

CONFLICT AND PEACE

UNIT TWO: UNDERSTANDING PEACE

A PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES COURSE
FOR MYANMAR

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

(၁) ကျောင်း၊ ဒန်နီယယ်။ ပေလာ၊ အယ်လ်ဆာ

(၂) ဇေယျာဦး၊ ဘာသာပြန်သူ

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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?"





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.

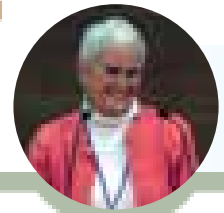
A



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



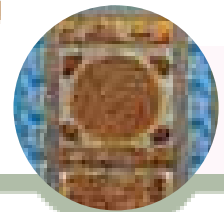
C



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



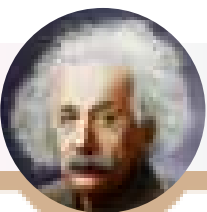
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr was the leader of the US civil rights movement (1929 –1968).

Tenzin Gyatsho is the 14th 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 5th 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?

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

DISCUSSION

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.



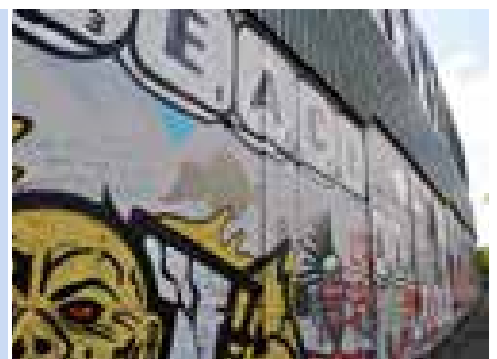
C. FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

During the 19th and 20th 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>

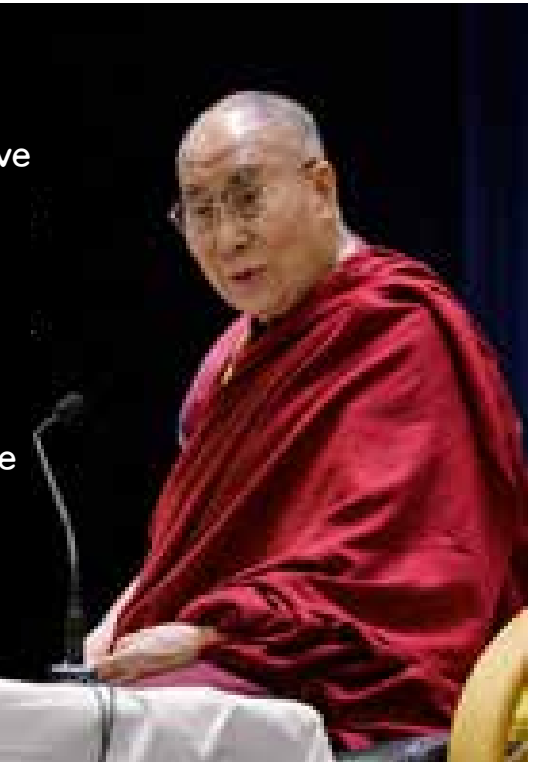
1. Why did the January ceasefire create incomplete peace?
2. Why do ceasefires represent an incomplete peace?

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 1st 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 27th 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 > VIOLENCE > VICTIM</p> <p>THERE IS A CLEAR ACTOR, AN ACTION, AND A VICTIM</p>	<p>VIOLENCE > 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?

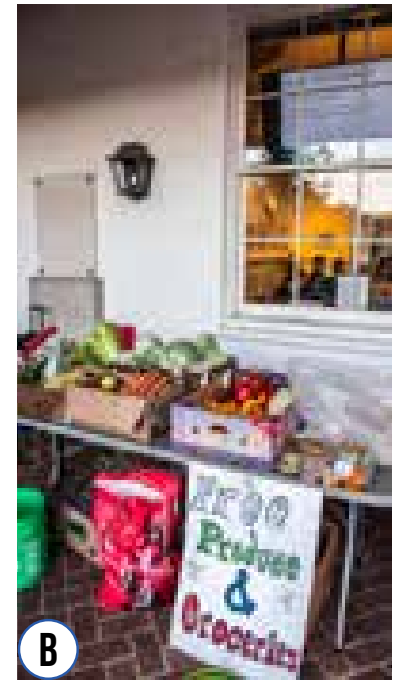
1. an earthquake
2. a war
3. a girl hitting a dog
4. HIV/AIDS
5. a car accident
6. rape
7. **famine**

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	<i>government serves the people, fair elections, rule of law</i>	<i>corruption, military/police violence</i>
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:

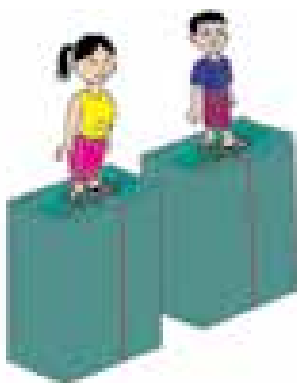
PREVIEW

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>

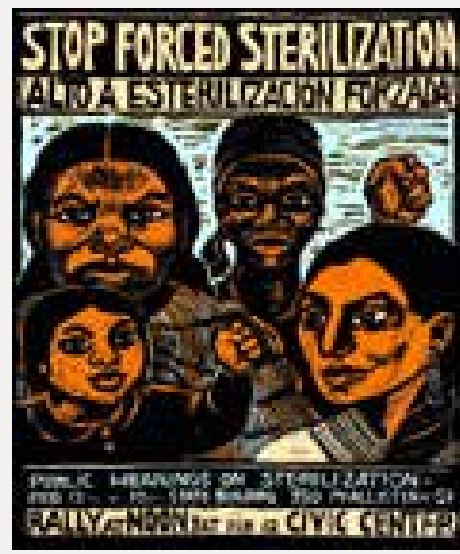
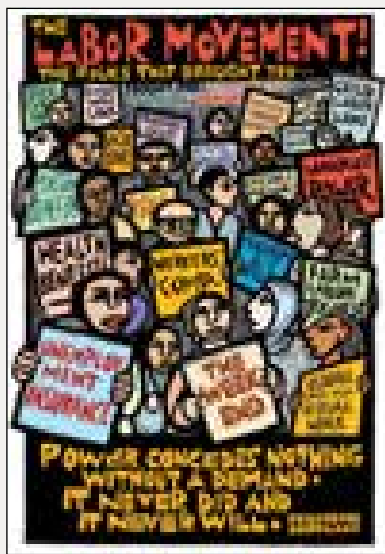
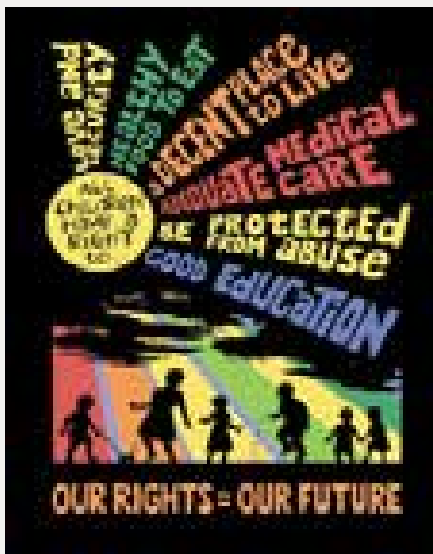
1. Why are women and girls from Myanmar being trafficked into China?
2. What are the reasons why women and girls look for work in China?
3. How has the conflict in Kachin and northern Shan States negatively impacted women and girls living there?

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.

- a. On what level is the conflict happening?
- b. What peacemaking actions happen?
- c. 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.

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

ACTIVITY

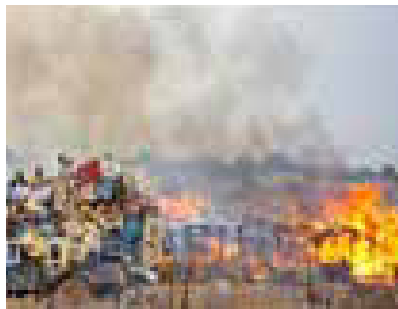
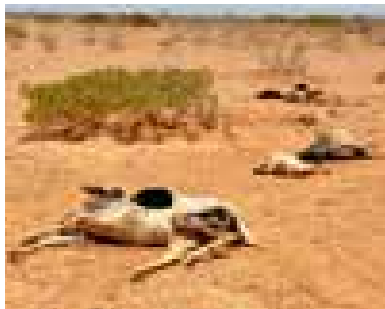
NEGOTIATION IN KENYA

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.

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

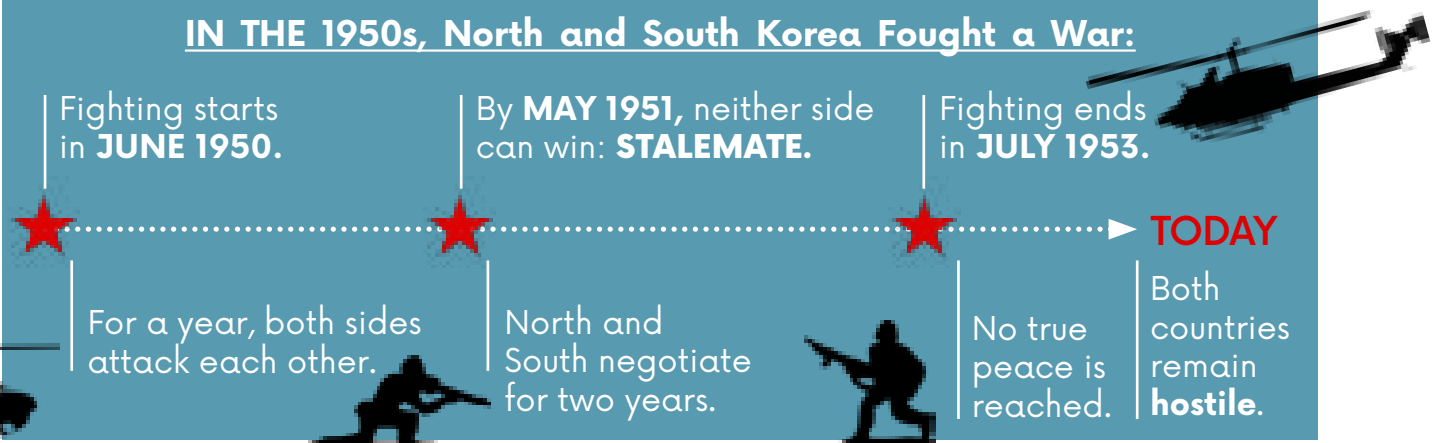
Negotiations to end a violent conflict are never simple. Opponents often refuse to discuss issues. They believe that they can win through fighting instead of through talking. In these cases, negotiation only starts when both sides realise that they cannot get what they want through fighting. A situation 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.

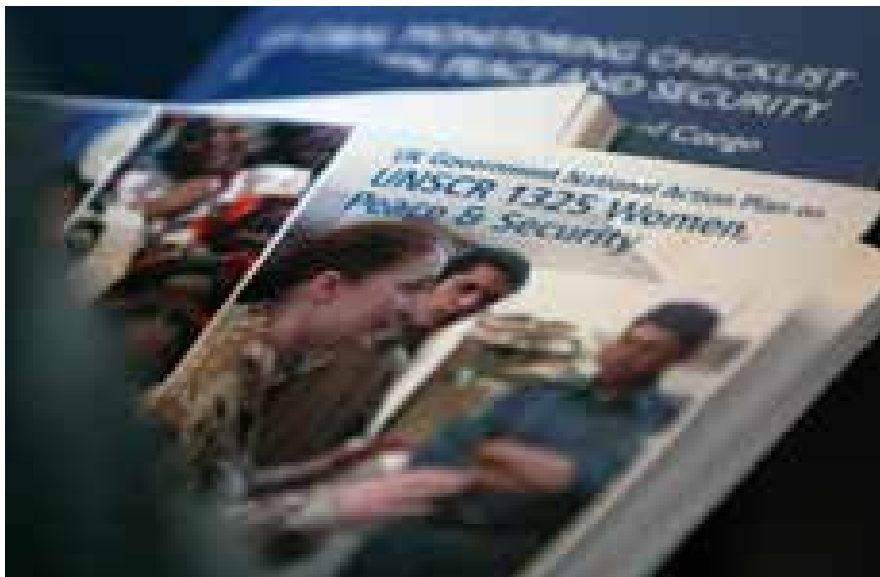


- **PROTECTION:** Female refugees and **internally displaced persons** have specific needs. Peacekeepers and refugee camp security have a duty to prevent violence against women and girls, and to not commit violent acts themselves.

- **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.

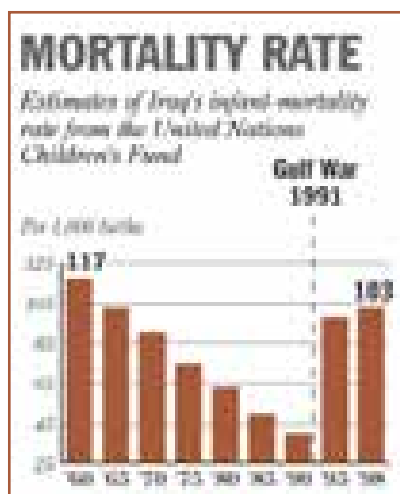
Are the statements true or false? If false, correct the statement.

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

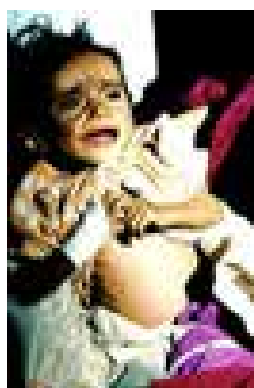
Sanctions are one way of peace enforcing. Sanctions are rules or restrictions. They are imposed on a government by outside countries. They are a way to force a government to do something, such as to end violent conflict or war.

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

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



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

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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.

ACTIVITY

WHAT DO WE NEED FROM PEACE?

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.

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 government officials)	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.

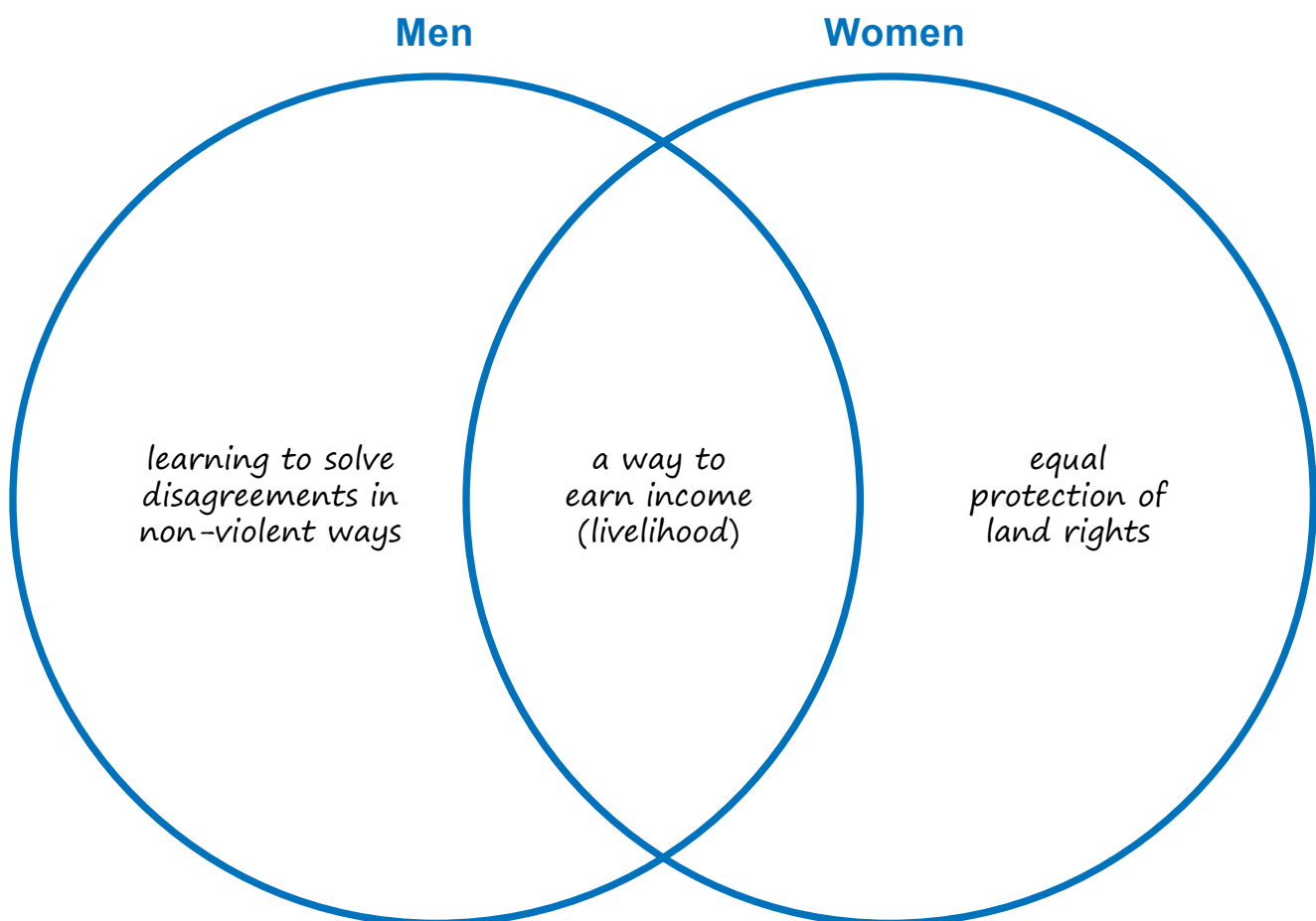
Land rights and property rights can also cause problems for women. If husbands, fathers, brothers or sons are the only legal owners of property, women can become homeless or unable to protect their resources during a violent conflict.

