean when we say, “I want peace in my community” or, “I want peace in Myanmar”?



Which of these are examples of peace at:

- an individual level?
- an interpersonal level?
- an intergroup level?
- an interstate level?

## EXERCISE

## EXAMPLES OF PEACE AT DIFFERENT LEVELS

**1.** Sandar and Ko Ko Oo live next door to each other. They share a large garden, and help look after each others' children. If there are any problems, they discuss them together and solve them.

**2.** Everyone in Naw Moo's town respects each other. They listen to each others' problems, ideas and opinions, and work for the best situation for everyone.

**3.** Sai Lek is usually happy. If he has a problem, he either solves it or he stops worrying about it.

**4.** Two ASEAN countries solve their conflicts by negotiation, not by fighting each other.



### FOCUS ON MYANMAR: PEACE INSIDE OURSELVES

"I attended a workshop on women as peacebuilders. I learnt a lot. I did not know how important inner peace is. We just worry and worry and feel that we will never get peace. Since the fall of the Karen National Union (KNU) headquarters, I struggled with the word 'peace', because I felt we were never going to get it. But during that workshop, the woman said, "First, we have to have peace inside ourselves, and we have to take care of ourselves." And I thought, "Oh! I have just learnt about taking care of myself." In the past we only worried about other people, we never thought about ourselves. I suddenly felt relaxed and relieved."

- Naw Zipporah Sein

Naw Zipporah Sein is the former Karen National Union (KNU) Vice-Chairperson and a former KNU General Secretary. She has also been the Secretary of the Karen Women Organization.



- How are individual peace and peace in society connected for Naw Zipporah Sein?
- Can you think of other connections between these two levels?

What is peace? It is not easy to answer this question. Some people feel that it is much easier to define war than it is to define peace.

Compare peace to health. When we talk about health, it is easy to name different diseases, but it is difficult to explain and describe good health. Someone might say, "Being healthy means that I am fine. I am not sick."

Like health, peace is easier to define by what it is not. For example, peace is "not war." It is "not fighting."

## ACTIVITY

### PLAYING PEACE

Read the story and answer the questions.

1. Why do you think the children don't know how to "play peace"?
2. How would you "play peace"?

## Playing Peace

A grandfather is watching his young grandchildren play a game of war. In their small hands, they each hold toy guns, their voices imitating the sounds of the weapons.

"Bang, bang!", they shout. They run around and try to shoot each other.

The grandfather sits down next to the children. "You are playing *war*," he says, pointing to the guns. "Why don't you play *peace* instead?"

The children look at him. They are silent, thinking about his question. After a few moments, they reply, "But Grandfather, how do you play peace?"





WAR



PEACE

Look at the two paintings by Pablo Picasso, an artist who experienced the Spanish Civil War (1936 to 1939). Compare and contrast the two paintings.

ACTIVITY

“WAR” AND “PEACE”

	“War” Painting	“Peace” Painting
1. What are the people doing?		
2. What do you think the people in the painting are saying?		
3. What are the strongest colours? Why did the artist use these colours?		
4. What do you feel when you look at this painting?		

## ACTIVITY

### PEACE QUOTATIONS

1. Read the quotes about peace. Which do you like most? Why?
2. Match the quotes with the person who said it.
3. Answer the questions.
  - a. What strategies did you use to match the quotes with the authors?
  - b. Which was the easiest match? Why?
  - c. Which one(s) most surprised you? Why?
  - d. Did you understand any of the quotes better after you learned the author's identity?

“

ONE DAY WE MUST COME TO SEE THAT PEACE IS NOT MERELY A DISTANT GOAL WE SEEK, BUT THAT IT IS A MEANS BY WHICH WE ARRIVE AT THAT GOAL. WE MUST PURSUE PEACEFUL ENDS THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

1. ”

“What peace requires, above all, is engaged and active citizens of all ages and both sexes, who take on the power and responsibility of social and political cooperation, and establish nonviolence as normal for all relationships, whether between parents and children, men and women, different ethnicities, or different countries and continents.”

2. ”

“If in our daily life we can smile, if we can be peaceful and happy, not only we, but everyone will profit from it. THIS IS THE MOST BASIC KIND OF PEACE WORK.”

3. ”

“God, you are peace. From you comes peace.”

4. ”

PEACE DOES NOT MEAN AN ABSENCE OF CONFLICTS; DIFFERENCES WILL ALWAYS BE THERE.

5. Peace means solving these differences through peaceful means; through dialogue, education, knowledge; and through humane ways.

**Peace is a situation where a girl is free to go to school, where every person has basic rights, equal rights, where there is justice for everyone, whether they are poor or rich, whether they are tall or short, whether they are a Muslim or a Jew, whether they are a man or a woman, where there is justice.**

6.

**"PEACE CANNOT BE KEPT BY FORCE. IT CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY UNDERSTANDING."**

7.

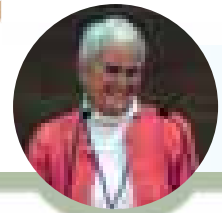
A



Thich Nhat Hahn is a Vietnamese Buddhist monk, poet and peace activist (b. 1926).

Diana Francis, is a British peace activist and scholar (b. 1944).

B



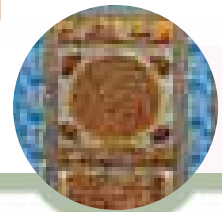
C



Malala Yousafzai is a Pakistani women's and youth rights activist and winner of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize (b. 1997).

Mohammad was prophet and founder of Islam (c. 570 –632).

D



E



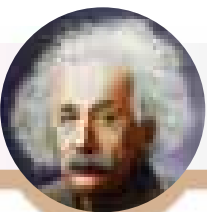
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr was the leader of the US civil rights movement (1929 –1968).

Tenzin Gyatsho is the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and the Buddhist spiritual leader of Tibet (b. 1935).

F



G



Albert Einstein was a German-born Jewish scientist (1879 –1955).



## ACTIVITY

### SYMBOLS OF PEACE

1. Look at the symbols. Why do you think these symbols represent peace?
2. Read the explanations and match them with the symbols.
3. What other symbols of peace do you have in your community or culture?
4. Draw your own symbol of peace. Put it on the wall.
5. Walk around looking at the different peace symbols. Explain the meaning of your symbol to the class.

**1** This has been a symbol of peace in many ancient cultures, including Egypt, China and Greece. To these different civilisations, it represented long life, love, and innocence. It is also a symbol in Christian religious history.

**2** This has been a symbol of peace in Greece since the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Because olive trees grow slowly and need a lot of care, they grow best in times of peace, not times of war. In ancient Rome, armies used to hold up an olive branch to show the enemy that they wanted the fighting to stop. Today, the phrase "extending the olive branch" means to try to reach out to resolve a conflict.

**3** This is the symbol of war resisters and **conscientious objectors**. Conscientious objectors are people who believe that war is wrong for any reason and who refuse to join an army and fight in their countries' wars. 'War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war' (Declaration of the War Resisters International, 1921).

**4** In Hinduism, this is a sacred sound combining the three syllables of 'a-u-m'. It symbolises the three major gods, three important holy texts, and the three parts of the world—the sky, the earth, and heaven. It is a symbol of peace and **harmony** between all things in the universe. It is a sound that people chant when they are meditating, to try to achieve inner peace.

## INTERNATIONAL PEACE SYMBOL MEANINGS

This is the most famous international symbol for peace. It was designed in the UK for the British *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (CND) in 1958. The goal of this movement was to pressure the UK to get rid of its nuclear weapons and other **weapons of mass destruction**. Anti-war movements around the world now use this symbol. **5**

This flag shows the beauty of **diversity** and symbolises how different people can live together peacefully. It was first used as a political tool in Italy in the 1960s, during a peace march, with the Italian word "pace" (peace) in the middle. After that, people started to hang this flag from their balconies to show that they held anti-war views. A similar flag is also used as a symbol of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) movement. **6**

This has become a symbol of innocent victims of war. There is an ancient Japanese story that if someone folds 1,000 paper cranes, they will be granted a wish. Sadako Sasaki was two years old when her hometown of Hiroshima in Japan was destroyed by an American atomic bomb at the end of World War II. She died at the age of twelve from cancer caused by the explosion of the atomic bomb. Before she died, she wanted to fold 1,000 paper cranes, and make a wish for peace. "I will write peace on your wings and you will fly all over the world," she said. **7**



Does peace mean calmness and quietness, or can peace also be noisy and exciting?

### DISCUSSION

Has anyone ever told you that peace is impossible? What do you think this means? Do you agree?

### REFLECTION



▲ If fighting stops, does that mean that there is peace?

### PREVIEW

What is a good title for this photograph?

## 1.2 – INCOMPLETE PEACE

One way to understand peace is as *the absence of war and direct violence*.

According to this definition, peace is the time before or after a war. In Myanmar's history, this would mean that 1826 was the start of a short period of peace between Myanmar and Britain. In February of that year, leaders from the Burmese and British Empires signed a peace **treaty**. The treaty was signed after a war about land between the two empires (from 1824 – 1826).

In this understanding, peace is the opposite of war. War is defined by fighting. Fighting causes death and destruction, so peace is the absence of these things. This definition of peace is known as *incomplete peace* or *limited peace*.

The *Treaty of Peace at Yandabo*, in 1826, was the start of a short period of peace in Myanmar.





Read the case studies and answer the questions.

1. Which case studies show incomplete peace?
2. How is one case study different from the others?

## EXERCISE

### A. SRI LANKAN CIVIL WAR

In May 2009, the government of Sri Lanka defeated the **separatist** Tamil Tiger rebels and ended 26 years of civil war. Today, the majority of Tamils live in poverty, without homes or **livelihoods**. Thousands of Tamils are internally **displaced**, and war crimes and human rights abuses are still unpunished.



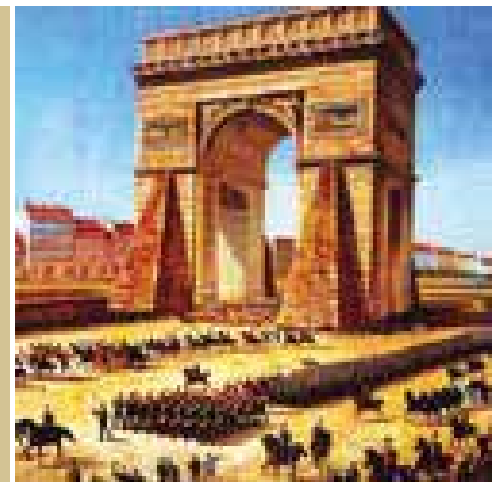
### B. THE COLD WAR

After World War II, the United States of America and the Soviet Union were enemies. The USA feared an attack by the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union feared an attack by the USA. Each country built enough nuclear weapons to destroy all human life. Both countries believed that the threat of complete destruction would stop the other side from starting a war.



### C. FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Germany and France fought three wars and were long-time enemies. After World War II, they started a process of reconciliation. This included partnerships between German and French cities, youth exchange, promotion of French and German language in both countries, the creation of a joint Franco-German history textbook to promote a "shared vision of history", and a Franco-German cultural TV channel. Now Germany and France have a strong friendship.



### D. "THE TROUBLES" IN NORTHERN IRELAND

In Northern Ireland, there has been conflict between the Catholic and the Protestant populations for many years. This conflict is known as "the troubles". The government has built many "peace walls" in Northern Irish cities to separate the groups and stop the violence between them.





## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: SHAN PEACE ELUSIVE DESPITE CEASEFIRE

Many people say that Myanmar's political reforms are an opportunity for peace. However, according to General Hso Ten from the Shan State Army-North (SSA-N) "Everything is survival; we still have to struggle."

According to the Shan Herald Agency for News, attacks on the SSA-N by government troops have continued since a ceasefire was signed in January. In 2011, 30,000 people were displaced by ethnic conflict in northern Shan State.



Some people have questioned January's ceasefire. General Hso Ten says "Nothing came out of it, there is still fighting. It was just a ceasefire, not eternal peace." He says the goal of "eternal peace" will only be reached if there are equal rights for ethnic minorities and the Shan State government can make decisions for the people of Shan State in a "genuine union."

He wants a second *Panglong Agreement*. The first Panglong Agreement was signed by Shan, Kachin, Chin and Bamar representatives in 1947 just before Myanmar's independence from Britain. It promised ethnic equality and decision making for ethnic state governments.

To General Hso Ten, the Panglong Agreement is still important today, even though it was not followed by the government after the death of Aung San in 1947. Many ethnic people still feel **betrayed** because of this. He explained "If we leave out the Panglong Agreement, the Union is not meaningful."

Recent reforms have brought more business and economic development. The government has said that there are two steps to getting peace. Step one is to sign a ceasefire. Step two is economic development in conflict areas.

However, some people would like inclusive political talks instead. General Hso Ten says "We feel like we are **second-class** citizens ... they think if they can solve economic problems, the people will shut up. But we don't have equal rights. How can we go on?"

He also added, "We need time and international support. I want to encourage our young people – especially women – to work hard for the future of Shan State. In the future, there will be women as leaders. We have a long way to go for eternal peace."

Source: <http://www.irrawaddy.org/burma/shan-peace-allusive-despite-ceasefire.html>

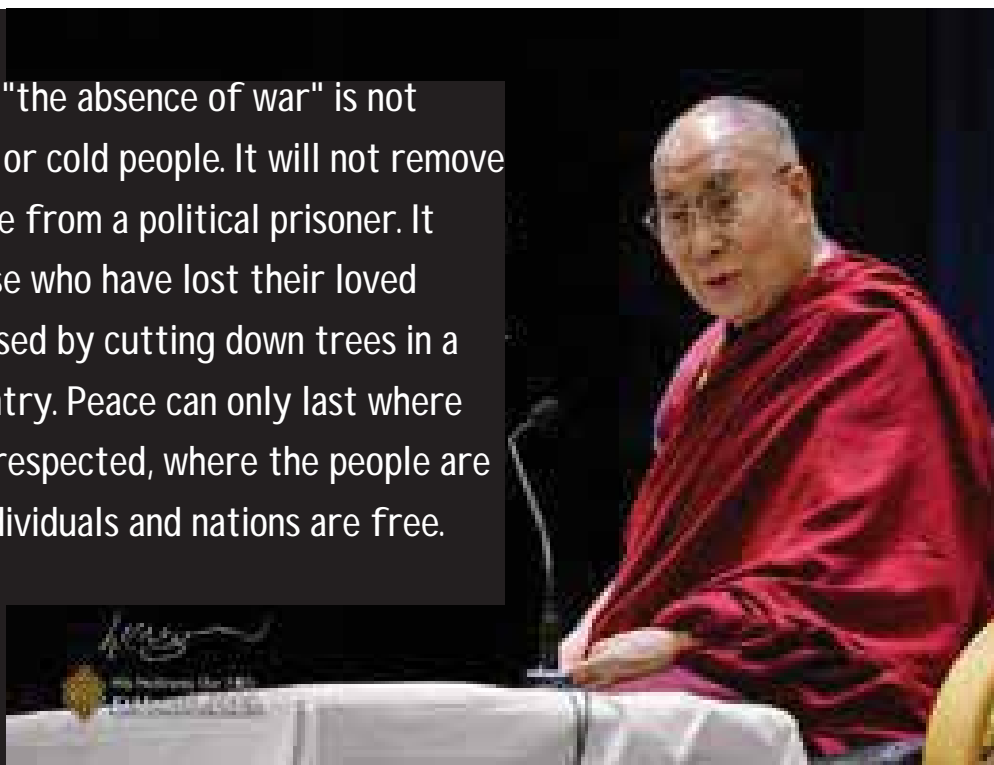
1. Why did the January ceasefire create incomplete peace?
2. Why do ceasefires represent an incomplete peace?

## DISCUSSION

1. Why do you think this kind of peace is called "incomplete"?
2. What things are missing from incomplete peace?
3. Which of these things are missing in Myanmar today?
4. Why is incomplete peace important?

Peace that means "the absence of war" is not helpful to hungry or cold people. It will not remove the pain of torture from a political prisoner. It does not help those who have lost their loved ones in floods caused by cutting down trees in a neighbouring country. Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where the people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free.

- The Dalai Lama



### 1.3 – COMPLETE PEACE AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Complete peace is not only defined by the absence of something negative. It is also defined by the presence of something positive. In complete peace, there is no violence, *and there is justice*. For example, a war ends and it is replaced with healthy relationships and a social system that supports the people's needs.

