

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

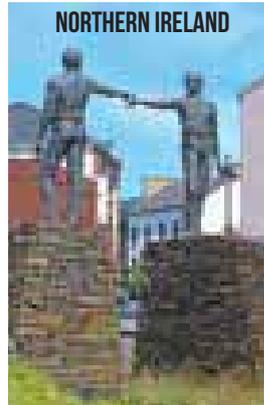
In this chapter, you will develop your ability to:

- 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

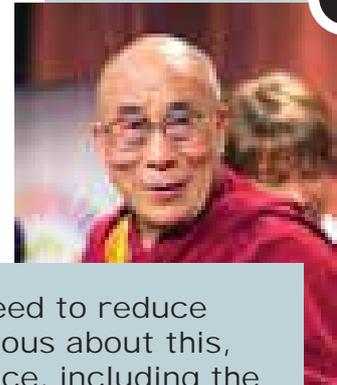
WHAT IS RECONCILIATION?

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?



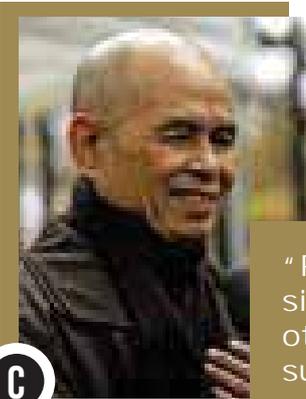
A

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



B

"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



C

"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



D



E

"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.



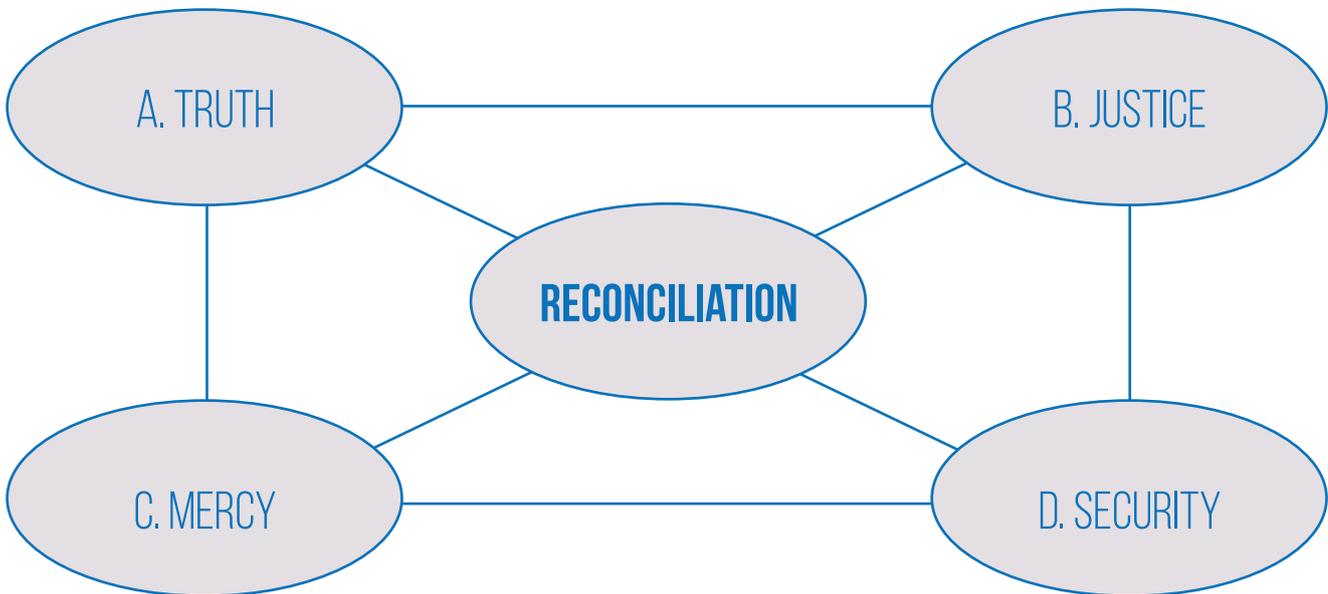
Mercy: This is the idea that victims of violence and perpetrators of violence respect each other’s common humanity. All human beings equally deserve to have dignity and be treated as human beings.