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?



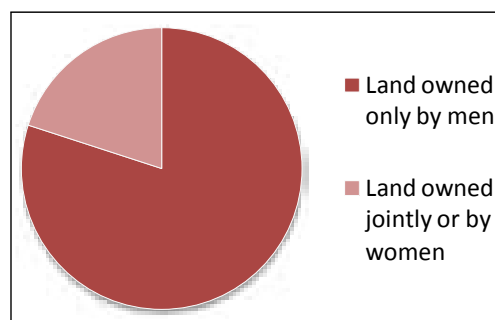


FOCUS ON MYANMAR: COMPLETE PEACE WITH LAND RIGHTS

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

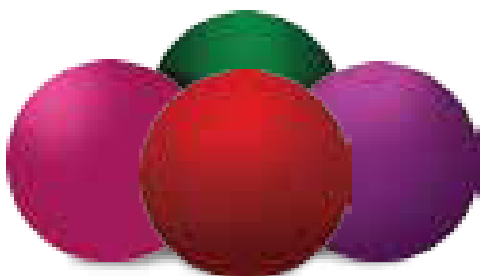
- Decide which peacebuilding sphere each activity should go in. You may choose more than one category for each activity.
 - Sending your children to attend a sports programme with children from an ethnic group that has a history of conflict with your community.
 - Participating in a protest for peace.
 - 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.

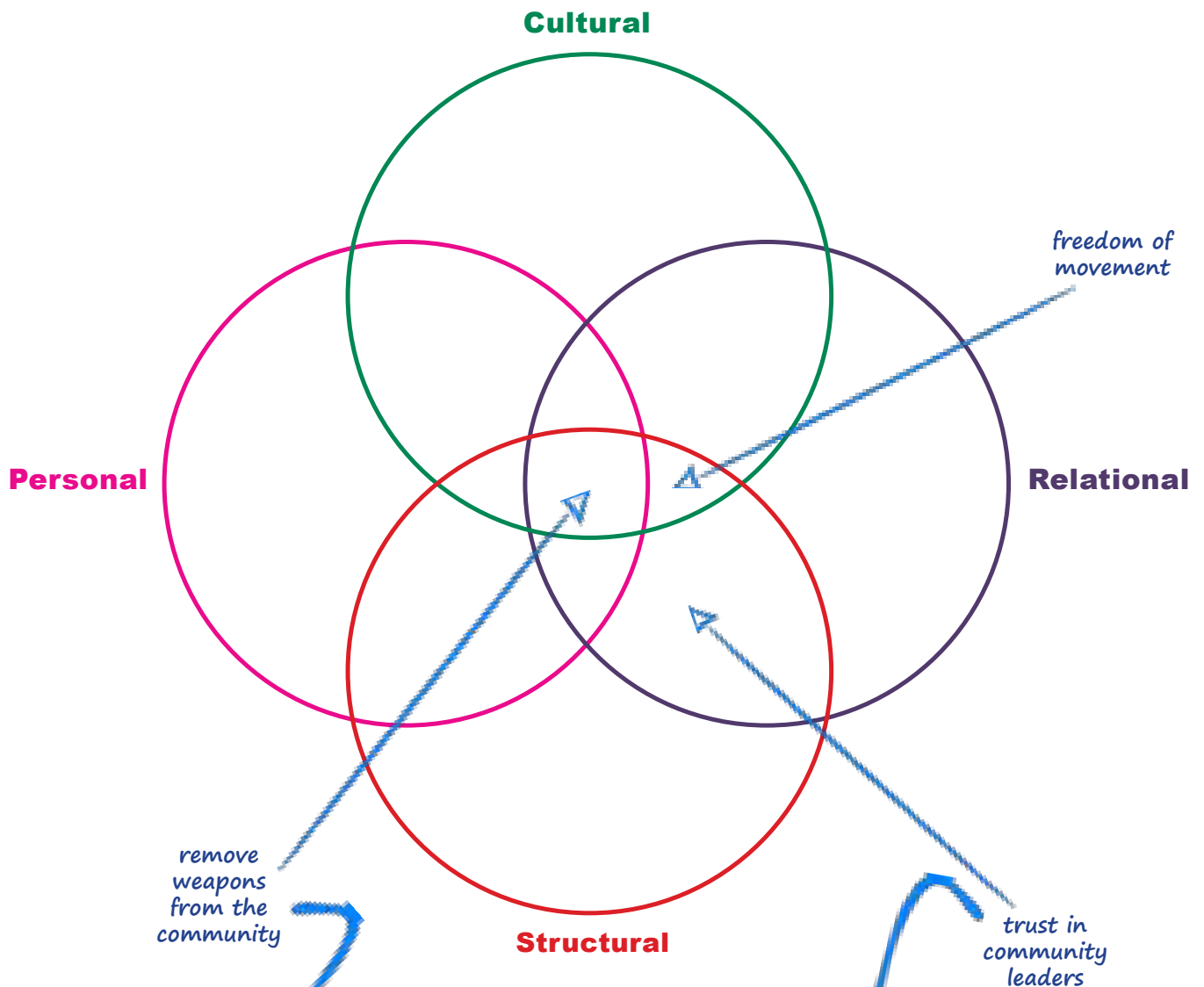


ACTIVITY

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.

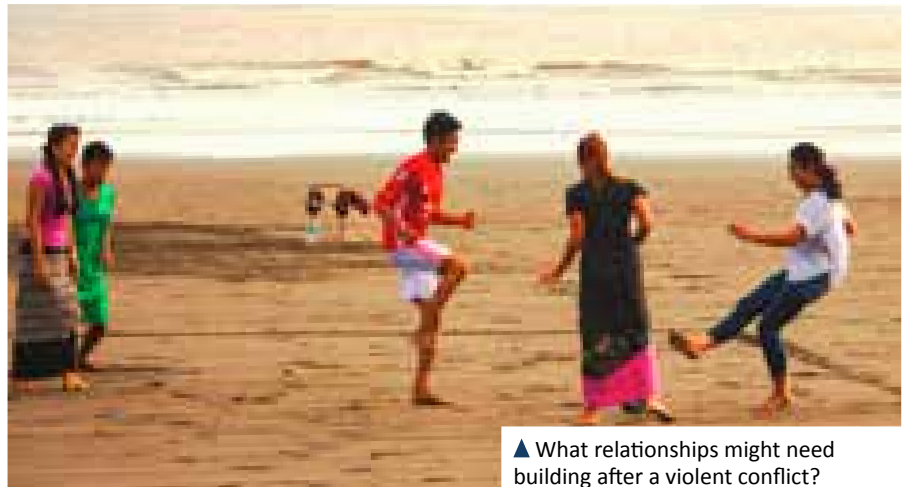
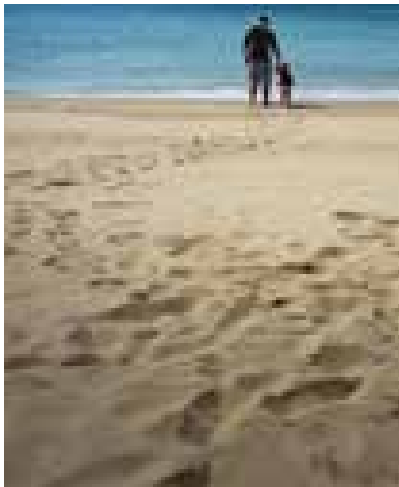
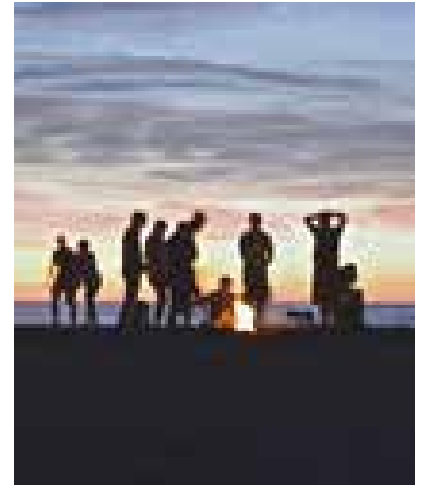
It is important to understand the difference between ceasefires and peace. Armies can make ceasefires between themselves, but they cannot make peace. Peace requires the people. It is a social issue and cannot be developed by military men. Peace cannot be developed without the leadership and support of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

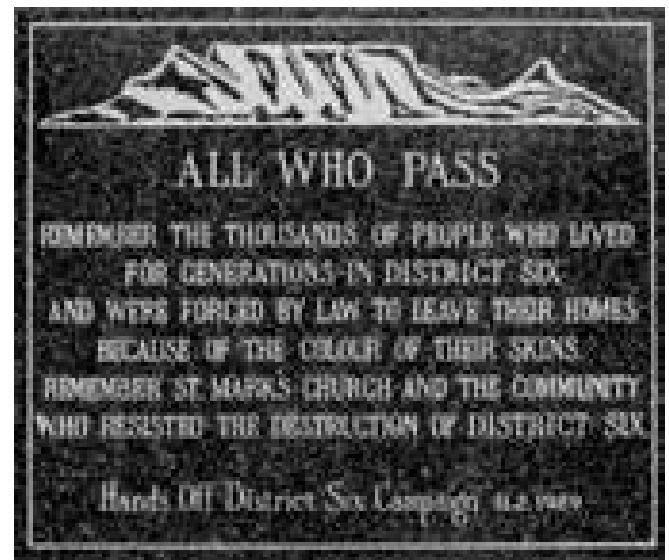
Some people believe that social justice and peace depend on one another. They believe that, to reach complete peace, there must also be social justice. Other people believe that peace and social justice are two very separate ideas, and that social justice should only come after incomplete peace has been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



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. ■



“THE S-21 PRISON HAS BEEN MADE INTO A MUSEUM THAT SHOWS THE ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE KHMER ROUGE.”

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

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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?



CHAPTER 4 – RECONCILIATION

LEARNING GOALS FOR CHAPTER 4

KNOWLEDGE

In this chapter, you will increase your knowledge of:

- the concept of reconciliation;
- the features of reconciliation;
- the role of memory in reconciliation;
- the stages of reconciliation;
- reconciliation between individuals and reconciliation at a national level.

SKILLS

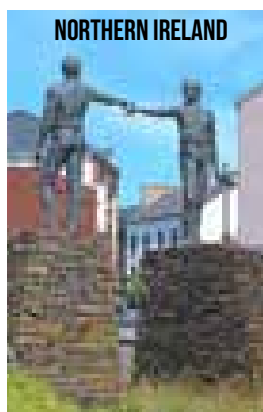
In this chapter, you will develop your ability to:

- define reconciliation;
- identify actions that support reconciliation;
- identify fundamental actions for reconciliation to be successful;
- choose appropriate methods of memorialisation;
- analyse stages of reconciliation;
- select actors and actions for reconciliation in individual communities.

VALUES

In this chapter, you will reflect on:

- reconciliation as a community process;
- reconciliation as an individual process;
- the inter-connectedness of truth, justice, security and mercy in reconciliation;
- the importance of shared identity as part of reconciliation;
- the power of memory;
- actions necessary for personal reconciliation.



▲ How can communities show and remember the suffering of the past but also look to the future?

PREVIEW

1. What does reconciliation mean? Which of these words gives the best definition?

Forgiveness Truth
Trust Coexistence
Mutual respect
Justice Security
Shared future
Non-violent conflict
Understanding

2. In pairs, explain why you chose it.
3. Translate reconciliation into your first language. Are there other words which have a similar meaning in your language?
4. When and where have you heard about reconciliation?

4.1 – WHAT IS RECONCILIATION?

Complete peace involves meeting people's needs and working towards justice. However, reconciliation is also important for complete peace. Reconciliation means rebuilding relationships between individuals and groups so that future conflicts do not become violent. A process of reconciliation looks at the past and the present. It searches for ways to repair relationships. Reconciliation involves thinking about the future, and planning for actors to live together peacefully.

Reconciliation is a process of people changing their attitudes, goals, emotions and beliefs. It does not happen quickly. These changes often take many decades, and more than one generation.

There is no perfect way of working towards reconciliation. Every conflict and every process of reconciliation is different. First, reconciliation must fit the cultures of the communities where the conflict took place. Second, reconciliation must come from inside the conflict-affected communities, not from outside. The most effective reconciliation processes are led by members of the conflict-affected communities. They use ideas, institutions and methods that are culturally appropriate and familiar to the conflict-affected community.

What must a society do to reach reconciliation? Reconciliation requires hard and sometimes emotionally-painful work.

EXERCISE

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

1. Reconciliation is part of complete peace.
2. Reconciliation is only concerned with the history of a conflict.
3. Reconciliation means that there is no violent conflict between actors.
4. Reconciliation can come from inside or outside the community.
5. Reconciliation is a long process.
6. Reconciliation is easy when it is led by someone who comes from within the conflict-affected community.



FOCUS ON MYANMAR: CABINET TO INCLUDE ETHNIC GROUPS, OTHER PARTIES

YANGON, Nov 26, 2015 – The leader of the National League for Democracy, Aung San Suu Kyi, has highlighted the need for national reconciliation. She said that Myanmar's new cabinet will include members of other political parties and representatives of ethnic minorities.

The NLD won a majority in both houses of Myanmar's parliament and was also successful in state and regional parliaments.

But Daw Suu has said that the new government will work for reconciliation between the country's many ethnic groups and political parties. She said, "Our party has won a very large majority of the seats but we won't take them all."

"As I said earlier, we will cooperate with others and share our success with them to build national reconciliation. Of course the NLD will lead. It is a duty that the people have given to us. We will include ethnic representatives who are not NLD members and others who can benefit the country."

Daw Suu confirmed Mahn Win Khaing Than was the NLD nominee for Speaker of the Upper House, the Amyotha Hluttaw. Mahn Win Khaing Than (top left) is an ethnic Kayin.

U T Khun Myat (bottom right), an ethnic Kachin, was nominated as Deputy Speaker for the Pyithu Hluttaw, or Lower House. U Aye Thar Aung (top right), an ethnic Rakhine member of the Arakan National Party, was put forward as Deputy Speaker of the Amyotha Hluttaw. The nominations were presented as an act of national reconciliation.

U T Khun Myat's nomination was controversial because he is a member of the Union Solidarity and Development Party.

Sources: <http://www.mmmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/18741-nld-s-choice-of-former-militia-leader-for-deputy-speaker-proves-controversial.html>
<http://www.irrawaddy.com/election/news/suu-kyisays-myanmar-cabinet-to-include-ethnic-groups-other-parties>



1. What has the NLD done as part of their effort for reconciliation?
2. How will the NLD's actions contribute to reconciliation in Myanmar?
3. Did the NLD accomplish its goal of reconciliation?

ACTIVITY

WHAT IS RECONCILIATION?

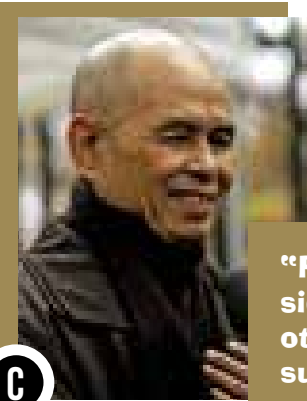
1. Choose the quote that you think best describes reconciliation.
2. Find a partner who chose a different quote. Explain your choice.
3. In pairs, create a definition of reconciliation that includes the ideas from both quotes. Put your definition on the wall.
4. Walk around and read the other definitions. As a class, organise the definitions into categories based on their similarities and differences. What categories did your class choose?