Complete peace does not mean there are no more conflicts. This is impossible, because conflicts are a fact of life. Complete peace means that conflicts in a society are solved constructively and without violence.

What is the main idea of the text? Choose the best answer.

1. Incomplete peace happens when a war has ended.
2. Social systems should support people's needs.
3. Complete peace means justice and no violence.
4. Complete peace means there are no longer any conflicts

Which of the speakers is talking about complete peace, which is talking about incomplete peace?

**SPEAKER 1:** Justice, equality and freedom are the most important things in life. We do not have them yet.

**SPEAKER 2:** No. The most important thing is peace. I want the fighting to stop and the war to end.

#### PREVIEW

What is the Dalai Lama asking for in addition to the absence of war?

#### EXERCISE

#### EXERCISE



## ACTIVITY

### NEWS FROM THE FUTURE

1. Read the news stories and answer the questions.
  - a. Do these news items show complete peace? Why or why not?
  - b. What needs to change to make these stories real?
  - c. How do you feel when you read these stories?
2. Write your own news item from the future.
3. Answer these questions about your article.
  - a. What needs to change to make these stories real?
  - b. What challenges would people face?
  - c. How could they overcome these challenges?
4. Present your article and ideas to the class.



# Myanmar Future Times

Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> April, 2045

Issue 94

## 1. Maw Lu Meh elected president



■ Maw Lu Meh, yesterday

After winning the elections, Maw Lu Meh will be the third woman to be president of Myanmar. Maw Lu Meh will lead a **coalition** between the USDP and the Myanmar Ecologist Party. After her election victory, she said her government will make sure economic growth does not destroy Myanmar's natural environment and its people's

traditional ways of life. The new president's first official act is to travel to all the states and divisions of Myanmar. She will get opinions and ideas from a diverse range of people. U Hla Tin, Leader of the NLD, congratulated Maw Lu Meh and announced that his party will be a constructive opposition during the next five years.

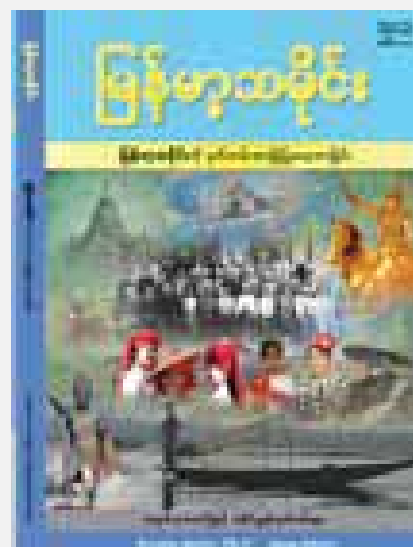
### News in Brief

#### 2. Singing Peace at People's Park

A celebration of the "lasting" peace treaty with ethnic armed groups was organised by the Myanmar government at People's Park, Yangon on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March. Thousands of people from civil society and news media, plus ethnic representatives, members of parliament, religious leaders and students joined the ceremony. Pop singers from different ethnicities worked together to organise the ceremony. Altogether, more than 50,000 people joined together and celebrated the success of the 20-year-old treaty.

#### 3. New History Curriculum

The Ministry of Education has published a new curriculum about Myanmar history for primary and secondary schools. National and international experts on history and education, and representatives of ethnic groups from around Myanmar, were involved in writing it. The Education Minister said that the new curriculum was to make sure that Myanmar students receive the best quality education. He said the new curriculum represents the multi-cultural diversity of Myanmar and is free of bias.



■ Mote Oo Education's "amazing" new history curriculum.

## STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

The absence of war and violence is necessary for peace. However, not only war and violence cause suffering. Extreme poverty, **starvation**, curable disease, discrimination and violations of human rights also harm people. For example, if a child dies because their parents cannot afford the medicine for their treatment, nobody carries out any violence, but a child still suffers and dies.

Peace researchers call this kind of violence *structural violence*, because it is caused by the **social structures** and institutions in society. They also call it *indirect violence*, because it is not directly carried out between people, but has the same results as direct violence.

VIOLENCE	
DIRECT VIOLENCE	INDIRECT/ STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE
<p>ACTOR &gt; VIOLENCE &gt; VICTIM</p> <p>THERE IS A CLEAR ACTOR, AN ACTION, AND A VICTIM</p>	<p>VIOLENCE &gt; VICTIM</p> <p>THERE IS AN ACTION AND A VICTIM, BUT NO CLEAR ACTOR</p>



1



2

One of these pictures shows direct violence, and one shows indirect violence. For each picture, answer the questions.

- Who is the actor(s)?
- What violent act is happening?
- Who is the victim(s)?
- Is it direct or indirect violence?

## EXERCISE

Structural violence is pain and suffering that comes from unjust social, economic, political and cultural systems and institutions. However, not every problem in society is structural violence. We only speak about structural violence if a problem is *avoidable*.

Tuberculosis (TB) is a disease. Two hundred years ago, deaths from TB were unavoidable. There was no medicine for it and it could not be cured or prevented. Now, medicines can stop TB. It is curable and preventable. The deaths of over one million people each year from TB could be prevented if healthcare systems were improved. Today, most deaths from TB can be called structural violence.



Is child labour in tea shops a form of structural violence?

## EXERCISE

Read the examples below. Which are structural violence, which are direct violence and which are not violence? Why?

1. an earthquake
2. a war
3. a girl hitting a dog
4. HIV/AIDS
5. a car accident
6. rape
7. famine

## DISCUSSION

1. How does structural violence affect ethnic minority and religious groups?
2. How does structural violence affect LGBT people?
3. How does structural violence affect disabled people?

## REFLECTION

Are you affected by structural violence? What are some examples of structural violence that affect you?



## 1.4 – COMPLETE PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The thing missing from incomplete peace is social justice. Social justice is not about treating everyone in the same way. It is about making sure that people have equal opportunities and chances, regardless of their gender, ethnic group, sexuality, religion, disability or social status. It ensures that people have a share in the wealth and resources of a society. It makes sure that people's basic needs – shelter, food, education and health care – are met. Social justice ensures that all people have a voice in political decisions that affect their lives. Social justice also involves the protection of rights.

Answer the questions about each photo above.

1. What does the photo show?
2. Where do you think the photo was taken?
3. How does it relate to social justice?

### PREVIEW

What is social justice?

### ACTIVITY

LOOKING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE





## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: MAKING PEACE IN THEIR OWN WORDS

We would like to develop our own language and culture. We want to develop ourselves as other peoples have done. But we cannot get these two things by fighting. Our struggle has not been carried out by a desire for **revenge**. I think we, Karen and Burmese, have to learn to live together. For that, we have to come together and we have to talk to each other. That's why I am involved in this peace process. To me, peace is based on justice. You cannot reach peace without justice. To me, justice means that you have rights that you are entitled to. For us Karen people this means, for example, having the right to decide our own future, to thrive as a people and to learn in our own language.



- Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win, General Secretary of the Karen National Union, 2012

Source: Making Peace in Their Own Words. People of Myanmar's Peace Process.

1. How does Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win describe justice?
2. Do you agree with Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win that peace cannot be reached without justice? Why?
3. Do you agree that there are things that can't be reached by fighting? What things?

## ACTIVITY

### COMPLETE PEACE

1. Imagine a society that has reached complete peace. What are the characteristics of this society? What does it not have?

	Characteristics	Does Not Have
a. Government	government serves the people, fair elections, rule of law	corruption, military/police violence
b. Conflicts		
c. Environment		
d. Relationships		

2. Write short paragraphs about each of the four parts of this peaceful society.

## DISCUSSION

1. Do you believe that it is possible to reach complete peace? Why or why not?
2. When people talk about "peace in Myanmar" Do they mean complete or incomplete peace? Why?





▲ In your community, are there different rules for women and men? Is this fair?

## 1.5 – COMPLETE PEACE AND GENDER EQUALITY

Reaching complete peace means reducing gender-based violence and increasing gender equality. Gender-based violence is a form of direct violence. It is also a result of structural violence. Societies that have a high level of gender inequality also have a high level of gender-based violence. When governments, economic systems and religious beliefs do not support gender equality, gender-based violence is more likely.

Gender is the different cultural expectations and social rules that men and women follow. Equality means that there is equal power between two or more groups. Gender equality means that power is balanced between men and women. Equality between men and women requires more than just having the same opportunities. Equal opportunity does not guarantee that power is balanced. For example, men and women may both have equal opportunity to take part in government as elected officials. However, women face barriers that men do not. These barriers come from:

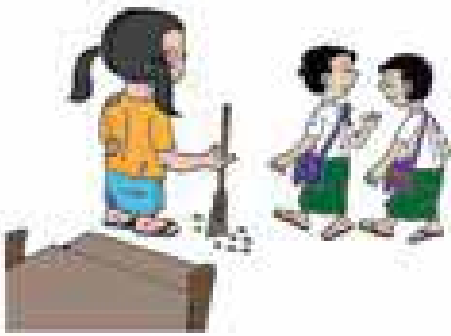
- social expectations such as women being the primary care-takers for children and the elderly;
- cultural and social preferences for men as leaders;
- not recognising the different skills and expertise that women have that make them qualified to take part in decision making.

Having equal opportunities between men and women does not always mean that there is gender equality.

It is impossible to have complete peace in a society when there is gender inequality. Gender inequality is a form of structural violence and often becomes direct violence. The following are examples of gender-based violence:

### PREVIEW

1. What is gender equality?
2. What is the relationship between gender equality and social justice?

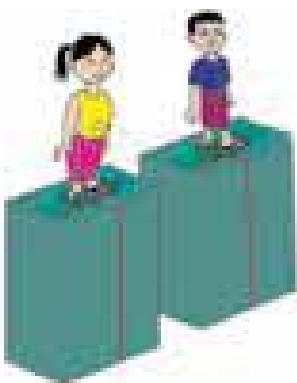


- **DOMESTIC ABUSE.** This is any physical, sexual, emotional or verbal abuse between people living in the same household or family. This abuse is repeated and often uses **intimidation** to control a spouse or other family member.
- **INFANTICIDE, SEX-SELECTIVE ABORTION, SON PREFERENCE.** *Infanticide* is the killing of children – usually girls – for economic, cultural or religious reasons. *Sex-selective abortion* is the abortion of a fetus based on its sex (usually female) before birth. *Son preference* is when parents give more attention or resources to male children than female children.
- **RESTRICTING ACCESS TO FOOD AND EDUCATION BASED ON GENDER.** This is usually done for economic reasons. If a family is unable to afford food or educational fees for all children, girls are often fed less or removed from school.
- **RESTRICTING MOVEMENT OF GIRLS AND WOMEN.** Women are often discouraged or prevented from being outside the home, especially at night because of security concerns. Boys and men are less likely to have restrictions on their movement.
- **MURDER, SEXUAL ASSAULT AND RAPE.** Men are more likely to murder people than women are. Most sexual assaults and rapes are committed by men towards women. However, women often cannot get justice because of cultural and social barriers to reporting and punishing rape. Men may also be victims of sexual assault or rape, by other men or by women.

## EXERCISE

Read the scenarios and classify them as *gender inequality*, *gender-based violence* or *gender equality*.

1. At a university, the female students are locked in their dormitory at 5.30 pm every night. This is “for their protection.”
2. A woman is not promoted in her job when her employer finds out that she is pregnant.
3. Men and women are paid the same wages for the same job.
4. Soldiers kidnap young women from a village where enemy soldiers were hiding.
5. There are the same number of seats reserved for men and women on university degree programmes like medicine and engineering.
6. Land is registered using the head of household’s name. The head of household is almost always a father or male relative.
7. There are no laws or government offices to protect victims of domestic violence.
8. Female students have to do after-school tasks such as cleaning and refilling water pots. Boys do not have to do these tasks.
9. There are equal numbers of men and women in the president’s cabinet.
10. Boys are not disciplined for bad behaviour because “boys will be boys”, but girls are disciplined for the same bad behaviour because it’s “not lady-like”.





## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: BRIDES FOR BACHELORS – LASHIO, SHAN STATE

Lway Mai, an 18-year-old ethnic Ta'ang teenager, and her friend Lway Nway, 16, were held in a hotel room in Muse. They had travelled from their village with a woman who promised them work in China.

At the Muse hotel, they became scared. One of the girls found a way to call her parents. Her parents contacted the Ta'ang Students and Youth Organization (TSYO) and the TSYO helped the girls to get from Muse to Lashio.



Mai Naww Hment of the TSYO thinks that the girls had a lucky escape from traffickers who planned to sell them as brides to bachelors in China. A well-dressed woman arrived in their village and offered them work in China. They thought that if they followed her, they would get good pay.

China's has more males than females. This is made worse by a one-child policy and a traditional preference for male children. This means that millions of Chinese men cannot find wives. Chinese bachelors often pay marriage brokers to do it for them. Some of these brokers trick women and girls from neighbouring countries with false promises of employment in China.

In Mai Naww Hment's own village in Kutkai Township, three women are missing. A local man returned from China and promised work to a group of youths. Six youths followed him to a hotel in Muse. When they arrived he put the boys and girls into different rooms. When the boys woke up the next morning, the man and the girls were gone across the border. That was four months ago and the families still haven't had any contact with their daughters.

The UN Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking estimated that 70% of Myanmar's reported trafficking cases in 2010 involved women and girls being sold as brides to Chinese men. Recent reports from Myanmar's police force estimate an even higher figure, at 80% of all trafficking cases.

Many Ta'ang communities have been attacked by government forces because the Ta'ang National Liberation Army is allied with the Kachin Independence Army. The fighting has destroyed many villages in Kachin and northern Shan States. It has displaced around 100,000 people—mostly women and children—making them vulnerable to forced labour and sex trafficking.

Source: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/specials/women/brides-bachelors.html>

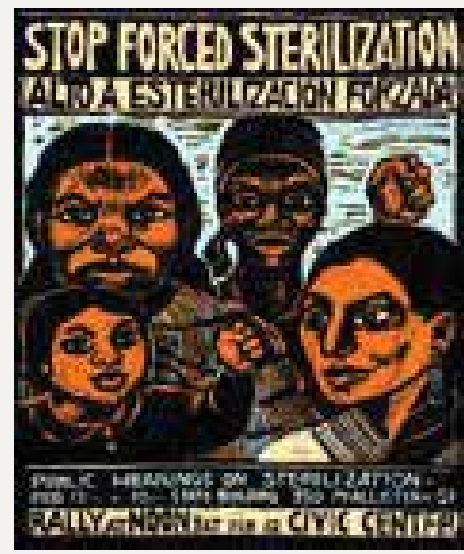
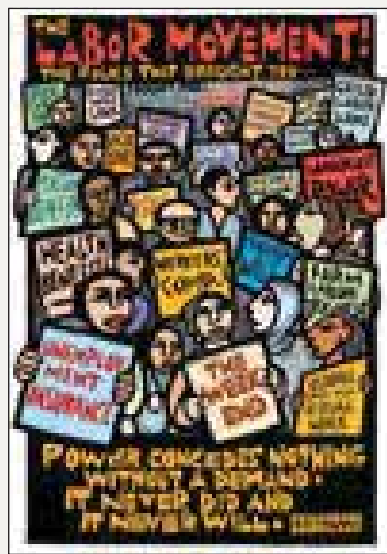
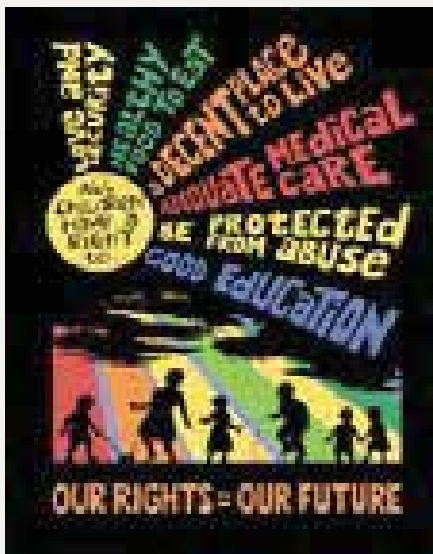
1. Why are women and girls from Myanmar being trafficked into China?
2. What are the reasons why women and girls look for work in China?
3. How has the conflict in Kachin and northern Shan States negatively impacted women and girls living there?