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

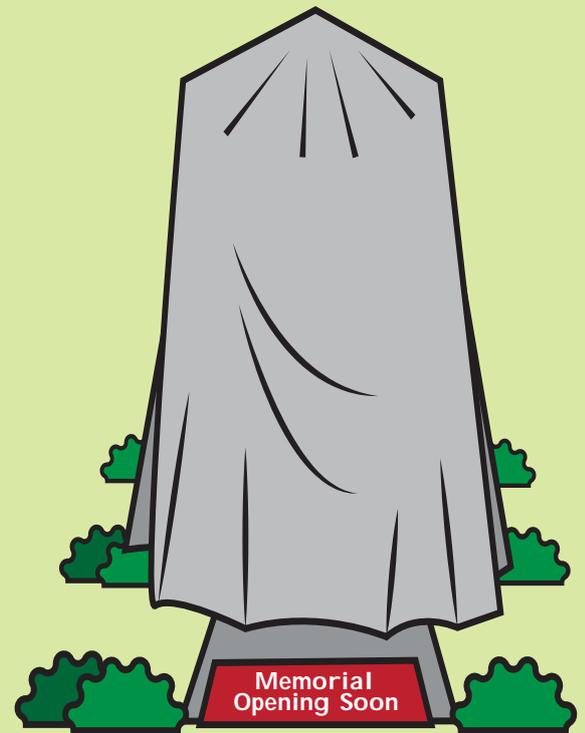
1. Think of a historical conflict from your country or community.
2. Read the examples of memorials below. Rank the list based on which you think would be most effective (1), or least effective (7), for memorializing the conflict.
 - a. A garden dedicated to people who died during the conflict.
 - b. 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."

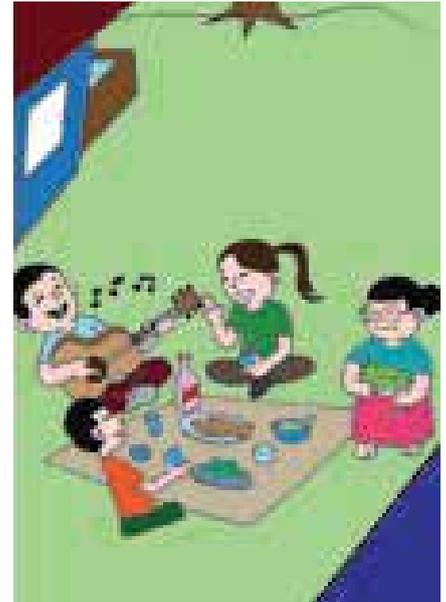
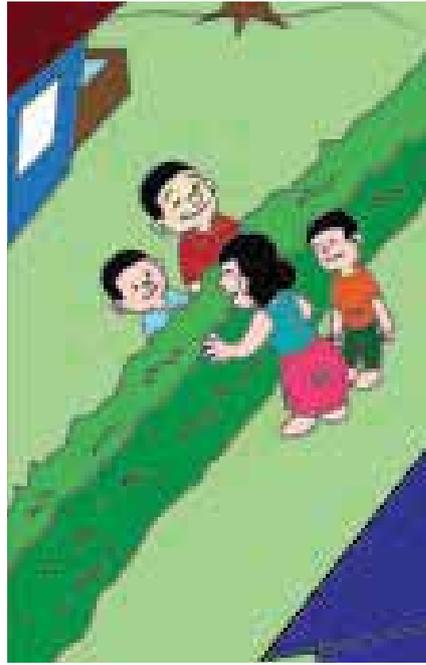
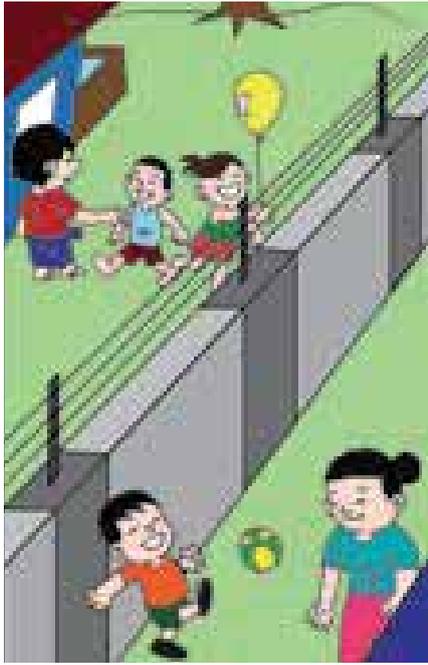
Source: <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/8193-myanmar-to-follow-cambodia-s-lead-in-documenting-recent-history.html>