**"If there is to be reconciliation, first there must be truth."
– Timothy B. Tyson**

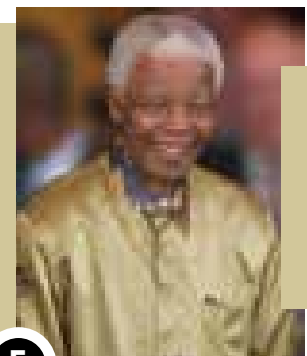
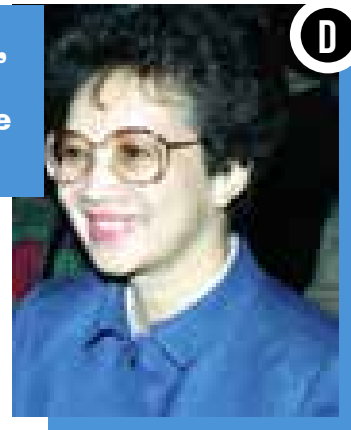


"Many people today agree that we need to reduce violence in our society. If we are serious about this, we must deal with the roots of violence, including the violence within ourselves. We need to embrace "inner disarmament", reducing our emotions of suspicion, hatred and hostility toward others." – Dalai Lama XIV



"Reconciliation is to understand both sides; to go to one side and describe the suffering being endured by the other side, and then go to the other side and describe the suffering being endured by the first side." – Thich Nhat Hanh

"Reconciliation should be accompanied by justice, otherwise it will not last. While we all hope for peace, it shouldn't be peace at any cost but peace based on principle, on justice." – Corazon Aquino



"If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner." – Nelson Mandela

DISCUSSION

1. Who should take part in reconciliation for it to be successful?
2. How is reconciliation at the community and national levels different?
3. What might prevent reconciliation from happening?

4.2 – FEATURES OF RECONCILIATION

Successful reconciliation must be designed and started inside the society that experienced violent conflict. There are four features of successful reconciliation. All four features work together to make reconciliation sustainable. The four features of reconciliation are: *truth*, *justice*, *security* and **mercy**.

PREVIEW

Reconciliation is
"a meeting ground
where trust and mercy
have met, and where
justice and peace have
kissed."

– John Paul Lederach

1. Draw a picture illustrating this quote.
2. Why do trust, mercy, justice and peace have to meet?



Truth: This is the idea that everyone experiences a conflict differently. There is truth in every person's experience. Actors on all sides of a conflict must recognise that their truth is not the only truth. For victims of violence, truth means that their pain and suffering is acknowledged by society. This can give victims a feeling of closure (or the ability to continue with their lives and not always think about their suffering). Truth provides emotional healing. For those who committed violence, truth means they cannot deny what has happened. They have to take responsibility for their actions.



Justice: This is the idea that balance must be returned to a community. It is also the idea of "righting a wrong", or taking action to improve the lives of the people who experienced injustice. Justice looks different in each community, but if a person has been harmed, something must be done to repair the harm. Actors must accept responsibility for the harm that their actions have caused others, and take steps to repair the damage.



Security: This is the idea that people need to feel physically, mentally and emotionally safe. Successful reconciliation means that individuals and groups can plan to live together peacefully in the future. Reconciliation cannot happen when there is still active fighting or physical violence. For relationships to be repaired, actors need to know that they have physical security.



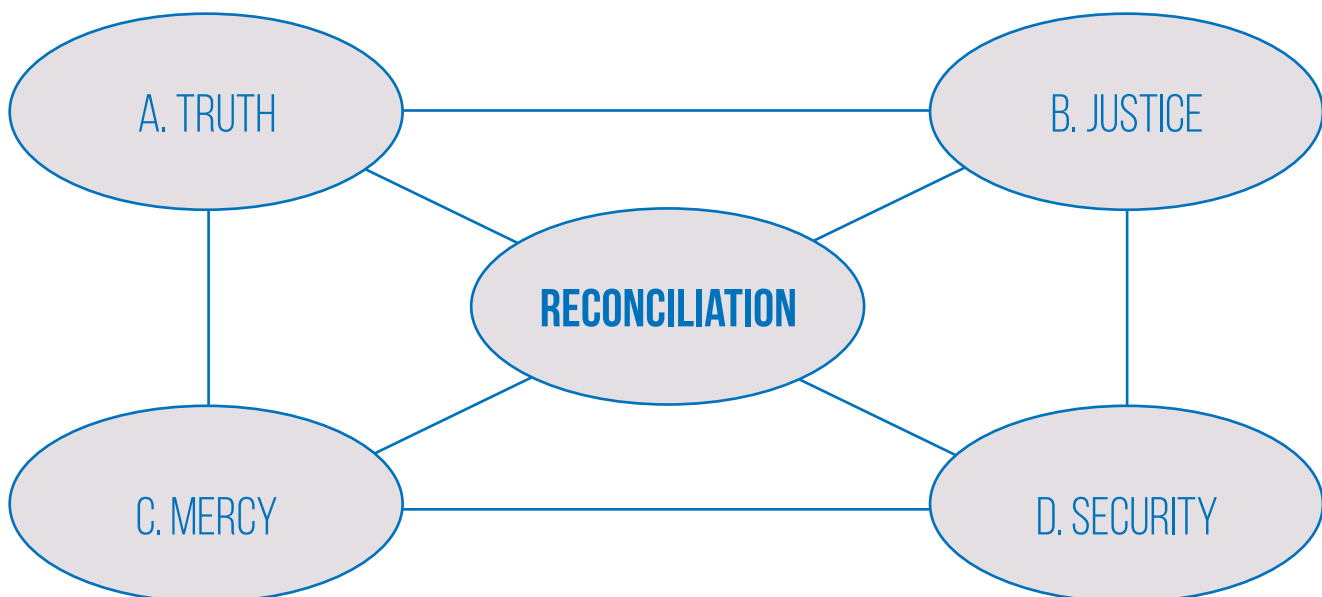
Mercy: This is the idea that victims of violence and perpetrators of violence respect each other's common humanity. All human beings equally deserve to have dignity and be treated as human beings.

People may feel anger, fear, guilt and mistrust after a conflict. However, mercy means agreeing on a shared idea for the future. Mercy can mean forgiveness, but it does not have to. Some people are not able to forgive those who have hurt them. However, they can respect each other's humanity and share a desire for peace.

EXERCISE

Match the statement with the feature of reconciliation that it describes.

1. The experiences of all people in the conflict are shared and accepted as real.
2. All people are willing to work together for a peaceful future.
3. There is more than one history of a conflict.
4. People do not expect violence to continue.
5. People take responsibility for their actions during a conflict.
6. People who were harmed during a conflict do not feel harmed anymore.
7. Conversations between people can happen without fear of violence.
8. People can accept forgiveness for their actions during a conflict.
9. A general who ordered an attack on a village builds an orphanage and a school in that village.



ACTIVITY

RECONCILIATION CORNERS

1. Choose a corner of the room according to which feature of reconciliation that you think is the most important: truth, justice, mercy or security.
2. In groups with the other people in your corner, discuss this question: Why is your feature of reconciliation the most important?
3. List as many reasons as you can to support your answer.



FOCUS ON MYANMAR: WE CAN BRING ABOUT BOTH – JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

August 2013 was the 25th anniversary of 1988 nationwide protests for democracy. Min Ko Naing was one of the leaders of that uprising. He spent most of the next two and a half decades in prison. He and many other political prisoners were released in early 2012. He is a founding member of the 88 Generation Peace & Open Society Organisation, a group that advocates for democracy and human rights in Myanmar.



Min Ko Naing is also actively seeking national reconciliation. However, he also continues to seek accountability for human rights abuses committed in the past. In this interview he says that uncovering the truth about the past is not about seeking revenge.

Q: Do you think it will be very difficult to achieve reconciliation in Myanmar without compromising justice? How will the 88 Generation Peace & Open Society Organisation seek justice for those who have suffered in the past for their role in the struggle?

A: I think we can bring about both – justice and reconciliation. Of course, it is important to find out the truth in a public and open way. We can learn lessons from the past only if we uncover the truth. But this doesn't mean seeking revenge. So first we have to know the truth. Then we have to take responsibility together to make sure that injustice doesn't happen again.

These days, we can see many reports about human rights violations in the past. So far, I haven't seen any actions taken by the authorities against those publications. I think it's all part of discovering the truth. But we are not yet in a position where the whole country knows the whole truth about what happened in the past.

Q: Your group has decided to make peace and reconciliation the theme of its commemoration of the 1988 uprising. Why did you choose that topic?

A: Peace and reconciliation are essential if we want to move forward. However, we will also organize exhibitions about what happened in the past. We will continue to share information about what really happened, and not turn our backs on the truth.

Source: <http://www.irrawaddy.com/magazine/we-can-bring-about-both-justice-and-reconciliation.html>

1. What does Min Ko Naing believe are the most important features of reconciliation?
2. He says that reconciliation is not about seeking revenge and that everyone must take responsibility for preventing injustice. What feature(s) of reconciliation is he talking about?
3. How can he get the reconciliation he is seeking?

1. Think of conflicts in your community or country. Is there one feature of reconciliation that you think is most important? Which feature is it, and why do you think it is the most important?
2. Is there a feature of reconciliation that would be difficult to do in your community or country? Why is it difficult?

REFLECTION

▼ Why do some countries have statues of people who died during conflicts?



PREVIEW

1. What would a relationship be like if the actors only had bad memories of each other?
2. How do negative memories lead to destructive conflict?

4.3 – RECONCILIATION AND MEMORY

Truth, justice, security and mercy are the foundations of reconciliation. However, memory is also closely linked to reconciliation. This is because memory is a very powerful part of individual and group identities.

Reconciliation does not mean forgetting a conflict. It is impossible to force people to forget the past. It is also harmful. It can lead to more violence. Reconciliation is impossible if people force others to forget what has happened to them. Forcing a community to forget means that:

- the pain of victims is not known to the public;
- perpetrators do not have to take responsibility for their actions;
- future generations do not have the chance to learn from the mistakes of the past.

Reconciliation is possible if people can remember what happened to them without feeling too much pain or anger. However, memory can also be used to divide groups and prevent healing. Memory must be balanced: too much bad memory, or being forced to forget, makes reconciliation impossible.

Memory can help reconciliation because:

- memory can warn future generations of possible conflict;
- memory helps future generations be active participants in creating reconciliation and complete peace.

Memorializing is part of transitional justice. It is also part of reconciliation. It is important to create holidays and spaces where people can remember what happened to them or their ancestors. However, memorializing should not be used to divide groups.

Memorials to...: Japanese civilians killed when the USA dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in World War II; Victims of the Pinochet regime, Chile, 1973 to 1990; people killed in the Czech Republic during the Communist era.



1. Read the scenarios. Put each scenario on the spectrum to indicate what it might lead to: reconciliation or violent conflict.
 - a. A memorial statue is created for the government soldiers who died in a civil war. Memorials for other groups who fought are not allowed.
 - b. The central government writes the school history textbooks in an ethnically and religiously diverse country. They include only the perspective of the main ethnic group. The books have to be used in all schools.
 - c. Protests are held on the anniversary of the deaths of two young women who were killed under suspicious circumstances in a conflict area.
 - d. A national Day of Remembrance is created for all the people who died during recent intergroup violence.
 - e. Ethnic youth from some of the major ethnic groups attend a national youth conference to celebrate a peace treaty.
 - f. Veterans from all sides of a civil war are invited to march in a parade during a country's National Day celebrations.
 - g. Citizens of a small town rename the streets with ethnic language names.
 - h. All high school students in a country are required to take both a national history class and an ethnic history class.
2. Think of two more memory actions. Add them to the spectrum.

ACTIVITY

RECONCILIATION SPECTRUM





FOCUS ON MYANMAR: TAUKKYAN WAR CEMETERY, A MEMORIAL IN YANGON

Taukkyan War Cemetery is a memorial for foreign soldiers who died fighting for the British Army in Myanmar in World War II. It was opened five years after the end of the war and is supported and maintained by the UK. It is one of the most visited war memorials in Asia.

The cemetery has graves for over 6,000 soldiers who died and whose bodies were recovered and could be buried here. It also includes the names of over 27,000 soldiers who died in Myanmar but who have no graves.



Many of the names belong to African and Indian soldiers who fought and died for the British Empire in Myanmar.

The words, "They died for all free men", is written at the memorial in English, Myanmar, Hindi, Urdu, and Gurmukhi (Punjabi).

Source: Text adapted from Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taukkyan_War_Cemetery

1. What part of Myanmar's history does the cemetery memorialise?
2. How does this war memorial contribute to making Myanmar a more peaceful country?

ACTIVITY

CHOOSING MEMORY SPACES

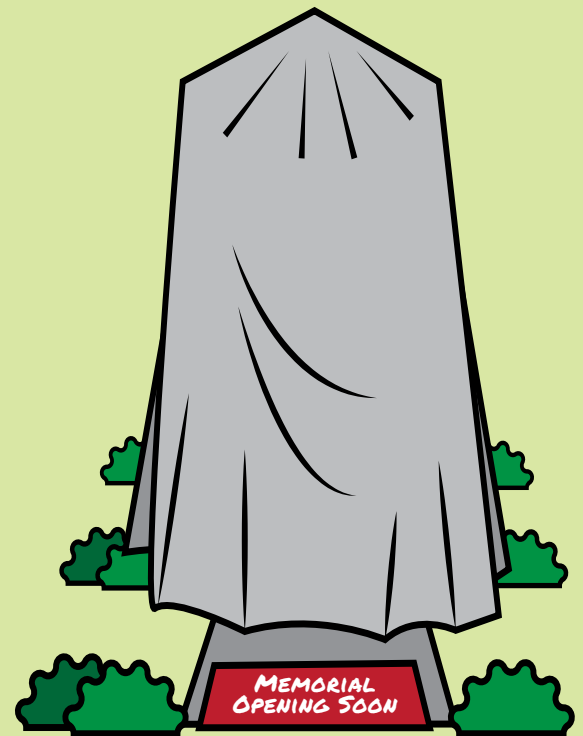
1. Think of a historical conflict from your country or community.
2. Read the examples of memorials below. Rank the list based on which you think would be most effective (1), or least effective (7), for memorializing the conflict.
 - a. A garden dedicated to people who died during the conflict.
 - b. A bridge named after a hero of the conflict.
 - c. Statues showing people's suffering during the conflict.
 - d. A library with books that share the histories, cultures, and stories of people from both sides of a conflict.
 - e. A public building that displays written peace agreements in the languages of all actors involved in the conflict.
 - f. A yearly theatre performance showing how violence ended and peace was reached.
 - g. A headstone or tomb with the names of all those who disappeared during the conflict.
3. Answer the questions.
 - a. How did you decide what would be most and least effective for memorializing the conflict that you chose?
 - b. Would any of the people affected by the conflict be uncomfortable with your choice? Why?
 - c. What other ways can you memorialise the conflict that you chose?

Design a memorial to help people remember a conflict in their community or country.

1. Think about a violent conflict that you know. It can be a historical conflict or a current conflict.
2. Make a list or draw a mindmap of all the memory needs that that community has. For example:
 - Should it be a place for people to remember their loved ones?
 - Should it be a place where stories between survivors are shared and made public?
 - Should women or men have a separate place for their individual memories?
3. Create a model or a plan for your memorial.
 - This model or plan can be a drawing, or you can build something using resources from your environment, like scraps of paper and recycled plastics.
 - You can even use things from nature, like sticks, leaves, and rocks to make your model.
 - **Remember:** memory should not be used to divide groups of people who had conflict. Try to imagine the memory needs of all actors and their communities, and design something to meet those needs.
4. Present your model to the class and explain how your design meets the needs of everyone who experienced conflict in your community.

ACTIVITY

DESIGN A MEMORIAL



1. Get a picture of a memorial in your community or country. Use the bullet points below to help you choose a memorial.
 - Take a photograph, find a picture online or draw a picture of a memorial that you know.
 - Memorials can be places, like statues, walls, museums, or gardens. They can also be days of celebration and remembrance.
 - Memorials can even be parades or other events.
2. Answer the questions.
 - a. Is this a space where all individuals and groups can come to remember the conflict? Which actors would come here? Which actors would not come here?
 - b. Which memories from the conflict is it memorializing?
 - c. Is there too much memory here (people feel overwhelmed by grief and anger) or is there not enough memory here (details and truths are missing)?
 - d. Would you ever add or remove something from this memorial? What would it be?
3. Present the image, with your answers, to the class.

ACTIVITY

WHOSE MEMORY IS IT?



FOCUS ON MYANMAR: MYANMAR TO FOLLOW CAMBODIA IN DOCUMENTING HISTORY

Myanmar is in the process of setting up a documentation centre to reflect on decades of human rights abuses. It is getting ideas from the records of Tuol Sleng prison in Cambodia.

Chit Min Lay and Nang Htoi Rawng have spent the past month in Cambodia working with the Documentation Centre of Cambodia (DC-Cam). DC-Cam collects evidence about the crimes of the Khmer Rouge. They have collected one million old documents. These range from Khmer Rouge notebooks to photographs.

The 'Unofficial Truth Project' is run by the Network for Human Rights Documentation-Burma (ND-Burma). ND-Burma aims to create an accurate record of abuses to advocate for justice and to use as evidence in any future trials.