## DISCUSSION

1. How important is gender equality for complete peace?
2. Could increasing gender equality in Myanmar help to solve intrastate and intergroup conflicts?
3. How do men suffer from gender inequality?

## REFLECTION

1. Is direct violence against women or structural violence against women more common in your community?
2. What are people in your community currently doing to reduce structural and direct violence against women?
3. How often do community leaders work on issues of gender violence?



## CONCLUSION

### POSTER

1. In groups, talk about your community. How peaceful is it?
  - Is there social justice? How do you know? How can you see this?
  - Is there evidence of direct violence in this community? If so, what kinds?
  - Is there evidence of structural violence? If so, what kinds?
  - Do you think there is incomplete peace in this community?
  - Do you think there is complete peace?
  - What would need to happen to make this community more peaceful?
2. Make a poster illustrating your ideas, data, and information. Present it to the class.

## CHAPTER 2 – REACHING INCOMPLETE PEACE

### LEARNING GOALS FOR CHAPTER 2

#### KNOWLEDGE

In this chapter, you will increase your knowledge of:

- activities that lead to incomplete peace;
- sanctions;
- military intervention;
- negotiations;
- third parties to a conflict;
- qualities of a mediator;
- organisations involved in peacekeeping;
- monitoring of ceasefires and peace agreements;
- disarmament;
- protective accompaniment.

#### SKILLS

In this chapter, you will develop your ability to:

- distinguish between peacemaking and peacekeeping;
- distinguish between peacemaking by communication and peacemaking by force.

#### VALUES

In this chapter, you will reflect on:

- peacemaking by force vs. peacemaking by communication;
- challenges to ceasefire and peace agreements.



### PREVIEW

What activities are “peacemaking”? Make a list.

## 2.1 – PEACEMAKING

“What is peace?” We have answered this question in two ways:

1. **INCOMPLETE PEACE** is the absence of direct violence.
2. **COMPLETE PEACE** is the absence of violence and the presence of social justice.

“How can we reach peace?”, is the next question. What actions can end violence in or between communities? What actions can bring peace to a society at war? *Peacemaking* is actions which try to end direct violence. *Peacekeeping* is actions that try to prevent direct violence from starting again.

Together, peacemaking and peacekeeping describe a process of change. This leads from conflict and direct violence to incomplete peace. It usually involves the resolution of large-scale conflicts such as intrastate or interstate war.

The goal of peacemaking is to end direct violence between actors. Peacemaking can happen in two ways:

- **THROUGH COMMUNICATION:** It is done by the people who are involved in a conflict themselves.
- **BY FORCE:** (interventions): An intervention is a planned action where a third party steps in.

### EXERCISE

Put the phrases in the correct places in the diagram.

1. peacemaking + peacekeeping
2. large-scale conflict
3. incomplete peace

A. \_\_\_\_\_



B. \_\_\_\_\_



C. \_\_\_\_\_

Read the examples of peacemaking and answer the questions.

- On what level is the conflict happening?
- What peacemaking actions happen?
- Because of the peacemaking effort, what do you think will happen next?

## EXERCISE

**1.** **TWO CHILDREN** are arguing. It **escalates** into a fight. They are screaming and hitting each other, and a lot of people see. An adult becomes involved and uses her authority (and greater strength) to pull them apart.

**2.** **TWO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES** are at war. Many people have been killed. A lot of buildings and crops have been destroyed in both countries. They can see the damage but do not know how to end the conflict. The leader of a third country arranges for the two countries' representatives to meet and discuss peace.

- Imagine a conflict, then think of a peacemaking intervention and a positive result. Use the examples above to help you if necessary.
- In pairs, interview each other and write your partner's answers below.
  - On what level is the conflict happening?
  - What peacemaking actions were taken?
  - Because of the peacemaking effort, what do you think will happen next?

## ACTIVITY

### PEACEMAKING INTERVENTION



**Peace Team International**

*Resolving Conflicts, World-wide*

info@peaceteamint.org

Description of Conflict and Intervention in: =====

Level of Conflict:

Conflict Actors:

Description of Conflict:

Intervention (who/what happened):

Result:

## ACTIVITY

### WAR AND PEACE STATUES

1. In groups, use your bodies to make a statue that represents war.
2. Look at each other's statues. Choose one statue to continue.
3. As a class, change this statue into a statue that represents peace.
4. As a class, discuss the questions.
  - a. How did you change from a "war" statue to a "peace" one?
  - b. What can we learn about war and peace from this activity?



### FOCUS ON MYANMAR: PEACE, HOPE, OPTIMISM: INGREDIENTS FOR PEACE

By Aung Naing Oo, the associate director of Peace Dialogue Program at the Myanmar Peace Centre.

People who are not familiar with how a peace process works might not understand the role that hope and a positive attitude play in securing peace. These are very important.

Peacemakers know they must have certain qualities – being tough, having stamina, tolerance, an ability to listen to **grievances** and an understanding of how peace processes work. However, peacemaking cannot work without hope or a positive attitude.

Without hope, the peace process would not have happened in Myanmar. Without a positive attitude, the peace process would have long ago failed. Without hope and optimism, the alternative could only be continuing conflict.

A positive attitude about all things in peace and conflict is necessary for all peacemakers. So the rule is very simple: if a peacemaker is pessimistic about the chance of securing peace – no matter how small that chance may be – or is not hopeful, he or she should not be the one who is trying to make peace.

Source: <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/opinion/13824-peace-hope-optimism-ingredients-for-peace.html>



1. Which qualities of a peacemaker are mentioned in the article?
2. According to Aung Naing Oo, which of these qualities are most important for a peacemaker?
3. What does Aung Naing Oo's statement tell us about the peace process?

## DISCUSSION

1. Why might some individuals and groups refuse to make peace?
2. Why might a third party want to make peace between two actors?





▲ What is the difference between the two pictures showing negotiations?

## 2.2 – PEACEMAKING THROUGH COMMUNICATION

In large-scale conflicts, communication-based peacemaking is done through negotiation. An agreement between parties will include a commitment to stop fighting. The agreement can also deal with other issues related to the conflict, and the future relations between the opposing groups.

Negotiations can take place at the **elite** level or at the grassroots level. In elite-level negotiations, the negotiators are the leaders or representatives of the groups who are fighting. Often, a third party, such as a country or a big organisation, facilitates the negotiations. These talks are usually closed to the public. In the end – if negotiations are successful – a peace agreement is signed.

Grassroots-level negotiations are often started by local people. They include representatives from the main actors in the conflict, and also from communities affected by the conflict. In grassroots-level negotiations, talks are held between the many groups involved, not just between leaders.

Draw a Venn diagram. What do elite and grassroots negotiations have in common? How do they differ?

### PREVIEW

1. In pairs, stand four or five steps away from each other. Then move forward and backwards until you find a distance that is comfortable for both of you. You are not allowed to talk.
2. Answer the questions.
  - a. How were you communicating during this activity?
  - b. What were you communicating about?
  - c. How is this activity similar to real life negotiations?

### EXERCISE

## ACTIVITY

### NEGOTIATION IN NEPAL

#### Questions For Journalists

1. Why do you think negotiation was successful in this case?
  2. Which do you think is the most interesting or most important point in Nepal's peace agreement? Why?
  3. Which points in the agreement will be the most difficult to follow? Why?
1. Look at the pictures from Nepal. What is happening?
  2. Read the case study. What type of negotiations did Nepal have?
  3. Form two groups. Half of the class are journalists writing an article about the peace process in Nepal. The other half are citizens of Nepal. Citizens each take one of these roles:
    - a. a member of the Maoist Party;
    - b. a farmer living in the area where there is fighting;
    - c. a member of the Nepalese government.
  4. Journalists, read the questions in the box (left) about the Nepalese peace process. Think of one other question about it. Interview two different people and write down their answers.
  5. Swap roles. Citizens, become journalists. Journalists, take one of the three citizens' roles. Repeat the activity.

### PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN NEPAL



The best outcome is when negotiations lead to a formal peace agreement. This is what happened in Nepal.

A civil war started in Nepal in 1996. It was fought between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (the Maoists). The Maoists wanted to change the system of government and end the monarchy. The war lasted for ten years and 15,000 people were killed. In 2006, the government and the Maoists signed a peace accord, which formally ended the civil war.

After negotiations, the *Comprehensive Peace Accord* was signed by leaders on both sides. The participants agreed to the following points:

- To stop attacks and violent activities on both sides;
- To stop recruiting new soldiers into both armies;
- To put limits on transporting weapons, bullets and bombs;
- To establish the National Peace and Rehabilitation Commission;
- To respect human rights laws;
- To end the political power of the Nepalese king;
- To end the Maoists' separate governments throughout the country;
- To return and support people displaced by the civil war;
- To end high-level corruption.

1. Look at the pictures from Kenya. What is happening?
2. Read the case study. What type of negotiations did Wajir have?
3. Form three groups and take one of these topics each.
  - a. **The Formation of the Women's Peace Group:** How do you think the women came together from different groups? How did they negotiate together? What do you think they said to each other? What did they decide to do?
  - b. **The WPG's First Meeting with the Elders:** How do you think the WPG negotiated with the elders? What challenges did they face? What progress did they make?
  - c. **The Ceasefire Negotiations:** How did the elders from warring tribes negotiate a ceasefire and a code of conduct? What do you think it said?

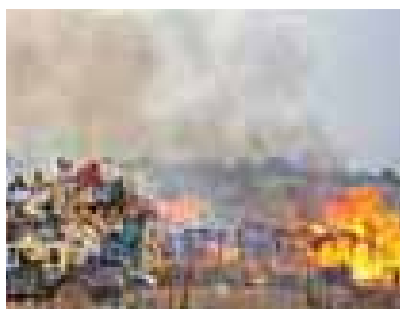
Prepare a short drama about the topic. Make sure that your scene shows the challenges and successes at each step.

4. Perform it for the class.

## ACTIVITY

### NEGOTIATION IN KENYA

#### COMMUNITY-DRIVEN NEGOTIATIONS IN KENYA



In Wajir, in northeastern Kenya, a group of local women led efforts for peacemaking through communication. Wajir's people are nomadic tribes who move from place to place with their cattle. There is little water in this area. From 1991-1992, there was a drought and local people lost 80% of their cattle.

In 1992, following elections, the three largest groups in Wajir started to fight each other. There was a lot of crime, and people were raped and murdered. Within a year, most of Wajir was unsafe. In addition, refugees and armed groups from the neighbouring countries of Ethiopia and Somalia were fleeing to Wajir from conflicts in their homelands.

In this challenging situation, a group of women founded the Wajir Peace Group (WPG). Members of WPG had to commit to work for peace together, even if their own tribes attacked each other. Their first activity was a meeting with elders from the tribes. The WPG convinced the elders to form a common committee to discuss Wajir's problems.

After several meetings, the elders arranged a ceasefire and everyone promised to stop stealing each other's cattle. The elders also signed a code of conduct on how to treat each other. This stopped the violence and acted as a guideline for a return to peace.

The women also convinced young people to form the Youth for Peace group. That group created social activities to prevent young people from getting involved in violence and crime.

In the end, women, elders, youth, businesspeople, religious leaders and representatives of NGOs and government met to negotiate peace and prevent further escalation of conflict.

## ACTIVITY

### NEGOTIATION IN MYANMAR

1. In groups, choose an armed conflict in Myanmar that you are familiar with, then draw a conflict map. Decide:
  - Who should participate in negotiations at elite level?
  - Who should participate in negotiations at grassroots level?
2. Present your ideas to the class.

## CHALLENGES TO COMMUNICATIVE PEACEMAKING

Negotiations to end a violent conflict are never simple. Opponents often refuse to discuss issues. They believe that they can win through fighting instead of through talking. In these cases, negotiation only starts when both sides realise that they cannot get what they want through fighting. A situation when neither side can win is called a **stalemate**. It sometimes takes many years – and many lives – for opponents to realise they are in a stalemate. One example of this is the Korean War of 1950 – 1953.

Negotiations that follow a stalemate are often competitive. The actors still have a win-or-lose **mentality**. They try to defeat each other using words instead of weapons. This can result in a return to violence. Negotiations become constructive when the actors learn to see each other as partners with different interests. In this case they will negotiate to find a solution that meets both their needs.

Another obstacle to negotiations is the pain that actors feel. This makes it difficult for people to talk to each other. This is often the case in civil wars or **communal** violence. People might be unable to talk to the actor that they blame for their pain. The negotiators have probably also suffered losses themselves.

## THE KOREAN WAR: STALEMATE

### IN THE 1950s, North and South Korea Fought a War:



## DISCUSSION

1. Do ceasefire or peace negotiations in Myanmar take place at the elite or at the grassroots level?
2. What are the biggest challenges to communicative peacemaking?



## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: ON SITTING AT THE NEGOTIATION TABLE

### People involved in Myanmar's peace process, in their own words.

a. "Not everybody is ready to compromise. Sometimes I think, 'Now I am talking to the enemy. We are sitting and having lunch together'. But I also think, 'This is strange.' Even if we can create a personal relationship between two enemies, there are many words we have to chew. It is very clear that we have to compromise with each other."

- U Than Khe, Chairperson of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front

b. "I have been asking myself 'Where are you, Kyaw Thu? Before [the peace process] it was clear that you did not like the government and military. But now, as you become more involved in the peace processes, you need to change. Being against the military government is a strong identity; when you start engaging, you feel that you are losing part of your identity. But that is what you need to do. You need to engage with those you might disagree with. Without engaging, you can't move forward."

- Saya Kyaw Thu, Director of Paung Khu Consortium

c. "In negotiations, when you know that what the other side is saying is not fair, it is very hard to listen. But we should overcome these feelings and respond to them with other opinions."

- Nai Hong Sar, Vice-Chair of the New Mon State Party and Vice-Chair of the United Nationalities Federal Council

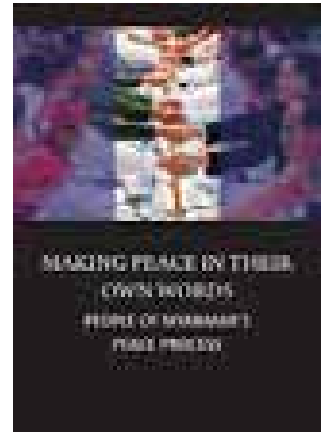
d. "When I engage with the Generals, my own people look at me with suspicion; it is not a comfortable position for me. It is not easy, but I still think I need to do it. Talking to them is not easy. That is why sometimes I prefer writing. And then some people also accuse me of revealing our strategies in my articles. What they don't understand is that I want them to know our strategy. We are not engaging in a **zero-sum game**. We are trying to find a win-win solution. We want them to adopt our strategies and our policies. So they need to know them! I am glad that we are starting a kind of **transition** and dialogue. It is not easy and has a long way to go. But it is still easier than fighting on the battlefield. After all, talking is better than killing."

- Dr. Lian Hmung Sakhong, Executive Director of the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies

e. "If your role is technical support to the armed group leaders, you need lots of patience. If someone has ego, that is a major block. That is why I am happy to be a supporter. I don't need to have ego. The process is tough, but we do what we can do. The toughest is trying to suggest something without stepping on their toes. They are the main key stakeholders, we are the supporters. Balancing when to say, what to say, how to say... that is the main challenge for me."

- Lahtaw Ja Nan, Director of the Nyein/Shalom Foundation

Source: Making Peace in Their Own Words. People of Myanmar's Peace Process. The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS), 2015



1. What challenges to negotiations do these people mention?
2. What reasons (if any) do they give for carrying on with the negotiations despite the challenges?



## SUPPORTING COMMUNICATIVE PEACEMAKING

Because negotiations are difficult, they are sometimes supported by other actors. A mediator is a person who helps participants in a conflict to reach an agreement (“**mediates**”). Mediators are neutral – they do not choose sides and do not prefer one actor over another. Mediators do not offer solutions or decide who is right or wrong. They help conflict actors to better understand each other’s needs and interests.

Often representatives of other governments, or international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), act as a mediator. This is common in larger national and international conflicts.

- In Burundi, East Africa, a team of 18 African and European government representatives mediated the negotiations to end the civil war.
- In Sri Lanka, the Norwegian government was involved in 2002 peace talks between the Sinhalese Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

However, there is no guarantee that negotiation will be successful. In Sri Lanka, the peace talks failed. The civil war continued for another seven years. The LTTE was finally defeated by the Sri Lankan army.