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.

1

FEAR BECOMES NON-VIOLENT COEXISTENCE

People from all conflicting groups are physically safe and secure. Individuals or groups do not try to seek revenge through violence or killing. There is a strong belief that killing will not bring back the dead. Communication between victims and perpetrators starts and increases.

2

NON-VIOLENT COEXISTENCE BECOMES TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

People have confidence that non-violent **coexistence** will continue. People start to see each other as human and deserving of dignity and respect. People begin to respect the basic rights of their "enemies". People begin to understand that individuals, not whole groups, were mostly responsible for violent actions, and that some violent actions were worse than others.

3

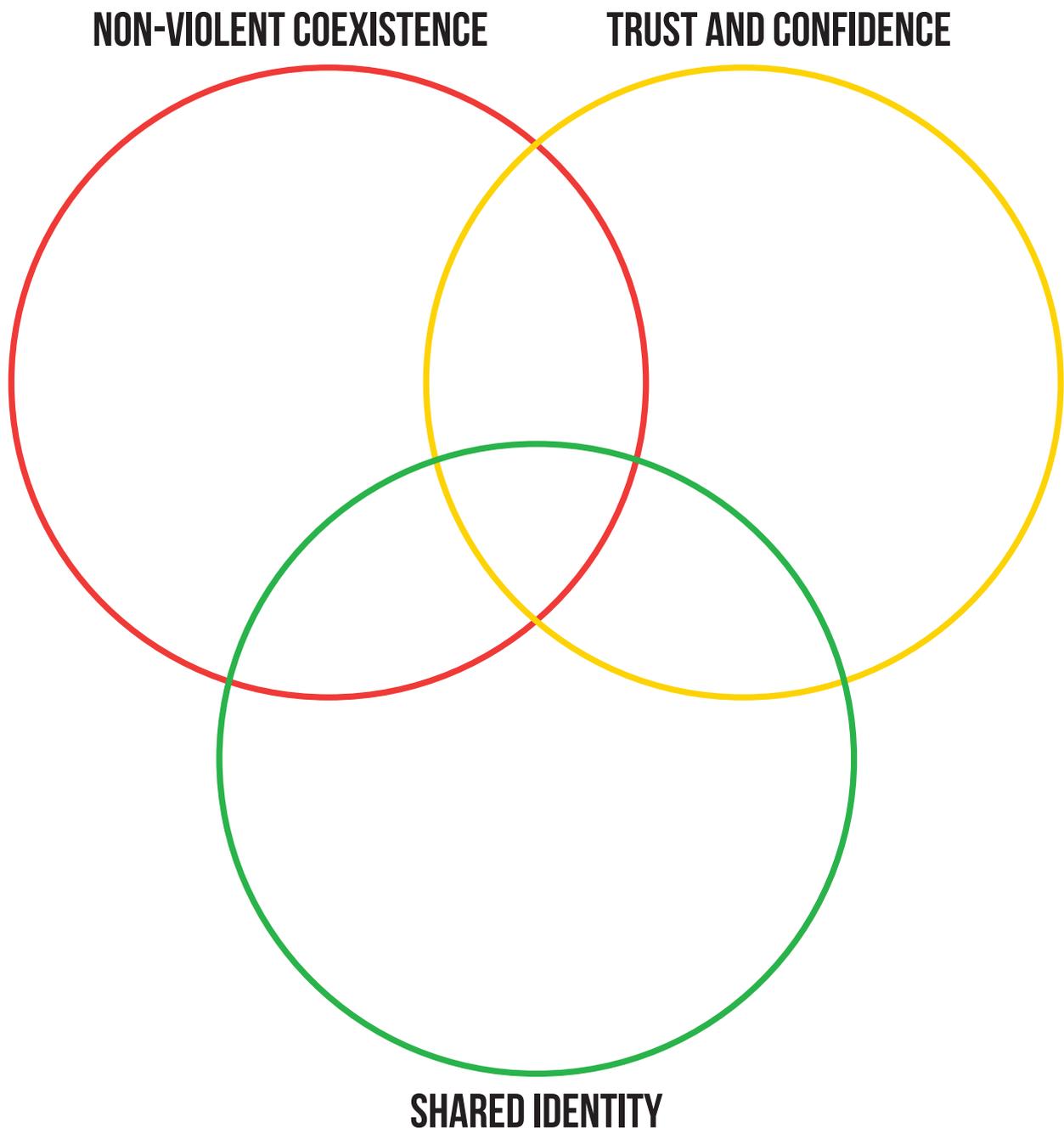
TRUST AND CONFIDENCE GROW INTO A SHARED IDENTITY