One of ND-Burma's goals is to create a documentation centre for Myanmar. ND-Burma's record-keeping of human rights abuses is only starting.

Chit Min Lay works for The 88 Generation Peace and Open Society Organisation. It is part of the 'Unofficial Truth Project'. He wants to document what happened to him and many of his friends who were also arrested. "I want to show the next generation that we were arrested by the military. I want to inform [people]."

Nang Htoi Rawng is the coordinator of the Documentation and Research Program at the Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT). She was also elected to represent KWAT in ND-Burma last year. One of her responsibilities is documenting human rights violations by the State. Her work includes interviews with victims and taking photos of the wounded and injured.

Recently she went to Cambodia with Chit Min Lay. There they learned the best ways to keep records. Nang Htoi Rawng says seeing how Cambodia has recorded its past brings her hope. "But we need bigger things. DC-Cam has a system, but for us it's still a bit weak."

She wants to see former leaders, soldiers and police put on trial, like in Cambodia. But first there must be reconciliation. She says, "I just want them to be accountable for what they have done for more than 50 years."

Source: <http://www.mmmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/8193-myanmar-to-follow-cambodia-s-lead-in-documenting-recent-history.html>



1. How does document collection support memorialisation and reconciliation?
2. What does Nang Htoi Rawng say is necessary before justice?
3. Do you agree with Nang Htoi Rawng?

REFLECTION

1. What role does memory play in your community?
2. Has memory negatively or positively impacted reconciliation of conflicts in your community? Why do you think it has had these impacts?
3. How could memory spaces be improved in your community so that they support reconciliation?



▲ What changes take place for these two families from the first picture to the third?

4.4 – STAGES OF RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation involves all members of society. Reconciliation must include the people who were harmed during a conflict (victims) and it must include the people who caused the harm (perpetrators). However, reconciliation is for everyone. In violent conflict, there is often an “us vs them” mentality. Different groups of people dislike others because they come from a different group. In this way, conflict can impact a whole society.

When whole groups dislike and distrust each other, reconciliation must happen between everyone, not only the individuals who were directly involved in the violence. An important part of reconciliation is changing the social or cultural beliefs that support violent conflict.

Sometimes amnesties or **immunity** are part of a reconciliation process. Amnesty means that people who took part in violence can continue living their lives without punishment for their actions. Some people believe that amnesty is the only way to end violent conflict so society can move forward. Others are opposed to this. Immunity is when an individual or group is protected from legal punishment after participating in a violent conflict. Some people believe that immunity is necessary for ending violence and preventing future conflict. However, others think it is unjust.

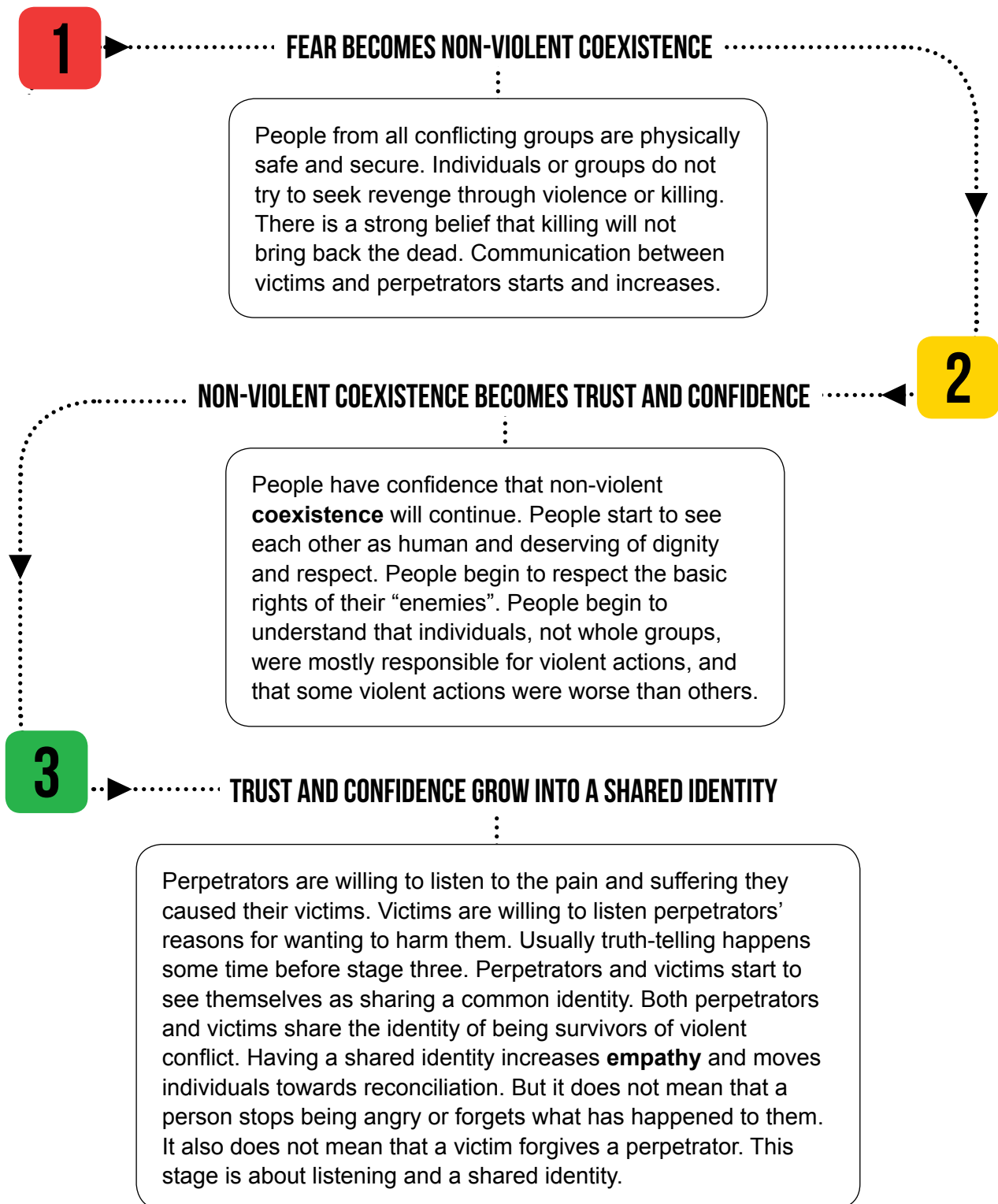
1. Is it possible to have long-lasting reconciliation when some people have **amnesty** or immunity?
2. What reasons are there for giving people immunity or amnesty?
3. Can you think of any examples when people have been given amnesty or immunity as part of reconciliation after a violent conflict?

PREVIEW

1. What do people need in order to start the process of reconciliation?
2. What could prevent reconciliation from happening?

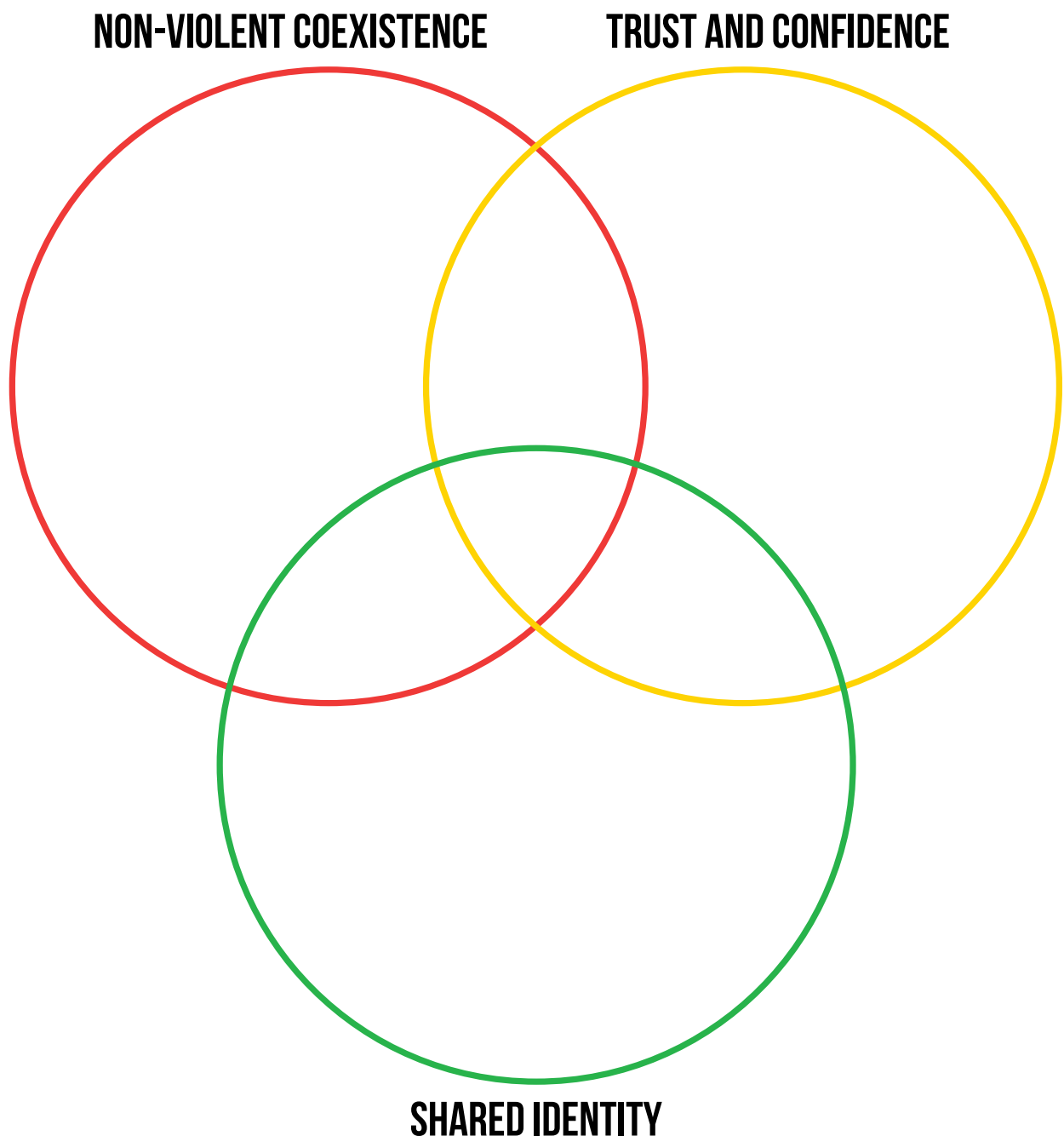
DISCUSSION

Reconciliation happens at all levels of society. Reconciliation between nations and groups often happens much more quickly than reconciliation between individuals. Let's look at the three stages of reconciliation.



ACTIVITY**WHAT STAGE OF RECONCILIATION?**

1. Put activities a – g into the Venn diagram to show which stage of reconciliation they happen in.
 - a. Truth and reconciliation commissions are held.
 - b. Curfew in a conflict area is lifted.
 - c. Community leaders have a dialogue with each other.
 - d. Farmers from opposite sides of the conflict work together to transport their crops to markets.
 - e. In a fair and just war crimes trial, some people get amnesty and some go to jail.
 - f. All groups from the conflict have equal opportunity to participate in the selection of leaders.
 - g. Groups from opposite sides of the conflict work together to increase economic development.
2. Add two or three activities of your own to the diagram.





FOCUS ON MYANMAR: DEBATE OVER JUSTICE FOR 1988

Last week [6 – 9 August, 2013], activists and members of the public took part in the 25th anniversary of the 1988 uprising. Human rights groups and individuals have talked about getting justice for the people who were killed in 1988.

On August 6, Human Rights Watch made a statement calling on President U Thein Sein to begin a formal investigation into the 1988 crackdown. The group said, "The government should show that it stands with the Myanmar people and not with the killers of the past."



U Zaw Myint Maung is an NLD MP. He said that he would support such a truth and reconciliation commission because it could help to achieve "peaceful change".

Some activists have also looked at the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and at Cambodia. There, Khmer Rouge leaders from the past have been put on trial in recent years.

The advocacy group Documentation Center-Cambodia partnered with the Myanmar branch of Network for Human Rights Documentation for a workshop called "Human Rights Documentation as a Tool for Dealing with the Past and Moving on to the Future".

The meeting "aimed to introduce the basic concept of a truth commission ... [and] how Myanmar could implement a truth commission like Cambodia's during this period of political transition".

However, a spokesperson for Human Rights Watch said that Myanmar should not simply copy another country's example of transitional justice. He said, "The context in Myanmar is quite unique. You can't simply take the model from a different country."

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa pardoned Apartheid-era criminals if they admitted their crimes. The spokesperson said that a truth commission like the South African one could damage people's trust in the peace process. He said, "There has to be clear justice and accountability."

He said the process should start with a dialogue between "communities, the government and the military" to know more about what happened in 1988.

He said that the truth about 1988 is more complicated than many people think. This is because the police and military were not the only people to commit crimes during the uprising. There were also examples of civilians attacking the homes and families of police and others who they thought worked for the government.

The spokesperson also said the events in Yangon made him hopeful that the process could begin now. "The three days of celebrations were very peaceful. There was no anti-government speeches. It was quite optimistic and positive ... It shows that it's possible to openly discuss these issues."

Source: <http://www.mmmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/7819-debate-over-justice-for-1988.html>

1. What are the benefits of having a truth commission about the events of 1988?
2. What could be the difficulties of having a truth commission?
3. What stage of reconciliation does the spokesperson for Human Rights Watch think Myanmar is at regarding 1988?

1. Think about an interpersonal or intergroup conflict that you are a part of. Write your answers to these questions on four pieces of paper:
 - a. Who do I need to reconcile or rebuild a relationship with?
 - b. What is my biggest challenge to having reconciliation?
 - c. Who do I need to forgive, or who can I forgive, or who do I want to forgive?
 - d. Who do I want or need forgiveness from?
2. Students put their answers on the wall. Walk around the room reading other students' answers.

ACTIVITY

RECONCILIATION FOR ME



1. Which stage of reconciliation might take the longest? Why?
 2. Is reconciliation ever something that is finished? Explain.
 3. How do the different stages of reconciliation help people to have constructive conflict?
 4. How do the different stages of reconciliation help to prevent destructive and violent conflict?
-
1. What are individual actions that you could take to support reconciliation in your community or country?
 2. What actions could members of your community take to support reconciliation?
 3. Are there any people or actions that might prevent reconciliation from happening in your community?

DISCUSSION

REFLECTION

CONCLUSION

RECONCILIATION SPACES



Reconciliation: Frequently Asked Questions

How Does Reconciliation Start?

With a meeting between individuals or groups, so they can start to rebuild relationships. This meeting can be formal or informal.

Who Should Lead the Meeting?

It may be helpful to have a mediator who is trusted by both sides but a mediator is not always necessary.

Where Should Groups Meet?

Having a safe place for these meetings is very important. One way to decide where to meet (and who could lead the meeting) is to map the community.

1. Imagine a conflict in your community. The conflict should be intergroup or involve many different people.
2. Create a map of your conflict. Use the guidelines below.
3. Add yourself to the map.
4. Answer these questions:
 - a. What stage of reconciliation am I at with this conflict?
 - b. Where do I feel comfortable with reconciliation happening?
 - c. Who can support me in the process of reconciliation?

Peace Team International - Guide to Community Mapping

Draw a map of your community on a large piece of paper. Include these important spaces:

- Spaces where the conflict happened, such as houses, roads, rivers, mountains, fields, etc.
- Community spaces such as places of worship, schools, government buildings, football fields, markets, CSOs/CBOs etc.

In red, mark the places where the first stage of reconciliation could happen: non-violent coexistence. Write a few actions that people from your community can take to make non-violent coexistence possible.

In blue, mark the places where the second stage of reconciliation could happen: trust and confidence. Write a few actions that people from your community can take to build trust and confidence in each other and their relationships.

In green, mark the places where the third stage of reconciliation could happen: people from the conflict develop a shared identity. Write a few ideas for the shared identities that people might develop.

In brown or black, draw and label the people that can provide support for each stage of reconciliation.

- e.g.: if you drew a temple as a place where non-violent coexistence happens, you could also draw a monk as a person who supports this reconciliation by helping people talk with each other.
- e.g.: if you drew a school as a place of trust and confidence, you could also show a teacher helping two students of different cultures or backgrounds resolve a problem they are having with each other.

CHAPTER 5 – BOTTOM-UP PEACEBUILDING

LEARNING GOALS FOR CHAPTER 5

KNOWLEDGE

In this chapter, you will increase your knowledge of:

- different levels of leadership in peacebuilding;
- appropriate activities for peacebuilding at the grassroots level;
- activities for bridge-building;
- activities for reconciliation;
- activities for challenging structural violence;
- gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding;
- appropriate strategies for creating peaceful change.