## ACTIVITY

### DESIGN A MEDIATOR

1. Think about an interpersonal conflict that you know well, or are an actor in. Who could act as mediator in this conflict?
2. What personal or professional qualities should this mediator have? Choose five qualities.

**Example:** A mediator should be trusted by all actors.

3. Make a class list of the qualities and skills of a mediator for an interpersonal conflict.
4. Think about a communal or intrastate conflict in Myanmar. Who needs to participate in negotiations to end this conflict? What extra qualities and skills should a mediator have? Make a class list.
5. Can you think of a good mediator for this conflict? List people with the right qualities to make good mediators in this conflict.

## REFLECTION

1. In your community, are there certain people who help resolve conflicts? Who are they? Why do they have this role?
2. Have you ever tried to mediate a conflict between other people? What happened?
3. Think about your own life. Is there a person or a group who you feel unable to talk to? It can be someone who you know or someone who you don’t know.
4. What needs to happen for you to be able to talk or to listen to that person?





▲ Do these pictures say anything about gender equality in the Myanmar peace process?

## 2.3 – GENDER EQUALITY IN THE PEACE PROCESS

Peace negotiations usually involve the leaders of the groups who are in conflict. These are usually men. Very few women are included in peace negotiations, or as part of the groups who sign peace agreements.

Peace negotiations often include decisions about the future political, economic, and social structures of a country. Conflict destroys hospitals, schools, roads, markets and homes. Conflict also destroys the structures and institutions that organise everyday life, like economies and governments. Men and women are both negatively impacted when these are destroyed. If women are excluded from discussions about rebuilding their community, they are even more negatively impacted. They lose the opportunity to ensure that they are treated equally in future governments, economies and society. Peace agreements that do not include women in the negotiations are less likely to be **sustainable**.

After Myanmar's Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement was signed in 2015, a Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee was formed. This

### PREVIEW

1. Are women usually included in peace negotiations? Why or why not?
2. Should peace negotiations include the same number of men and women? Why or why not?

committee is responsible for designing the political negotiations and discussions that are necessary in order to have a peace agreement. There are forty-eight members on this committee and three are women. Although the committee's recommendations were that 30% should be women, there are only approximately 6% women on the committee.

## ACTIVITY

### AGREE OR DISAGREE?

1. Read the statements below. Do you agree or disagree with them?
  - a. "Women are not involved in fighting, so they should not be involved in peacemaking."
  - b. "Women do not need to be included. Peace agreements respect human rights and human rights are for everyone."
  - c. "Promoting women's participation will push away male leaders and then peace will be at risk."
  - d. "It is normal in the local culture to leave women out. Peace negotiations are not the place to challenge local culture."
2. Choose one statement that you disagree with. Write an argument against it.
3. As a class, discuss the statements and the arguments against them.

## DISCUSSION

1. What prevents women from participating in a peace negotiation or peace talks?
2. Are women "natural" peacemakers? Why or why not?

### UNSCR 1325 AND THE FOUR PILLARS

Violent conflict affects both men and women. However, women are affected in ways that men are not. Violent conflict often kills more civilians than soldiers. Civilians affected by conflicts are often women and children. Also, after conflict has ended, women are often not able to participate in peace negotiations or in rebuilding their communities.

In the year 2000, the UN passed *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* (UNSCR 1325). UNSCR 1325 addresses the impact of war on women, and women's roles at the end of violent conflict.

In 2009, the UN established four pillars to measure how UNSCR 1325 is being implemented. These four pillars are:



- **PARTICIPATION:** Peace negotiations must consider the unique impacts of armed conflict on women and girls. Women must be included in negotiations and peace talks at all levels of decision making. Women's peace initiatives must also be supported.



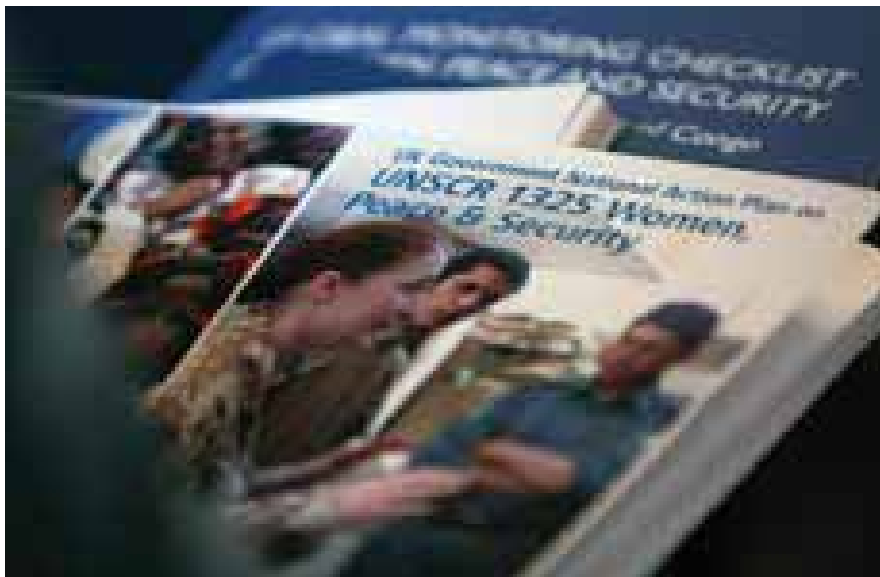
- **PROTECTION:** Female refugees and **internally displaced persons** have specific needs. Peacekeepers and refugee camp security have a duty to prevent violence against women and girls, and to not commit violent acts themselves.



- **PREVENTION:** Actors must prevent violations of women's rights in armed conflict. This includes prevention of gender-based and sexual violence, and bringing those who commit these crimes to justice.
- **RELIEF AND RECOVERY:** The unique needs of women and girls after a violent conflict must be considered when doing **disarmament**, **demobilisation**, and reintegration (DDR, see page 51), and other peacekeeping or peacebuilding activities.



UNSCR 1325 helps women and girls advocate for protection of their human rights, and for their right to have a voice in peace negotiations. Governments, non-governmental organisations, activists and many others have used the resolution to raise awareness about the importance of women's voices in making and keeping peace.



Label the following actions as *participation*, *prevention*, *protection*, and *relief and recovery*.

1. \_\_\_\_ Refugee camps have toilets that are well lit and accessible at all times of day and night. The paths to the toilets are also well lit.
2. \_\_\_\_ Soldiers are prohibited from using rape as a weapon of war. Soldiers caught breaking this law are punished by their commanders and immediately removed from duty.
3. \_\_\_\_ Women who have experienced sexual violence during a conflict are provided with healthcare and economic opportunities in order to rebuild their lives.
4. \_\_\_\_ There is a **quota** of 40% women participants in all peace negotiations.

## EXERCISE

## EXERCISE

Read the table and answer the questions.

1. Which country had the highest percentage of women participate in a peace process?
2. How many countries had peace processes after UNSCR 1325 was passed?
3. Did any of these processes have equal participation by women?

Country	Year	Women Signatories, %	Women Mediators, %	Women Witnesses, %	Women in Negotiating Teams, %
El Salvador	1992	12	0	0	13
Croatia	1995	0	0	0	11
Bosnia	1995	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	1996	11	0	-	10
Northern Ireland	1998	10	0	-	10
Kosovo	1999	0	0	0	3
Sierra Leone	1999	0	0	20	0
Burundi	2000	0	0	-	2
Papua New Guinea	2001	7	0	-	4
Macedonia	2001	0	0	0	4
Afghanistan	2001	9	0	-	9
Somalia	2002	0	0	0	-
Cote d'Ivoire	2003	0	0	0	-
Dem. Rep. Congo	2003	5	0	0	12
Liberia	2003	0	0	17	-
Sudan	2005	0	0	9	-
Darfur	2006	0	0	7	8
Nepal	2006	0	-	0	0
The Philippines	2007	0	0	-	-
Uganda	2008	0	0	20	9
Kenya	2008	0	33	0	25
Averages		2.6%	1.7%	4.9%	7.5%

## ACTIVITY

### ARE WOMEN BEING HEARD?

1. Fourteen male students and one female student\* sit in the centre of the room and discuss the question:

**What five things must the Myanmar Government, Myanmar military and the ethnic armed groups do in order to have sustainable peace?**

2. Two students are time keepers. One student times how much the men speak, and one student times how much the woman speaks. Only one person is allowed to speak at a time.
3. Other students observe and take notes.

\* This ratio represents the number of men to women on the Union Political Dialogue Joint Committee.



## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: QUOTA NO GUARANTEE FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

In January 2016, the First Union Peace Conference approved a four-point proposal. The third point was, "To enable at least 30% participation by women in negotiations about the nationwide ceasefire agreement". However, women who attended the five-day conference say it is too soon to celebrate.

Khin Ma Ma Myo is the founder of the Myanmar Institute for Peace and Security Studies. She said she spoke at the conference for 15 minutes in three discussions. However, her words were not recorded in the meeting minutes. She had to take the computers from the facilitators and type them in herself.



Thin Thin Aung is from the Women's League of Burma. She criticized a male facilitator for weakening points made by female speakers. Others said some male participants addressed younger female attendees as "girl".

Thandar Oo is from a Shan civil society group. She said that female leaders or activists have often been invited to attend a meeting with hardly any time to prepare. "We can't just put on a jacket and go. We have to arrange things for home and the family first. Then we are told, 'Well, we invited you but you didn't come.'"

Naw May Oo Mutraw was a spokesperson for the Karen National Union (KNU) delegation during peace negotiations in 2012. She said that she faced a childcare problem because she has a two-and-half-year-old son. She said that women's low social and economic status in Myanmar means that there is a lack of support for them to participate and take leadership roles in the peace process.

Myanmar's civil wars have displaced hundreds of thousands of people over the years. Many of those displaced are women struggling to support their families. Sexual abuses have often been committed against ethnic women in conflict areas.

If the 30% female quota is to have real meaning, there need to be **gender-sensitive** policies and procedures. They need to support women while they participate in the peace process.

Gender-sensitive policies could include providing childcare support for mothers attending peace negotiations and encouraging more women to participate. Myanmar could also follow the international conventions and agreements on women's rights, peace and security that it has signed.

Source: <http://www.myanmar-now.org/news/i/?id=09b86529-94a1-4620-9f4b-57de3a8b76b8&com.dotmarketing.htmlpage.language=1>

1. According to the text, what challenges do the women involved in Myanmar's peace process face?
2. What obligations would UNSCR 1325 put on Myanmar?
3. Do you think these obligations would help the women mentioned in the text overcome the challenges that they face?
4. What other ways could women become involved in the peace process?

## DISCUSSION

1. If women are not part of negotiating a peace agreement, is it possible to include their concerns and needs?
2. What are the benefits of including women in peace negotiations and talks?



## REFLECTION

1. What peacemaking and peacekeeping skills do you see women using on a daily basis?
2. What prevents women in your community from participating in decision making in local government or local peace processes?



Boycott-Divestment-Sanctions (BDS) is part of a worldwide protest movement. It wants Israel to change its policies and actions towards Palestinians, and to leave the Palestinian land that it illegally occupies. It encourages people to boycott Israeli products and supporters of Israel. It also calls for sanctions against Israel.

## 2.4 – PEACEMAKING BY FORCE

Communicative peacemaking can be done by the actors in a conflict. Peace enforcing, however, can only be done by a third party which is more powerful than the actors in the conflict.

This kind of peacemaking is done against the will of at least one of the actors. The third party does not stay neutral like a mediator. Instead, the third party uses its power to put pressure on one of the actors to end the conflict. In international politics, these third parties include organisations like the United Nations, or countries like the United States, China or Russia.

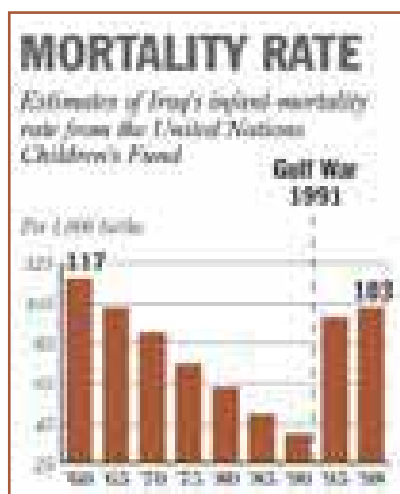
Are the statements true or false? If false, correct the statement.

1. All actors in a conflict have to agree before peace enforcing takes place.
2. A nation that wants to enforce peace needs to be more powerful than the actors in a conflict.
3. A nation that wants to enforce peace in a conflict needs to be neutral.

### PREVIEW

What institutions can force peace in interpersonal or intergroup conflicts?

### EXERCISE



After the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, the USA imposed economic sanctions. Critics of the sanctions argued that they killed many children because of lack of access to food, medicine and other goods. UNICEF estimated that 500,000 children died from sanctions and the effects of the war. In 1996, the US ambassador to the UN argued that the number of deaths was acceptable because of Iraq's behaviour. Some sanctions were lifted after the USA invaded Iraq in 2003.

**Above:** This chart shows the numbers of deaths of children both before and after the Gulf War and sanctions.

**Below left:** An Iraqi child suffering malnutrition in 1998. **Below right:** Anti-sanctions protests in the USA.

## SANCTIONS AND EMBARGOES

Sanctions are one way of peace enforcing. Sanctions are rules or restrictions. They are imposed on a government by outside countries. They are a way to force a government to do something, such as to end violent conflict or war.

Sanctions are usually diplomatic or economic. Under diplomatic sanctions, other countries stop having a relationship with a government. They close their embassies there and do not allow members of that government to visit their countries.

Under economic sanctions, other countries refuse to trade and exchange goods with a country. Sometimes economic sanctions involve a ban on specific goods. This is called an **embargo**. For example, a ban on selling arms to a country is an arms embargo. Arms embargoes try to reduce armed violence in a country.

Sanctions and embargoes can target the income of a country. Other countries might try to stop that country from making money so it cannot spend more on the conflict. If a country makes money from selling natural resources, other countries (or the UN) might force an embargo on those resources (such as timber, gems or oil).

However, sanctions can create problems. Opponents of economic sanctions argue that they affect the country's people more than the government or military. A government affected by economic sanctions might reduce spending on health or education rather than on the military. In this case, sanctions could worsen living conditions for the people in that country.



## EXERCISE

Give more information about these statements.

- Sanctions are enforced by outside countries.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Diplomatic sanctions target the country's relations with other governments.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- An embargo is a sanction against a specific resource.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Sanctions can affect the population of a country as well as the leaders.  
\_\_\_\_\_



## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: SANCTIONS ISSUE STILL DIVIDES OPINION IN MYANMAR

YANGON, Sep. 20, 2012 – Aung San Suu Kyi supported removing economic sanctions against Myanmar during a speech in America on Tuesday. The issue of sanctions still divides politicians and activists.

Dr. Aye Maung, Chairman of the Rakhine Nationalities Development Party, says that, "Economic sanctions hurt people living in remote and ethnic areas. I welcome the easing of sanctions on Myanmar."



He says that the country cannot only use one tool – such as sanctions – to work for political change. Society should not only blame the government for the lack of peace. "There are groups who want to destroy peace and that is why ceasefire negotiations are not always successful. Under sanctions it might be difficult to work for peace. Therefore, we need to support the peace process from the government in order to reach that goal."

Nai Hang Thar is the Secretary of the United Nationalities Federal Council and New Mon State Party. He argues that it is not yet the right time to remove sanctions. But they should perhaps be reduced to encourage further political reform.

"Aung San Suu Kyi is in Parliament and she may think there is political change towards democracy. Our ethnic groups want to build real peace. However, nothing successful has yet been reached. This is why we want sanctions to remain. They help push for political change to have real peace with ethnic groups and change the old system."

Nai Hang Thar said that real peace will be impossible until there is real political dialogue between the government and Myanmar's ethnic groups. "The government is using its armed forces to fight the Kachin people. This is why we believe the government does not wish to have real political change."

Source: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/sanctions-issue-still-divides-opinion-in-burma.html>

1. What reasons does Aye Maung give for stopping the sanctions?
2. What reasons does Nai Hang Thar give for continuing the sanctions?



## ACTIVITY

### SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

1. Answer the questions.
2. Turn to page 48 to check your answers.

[www.sanctionsintheworld.org/myanmar](http://www.sanctionsintheworld.org/myanmar)

# Myanmar Sanctions Quiz

1. When did sanctions against Myanmar start?
 

a. 1975                      b. 1988                      c. 2000                      d. 2007
2. Which of these countries have applied sanctions against Myanmar? Circle all that apply.
 

a. The EU                      c. ASEAN                      e. Australia                      g. China  
 b. The USA                      d. Canada                      f. New Zealand                      h. Russia
3. What kinds of sanctions were applied? Circle all that apply.
 

a. Diplomatic sanctions: Travel restrictions were placed on members of the government                      e. An embargo on humanitarian aid  
 b. An arms embargo                      f. Diplomatic sanctions: Countries closed their embassies in Myanmar  
 c. Economic sanctions on trade                      g. Diplomatic sanctions: Myanmar was excluded from the United Nations  
 d. Financial sanctions
4. When did the US end economic sanctions?
 

a. 2012                      b. 2015                      c. 2016                      d. 2017

## ACTIVITY

### DEBATE

**Myanmar's military government started the reform process because of sanctions.**

1. Decide whether you want to argue for or against the statement. Form groups for and against the statement.
2. Choose three debaters to present your groups' arguments, and as a group, prepare these arguments.
3. Hold the debate.
4. As a class, vote on which side presented the best arguments.

## BOYCOTT

Governments or states are not the only parties who can put pressure on an actor in a conflict. A boycott is when people from another country stop cooperation with a conflict actor. It is similar to an embargo. However, a boycott is not a government policy. Boycotts are organised by private citizens or non-governmental organisations. They may be used to change the behaviour of a person, a business, a group or a government.

## MILITARY INTERVENTION

The use of outside militaries to enforce peace is controversial. Supporters say that it is the responsibility of other countries to send soldiers if a population is suffering from serious human rights violations. This might happen, for example, during a **genocide** – when one group tries to kill all people of a religious or ethnic group and erase their culture.

People who do not support military intervention say that it creates more violence. They also claim that outside countries do not become involved in a conflict to stop human rights abuses. Instead, they say, countries do this to support their own economic or political interests.

These pictures are from boycotts around the world.

1. What are the people boycotting?
2. Why are they boycotting it?
3. Who is the target of the boycott?

## EXERCISE



B



C

## EXERCISE



a. boycott



b. economic sanctions / embargoes



c. diplomatic sanctions



d. arms embargo



e. military intervention

Read the examples. Match the method of peace enforcement and the example.

1. \_\_\_\_ In 1977, the United Nations agreed not to sell guns, submarine or military aircraft to South Africa because of South Africa's policies of racial discrimination.
2. \_\_\_\_ In 2013, the United Nations enforced travel restrictions on members of the North Korean government. They are not allowed to enter most countries.
3. \_\_\_\_ In 1990, Iraq invaded the neighbouring country of Kuwait. The United Nations Security Council condemned the invasion and a US-led group of countries attacked Iraq and forced it to withdraw from Kuwait.
4. \_\_\_\_ In 1960, a group of Filipino workers in the US went on strike. They worked on grape farms and were paid very low wages. The United Farm Workers asked Americans to stop buying the grapes grown on those farms until these workers had better conditions.
5. \_\_\_\_ From 1979 to 2015, the US tried to stop countries buying oil and gas from Iran. They said that they wanted to prevent Iran from making a nuclear bomb.

## ACTIVITY

### CHOOSE AN OPINION

1. Read the statements. For each, choose the response closest to your own opinion. Explain your answer.

strongly agree   agree   disagree   strongly disagree

- i. Sometimes third parties have to enforce peace.
  - ii. An arms embargo against a country will decrease the violence there.
  - iii. Economic sanctions hurt the citizens of a country.
  - iv. Boycotts can force a country or organisation to change.
  - v. Powerful countries have a responsibility to intervene militarily to prevent human rights violations.
  - vi. Military interventions are helpful in bringing about peace.
2. In pairs or groups, explain your opinions.

## DISCUSSION

1. What is better, peacemaking by force or peacemaking through communication?
2. What would happen if foreign countries such as China or the US invaded Myanmar in order to make peace?

Sanctions Quiz Answers  
1. b; 2. a, b, d, e, f; 3. a, b, c, d; 4. c



## 2.5 – PEACEKEEPING

Peacemaking aims to stop the violence in a conflict. Successful peacemaking results in a peace agreement between the fighting actors. However, even with a peace agreement, violence might start again and destroy the peace process. The aim of peacekeeping is to maintain security and to stop violence from starting again.

Peacekeeping activities are carried out by soldiers, police officers and civilians. The United Nations is often involved in peacekeeping operations. Since 1948, the UN has undertaken over 70 peacekeeping operations all over the world. All UN peacekeeping missions must be approved by the UN Security Council.

Part of many peacekeeping activities is the protection of civilian populations from direct physical violence. This may be the role of UN peacekeepers or of other organisations. For example, Peace Brigades International (PBI) sends volunteers to conflict areas. These volunteers are unarmed. They live with local activists and walk with them when they go out. This protects activists from attacks and makes it possible for them to carry out their work.

Member countries of the UN send soldiers from their own militaries to serve on peacekeeping missions. Their job is not to enforce peace with their weapons. They observe that both parties do not break their agreement. This activity is called *ceasefire monitoring*. For example, UN peacekeeping soldiers observe the India-Pakistan border region in Kashmir. They report violations of the ceasefire agreement between India and Pakistan. This stops small clashes from growing into another war.

Ceasefire monitoring can involve international armed forces and organisations, local organisations and/or community members.

UN peacekeeping soldiers always wear blue helmets (see picture, top-right). Why do they do this?

### PREVIEW

1. What are some possible threats to a peace agreement?
2. Why might opponents break a ceasefire?

### EXERCISE



## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: MONITORING THE PEACE PROCESS

In Myanmar, local NGOs like the Shalom Foundation and Gender Development Institute (GDI) observe ceasefire agreements between the government and ethnic armed groups.

GDI monitors, reports and documents cases of direct violence against civilians due to the armed conflict(s) in Myanmar. Violence against civilians includes rape, murder and forced recruitment by government forces or ethnic armed groups.

**Kachin State:** A farmer was arrested after a bomb exploded near his farm. The army suspected he was involved with the explosion and took him to their camp. The village administrator went to ask about him but was not given any information. When the local monitors were informed they contacted the field officer of GDI, and asked a Union and Solidarity Development Party (USDP) member to accompany them to the army camp. When they reached the army camp and asked again about the farmer, he was released and could return home.

**Kayin State:** Monitors heard that an armed group was forcing civilians to be porters for them. The monitors tried to find out more information: when it happened, in which villages and how many people were recruited. Eventually they found out that the rumours were false and told people to ignore them.

**Kachin State:** When fighting broke out in a village, local monitors talked with leaders of both armies. The monitors convinced the leaders to move their troops to other areas, away from civilians. The troops on each side agreed to leave the village.

**Chin State:** Fighting between government troops and an ethnic armed group displaced many villagers. Local monitors helped record the numbers of displaced people and where they were. The displaced villagers then received initial emergency food and aid.

Source: Gender Development Institute



1. What problems are reported in the text?
2. How did the monitors react?

## DISCUSSION

1. What skills does a monitor need?
2. What resources are useful for a monitor?

## REFLECTION

1. Do you know someone who is working as a monitor?
2. Would you work as a monitor?

## DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILISATION AND REINTEGRATION (DDR)

Armed or unarmed peacekeepers are also involved in helping armed groups transition from war to peace. Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) is a three-step process. DDR reduces the size of fighting groups in a society recovering from armed conflict. This process can only take place after the fighting parties have agreed to make peace.

**DISARMAMENT** is the first step. It is the collection and documentation of weapons used in a war. These weapons are then disposed of. Usually the country will make a plan to manage and control weapons in the future.

**DEMOBILISATION** is the second step. It is the process of releasing soldiers from armed groups. It usually happens in special centres, which are set up for this purpose.

**REINTEGRATION** is the third step. This is the process of helping former soldiers to become civilians again so they can rejoin society. To do this, they need sustainable employment and income.



Which photo shows *disarmament*, which shows *demobilisation*, and which shows *reintegration*?

## EXERCISE

1. Where in Myanmar could a DDR process be helpful?
2. What would be the challenges of a DDR programme in Myanmar?
3. What could be done to avoid or overcome these challenges?

## DISCUSSION



## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: DDR AND THE PEACE PROCESS IN MYANMAR

From an interview with Aung Naing Oo, Associate Director of the Peace Dialogue Program, Myanmar Peace Centre.

### What are ethnic armed groups' concerns about DDR?

In 2008, I asked an ethnic leader if his group would be interested to learn about DDR. I explained to him what I meant, but he looked at me with suspicion and disbelief and said, "Out of the question!"

In Myanmar, ethnic armed groups are afraid of DDR. It is a process that cannot happen without political agreement between all the different groups in a conflict.

Ethnic armed groups have long relied on "armed struggle" to fight for their rights. They believe that by using weapons and armed struggle, they have been able to protect their land and their people.

Once a group is disarmed, it no longer has the tools to protect itself. The remaining armed groups in the area will fight to gain control of the disarmed group's former land.

Disarmament, without security arrangements or political agreement, is too dangerous for most armed groups. In some cases, it is not government forces they are worried about, but their neighbours.

We need to understand the high value that ethnic armed groups place on weapons in their fight for freedom.

### What is necessary for DDR to be successful?

For DDR programs to succeed, several conditions must be met. The most important of them are a political agreement, the desire for peace, trust in the peace process, a guarantee of security, a national recovery program and enough funding.

Source: Gender Development Initiative



1. Why are ethnic armed groups concerned about DDR?
2. What do the armed ethnic groups need from the government and the military before DDR can start?

## DISCUSSION

1. Who can better perform peacekeeping activities in Myanmar – local people or foreigners? What are advantages and disadvantages of both groups?
2. Who is better suited for peacekeeping activities – armed or unarmed peacekeepers? What are advantages and disadvantages of both groups?



Read the text and follow the instructions on the next page.

## CONCLUSION

### REACHING INCOMPLETE PEACE

## Strategy for Lenom

From: fieldoffice@peaceteamint.org  
 To: homeoffice@peaceteamint.org  
 Date: 01/03/17  
 Subject: Strategy for Lenom



Hi office team, please can you advise us on a strategy. We're going to Lenom very soon. Here's some background:

- > Lenom is a small country known for its human diversity and natural resources. There are two main groups of people in Lenom: the people who live in the city and the people who live in the rural areas. The country has had one political party in government for over 30 years. They banned all other political parties. During this time, the education standard became very low, especially for people in rural areas. There was also high unemployment and poverty. People in rural areas lost hope and decided to fight the government army.
- > The new rebel group called themselves the RFG, or the Rural Fighters' Group. They got control of small areas and took the natural resources, which included gems and mineral mines. The government wanted to get these back. They forced people from the cities to join their army. Both sides needed soldiers so they recruited children. They both sold drugs to get money for guns. When they came to a village or town that they suspected supported the other side, they would attack it.
- > This has continued for 15 years, and attempts to solve it have failed. The people feel that they need to first reach incomplete peace before they can start to work toward social justice. They have asked the international community for help.

**What strategy would you advise for bringing this country from a situation of violence to one of incomplete peace?**

## CONCLUSION

### REACHING INCOMPLETE PEACE

- Choose three *peacemaking* strategies from the list below. Explain how they will help end the war in Lenom and bring about a peace agreement.
  - Negotiation** – Grassroots level or elite level?
  - Mediation** – Who would you choose to be a mediator?
  - Sanctions** – Of what? Economic or diplomatic?
  - Boycott** – Of What? By who?
  - Military intervention** – Who will intervene? How?
- Choose three *peacekeeping* strategies from the list below. Explain how they will prevent the war from starting again.
  - Peacekeeping soldiers** – Who will they be? Where will they go? How long will they stay?
  - Start a DDR process** – What will happen at each step?
  - Civilian protection programme** – How will it work? Who will be your partners?
  - Employ peace monitors** – Who will be a peace monitor? What will they look for?
- Prepare a timeline for the next 24 months, similar to the one below. Show which activities would happen in which months.
- Present your plan. In your presentations, explain:
  - why you chose the peacemaking activities;
  - why you chose that order/duration;
  - why you chose the peacekeeping activities;
  - why you chose that order/duration.
- Vote on which plan is the most likely to succeed.
- Discuss the question: What should happen after two years of successful peacemaking and peacekeeping activities?



**Peace Team International**

*Resolving Conflicts, World-wide*

info@peaceteamint.org

Peacekeeping Activity Planner for: Lenom

Month / Activity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
P.M. 1																								
P.M. 2																								
P.M. 3																								
P.K. 1																								
P.K. 2																								
P.K. 3																								

## CHAPTER 3 — REACHING COMPLETE PEACE

### LEARNING GOALS FOR CHAPTER 3

#### KNOWLEDGE

In this chapter, you will increase your knowledge of:

- types of peacebuilding in a post-conflict community;
- gendered needs in post-conflict situations;
- spheres of peacebuilding;
- social justice;
- transitional justice.

#### SKILLS

In this chapter, you will develop your ability to:

- identify needs in post-conflict communities;
- identify appropriate actions and actors for peacebuilding;
- select appropriate forms of transitional justice in post-conflict situations;
- assess how gender affects needs in post-conflict situations.

#### VALUES

In this chapter, you will reflect on:

- the importance of meeting community needs as part of peacebuilding;
- the necessity of holistic peacebuilding;
- the role of relationship building in creating sustainable peace;
- the meaning of justice in post-conflict situations;
- gender equality in peacebuilding.

▼ Who should be involved in peacebuilding after a conflict?



#### PREVIEW

1. How do you define peacebuilding?
2. Is peacebuilding something that happens in your community?  
When and where do you see it happening?

### 3.1 – WHAT IS PEACEBUILDING?

Peacebuilding is the actions that people take to get individuals, groups or countries closer to complete peace. It includes actions to reduce direct or structural violence. It also means working to make peace long-lasting, sustainable and inclusive.

Peacebuilding involves dealing with conflicts constructively. The goals of peacebuilding include meeting the needs of a community, promoting social justice and supporting reconciliation. Peacebuilding means continually working to prevent all forms of violence and to create equal communities at all levels of society.

Peacebuilding traditionally happens after a violent conflict has ended, but it can also happen before or during a violent conflict. It can help reduce the structural violence that can lead to direct violence. During a conflict, peacebuilding can prevent the conflict from escalating.

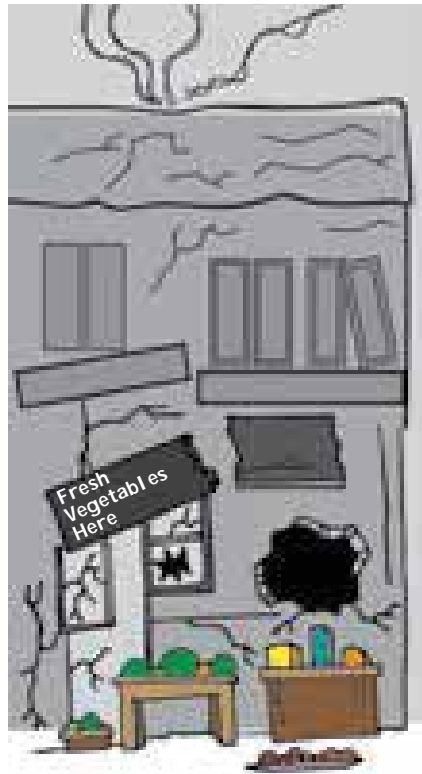
#### EXERCISE

Are the statements true or false? If false, correct the statement.

1. Peacebuilding can only take place after a conflict has ended.
2. Peacebuilding means reducing structural violence.
3. Only countries can do peacebuilding.
4. Peacebuilding helps make peace sustainable.

#### REFLECTION

1. Have you ever participated in peacebuilding activities? What were the activities?
2. What are some skills that you have already learned that you could use to do peacebuilding? How could you use these skills?



▲ What post-conflict needs are being met in these pictures?

## 3.2 – POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING

This section focuses on peacebuilding activities that happen after a violent conflict has ended. Reaching complete peace is difficult when a conflict has caused serious direct violence. Long periods of violence and oppression create challenges to building peaceful communities. It might be difficult for communities to deal with conflicts constructively again. Constructive methods of dealing with conflict might not be part of the political or social culture. There are several challenges that societies face after violent conflict.