SKILLS

In this chapter, you will develop your ability to:

- select appropriate leaders based on a peacebuilding goal;
- select appropriate activities based on a peacebuilding goal;
- identify individual actions that contribute to peace;
- integrate gender equality into grassroots peacebuilding;
- design an effective community peace project.

VALUES

In this chapter, you will reflect on:

- the importance of choosing appropriate leaders in peacebuilding;
- the importance of choosing appropriate activities for peacebuilding;
- the role of ordinary citizens in building peace;
- the role of individuals in building peace;
- gender equality in all types of peacebuilding.

PREVIEW

1. Who is most responsible for building peace – leaders or individual people?
2. Who is most successful at building peace?



5.1 – LEADERSHIP IN PEACEBUILDING

Peacebuilding takes place on many different levels and is carried out by many different actors. There are typically three levels of society that have a role in peacebuilding: top, middle level, and grassroots. In order to move towards complete peace, leaders from every group must be included in peacebuilding.

TOP LEADERS

Top leaders operate at the national level and make decisions that affect the whole country. Examples include presidents and other political leaders, military generals and important religious leaders.

Top leaders often take part in negotiations or international/national level peace processes. These people have the ability to make national agreements and enforce those agreements.

MIDDLE-LEVEL LEADERS

Middle-level leaders operate at a national level, but do not have the power to make decisions that affect the whole country. Examples include some religious and minority group leaders, important activists, intellectuals, local politicians, and national or international NGOs.

Middle-level leaders are often well known and have a lot of public support. There is less pressure on them than on top leaders, so they can make decisions more freely.

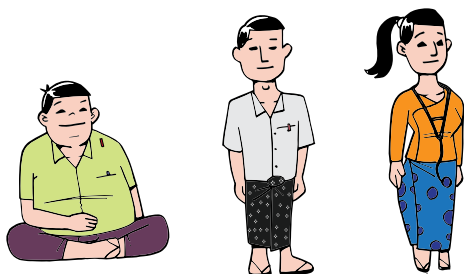
Middle-level leaders can connect grassroots leaders and top leaders, and open space for peacebuilding at the grassroots level.

GRASSROOTS LEADERS

Grassroots leaders operate at the community level and make decisions that affect their community. Examples include local leaders; elders; local women's, youth or other activist groups; teachers and community health and social workers.

In conflict areas, grassroots leaders are in direct contact with people who are affected by conflict. Often, they are directly affected by conflict themselves. As a result, grassroots leaders understand conflict situations very well, including the perspectives of the people in their community.

The diagram on the next page shows the three levels of leadership. It also gives examples of the kinds of activities that leaders at different levels may do within a community or society.



TOP LEVEL

MILITARY, POLITICIANS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS

- Negotiating and enforcing national and/or international agreements.
- Mediating between large and/or powerful actors.
- Raising awareness about situations of violent conflict.
- Organising peacemaking and peacekeeping activities.
- Organising or participating in high-level negotiations.
- Organising or participating in inter-religious and inter-ethnic dialogue.
- Dealing with top leaders from other countries.

MIDDLE LEVEL

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS, INTELLECTUALS,
INFLUENTIAL NGO LEADERS

- Providing training on conflict resolution and problem solving.
- Promoting reconciliation (with or without support from top leaders).
- Mediating between medium-sized conflict actors.
- Being active in the media.
- Advocacy.
- Creating networks of people interested in peace.
- Participating in religious or ethnic dialogue.
- Bridge-building between hostile communities.

GRASSROOTS LEVEL

LOCAL LEADERS, ELDERS, NGOS AND SOCIAL WORKERS,
WOMEN'S AND YOUTH GROUPS, LOCAL HEALTH WORKERS,
PEACE ACTIVISTS.

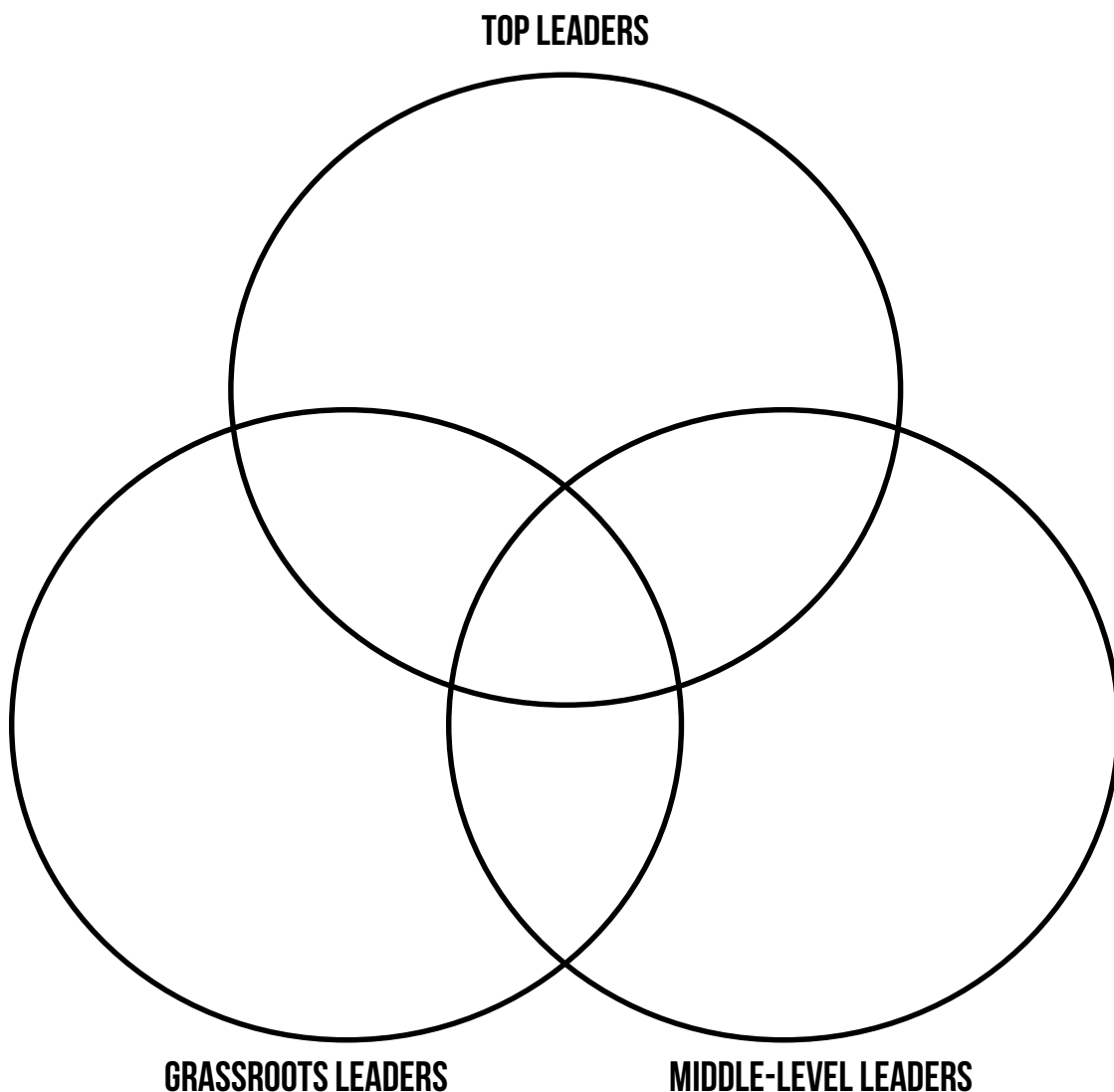
- Community trainings on conflict transformation, advocacy, peace and human rights education.
- Bridge-building between local hostile communities.
- Community mental health care and trauma support.
- Promoting reconciliation.
- Helping to reintegrate former soldiers, internally displaced persons and refugees back into their community.
- Working together with local peacebuilding organisations.
- Supporting and participating in community, religious or ethnic dialogues.

ACTIVITY

PEACEBUILDING ACTIVITIES

1. Sort the peacebuilding activities into the diagram based on which level of leader is most appropriate.
2. Add two or more additional activities to the diagram.

- a. train teachers to identify trauma in children
- b. organise a nationwide truth and reconciliation commission
- c. start a student exchange programme for youth from different ethnic or religious groups
- d. provide training for ceasefire monitoring
- e. ask for international support from organisations like Mine Awareness Group to do demining activities
- f. organise a parliamentary investigation into a violent event
- g. publish a report about human rights abuses during a period of conflict
- h. create a ceasefire negotiation team
- i. collect testimonies from women affected by conflict
- j. provide peace education training for teachers in IDP and refugee camps
- k. create billboards showing children's artwork from war-affected areas
- l. provide former soldiers with training in sustainable farming and access to loans for seed and fertiliser



ACTIVITY

PEACEBUILDING ORGANISATIONS

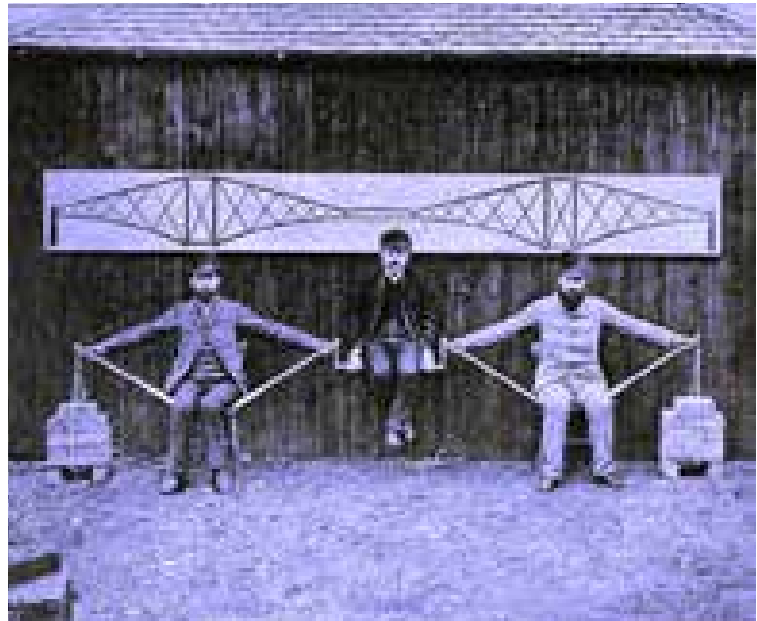
1. Make a list of the activities that you have participated in that had one (or more) of the following effects:
 - Built positive relationships;
 - Prevented violence from escalating;
 - Challenged structural violence;
 - Increased social justice.
2. Look back at your list. Choose the activity that you are most involved in or that is most important to you.
3. Think of a local or national organisation that carries out that activity. If you do not know of any, invent an organisation.
4. Find out the following information about the organisation:
 - a. How does this organisation (and the activities it carries out) support complete peace?
 - b. Who are the groups that this organisation focuses on or targets?
 - c. Which level of leadership does this organisation work on?
 - d. What successes has this organisation had?
 - e. What challenges does this organisation face? What do they do to overcome these challenges?
5. Present your findings to the class.



1. Is it possible to achieve complete peace without the involvement of all three levels of leadership? Why or why not?
 2. Do you agree that everyone has a responsibility for achieving peace? Why or why not?
 3. Do you think some people have more responsibilities to build peace than others? Why or why not?
-
1. What level of peacebuilding do you work on?
 2. What activities or organisations could you work with to be more involved in peacebuilding?

DISCUSSION

REFLECTION



▲ What activities can people do to “build bridges” with others?

PREVIEW

1. How can people rebuild relationships after a violent conflict?
2. Who in your community has positive relationships between all groups and can help hostile groups communicate with each other?

5.2 – GRASSROOTS PEACEBUILDING: BRIDGE-BUILDING ACTIVITIES

Bridge-building activities bring people together. Before a violent conflict, groups may have strong feelings of disgust or hatred towards each other. During and after a violent conflict, relationships between different groups are often destroyed. There is a low level of trust between individuals and groups.

Bridge-building activities aim to address these problems by restoring positive relationships and building trust. They give people an opportunity to meet each other, share common experiences and see each other as humans rather than enemies.

EDUCATIONAL OR CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES

An exchange programme is when people spend time living in a different school, town, region or country. During an exchange programme, participants have the chance to meet people who are different from them. Participants see their similarities and build relationships with people from other communities.

CASE STUDY: TWINNING SCHOOLS IN SRI LANKA

School children from schools in Hindu-Tamil areas visit the schools and classrooms of their 'twin' school in Buddhist-Sinhalese areas. Students learn together, play games and discover their similarities and common experiences.



SPORTING EVENTS AND LEAGUES

Many sports are played in teams. Playing on a team can be a fun way for people from different backgrounds to work together for a common goal and create a shared identity. The love of sports and games can also bring conflict-affected people together because many people share it. Football is a common sport for this. Football matches – in the spirit of peace – happen all over the world between communities with histories of violent conflict.

CASE STUDY: SARUS

Vietnam and Cambodia have a history of violent conflict and hatred towards each other. Sarus organises a programme called Sports for Social Change. Young adults from Vietnam and Cambodia work together to create a football programme and coach younger children. The coaches look beyond their countries' pasts and support a football camp for children in both countries. Participants learn to see each other as fellow coaches rather than enemies.



Which of the following activities are bridge-building?

1. Two schools from the same town that has a history of ethnic and religious intergroup violence have a football game. The teams are divided based on ethnicity and religion.
2. Several villages in a township form a debate club. The club brings together debaters. They form teams of people who are not from the same village. The debate topics are all focused on issues that are shared by everyone living in the township.
3. Students from different parts of a country come together once a year at a cultural youth conference. They teach each other traditional dances and share literature from their communities.

EXERCISE



FOCUS ON MYANMAR: THREE CREATIVE METHODS OF BUILDING BRIDGES

A. BBC radio drama to promote ethnic diversity

The Tea Cup Diaries is a radio show about the stories of teashop customers. The Myanmar-language drama, set in a teashop on the outskirts of Yangon, will include a diverse group of actors talking about their experience of daily life in Myanmar.

Producers say the main aim of the drama is to increase understanding, openness and respect for people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. It aims to support Myanmar's peacebuilding process.

The Tea Cup Diaries will be broadcast every Friday across the 14 states and regions. Myanmar Radio expects about 9 million people to listen to it.

U Yu Pa plays the lead character, teashop owner U Chit Maung. He said that performing the voice-only role was more difficult than television acting because the speaker had to affect the feelings and thoughts of the listener with only their voice.

Source: <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/lifestyle/14603-a-storm-in-a-tea-cup-bbc-radio-drama-to-promote-ethnic-diversity.html>



B. All Aboard for the Interfaith Tour

Yangon's Youth Interfaith Tour brought together 26 youth participants from four religions – Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity – as well as three people who do not practice any religion.

The first stop was the Shri Kali Temple. U Aung Naing of the Kali Temple Trust said: "Hindus are very free. They let people worship the way that they think is right. Everybody must be respected and valued. Speak well of other religions. Don't be aggressive. Follow *ahimsa* [non-violence] as promoted by Mahatma Gandhi. Be relaxed in what you do."

Managers at Shwedagon Pagoda explained that the Shwedagon symbolises the ideas of generosity, loving-kindness and compassion that are very important in Buddhism. This was the first Shwedagon visit for one of the Muslim participants. They discussed the importance of taking these steps towards greater understanding and deeper listening to each other.

The third stop was the Jongalay Mosque. U Myo Win is the director of the Smile Education and Development Foundation. He is also an imam and he is trained in trauma healing, conflict resolution, critical thinking and teaching tolerance. He advocates for communities to bridge their differences and develop cross-cultural relationships through networking and dialogue. He said, "Education is a key. So, too, is the breaking of stereotypes working together as an interfaith-community."

At the Methodist Church, Pastor Saw Shwe Lin reminded the group of the importance of interfaith dialogue and highlighted the challenges of "misinformation, miscommunication, misinterpretation and misunderstanding."

The tour coordinators are planning more dialogue and peacebuilding activities. "Education is a process, not a result", they say.

Source: <http://www.irrawaddy.com/education/all-aboard-for-the-interfaith-tour.html>

C. Food Truck to sell Street Food Served with Tolerance

Yangon – A new food truck may soon be driving the streets of Yangon, and delivering a mix of traditional Myanmar foods with a message about tolerance.

Harmoneat is a food truck. It will serve healthy food from all around the country, including noodles from Shan State, seafood salad from Rakhine State and spicy chicken from Kachin State.

Along with the meals, customers will receive a recipe card and a description about the history of the food.

Project director Meg Berryman says the goal is to build positive associations between communities and celebrate diversity. “It’s about starting conversations,” she told The Irrawaddy.

Update: According to Harmoneat’s Facebook page, in 2015, the project closed due to the challenges of starting-up businesses in Myanmar.