- After direct violence has ended, individuals, groups, and states often have many needs that are not being met.
- Changing a destructive violent conflict into a *constructive non-violent* conflict requires careful planning and many different types of activities and skills.
- Many people still feel a lot of pain and anger. This makes it difficult to prevent conflict from escalating or turning violent again.

Conflict is a natural part of life. It is something every individual, community, and state must continuously work on. Conflict never ends, but it can be changed from destructive and violent to constructive and non-violent. This is an important aim of post-conflict peacebuilding.

At the community level, there are three types of needs after a destructive conflict ends. These are *political and social recognition and participation*, *economic and livelihood needs* and *security and basic services*.

### PREVIEW

1. What are some ways violence can affect a community?
2. What are the needs of people who have experienced violent conflict?
3. What different needs might men and women have after a conflict?

**POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RECOGNITION AND PARTICIPATION:** This first category is about people's recognition and participation in society. During violent conflict or oppression, a person may be unable to vote in elections, or show that they disagree with a policy or law. A **census** might not count whole communities. People in those communities could become unregistered as citizens, or even stateless. Many violent conflicts are fought because less powerful groups believe that they are excluded from decision making. If their needs for participation and recognition are not considered, those communities might feel they are still oppressed. This might cause violence to start again.

**ECONOMIC AND LIVELIHOOD NEEDS:** The second category of needs includes all the economic activities people do to support themselves and their community. For example, during a violent conflict it might be too dangerous for people to sell fruit and vegetables at the market, so they cannot earn money for their families. Farmers may have to flee from their land, so they are unable to plant crops. A government may be unable to control the import and export of goods. This can cause a shortage of important supplies. A shortage of supplies may force people to sell their goods on the **black market**.

**SECURITY AND BASIC SERVICES:** The third category of needs are all the things that a government often does not provide during a period of violence. Security involves enforcing the law and preventing further direct or structural violence. Security activities could include reducing the amount of weapons, recruiting and training new police officers and helping former soldiers return to civilian life. Basic services means ensuring that electricity, sanitation and education, etc., are available to everyone.

## ACTIVITY

### POST-CONFLICT NEEDS



- i. Political and Social Recognition and Participation



- ii. Economic and Livelihoods



- iii. Security and Basic Services

1. Match the categories to the needs. Some needs can go into more than one category.
  - a. Water wells dug for IDPs. – Security and basic services
  - b. Law courts reopened in areas where they were closed.
  - c. Sufficient loans are provided for farmers.
  - d. Electric lines repaired and electricity restored.
  - e. Landmines removed.
  - f. Job training for amputees.
  - g. Leaders elected to manage local police.
  - h. A memorial to show the effect of violence on the community and remember those who were killed or disappeared.
2. Think of three more community needs and categorise them.

## DISCUSSION

1. Which category of needs do you think would be the most difficult to meet after a violent conflict has ended? Why?
2. Do you think any of the three categories is more important than the rest? Why or why not?
3. What other needs, aside from *political and social recognition*, *economic and livelihood needs*, and *security and basic services* should be considered after a violent conflict?



## PEACEBUILDING AS MEETING COMMUNITY NEEDS

People, communities and governments might be afraid that violence or oppression could return. Government institutions and other organisations might be unstable or non-existent. There are often low levels of trust between individuals, communities and leaders. This can make it very difficult for different groups to work together to address people's needs.

Violence in the community may continue because of the presence of weapons, former soldiers and a lack of trained security forces. These are some of the challenges that communities face after experiencing armed conflict. Peacebuilding tries to work on these problems.

1. In a group, discuss an example of a violent intergroup or interstate conflict. List the things that people needed after the conflict ended.
2. Sort the needs into the categories in the table below.
3. For each need, suggest which person, organisation or government institution should meet that need.
4. Present your answers to the class.

## ACTIVITY

## WHAT DO WE NEED FROM PEACE?

Political and Social Recognition and Participation	Economic and Livelihood Needs	Security and Basic Services
Trust in leaders (citizens and local, regional and national leaders work on this together)	Freedom of movement (local and regional <i>government officials</i> )	Remove weapons from community (armed groups and military)



## POST-CONFLICT NEEDS AND GENDER

The effects of violent conflict on men and women are very different. Men and women have different levels of access to peace processes and negotiations and to opportunities for justice and reconciliation. It is important to understand men and women's post-conflict needs and the different impacts that conflict has on them. It is necessary to provide effective social and transitional justice and reconciliation.

### MEN AFTER CONFLICT



Men are more likely to kill or die during conflict. Killing and seeing killing causes a lot of psychological **trauma**. Traumatized men may find it difficult to rebuild their lives and understand their identity after a violent conflict has ended.

Men who have been soldiers, or who have committed or seen violent acts, often have problems returning to their lives. Injured or traumatized men may also be unable to contribute towards family income or meet other needs. Displacement or damage to **infrastructure** can make it difficult for men to provide for their families. Men who cannot fulfil the social role of family provider may develop feelings of shame, anger and fear. After a conflict, men who were involved in violence are at risk of:

- alcohol and drug abuse;
- divorce;
- violence towards family and friends and other criminal behaviours;
- mental illnesses such as depression, anxiety or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

Most violence is carried out by men, meeting their needs and involving them in transitional justice and reconciliation is very important for preventing future violence. However, men are much more likely to be involved in peace negotiations than women, and former soldiers can often get special help to **reintegrate** in society.

Because of this, men's post-conflict needs are usually much better known. Therefore, men's needs are more likely to be addressed in transitional justice or peacebuilding activities than women's.

## WOMEN AFTER CONFLICT



Most women in conflict situations are not soldiers or **perpetrators** of violence. However, women are still deeply affected by violence. Like men, women who see or experience violence also have psychological trauma and physical injuries. Therefore, they are also at risk for alcohol and drug abuse, divorce, violence towards others and criminal behaviour.

Rape, sexual slavery and forced marriages are common tools of violent conflict and war. During violent conflict, women are at a very high risk of sexual assault. Sexual violence can have long-lasting effects because it can lead to:

- infection with diseases such as HIV/AIDS and hepatitis;
- inability to have children in the future;
- internal injury and ongoing pain;
- unplanned pregnancies and children who face discrimination;
- mental illnesses (depression, anxiety, PTSD, etc).

Women who are sexually assaulted often cannot get justice. Women will often not report sexual violence because they feel ashamed and worry about discrimination from family, friends or their community. Some societies and cultures blame the victims of sexual assault. Transitional justice and reconciliation processes must ensure that victims of sexual violence get access to help and justice so that they can participate in reconciliation.

Gender inequalities usually increase during violent conflict. Women are less likely to be formally recognised as victims of conflict or receive **reparations** for their suffering. If participation was not equal before the conflict, women are even less likely to participate in the creation of new political institutions afterwards.

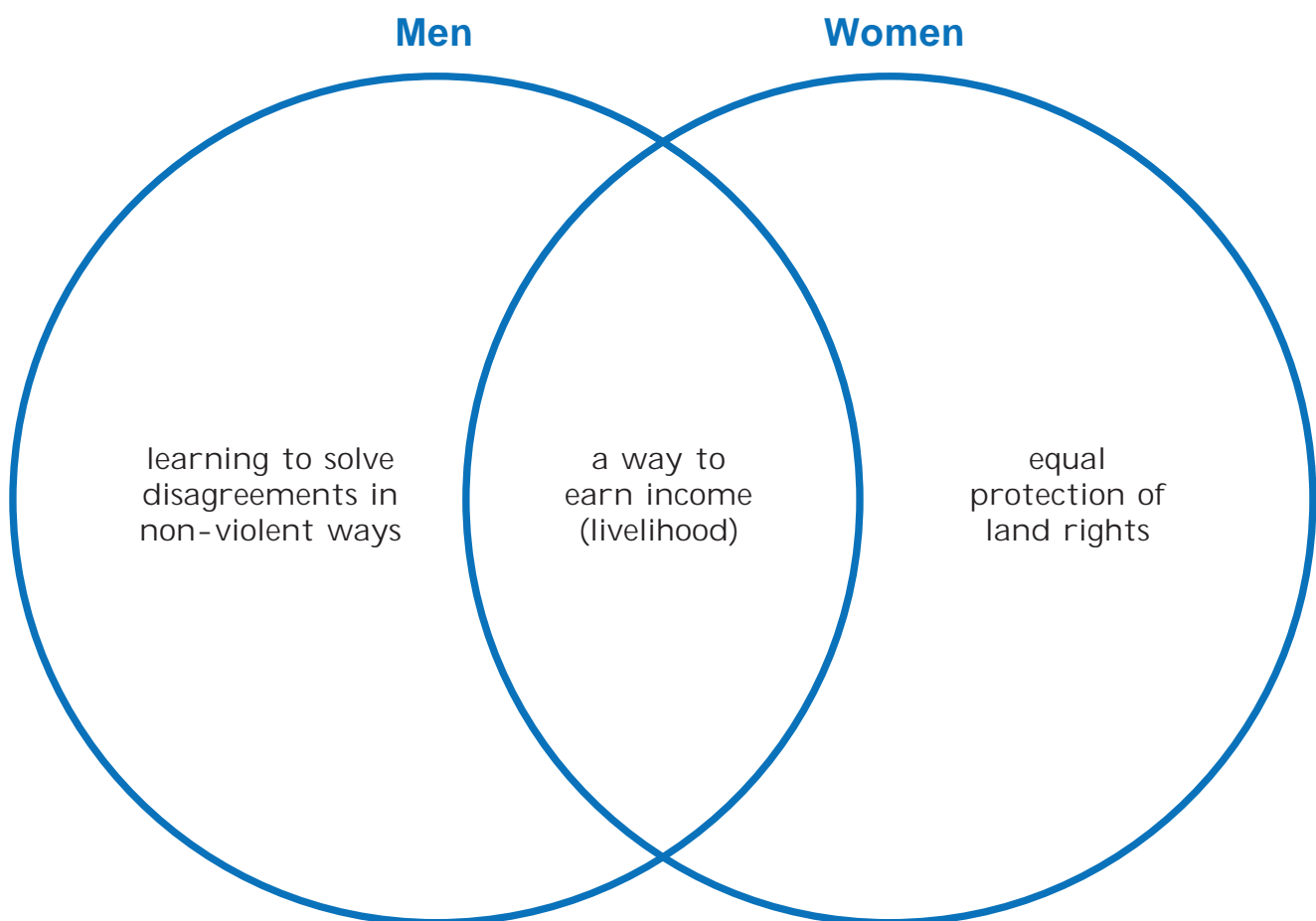
Land rights and property rights can also cause problems for women. If husbands, fathers, brothers or sons are the only legal owners of property, women can become homeless or unable to protect their resources during a violent conflict.

Because men are more likely to be soldiers during violent conflict, women may have to take on additional duties to support their families. They may have to take care of children and the elderly, and also find ways to earn income for their families. After the violence has ended, society may not recognise women's labour or economic contributions during the conflict.

## ACTIVITY

### MEN & WOMEN AFTER CONFLICT

1. Add the needs of men and women after a conflict to the Venn diagram. In the middle part of the diagram, add the needs that both men and women have.
2. Choose the three needs that you think are the most important to meet. Why are these needs the most important?
3. Discuss the questions.
  - a. Which need would be the most challenging to meet? Why?
  - b. Are the needs that you chose in the "men" circle, the "women" circle or in the middle?
  - c. After a conflict, are the needs of men and women met equally? Why or why not?



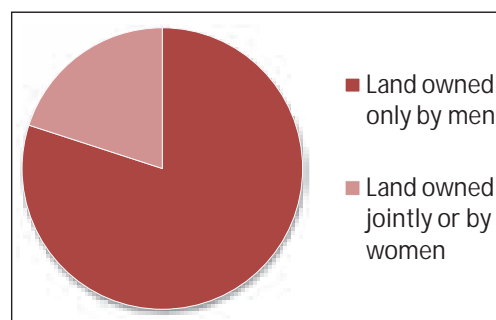


## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: COMPLETE PEACE WITH LAND RIGHTS

Land rights in post-conflict areas are very important to achieving complete peace. Land rights for refugees, internally displaced people and pre-existing civilian populations are a common part of peace agreements and negotiations all over the world. Strong land rights support economic growth and can help individuals and communities to meet their needs after conflict. Land grabbing is a problem in every part of Myanmar, but it is worse in areas of ethnic conflict.

Myanmar's current land problem is "linked to ethnic conflict," said the Netherlands-based Transnational Institute in its recent report on land issues in the country. It says that access to land and control of land are a main cause of the civil war. Unless they are addressed well, real peace is not likely to come.

Myanmar's national land laws do not discriminate against women. However, in practice very few women have documented rights to their property. Namati, an international organization that provides legal support to farmers around the world, finds that in 80% of the cases they work on in Myanmar, men are the only legal owners of land. On average, men register more acres of property than women do. In cases of married individuals registering property, 87% of registration applications are made by husbands only.



Less than 0.25% of ward, village tract and township administrators are women, and recommendations from these officials are required to complete land registration applications. This makes it difficult for women to advocate for individual or joint applications. It is also common for husbands to be the only named head of household. Therefore, Land Use Certificates often have only the man's name on them.

Women in Myanmar's conflict areas face many barriers to full land rights, and in rare cases when **compensation** or reparation is made for **land grabbing**, they are less likely to receive an equal share. Land grabbing often forces people to become daily labourers where women earn less than men. Women who do not have full land rights are at risk of land grabbing by relatives as well as by local administrators, the military, international companies, and local armed groups.

Source: See Teacher's Book for the list of sources used to compile this information. XX

1. Why are land rights important for complete peace?
2. How does land grabbing impact men and women differently?
3. Make a list of suggestions to increase everyone's land rights in post-conflict areas of Myanmar.

1. Think of an example of a community in Myanmar that has been affected by violent conflict and has not had its needs met afterwards. What were those needs? Why were the needs not met?
2. Whose responsibility was it to meet those needs?
3. What other people or groups could meet those needs?

## DISCUSSION

### PREVIEW

1. What kind of people carry out peacebuilding activities?
2. Where do they carry out these activities?

## 3.3 – PEACEBUILDING SPHERES

Peacebuilding can happen between individuals, groups, or states. There are four “spheres” of peacebuilding activities. These spheres are the *personal* sphere, the *relational* sphere, the *cultural* sphere and the *structural* sphere.

These spheres often overlap with each other and support each other. The most successful peacebuilding activities take place in more than one sphere at the same time.

### THE PERSONAL SPHERE: CHANGES INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS AND INCREASES KNOWLEDGE.

Violence and oppression can change people’s attitudes. They can affect our mental health and negatively impact our actions towards ourselves and others. Violence and oppression can cause trauma. Trauma and personal attitudes can stop people from gaining the knowledge and skills that they need to live peacefully together.

**ACTIVITIES IN THIS SPHERE INCLUDE:** increasing our awareness of people on the other side of the conflict, not promoting negative views of them, listening and speaking without judgment. Sometimes personal peacebuilding involves getting help to deal with trauma.

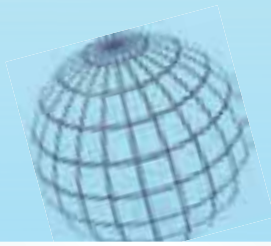


### THE RELATIONAL SPHERE: CREATES OR IMPROVES RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DIFFERENT GROUPS.

Relationships can change during a violent conflict. People may not be able to communicate openly or kindly any more. People lose trust, and destructive views of others can become stronger and more negative. We may have a win-or-lose mentality or no longer see other actors as humans. If this happens, face-to-face interactions may no longer feel comfortable or be safe. Peacebuilding in the relational sphere can be one-to-one or community-to-community, or between individual actors and conflict-affected communities.

**ACTIVITIES IN THIS SPHERE INCLUDE:** information sharing, collaboration, creating opportunities for open and honest communication, and developing constructive skills for **conflict resolution**.



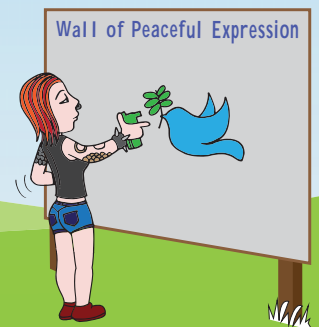


Violent conflict and oppression can change the cultural values that guide behaviours. Relationships between men and women, young and old, rich and poor, etc., may change during violent conflict because those cultural values change. For example, during periods of conflict, children sometimes become soldiers. The presence of child soldiers can affect traditional cultural values about the power and authority of elders.

**ACTIVITIES IN THIS SPHERE INCLUDE:** promoting values that support peace, such as respect, tolerance and inclusion of all groups in society in decision making and governance. Peacebuilding is also supported by values that lead to human rights such as solidarity, non-violence, human dignity and **compassion**.

## THE CULTURAL SPHERE

STRENGTHENS  
THE VALUES THAT  
SUPPORT PEACE IN  
A SOCIETY.



Conflict affects the organisation of society at every level. After periods of violence, power and authority may have changed or shifted. People's access to institutions may become greater or lesser. Community organisations may have different purposes or do different work than before the conflict. A group that had power before a conflict may have less access to resources and opportunities after. Institutions that existed before the conflict may no longer work or no longer exist. Laws may discriminate against some groups.

**ACTIVITIES IN THIS SPHERE INCLUDE:** creating systems of decision making that includes everyone, and clear and constructive ways to deal with conflicts. It is important that decision making is **transparent**. Justice systems need to be able to address rights violations and to protect people's rights.

## THE STRUCTURAL SPHERE INVOLVES

CREATING AND  
IMPROVING  
INSTITUTIONS,  
POLICIES AND  
LAWS, AND  
CHOOSING LEADERS.

## ACTIVITY

### PEACEBUILDING IN ACTION

- Decide which peacebuilding sphere each activity should go in. You may choose more than one category for each activity.
  - Sending your children to attend a sports programme with children from an ethnic group that has a history of conflict with your community.
  - Participating in a protest for peace.
  - Asking a teacher questions about the history and experiences of the people who were on the opposing side of a violent conflict.
  - Visiting a museum that shows the history of a violent conflict.
  - Participating in a survey about your community's infrastructure needs after a violent conflict.
  - Creating a music video about the corruption and power of public officials in your country.
  - Asking your religious leader to explain what your religious texts say about war and peace.
  - Telling your friends to stop making discriminatory or rude jokes about minorities or women.
  - Voting for a political leader who wants to stop large companies from building factories near your community's source of clean water.
  - Reading books or listening to music from a different culture.
  - Providing therapy and counseling to women who were victims of sexual assault during a violent conflict.
- Write an example of a peacebuilding activity from your own community and decide what category of peacebuilding it is.



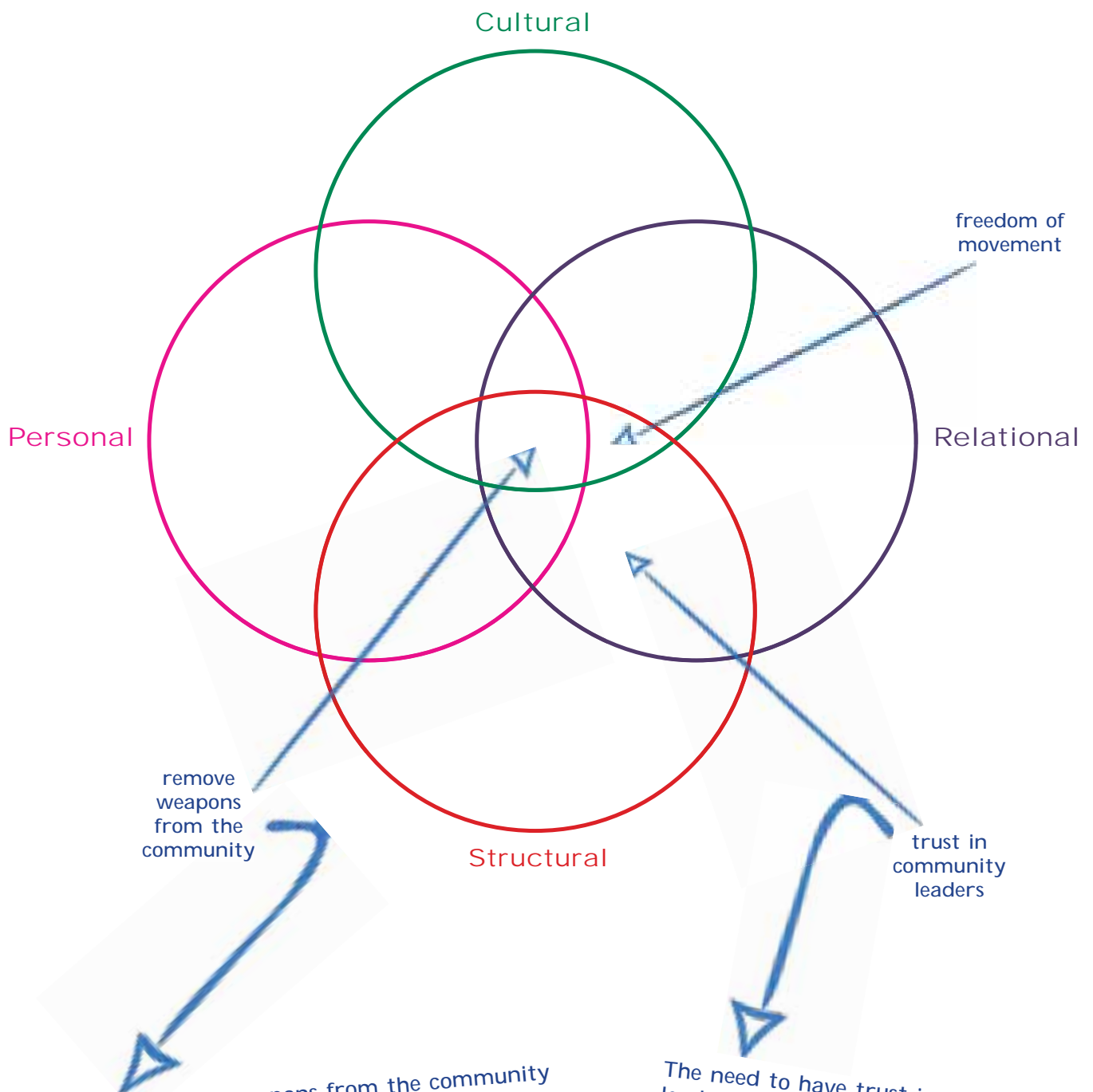
## ACTIVITY

### SPHERES OF PEACEBUILDING

- Look at your list of post-conflict community needs from the activity *What Do We Need From Peace* on page 59. Put each need into the Venn diagram on the opposite page.
- According to your diagram, what peacebuilding spheres would meet the most needs of the community?
- Based on the results of your diagram, why does peacebuilding need to happen in different spheres?
- Using the information from the diagram and the lists of needs, prepare a short presentation about peacebuilding spheres. Describe which spheres you would use to do peacebuilding work in a post-conflict community. Think of two activities to meet the needs of this community. Explain which sphere each activity is in.







The need to remove weapons from the community requires work in all spheres:

- Personal – The wish for a community without weapons would be developed in the personal sphere.
- Relational – removing weapons from a community requires trust from all actors.
- Cultural – societies must value non-violent *methods of conflict resolution, so that weapons* are no longer needed.
- Structural – choosing an organisation or government agency to oversee the removal of weapons.

The need to have trust in community leaders is an important part of creating structures like governments and the police. These things happen in the structural sphere.

However, trust is created between people by creating relationships, so the need to have trust in community leaders is also a part of the relational sphere.



## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY IN PEACEBUILDING

**Lahpai Seng Raw, co-founder of Metta Development Foundation, on civil society in peacebuilding:**

Creating peace requires the involvement of all actors. Everyone needs to build and experience it. Strengthening civil society should be our priority at the moment. Years of mismanagement and armed conflicts have disempowered local communities. Unfortunately, there is no easy way to fix this problem.

I believe that empowering communities to make their own decisions, and listening to citizens' voices, are important for lasting peace. When communities can meet their needs and challenges, that will help strengthen those communities, society and the country.

An example is how local NGOs in Kachin State have been making the voices of internally displaced persons (IDPs) heard. Since November 2012, local NGOs have conducted research in camps for IDPs. They researched IDP protection needs and concerns about returning to their former homes.

Rehabilitation and **resettlement** of IDPs and refugees should go together with resolving the root causes of the conflict. For peace, stability and sustainability, there must be political solutions. People need to be properly represented and consulted on all social and political issues that affect their lives. Otherwise, the cycle of armed revolution, ceasefire, civil conflict, displacement and resettlement will go on.

We are therefore looking at a peace process that involves grassroots people and civil society – not just military and political leaders. Successful transformation relies on empowerment of local communities and support for local organizations. These communities and organizations are the foundations of a new peaceful society that will rebuild the country.

Peace agreements cannot last unless former soldiers from all sides find employment, re-integrate and receive help to support their families and communities. Many soldiers in the armies on all sides are from rural families. Soldiers from the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) have discussed with me what civilian life will be like when peace eventually comes. Many would like a small piece of farm land to work on, to be independent and to be able to support their families.

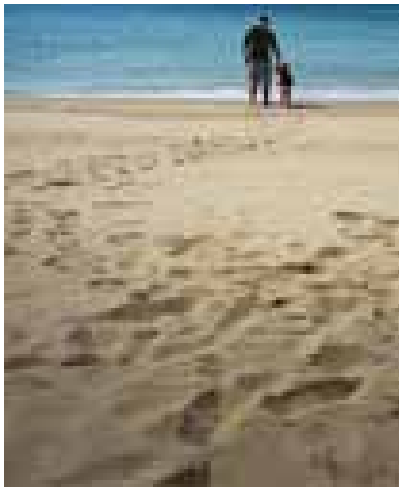
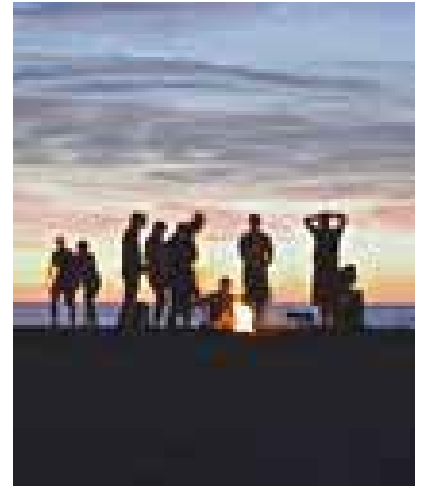
It is important to understand the difference between ceasefires and peace. Armies can make ceasefires between themselves, but they cannot make peace. Peace requires the people. It is a social issue and cannot be developed by military men. Peace cannot be developed without the leadership and support of the people – the civil society.

Source: Strengthening civil society in peacebuilding: evolving perspectives from South East Myanmar

1. According to the interview, what have civil society organisations been doing in conflict-affected areas of Myanmar?
2. What are the post-conflict needs of soldiers?
3. Why will a peace process fail if only leaders and soldiers are involved?

## REFLECTION

1. In which peacebuilding sphere do you think you can be most effective?
2. Which peacebuilding sphere do you think is most necessary for your community or country?
3. What are the challenges to carrying out activities in that sphere?
4. What can be done to overcome those challenges?



▲ What relationships might need building after a violent conflict?

### 3.4 – PEACEBUILDING AS RELATIONSHIP-BUILDING

We all have relationships – with other people, with groups around us, with institutions and with states. When people and groups have good relationships, they are more likely to work with each other and to solve problems cooperatively. Constructive relationships increase your individual power and the power of the people who you have those relationships with.

Peacebuilding is about creating and improving those relationships. Relationships at all levels – families, communities, businesses and governments – must be created or rebuilt after conflict. When children from different groups work together on an art project, group relationships may improve. When we watch a documentary about a group of people we fear or dislike, our understanding of that group may improve. When a person exercises their right to vote in a free and fair election, their relationship with their state or their government may improve. When a relationship is just and sustainable, it is also peaceful.

If you think something is a peacebuilding activity, ask yourself “Is this improving a relationship?” “Is this making it easier to deal with a conflict constructively?” If the answers are yes, then you are probably doing a peacebuilding activity.

#### PREVIEW

1. Can you trust someone when you don't have a relationship with them?
2. Why are relationships important for peacebuilding?

## ACTIVITY

### RELATIONSHIP-BUILDING

1. Read the scenarios. Is the relationship "peacebuilding" or "not peacebuilding"?
  - a. Veterans from both sides of a conflict meet and share the challenges that they have had returning to normal life after the violence ended.
  - b. Two families have an argument about whether or not to cut down the tree that grows on both of their properties. After the argument, the parents stop their children from visiting each other's homes.
  - c. Two boys play football together. During the game, they get in a fight about whether or not the football went out of bounds. After the game, they make friends again and go to the tea shop to have a snack.
  - d. Youth from different ethnic groups that have had conflict in the past spend their summer building sanitation systems for people in conflict-affected areas.
  - e. A place of worship is destroyed during a period of communal violence. Religious leaders from all religions work with their followers to rebuild the place of worship even though it is not their own. During the rebuilding, the communities all work together.
2. Which activity would be the most effective at rebuilding a relationship? Why?
3. Which activity would be least effective at rebuilding a relationship? Why?



## ACTIVITY

### RELATIONSHIP STATUES

1. In groups, choose a statue maker. The statue maker chooses a conflict and creates a statue using the people in the group. The statue must show how a conflict has affected a relationship between people.
2. The statue maker remakes the statue showing how the relationship can be repaired.
3. Discuss the questions:
  - a. Did everyone in the statue need to make changes in order to improve the relationship?
  - b. What were the similarities and differences between the group sculptures?





## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: TO OVERCOME THE MISTRUST, IT TAKES TIME

**CHIANG MAI – The Elders are a group of independent world leaders. They paid a visit to Myanmar and to the Myanmar community in Thailand.**

The Elders learned about Myanmar's peace process during their visit. The Irrawaddy talked with two members. Gro Harlem Brundtland is a former Norwegian prime minister and former director general of the World Health Organization. Martti Ahtisaari is the former President of Finland and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The pair discussed their trip and gave their views on the peace process.

**Question:** What is The Elders' role in Myanmar's peace process?

**GHB:** We hear the voices of groups who are experiencing conflicts. We listen to people who think things are moving too slowly and do not trust the peace process. There are lots of issues. These issues must be addressed through political dialogue because there are no clear solutions to many of the issues.

**MA:** We have been involved with conflicts all over the world. I don't think the conflict in Myanmar is different to other conflicts. There is a lot of mistrust and it takes a long time to overcome mistrust. You sit and you talk. Hopefully, the dialogue is inclusive and people feel that they have a chance to say what they think. Perhaps some of their views can be included in the peace process. But the important thing is to encourage people to move forward now.

**Q:** There is still fighting in northern Shan State and Kachin State, and other areas. How does that affect the chance for political dialogue?

**GHB:** There is not really a fully agreed ceasefire. This shows the need to get to a ceasefire, so that people can stop fighting and feel confident in their own areas. It is not easy to have political dialogue when shooting is happening. It is important to reach a ceasefire. This can help to avoid incidents that create uncertainty and fear in the people.

**Q:** What would be your suggestion to solve Myanmar's conflicts?

**GHB:** I think more inclusiveness. Listening to all the different ethnic and other groups so that political dialogue includes all the needs and points of view. The inclusiveness is necessary.

**MA:** There has not been much dialogue, because there has been fighting for decades. It is not easy to move to an inclusive peace process. It is not easy because organizations and governments were not inclusive in the past. They have different behaviours. To change that is a challenge. We need wise men and women on all sides and common wisdom in society. We have met very wise individuals. It is our task to help and encourage them and recognize them at the same time.

Source: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/in-person/interview/overcome-mistrust-takes-time.html>

1. What do the Elders suggest as most important for creating trust?
2. Why is trust important for relationships?

1. What relationships do you have in your life that give you power?
2. How do these relationships give you power?
3. Have you ever tried to rebuild a relationship with someone after having a conflict? How long did it take?

## REFLECTION

### PREVIEW

1. Can you think of any examples of communities that have complete peace?
2. Why is social justice important in reaching complete peace?

## ACTIVITY

### SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR ALL

## 3.5 – SOCIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE

Some people believe that social justice and peace depend on one another. They believe that, to reach complete peace, there must also be social justice. Other people believe that peace and social justice are two very separate ideas, and that social justice should only come after incomplete peace has been achieved.