Source: <http://www.irrawaddy.com/feature/burmese-food-truck-deliver-street-eats-side-tolerance.html>



1. Which communities did each of the activities try to build bridges between?
2. What is the aim of each of the three activities?
3. Who are the target audiences of each of the three activities?
4. What were some of the challenges faced by the people involved in the three activities?

1. Is bridge-building necessary in Myanmar?
2. Which communities in Myanmar are most in need of bridge-building?
3. Can bridge-building make conflicts worse? How?

DISCUSSION

1. Would you participate in a bridge-building activity in your community?
2. What might stop you from participating in a bridge-building activity?
3. What personal benefits and challenges would you have if you participated in a bridge-building activity?
4. How could you overcome those challenges?

REFLECTION

PREVIEW

1. What reconciliation activities do you know about?
2. Why is grassroots reconciliation important?

5.3 – GRASSROOTS PEACEBUILDING: RECONCILIATION ACTIVITIES

Reconciliation, like bridge-building, aims to bring people from all sides of a conflict together and rebuild trust and relationships. During reconciliation activities, people have the opportunity to talk about what happened to them during the conflict. People share their experiences with each other, and look for ways to create a peaceful future. This process can be difficult and painful, but is often necessary for building peace after a violent conflict.

INTEGRATED LIVING

After a violent conflict between people from the same community, these people can start living together again. People can volunteer to form mixed communities or neighbourhoods. In some post-conflict communities, perpetrators of violence help to rebuild the community that was destroyed. They then live side by side with people who were victims of the violence.



CASE STUDY: RECONCILIATION VILLAGES IN RWANDA

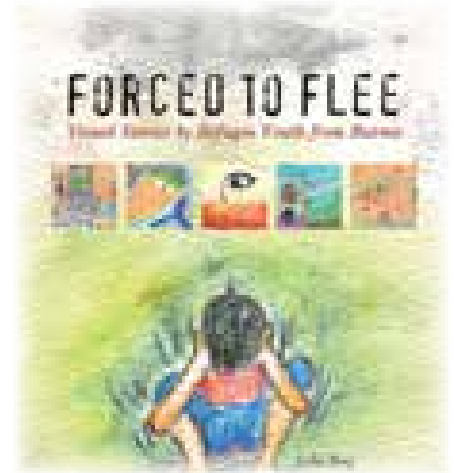
After the Rwandan Genocide, some perpetrators of violence were released from jail and helped to rebuild the homes of families they had harmed. Some of these perpetrators had burned down homes. Others had killed family members. In these “reconciliation villages”, the perpetrators rebuilt the houses of their victims and also rebuilt their own houses. Living together again in the same communities can give the victims and perpetrators a chance to heal their relationship. It can also reduce the “us vs them” attitude that can develop when two groups live in separate communities.

STORY-TELLING

Knowing how people experienced a conflict, and its impact on their lives, is an important part of reconciliation. Everyone has a different experience of violent conflict. It is not possible to understand the full story about a conflict by only focusing on one person’s story, one history textbook or one news article. This is why sharing stories with people from different sides of a conflict is so important. Story-telling can be a healing process. Sharing a story can lead to recognition of the storyteller’s experiences and suffering. After a violent conflict, victims need recognition. This is an important part of reconciliation.

CASE STUDY: VISIONS OF PEACE

Forced to Flee: Visual Stories by Refugee Youth from Burma is a book of illustrated stories of youths' experiences of conflict in Myanmar. The book was created during forty workshops in Myanmar, along the Thai-Myanmar border, and with refugee communities in Bangladesh, India, the USA and Canada. The book shows stories from several different ethnic and religious communities. Youth illustrated their stories based on their personal experiences with violent conflict and their journeys as refugees and displaced people.



THEATRE FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

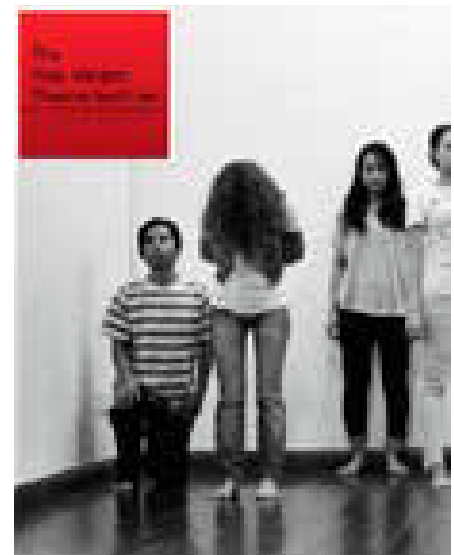
Experiences of violence and human rights abuses, or losing loved ones, can cause many years of pain. As a result, many people are not comfortable talking about these experiences. Theatre provides a different way to express their feelings and experiences in a safe and non-threatening environment. It can help people to deal with their experiences and then help them to move on.

Acting out the experiences of perpetrator and victim can allow people to understand the experiences of other groups better. This can lead to more empathy between people from different sides of a conflict. Developing empathy and understanding is important for reconciliation.

Finally, using theatre to understand conflict can help people to “practice” how they would react in a conflict situation. This can give people experience using constructive approaches when dealing with conflict before a real conflict happens. Dealing with conflict constructively is very important in post-conflict communities. This practice can be helpful because, during a real conflict, people are very emotional, which makes it difficult to act constructively.

CASE STUDY: PEACE PROCESS THEATRE

The New Yangon Theatre Institute trains community leaders from Shan State to use applied theatre techniques and documentary theatre as tools for **conflict transformation**. The programme uses theatre as a way of exploring multiple perspectives. This can lead to discussion, empathy, understanding, appreciation of diversity and conflict transformation. Participants in the programme learn specific tools for working with conflict on an individual level in the community. The programme encourages participants to start local community theatre practices to engage audiences in an open dialogue about peace.



PEACE EDUCATION AND PEACEFUL CLASSROOMS

Education can help new generations move on from the violence and hatred of the past. Children can learn about non-violent ways of resolving conflicts in their day-to-day lives. Then they are more likely to use those skills if conflicts become serious. Peace education develops knowledge, skills and attitudes that students need to handle conflicts constructively. They can then identify and address violence in their communities.

“Peaceful classrooms” describes schools that are based on the values of peace and diversity. These schools contribute to peacebuilding in their communities by setting a positive example. In peaceful classrooms, students from diverse cultural backgrounds learn to work together and respect and trust each other. This reduces the risk of ethnic, religious or communal violence. Peaceful classrooms promote respect and understanding which is an important part of reconciliation after intergroup conflict.



CASE STUDY: GLOBAL BORDER STUDIES

Global Border Studies started in 2010 in Nu Poe Refugee Camp on the Thai-Myanmar Border. Students in the programme are young adults from different ethnic backgrounds. The programme focuses on conflict transformation, reconciliation, sustainable development and environmental conservation. Students can then apply peacebuilding ideas through different activities in their communities.

EXERCISE

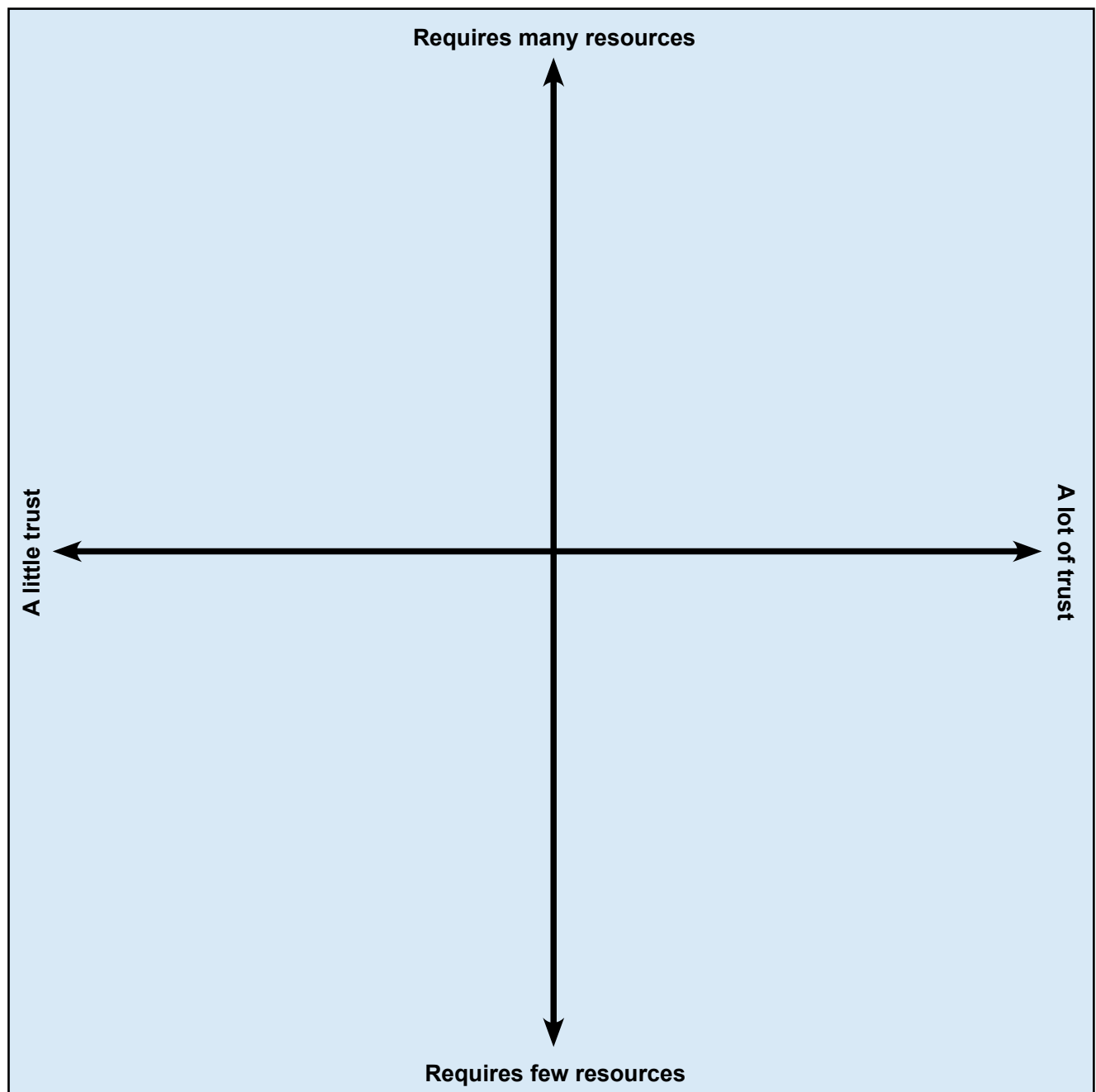
Match the examples with the four types of reconciliation activities – *integrated living, story-telling, theatre for conflict transformation, peaceful classrooms* and *peace education*.

1. A community education programme runs English classes. Lessons include learning how to communicate about difficult topics. Students also learn how to critically evaluate information they see online, and how to prevent hate speech from spreading.
2. Youth groups from a church, a monastery and a mosque join together to create a dramatic performance about the history of their religions in their country. During the performance, they ask members of the audience to come onstage and participate. After the performance, the audience and actors participate in a panel discussion about the challenges their religions face in living together in the same community.
3. After a long civil war, the widows of soldiers from all sides of the conflict form a community. They live together, help each other and work on social issues affecting widows, single mothers and orphans affected by the conflict.
4. In IDP camps, teachers work with students to write stories about their experiences with conflict. Artists living in the camp illustrate the stories of the children. During a festival, the stories and art are displayed. A few years after the conflict ends, the art and stories are shown in different schools around the country. This helps children from all over the country understand what happened.

1. Put the reconciliation activities on the spectrum. The horizontal line is how much trust they build. The vertical line is the amount of resources they require.
2. Add any additional reconciliation activities you can think of.
3. Which of these activities would be the most and least effective in your community? Why?

ACTIVITY**TRUST AND RECONCILIATION**

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. Integrated living | d. Peaceful classrooms and peace education |
| b. Story-telling | e. Sporting events and leagues |
| c. Theatre for conflict transformation | f. Cultural and educational exchange programmes |





FOCUS ON MYANMAR: RECONCILIATION THROUGH THREE ART FORMS

A. Artists offer window into Myanmar's transition

Lat Yar Tun thinks that there are things that should not be forgotten. He recalls the sacrificed lives of the political prisoners who died in jail by documenting the family members who lost their loved ones.

"When someone is sent to jail, his family suffers as well," said the photographer.

"According to the official announcement, 130 prisoners died in jail. I believe there are about 300," he told a press conference last week.

"Are we going to ignore those who gave their lives for this transition? Yes, many will forget them. But their families haven't forgotten them. We as a society shouldn't forget them, just because they are no longer with us. Some will say we should move on, but this should not be forgotten."

Let Yar Tun was a political prisoner. He was a student when he joined the uprising in 1988. He served 18 years in prison.

His first documentary photo essay comprises 12 photos on transitional justice. The photographs show family members of political prisoners who died in prison. Each family member is holding a portrait of a deceased family member as a way of documenting the life of their loved one .

Source: <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/lifestyle/17203-artists-offer-window-into-myanmar-s-turbulent-transition.html>

B. Art to Heal Old Wounds in Myanmar

Myanmar Art Social Project (MASC) is a project started by Carlos Ossa, a Colombian actor, and a network of Burmese and international artists and volunteers.

The aim, they explain, is to use "art as a tool for expression," combining theatre and art as a way of healing. The aim is to help participants work through difficult feelings and issues and build personal strength.

They use "body sculptures" to help children express and work through their emotions at a recent series of workshops with street children in Yangon.



"I started and was expressing pain and sadness," a participant says. "One girl had to transform us – but instead of moving us into a happier position, she started healing us with her hands. This was really something strong" She adds, "It was clear how she understood the exercise–she really understood that in order to transform my sadness, she had to first heal."

"For three generations we are living in conflict," says Ossa, of his life in Colombia. "I was born in the conflict, my mother was born in the conflict, my grandfather was born in the conflict, and now my son too."

In Myanmar as much as Colombia, "... the one thing in common is our personal strength. In the middle of conflict, people find the space to live," he says.

It is this space that MASC tries to create. By working at a grassroots level the group aims to transform violence or anger through creativity. "Because art is creation, not destruction," Ossa says.

Source: <http://www.irrawaddy.com/culture/in-burma-art-to-heal-old-wounds.html>

C. Singing Reggae Seeking Reconciliation

Reggae musician Saw Phoe Khwar is an advocate for peace, freedom and equality. He thinks his music can help achieve those goals.

Saw Phoe Khwar performed at Myanmar's first peace festival concert in July, which was attended by thousands at Yangon's Thuwana National Stadium.

"What I believe is that we can only build peace with real love and kindness. What's happening in our country now is that we don't have enough love for each other. That's why we now face nationalism and religious problems. I want to give the message to the people about the reason for the conflicts we are facing now," said Saw Phoe Khwar.

"When I was young, I was proud of being an ethnic Karen. I used to put my nationality first.

"But one day, I was really ashamed when I looked at myself," he said. "I was ashamed of having those beliefs."

Saw Phoe Khwar also blamed the attitudes of older generations. He said their distrust of other ethnicities was holding back national unity.

"Our grandparents and parents guided us in the wrong way sometimes. They left us many bad ideas. They said, 'Don't trust Bamar people. They are bad people.'"

He said hatred, ethnic pride and a lack of love for one another were the main causes of the religious violence and armed conflicts between ethnic groups in Myanmar.

"I believe in oneness and equality. All human beings must be treated equally. This is the message I want to give to people."

Source: <http://www.irrawaddy.com/feature/singing-reggae-seeking-reconciliation.html>

1. In which ways do these three projects promote reconciliation?
2. What problems do they seek to address?
3. What are the goals of these projects?
4. What experiences affected the people who started these projects?

1. Who benefits from the reconciliation activities in these case studies?
2. Are grassroots reconciliation activities necessary for Myanmar? Why?
3. What are the challenges to doing grassroots reconciliation activities in Myanmar, and how could these challenges be overcome?

DISCUSSION

1. Would you be willing to participate in a reconciliation activity?
2. Which one interests you most? Why?
3. Do you think that reconciliation activities would positively affect your relationships with other communities? How?

REFLECTION

PREVIEW

1. Think of a situation where peacebuilding might cause conflict.
2. Is peacebuilding that causes conflict a good or bad thing?

5.4 – GRASSROOTS PEACEBUILDING – COMBATING STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Peacebuilding always aims to prevent violence, but it does not always aim to prevent conflict. Some peacebuilding activities might try to escalate a conflict to confront an unjust situation, or empower an oppressed group to defend their rights. The most important thing is that these conflicts are handled constructively and non-violently; this can help to reduce structural violence and build peace.

NON-VIOLENT ACTION

Non-violent action is when an actor confronts an unjust situation, but refuses to use violence. Non-violent action can include refusing to obey the law, especially unjust laws (such as laws that discriminate against minorities).