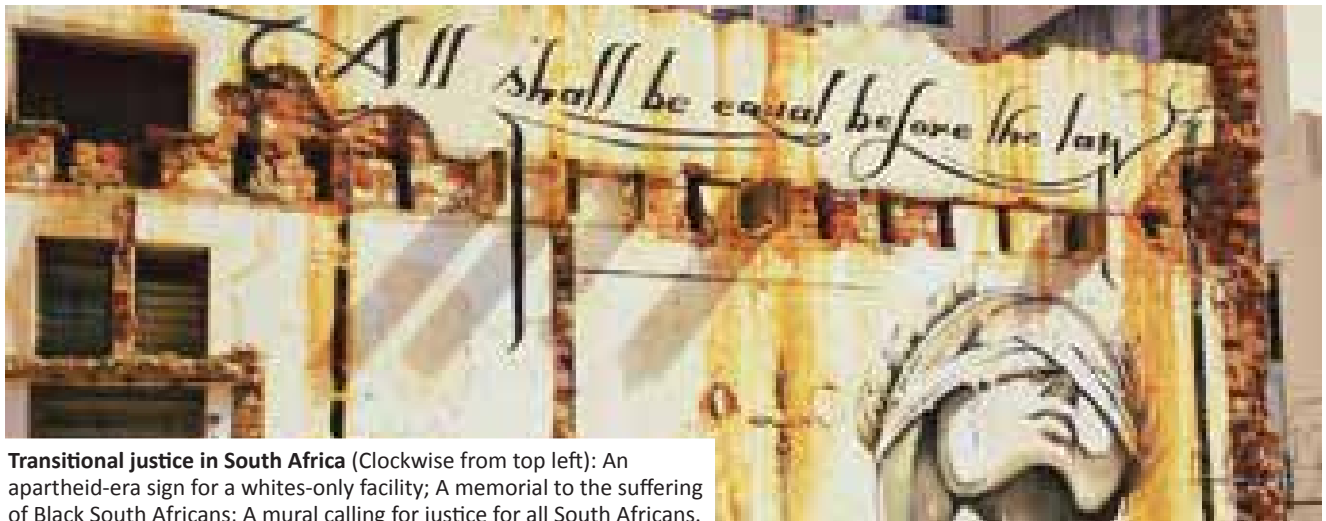
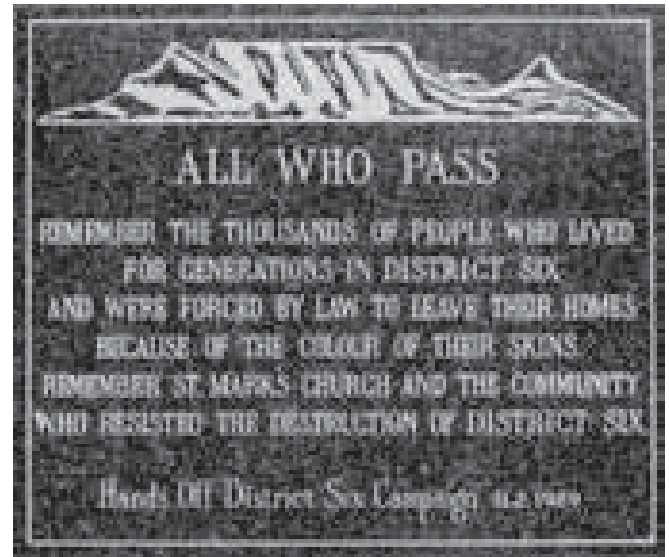
Many researchers and peacebuilders have found that social justice is a useful and necessary tool in building sustainable or long-lasting peace. Social justice is a way to create psychological healing after violence. Healing from the trauma of violent conflict is necessary in order to have reconciliation and peace.

1. Choose a social justice issue from below (or one that your community is facing).
  - a. People in rural areas have less access to information about job opportunities outside of their communities because of poor communications infrastructure.
  - b. Poorer children cannot afford to eat enough nutritious food so are not as healthy as wealthier children.
  - c. The rights which protect men and women are not the same.
  - d. The quality of education is better for those who can afford to pay more money.
  - e. Some people's property rights are protected more strongly than other people's.
  - f. People die from curable diseases such as malaria and typhoid because they lack knowledge about proper sanitation and water storage practices.
2. Answer the questions about your example.
  - a. Does this issue cause destructive conflict? How?
  - b. Does this issue cause direct or structural violence? How?
  - c. Can the community have incomplete peace without solving this issue? Why?
  - d. Can the community have complete peace without solving this issue? Why?

## DISCUSSION

1. What are the problems of seeking social justice while trying to end violence?
2. What are the benefits of seeking social justice while trying to end violence?
3. Is it important to include social justice in peacebuilding activities? Why?
4. Can complete peace be reached without social justice? Why?





**Transitional justice in South Africa** (Clockwise from top left): An apartheid-era sign for a whites-only facility; A memorial to the suffering of Black South Africans; A mural calling for justice for all South Africans.

### 3.6 – TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Transitional justice happens in communities and countries where violence, war or a period of oppression has recently ended. During this time, **transitional justice** tries to meet the following goals:

- To bring justice to individuals and groups who experienced human rights abuses.
- To develop democratic institutions and civil society.
- To ensure that minority voices are heard, and conflicts can be resolved through non-violent channels.
- To identify and understand the root causes of conflict.

Transitional justice helps societies to publicly recognise the abuses that people have experienced. It tries to identify the perpetrators of those abuses. Transitional justice helps to rebuild relationships in society. It also helps victims to heal from their trauma. Transitional justice is a very broad category of actions that includes the following:

#### PREVIEW

1. Is peace possible without justice?
2. Why do people seek justice when they are also seeking peace?



# Some tools used in transitional justice\_



**PROSECUTIONS** – are a legal process against individuals who are accused of human rights abuses.

Formal court cases use national or international laws to punish people who commit human rights abuses. When international legal standards and laws are followed, **prosecutions** can build trust after a conflict. They support important social values and show communities that their human and civil rights are being respected. Prosecutions can happen in local national or international courts.



**TRUTH-SEEKING, TRUTH-TELLING AND TRUTH COMMISSIONS** – are formal or informal investigations of rights abuses.

These investigations include documenting the **testimony** of victims, and collecting evidence of abuses and rights violations. Activities can include opening government records and other documents to the public and publishing reports of crimes and rights violations.

Truth-telling, truth-seeking and truth commissions happen at local and national levels. Truth commissions investigate human rights abuses. They make recommendations about how the perpetrators of these crimes can be held **accountable**. Commissions can be created separately from the government, since governments are frequently perpetrators of rights abuses in violent conflict. In some cases, the work of truth commissions can support the work of prosecutions and formal courts.

The purpose of a truth commission is to create a shared description of events that occurred during the conflict. The commission makes recommendations about helping victims heal and improve their lives.



**REPARATIONS** – are payments to victims by the state. They are to repair harm caused by violent conflict or oppression by the state or individuals.

Reparations may include financial payments to victims of rights violations, economic development projects, or paying for the creation of memorials for victims of violent conflict. Reparations may also include public apologies by perpetrators or states.

Reparations help to rebuild trust. They show people that the new political leaders want to address past human rights violations. However, it is important that the reparations truly repair the harm that was caused by the conflict.





**VETTING** – is the process of exposing and removing abusive or corrupt government officials from positions of power so that future cases of abuse or corruption will not occur.

**Vetting** builds trust in government institutions and shows that those who committed human rights abuses will be held responsible for their actions.



**MEMORIALISING** – is a way of honouring and remembering the victims of violence or oppression.

Memorialisation is a very personal process for the group that is creating the memorial. Memorials include statues, gardens, museums, monuments, days of remembrance, and ceremonial events. Memorialisation is done for different reasons: it may help reconcile tensions between communities, help victims of violent conflict to heal, and raise awareness about the events of a violent conflict. Memorialisation can also be a type of truth-telling and reparation.

Match the description with the correct transitional justice tool.

Truth-seeking, truth-telling and truth commissions  
Prosecutions Reparations Vetting Memorialising

1. Leaders who participated in violating a person's rights are not allowed to have leadership positions in a new government.
2. The government builds a new school and provides salaries for teachers in a conflict-affected community. The school and salaries are a way of repairing harm caused in a conflict.
3. A group of international judges work with local judges. They create a court for conflict actors who violated human rights.
4. Many people were hurt during a conflict because their family members disappeared or were killed. These families work with civil society organisations and the government to find out what happened to their loved ones.
5. A community garden is built for everyone to visit and enjoy. There is a wall around the garden. On the wall are the names of people who died during the civil war in that country.

## EXERCISE



## FOCUS ON MYANMAR: DDR AND THE PEACE PROCESS IN MYANMAR

The Network for Human Rights Documentation-Burma (ND-Burma) has published a report. It focuses on the needs of victims after experiencing human rights abuses. The abuses include torture, rape, extra-judicial killings, and land **confiscation**. The report also gives information about the current needs of victims and their hopes for reparations, **memorializing**, and prosecutions. The report is part of ND-Burma's "Unofficial Truth Project". It is called this because it receives no support from the government.

ND-Burma hopes that the government sees the benefit of acknowledging the truth about past abuses. They want something like a truth commission, but they are not waiting for that to happen.

Ma Sentral is a Kachin member of ND-Burma. She said transitional justice was an attempt to address the impact of past human rights violations to create a more peaceful, democratic and inclusive future.

She says "There needs to be accountability and transparency during the transition to provide redress for victims of past human rights abuses and to promote stable and sustainable peace and democracy."

"We consider that some cases of killing or abuse in ethnic areas were committed by the authorities, especially the army. But the government has taken no serious action about those abuses," she said.

ND-Burma recommends that the first thing that the government must do is recognize that these crimes and abuses have been committed. Only then can justice and reconciliation truly begin.

Source: <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/12308-ddr-and-the-peace-process-in-myanmar.html>



1. What tools of transitional justice are ND-Burma using?
2. How is ND-Burma supporting the right to truth?
3. Why is it important that the government acknowledges the crimes and abuse as the first step?

## ACTIVITY

### CAMBODIA CASE STUDY

Read the article on pages 77 – 79. In groups, prepare a presentation about Cambodia's transitional justice process. In your presentation, answer these questions:

1. Why was transitional justice needed in Cambodia?
2. What were the successes of the transitional justice process in Cambodia?
3. Recommend three specific activities that could be undertaken to improve the transitional justice process in Cambodia.

VICTIMS OF THE KHMER ROUGE.  
PHOTOS FROM S-21 PRISON,  
PHNOM PENH.



# CAMBODIA, THE KHMER ROUGE & TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

In 1975, a communist group called the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia. They were the winners of an eight-year civil war in the country.

The Khmer Rouge wanted to change Cambodia forever. They believed money and religion were bad, and wanted a completely agricultural society. Farmers and people living in the countryside were called 'old people'. People who lived in the city – doctors, teachers, engineers, business owners, religious leaders – were called 'new people'. The Khmer Rouge thought that new people were harmful to society. They emptied the cities and forced everyone to live and work in the countryside.

Families were separated. Parents were forced to work on community farms and children were sent to Khmer Rouge schools. They had to learn how to be 'good citizens'.

SINCE 1990, THE UN AND MANY COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN CAMBODIA'S TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE PROCESS. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY SUCCESSES, HOWEVER, THE PROCESS HAS FACED DIFFICULTIES AND IS NOT YET COMPLETE.

Many people died. Between 1975 and 1979, about 20% of Cambodia's population died from torture, executions, forced labour, starvation, diseases, and lack of access to healthcare. Today, the actions of the Khmer Rouge government would be called a genocide.

Most families living in Cambodia were affected in some way. A large part of the

population has psychological trauma from the genocide today.

In 1979, Cambodia was occupied by Vietnam, and different groups fought each other for control. In 1989, the UN – along with 18 other countries – negotiated a peace agreement and monitored a ceasefire. The Khmer Rouge leader, Pol Pot, died in 1998, and the Khmer Rouge officially stopped existing in 1999.

In 1992, the UN supported elections in Cambodia, and in 1992 Hun Sen became the Prime Minister. As of 2016, he is still the Prime Minister.

Hun Sen has kept his power though several elections and coups. He was a former member of the Khmer Rouge and is considered to be an authoritarian leader by many other countries and international leaders. Human rights groups have documented his use of torture, arrest and the military and secret police to

**MAIN PICTURE:** HUMAN REMAINS IN THE MEMORIAL STUPA AT CHOEUNG EK KILLING FIELD; **INSET:** EXTERIOR OF MEMORIAL STUPA AT CHOEUNG EK



control the politics of the country. Hun Sen's party won the 2013 election but many people protested. They said that he and his party had cheated. There were protests for many months after.

## TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND PEACEBUILDING ACTIVITIES

Between the 1990 peace agreement and 1992, the UN helped the country to prepare for elections. In 1994, the Cambodian government passed a law which gave amnesty to former Khmer Rouge soldiers. Additionally, the Cambodian king pardoned Ieng Sary, a Khmer Rouge leader, in 1996.

"IN 1999, THE UN SUGGESTED THAT CAMBODIA CREATE A SPECIAL COURT TO TRY MEMBERS OF THE KHMER ROUGE FOR GENOCIDE AND 'CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY'. THESE CRIMES ARE ILLEGAL UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW."

In 1999, the UN suggested that Cambodia create a special court to try members of the Khmer Rouge for genocide and 'crimes against humanity'. These crimes are illegal under international law. In 2003, the Cambodian government worked with the UN to create a special international court, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). For many years judges and lawyers were trained to work in the court. International judges are also part of the court, but Cambodian judges control all the decisions.

In 2009, the first Khmer Rouge leader, Kang Kek Iew, "Duch" was





**LEFT:** KHMER ROUGE LEADER ON TRIAL – PICTURE ON DISPLAY AT S-21; **ABOVE:** ‘KILLING TREE’ AT CHOEUNG EK KILLING FIELD

brought to the international court. A year later, he was sentenced to life in prison for managing the S-21 prison, where at least 13,993 people were tortured and killed. Kang Kek Iew is the only person to have a completed trial in the international court. Five other leaders have been put in prison, but as of July 2016, they have not yet finished their trials.

The ECCC has faced problems. The Cambodian government has

interfered with cases and blocked new cases from beginning. Hun Sen and other government ministers have said publicly that no other prosecutions are necessary.

The US government has also tried to use its power to put a Khmer Rouge leader on trial.

S-21 prison has been made into a museum. It shows the abuses committed by the Khmer Rouge. It is mostly visited by foreigners who are required to buy

a ticket. There is another memorial site close to Phnom Penh called Choeung Ek. Approximately 90% of the visitors to Choeung Ek are foreigners who buy tickets to enter the site. Choeung Ek is owned by a Japanese

company. There is no public record of how the profits are used. Choeung Ek is an example of the ‘killing fields’, areas where the Khmer Rouge killed and buried people. There are over 20,000 known killing fields in Cambodia. In many rural areas, small communities have created their own memorials. They have collected the bones of those found in the killing field and displayed them beside a Buddhist stupa. This is to remember the events that happened and help the dead move on to a new life.

Community organisations have worked with universities and governments around the world to collect and document the stories of what happened in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. People hope that this information will help educate future generations of Cambodians, help current generations heal from the genocide, and help with future prosecutions by the international court. ■



## DISCUSSION

1. What are the main benefits of transitional justice?
2. What are the challenges of implementing transitional justice?
3. Does transitional justice support peacebuilding? Why or why not?

## CONCLUSION

### MAPPING POST-CONFLICT NEEDS

1. In a small group, choose a violent conflict that has recently ended in your community, your country or another country. Select a recently-ended conflict that you know a lot about.
2. Create a mindmap that identifies the needs of the community or country after the conflict has ended. Use a combination of pictures and words on your map.
3. Add peacebuilding activities and transitional justice activities to the needs on the mindmap.
4. Answer the questions below.



**Peace Team International**

*Resolving Conflicts, World-wide*

info@peaceteamint.org

### Post-conflict Peacebuilding Questions

After you have mindmapped needs, discuss the following questions with your group:

- a. How does each peacebuilding or transitional justice activity help meet the needs of the community?
- b. Which sphere(s) of peacebuilding is this activity in?
- c. Which actor or institution in the community/country is able to do this activity best?
- d. Will this activity improve the relationships between actors?