Non-violent actors use constructive ways of dealing with conflicts. They aim to reach complete peace using only peaceful methods. Some sacrifice their health and even their lives for these beliefs. Non-violent actors believe that non-violence is morally superior to violence, and that non-violence is a more successful way of achieving social change.



CASE STUDY: LIBERIAN WOMEN'S ACTION FOR PEACE

In 2003, during the Second Liberian Civil War, Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace organised non-violent protests. They persuaded President Charles Taylor to attend peace talks in Ghana and negotiate with the rebels. A group of Liberian women went to Ghana to pressure the leaders of the different armed groups to continue cooperating in the peace process.

During the peace talks, the women heard that these leaders were not talking to each other and preparing to continue fighting. In response, the women organised a "sit in". They sat outside the building where the negotiations were being held and refused to move. They blocked all the doors and windows and prevented anyone from leaving the peace talks until they had agreed on a solution. Their actions led to an agreement between the armed groups. This resulted in peace in Liberia after a 14-year civil war.

EXERCISE

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

1. Peacebuilding always aims to prevent violence.
2. Peacebuilding always aims to prevent conflict.
3. Non-violent action can include breaking the law if that law is unjust.
4. Non-violent actors are equally prepared to use violent and non-violent means to achieve their goals.



FOCUS ON MYANMAR: CIVIL SOCIETY GETS READY FOR INTERNATIONAL DAY OF PEACE

20 September, 2012—Sixteen civil society groups are collaborating to host activities that call for an end to civil war in Myanmar.

"The impact is greater when we work together," said peace activist Ma Khin Sandar Nyunt. "We will remember those who became refugees or lost their lives during five minutes of silent prayer from 4 pm.

Groups are planning many activities, including silent vigils, poetry and singing, as well as distributing CDs with messages

of reconciliation. "Stop Civil War" has been printed on blue scarves, stickers and t-shirts. About 250 people from the Kachin Peace Network will go to Nay Pyi Taw for a peace campaign in front of the President's house, the hluttaws, the Ministry of Defense and other government offices.

"On September 12, we submitted a letter to the relevant offices requesting a permit to have the campaign. We're not sure whether permission will be granted; however we will go ahead regardless", said Ma Ester, a member of Kachin Peace Network.

"Our goal is for the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services to hear our call for peace. He can decide to stop the civil war in Kachin State and elsewhere," she added.

Pwint Linn Kun Yet, from Mon State, plans to hold discussions and a cartoon exhibition about peace. Activists will also give out blue scarves, ribbons and copies of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

About 300 members of Generation Wave will meet at Sule Pagoda at 11 am to stage a peaceful march around seven townships in Yangon.

"We will perform our songs during the march. We'd like to invite everyone who wants to see peace in Myanmar take part in the walk," said Ko Moe Thwe.

The Karen Women's Action Group will hold talks and show videos in Kayin State. Mandalay's Sein Yong So Group will hold prayers at Maha Muni Pagoda. The Student Christian Movement will give out CDs and stickers at Hledan Junction's intersection in Yangon. Youth for Social Change Myanmar will make a peace ringtone available for download from the internet.

Ma Khin Sandar Nyunt said, "The government and armed forces hold discussions about how to achieve peace. Yet fighting continues and those living in the IDP camps are suffering. The situation is growing worse in Kachin state. We believe the most effective way to stop war is through public campaigns."

Source: <http://www.irrawaddy.com/magazine/we-can-bring-about-both-justice-and-reconciliation.html>



1. What peacebuilding activities happened on International Day of Peace?
2. How could regular citizens participate in peacebuilding during the International Day of Peace?
3. How effective are these International Day of Peace activities for achieving reconciliation in Myanmar?

ACTIVITY

ACTIVISM CHALLENGE

1. Read the actions. Circle the ones that you already do as part of your day-to-day life. If you do non-violent activities that are not on this table, add them.

THE NON-VIOLENT ACTIVISM CHALLENGE

1. Read the news from a variety of different sources every day.	2. Campaign for politicians who support non-violent initiatives.	3. Put a sticker on your bicycle or car supporting peace or justice.
4. Use a bicycle or walk as your main type of transportation.	5. Raise awareness about violence against women by speaking or teaching about it.	6. Attend public meetings that address issues affecting your community.
7. Use reusable bags when you shop to reduce the amount of plastic that you use.	8. Talk to your friends and family about important issues. Explain why they are important to you.	9. Try to understand the feelings of people you argue with by active listening and questioning.
10. Write a letter to the editor of your newspaper or a website about an issue that is causing conflict in your community.	11. Treat people who have a low social status with the same respect that you treat people who have a high social status.	12. Listen to, read and write and share songs, poetry or short stories about social justice and peace.
13. Forgive people who apologise for hurting you.	14. Apologise when you make a mistake or hurt someone.	15. Refuse to purchase toy guns for your children.
16. Buy products that have been grown or made ethically.	17. Buy products that have been grown or made locally.	18. Donate money to non-violent activists and activities.
19. Organise a food collection for people who do not have enough to eat.	20. Participate in a student union or council or other form of community leadership group.	21. Try to understand opinions and viewpoints that are different from your own.
22. Tell others to stop using hurtful and harmful language when you see it happening.	23. Volunteer for an organisation that helps the homeless or works to reduce poverty.	24. Don't tell jokes that are racist or sexist, and ask people to stop telling jokes like this.

2. Take the challenge.
 - Choose three activities from the table that you do not do already.
 - In pairs, discuss your three activities with your partner.
 - Do these activities regularly for one week.
 - During this week, monitor your partner doing their three activities. Remind them if they forget.

DISCUSSION

1. Are non-violent actions common in your community?
2. What types of non-violent activities have successfully helped to build peace in your community?
3. What types of non-violent activities should there be more of in your community? Why?



5.5 – GENDER EQUALITY IN PEACEBUILDING

Achieving complete peace requires confronting and eliminating all forms of discrimination and oppression. If women are excluded from decision making, participation and positions of power, peacebuilders must change this to move towards complete peace.

Peacebuilding efforts that include both men and women equally are more likely to be effective, successful and sustainable. One way to improve the effectiveness and gender-sensitivity of peacebuilding is through **gender mainstreaming**.

Gender mainstreaming means always including the perspectives, experiences and skills of both men and women. Gender inequality has many political, economic and social causes (the design of institutions, jobs that favour men, traditional roles of women etc.). It also has many effects (on health, education, law enforcement, transportation etc.). Gender equality requires gender perspectives at all levels of political, economic and social decision making.

There are many reasons to include gender perspectives in peacebuilding, including:

- Gender has an important role in conflict. Decision making, security, violence and access to resources during and after conflict are all affected by gender.
- Both women and men benefit from peace and security, so they both have an interest in creating a peaceful community.
- Gender equality is necessary for achieving complete peace. If this issue is not considered from the beginning, it will be more difficult to deal with later on.
- Communities and countries that are rebuilt without including women are more likely to remain violent for women. They may also return to conflict and violence.

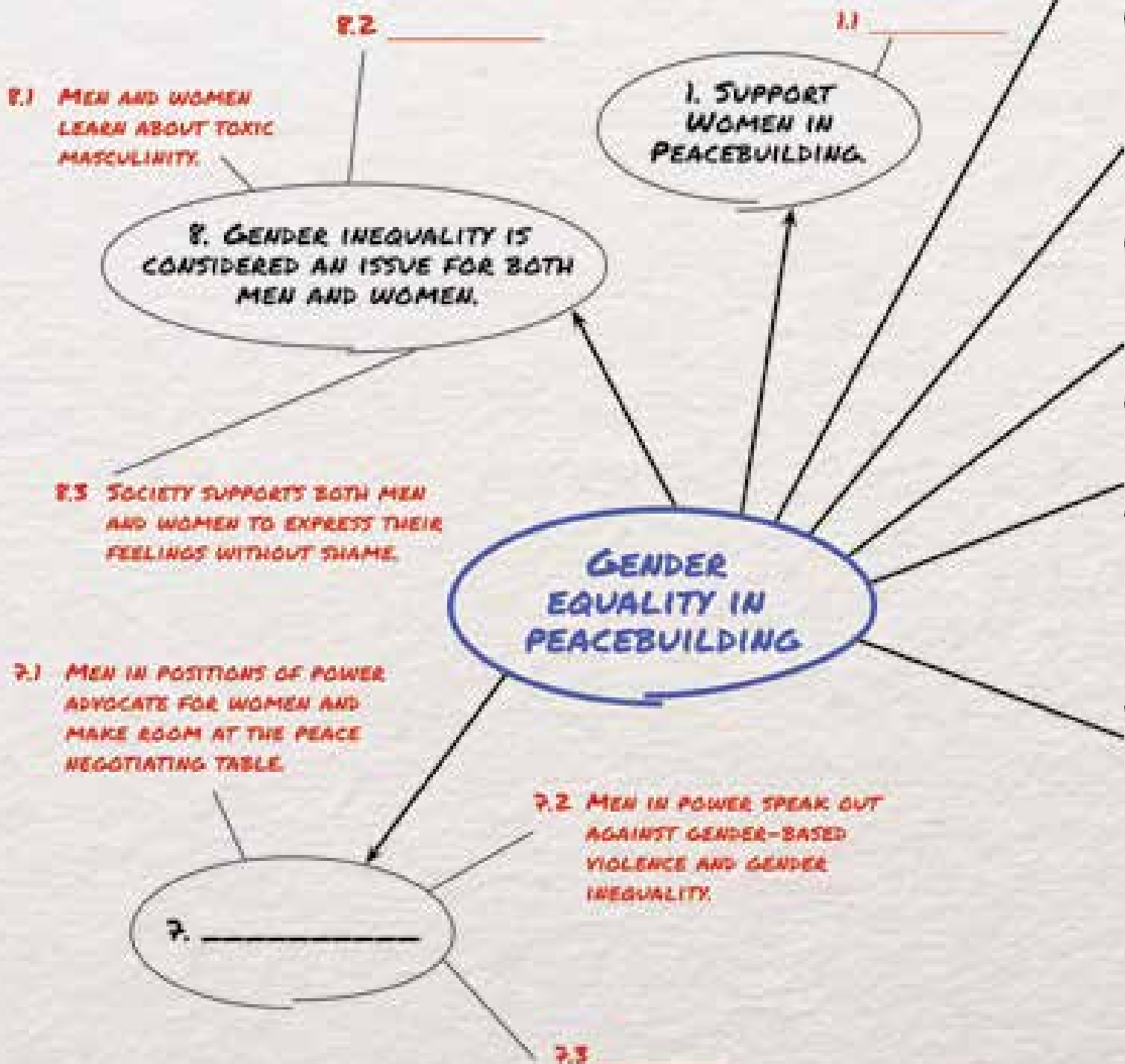
PREVIEW

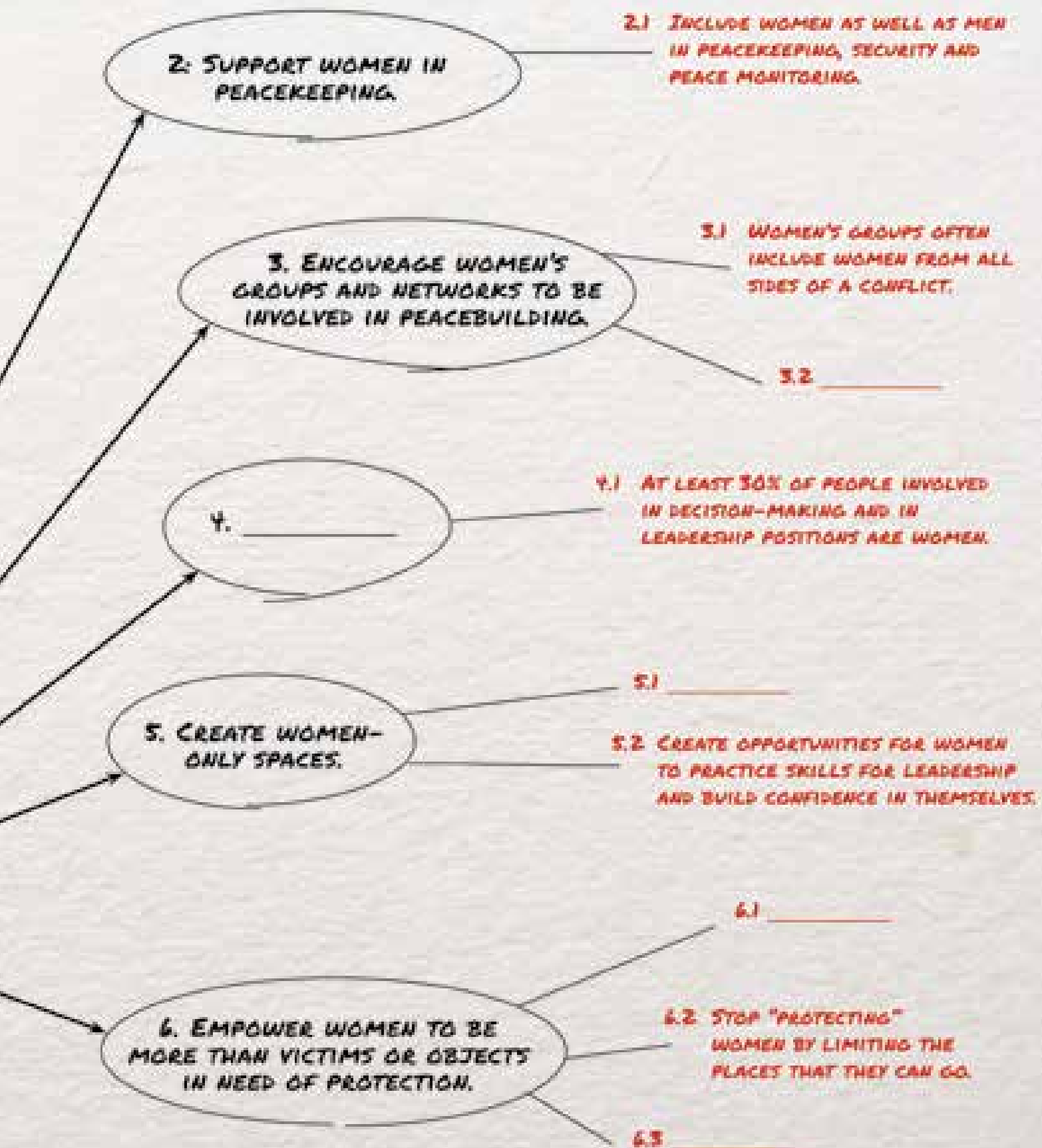
1. Why is it important to include men and women equally in peacebuilding?
2. Do men and women have different reasons for wanting peace? How are they different?

EXERCISE

Complete the mindmap with different ways that gender equality can be included in peacebuilding.

- a. Create safe spaces where women can work together and share sensitive stories.
- b. Women may have the opportunity to talk to and work with each other in ways that men in conflict cannot.
- c. Women are meaningfully represented in decision making and leadership positions.
- d. Speak out against the idea that women are unsafe outside of their homes.
- e. Women receive training in conflict transformation, mediation, and negotiation
- f. Men promote women into positions of leadership.
- g. Women are included in police and security forces.
- h. Encourage men to be allies for women.
- i. Do not promote the idea that violence is a natural male characteristic.





ACTIVITY

THE INS AND OUTS

- 1. Form two circles – one on the inside, one on the outside. The inside circle joins hands to make a knot.
- 2. Untangle it.
- 3. Swap roles.
- 4. Complete the chart. What are the advantages and disadvantages of including and excluding people (men or women) from peacebuilding?
- 5. Answer the questions.
 - a. Are there more advantages when people are included or excluded?
 - b. Are there any situations where it's better to exclude someone from peacebuilding?

	Included	Excluded
Advantages		
Disadvantages		





FOCUS ON MYANMAR: THE WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA

The Women's League of Burma (WLB) is made up of 13 grassroots women's organizations of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. They work to increase women's participation in the struggle for democracy and human rights and in the national reconciliation and development process, and to build understanding about women's participation among all national ethnic groups.

WLB has three focus areas. These are the Peace and Reconciliation Program, the Political Empowerment Program, and the Women Against Violence Program. The Peace and Reconciliation Program works to end conflict in Myanmar with a focus on including women in the negotiation and peace process. The program includes:

- 51 peace exchanges where women and men come together and discuss conflict and peacebuilding strategies in their communities;
- facilitating workshops with ceasefire groups;
- hundreds of grassroots training events and workshops;
- annual International Peace Day activities in 26 different locations;
- publications calling for an end to violent conflict in Myanmar and increased participation of women in the peacebuilding process.

The objectives of the peace program are:

- to build trust, understanding and respect among Myanmar people towards national reconciliation;
- for grassroots people to develop skills and experience in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and social justice initiatives;
- to increase the number of peace actors, to educate the people of Myanmar.

Source: <http://womenofburma.org/>

1. How is WLB trying to build bridges, create reconciliation, and combat structural violence?
2. How is WLB's approach an example of gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding?
3. How does WLB help women and men share their perspectives on peacebuilding?

1. How can peacebuilders make gender equality a more important part of their work?
2. What kinds of problems will result if different genders are not included in peacebuilding?
3. What challenges might peacebuilders in Myanmar face including both women and men in peacebuilding activities?
4. How could these challenges be overcome?

DISCUSSION

1. How are other genders' experiences or perspectives related to conflict different from those of your own?
2. How does gender affect relationships?
3. How can you make gender equality more of a priority in your everyday peacebuilding activities?
4. Which grassroots peace organisation from your community or country makes the best effort for mainstreaming gender?

REFLECTION



PREVIEW

1. What do grassroots peacebuilders need to know to do successful peacebuilding?
2. What is an example of a successful peacebuilding project from your community or country?
3. Why do you consider the project to be successful?

5.6 – DESIGNING PEACE PROJECTS

Peacebuilding activities always have the goal of changing something. The change might be to replace destructive approaches to conflict with constructive ones. It might be to replace structural violence with social justice. In order to create effective change, peacebuilders design activities that work towards a final goal.

Peacebuilders use **theories of change** to plan their activities. Theories of change are sets of beliefs that explain how change in society happens. Theories of change always take this form:

“If we do X, this will result in Y. This will then lead to Z.”

There are many different types of theories of change, and peacebuilders often create their own. For example, a peacebuilding theory of change might be:

“If we train leaders to have negotiation skills, this will result in them using non-violent ways to deal with their conflicts, so there will be less violence. This will lead to a more peaceful community/society.”

Or:

“If we create jobs for young unemployed men, this will result in less men joining armed groups so there will be fewer soldiers. This will then lead to a more peaceful community/society.”

Here are several examples of common theories of change:

1. **INDIVIDUAL CHANGE:** *“If we train people in peacebuilding skills, then people will develop the attitudes, skills, and knowledge needed to deal with conflicts constructively. Then there will be less destructive conflict. This will lead to a more peaceful community/society.”*

Activities that aim to create this kind of change include:

- training;
- knowledge-building workshops;
- peace education and peaceful classrooms.

2. **HEALTHY RELATIONSHIPS:** *“If we bring people with bad relationships (i.e. based on mistrust, **prejudice** or division) together, they will get to know each other better. Then they will develop more positive relationships, based on trust, cooperation and empathy. This will lead to a more peaceful community/society.”*

Activities that aim to create this kind of change include:

- intergroup dialogue;
- networking;
- bridge-building, intergroup participation in practical activities.

3. **WITHDRAW RESOURCES FOR WAR:** *“If we remove the resources needed for war (weapons, vehicles, soldiers etc.), then armed groups will no longer be able to fight against each other. Then there will be less violence. This will lead to a more peaceful community/society.”*

Activities that aim to create this kind of change include:

- anti-war campaigns to reduce military or militia budgets;
- conscientious objection;
- boycotting products that fund violent conflict or war.

4. **REDUCTION OF VIOLENCE:** *“If we make sure that actors are not permitted to use violence, then they will use non-violent strategies instead of violence to achieve their goals. Then there will be less violence. This will lead to a more peaceful community/society.”*

Activities that aim to create this kind of change include:

- ceasefire monitoring and observation missions;
- **protective accompaniment**;
- international observers or witnesses;
- non-violent methods of achieving goals;

5. **SOURCES OF CONFLICT/JUSTICE:** *“If we make sure that victims’ suffering is recognised and injustice, oppression, exploitation and threats to identity are addressed, then actors will not try to seek justice violently. Then there will be less violence. This will lead to a more peaceful community/society.”*

Activities that aim to create this kind of change include:

- campaigns for social and structural change;
- truth and reconciliation activities;
- changes in institutions, laws and economic systems.

6. GRASSROOTS MOBILISATION: *“If we empower citizens to pressure elected leaders to stop fighting or oppressing, then the leaders will change their behaviour. They will obey the people’s demands to stop using violence. This will lead to a more peaceful community/society.”*

Ways of creating this change include:

- organizing groups to oppose war and violence;
- non-violent direct action media campaigns;
- public events to raise awareness of issues;
- advocacy networks;
- civic education.



EXERCISE

Match the peacebuilding activities with the pictures and identify which theory of change each activity represents.

1. International observers and witnesses
2. Peace education workshop
3. Truth and reconciliation commission
4. Non-violent campaign
5. Intergroup dialogue
6. Boycotting products

Choose one activity from each theory of change category that you (or your organisation) could do. Describe a few details for each activity.

ACTIVITY

FROM THEORY TO ACTION

Theory	Activities, Description of Activities
1. Individual Change	
2. Healthy Relationships	
3. Withdrawal of Resources for War	
4. Reduction of Violence	
5. Sources of Conflict/Justice	<i>Truth and reconciliation activities: Organise the stories of 10 survivors of conflict. Send those to my MP so that the government can understand how conflict has affected real people. Then get 10 people from other villages and towns to do the same thing.</i>
6. Grassroots Mobilisation	

Theories of Change:

CONTEXT

Who is



And who is not?

What are
the CAUSES?



And what are

the EFFECTS?



Are there
any
related
issues?



CONTEXT ANALYSIS

When choosing or writing a theory of change, it is important to choose a way of creating change that is needed in a community or society. One way to choose a theory of change is by trying to understand the conflict situation better. This means asking questions such as:

- Who is involved in the conflict?
- Who is not involved in the conflict?
- What are the causes of the conflict?
- What are the effects of the conflict?
- What other issues are related to the causes of conflict? Do these issues make the conflict worse?

It is also important to understand what already exists to support peace. Are other organisations already doing work to support peace? Does the community have cultural beliefs that support compromise and collaboration? A good peacebuilder will find which cultural values promote peace and which values all conflict actors share. For example, two religious communities may be in conflict with each other. Both groups' religious teachings will have texts that encourage non-violence.

A peacebuilder also needs to know what exists to support destructive conflict. For example, if there are a lot of weapons available in a conflict area, a destructive conflict is more likely to escalate and become violent. A peacebuilder needs to find out if there is a history of discrimination between actors in a conflict.

These kinds of information can help peacebuilders create an effective theory of change and project.

Effective peacebuilding improves and strengthens existing peace support. The most effective peacebuilding activities also work to prevent or change things that support destructive conflict. Therefore, theories of change often include ideas about what supports peace and what reduces violence.

Think of a destructive conflict in your community and answer the questions based on the situation in your community. Your answers should describe how things are now, not how you want them to be.

ACTIVITY

PREPARING A PEACE PROJECT

Forces for Peace	Forces against Peace	Key People
1. What is being done to support peace? (e.g.: dialogue, peacebuilding activities, inter-group cooperation)	4. What are the sources of destructive conflict? (e.g.: scarce resources, different values or identities, structural violence)	7. Which people can positively influence the community/society to make it more peaceful? (e.g.: leaders or organisations are working for peace)
2. What resources and opportunities are available to make the community more peaceful? (e.g.: jobs, organisations, schools, sports clubs)	5. What resources and opportunities are available for the people who are dealing with conflict in a destructive way? (e.g.: weapons, access to media, positions of power).	8. Which people influence the community/society in a way that makes it less peaceful? (e.g.: leaders or organisations making the community/society less peaceful)
3. What connects people across conflict lines? (e.g.: language, sports, education, music, shared experiences)	6. What other issues divide people or cause the conflict to escalate? (e.g.: development projects, natural resources, discriminatory laws)	9. Who is regularly included in peacebuilding activities?
		10. Who is regularly excluded from peacebuilding activities?

1. What responsibilities do peacebuilders have when doing grassroots peacebuilding activities?
2. How effective is grassroots peacebuilding in contributing to complete peace?

DISCUSSION

1. Have any peacebuilding activities happened in your community? How did people react to them?
2. Would any of the peacebuilding activities from this chapter be harmful in your community? Explain why they would be harmful.
3. Which activity would be most effective for your community? Explain why you think it would be the most effective.

REFLECTION

CONCLUSION

COMMUNITY PEACE PROJECT

Create a presentation. Use information from the *Preparing a Peace Project* activity on page 127.

1. Decide what the goal of your project will be. Use Slide 1, below, to help you.
2. Write your theory of change. Use Slide 2, below, to help you.
3. Discuss the questions opposite.
4. Give your presentation to the class.

"Theories of Change"



1. Peace Project Goals

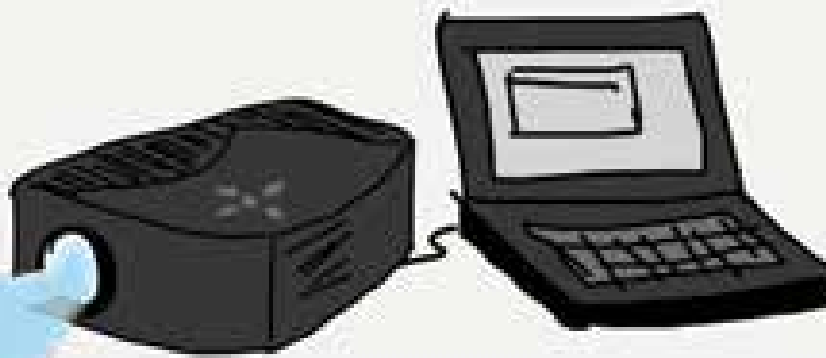
- Question: What needs to happen to make this community/society more peaceful?
- Answer: "Y" in the theory of change - Your goal.
 - * E.g.: "...this will result in fewer men joining armed groups so there will be fewer soldiers."
 - * "...this will result in them using non-violent ways to deal with their conflicts."

"Theories of Change"



2. Writing a Theory of Change

- Question: What needs to happen to get from the current situation to "Y"?
- Answer: "X" in the theory of change. "X" change would result in "Y".
 - * E.g.: "If we train leaders to have negotiation skills, this will result in fewer men joining armed groups so there will be fewer soldiers."
 - * "If we create jobs for young unemployed men, this will result in them using non-violent ways to deal with their conflicts."



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Peacebuilding Project Discussion Questions

After you have written your theories of change, discuss the questions:

- a. How will your project achieve that goal? Will your project support forces for peace or try to prevent forces against peace, or both? Explain your choice. Ensure your approach fits with your theory of change.
- b. How will your project bring people together to build peace? How can you support the things already being done to support peace? What resources and opportunities can you use to build peace? How can you connect people across conflict lines?
- c. Who will your project target? (youth, young men, mothers, former soldiers, farmers, etc.) Why does your theory of change make it useful for you to work with this group?
- d. Who will be your partners in this project? Which people or organisations could you work with to increase the effectiveness of your project? Why does your theory of change make it useful for you to work with these people?
- e. How will your project include people of different genders? How will your project take into consideration the perspectives and experiences of different genders?
- f. What types of activities will you use to create change in your community? Why will these activities be effective according to your theory of change? How will these activities help you to achieve your goal?
- g. Can you think of any risks or possible negative effects of your project? What could you do to minimise these?
- h. What challenges do you expect to face with your project and how will you overcome them?

GLOSSARY

THE WORDS IN THIS GLOSSARY ARE TECHNICAL TERMS USED IN THIS BOOK. THROUGHOUT THE BOOK, WORDS IN THE GLOSSARY APPEAR IN BOLD TYPE ON THEIR FIRST USE.

accountable (adj) - တာဝန်ခံမှုရှိခြင်း

amnesty (n) - လွတ်ငြိမ်းချမ်းသာခွင့်

betray (v) - သစ္စာဖောက်သည်

black market (n) - မှောင်ခိုဈေးကွက်

census (n) - လူဦးရေသန်းခေါင် စာရင်း

coalition (n) - ညွန့်ပေါင်းအစိုးရ

coexist (v) - အတူ ယှဉ်တွဲနေထိုင်ခြင်း

communal (adj) - လူမှုအသိုင်းအဝိုင်းနှင့်ဆိုင်သော

compassion (n) - ကရုဏာရှိခြင်း

compensation (n) - လျော်ကြေး၊ နစ်နာကြေး

confiscation (n) - (မြေယာ)သိမ်းယူခြင်း

conflict resolution (n) - ပဋိပက္ခ ဖြေရှင်းခြင်း

conflict transformation (n)

- ပဋိပက္ခအသွင်ကူးပြောင်းခြင်း

conscientious objector (n)

- တာဝန်သိဆန့်ကျင်ရေးသမား

disarmament (n) - လက်နက်ဖျက်သိမ်းခြင်း၊

စွန့်လွှတ်ခြင်း

displace (v) - ရွှေ့ပြောင်းသည်

diversity (n) - အမျိုးအစားစုံလင်ခြင်း

elite (n, adj) - ထိပ်သီးခေါင်းဆောင်ပိုင်း

embargo (n) - ပိတ်ဆို့အရေးယူမှု

empathy (n) - စာနာခြင်း။

escalate (v) - အရှိန်မြှင့်တင်သည်

ethical (adj) - ကျင့်ဝတ်ညီခြင်း

famine (n) - ငတ်မွတ်မှုကပ်ဘေး

gender mainstreaming (n) - ကျားမရေးရာ(ဂျွန်ဂီ)

ကိစ္စရပ်များကို ထည့်သွင်းဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း

gender-sensitive (adj) - ကျားမရေးရာ(ဂျွန်ဂီ)

ကိစ္စရပ်များကို သတိမူခြင်း

genocide (n) - မျိုးတုန်းသတ်ဖြတ်ခြင်း

grievance (n) - နစ်နာမှု၊ မကျေလည်မှု

harmony (n) - သဟဇာတဖြစ်မှု

hostile (adj) - ရန်လိုသော

humane (adj) - လူသားဆန်သော

immunity (n) - ကင်းလွတ်ခွင့်

infrastructure (n) - အခြေခံအဆောက်အအုံ

integrate (v) - ပေါင်းစည်းမှု

internally displaced person / IDP (n)

- ပြည်တွင်းနေရပ်စွန့်ခွာတိမ်းရှောင်သူ

intimidation (n) - ခြိမ်းခြောက်မှု

land grabbing (n) - လယ်ယာမြေများ သိမ်းယူခြင်း

livelihood (n) - သက်မွေးဝမ်းကျောင်းလုပ်ငန်း

mediate (v) - ပြေလည်မှုရအောင် ဆောင်ရွက်သည်။

ကြားဝင်ဖြန်ဖြေသည်။

memorialize (v) - အထိမ်းအမှတ်များဖန်တီးထားရှိခြင်း

mentality (n) - စိတ်နေသဘောထား၊ စိတ်အခံ။

mercy (n) - ထောက်ထားညှာတာမှု။

mobilise (v) - လှုံ့ဆော်ခြင်း

perpetrator (n) - ကျူးလွန်သူ

prejudice (n) - တစ်ဖက်သက် ယူဆထင်မြင်ထားခြင်း

prosecution (n) - ဥပဋ္ဌအရတရားစွဲဆိုစီရင်ခြင်း

protective accompaniment (n) - အဖော်ပြု၍ ကာကွယ်သောနည်း

quota (n) - သတ်မှတ်ထားသော အချိုးအစားများ

reparation (n) - အလျော်ပေးခြင်း

resettlement (n) - ပြန်လည်နေရာချထားပေးခြင်း

revenge (n) - လက်စားချေခြင်း

second-class (adj) - ုတိယတန်းစား

separatist (n) - ခွဲထွက်ရေးသမား

social structure (n) - လူမှု
ဖွဲ့စည်းတည်ဆောက်ပုံစနစ်များ

stalemate (n) - မတိုးသာ မဆုတ်သာ အခြေအနေ

starve(v) - ငတ်မွတ်သည်

sustainable (adj) - ရေရှည်တည်တံ့သော

testimony (n) - ထွက်ဆိုချက်၊ ဖြောင့်ချက်

theory of change (n) - ပြောင်းလဲမှုရလွှ်ဖြစ်စဉ်

transition (n) - အသွင်ကူးပြောင်းမှုဖြစ်စဉ်

transitional justice (n) - အသွင်ကူးပြောင်းရေးကာလ
တရားမျှတမှု

transparent (adj) - ပွင့်လင်းမြင်သာမှု

trauma (n) - စိတ္တိဏ်ရာ

treaty (n) - သဘောတူညီချက်စာချုပ်

vetting (n) - စိစစ်ဖော်ထုတ်ကြပ်မတ်ခြင်း

weapons of mass destruction / WMDs (n)
- ျာပြုလိုက်သေကြေပျက်စီးစေနိုင်သောလက်နက်များ

zero-sum game (n) - တစ်ဘက်နိုင်တစ်ဘက်ရှုံးကစားပွဲ

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If we have missed anyone out, we apologise. Please contact us and we will include you in future editions.