Perpetrators are willing to listen to the pain and suffering they caused their victims. Victims are willing to listen perpetrators' reasons for wanting to harm them. Usually truth-telling happens some time before stage three. Perpetrators and victims start to see themselves as sharing a common identity. Both perpetrators and victims share the identity of being survivors of violent conflict. Having a shared identity increases **empathy** and moves individuals towards reconciliation. But it does not mean that a person stops being angry or forgets what has happened to them. It also does not mean that a victim forgives a perpetrator. This stage is about listening and a shared identity.

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.

ACTIVITY

WHAT STAGE OF RECONCILIATION?





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.mmtimes.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?

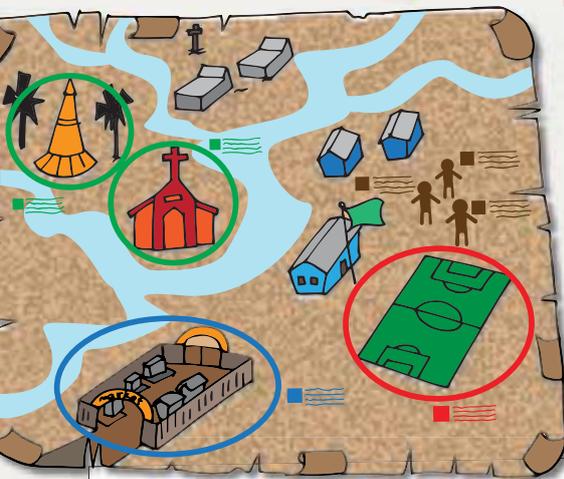
DISCUSSION

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?

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.

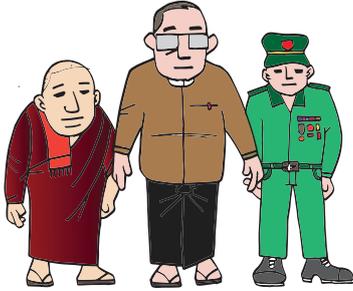
VALUES

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.

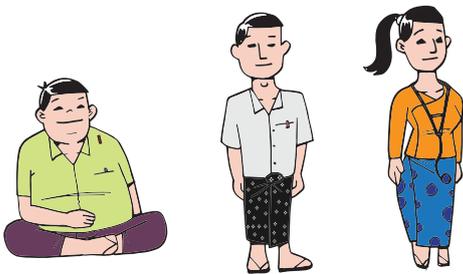
Middle-level leaders can connect grassroots leaders and top leaders, and open space for peacebuilding at the grassroots level.

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.

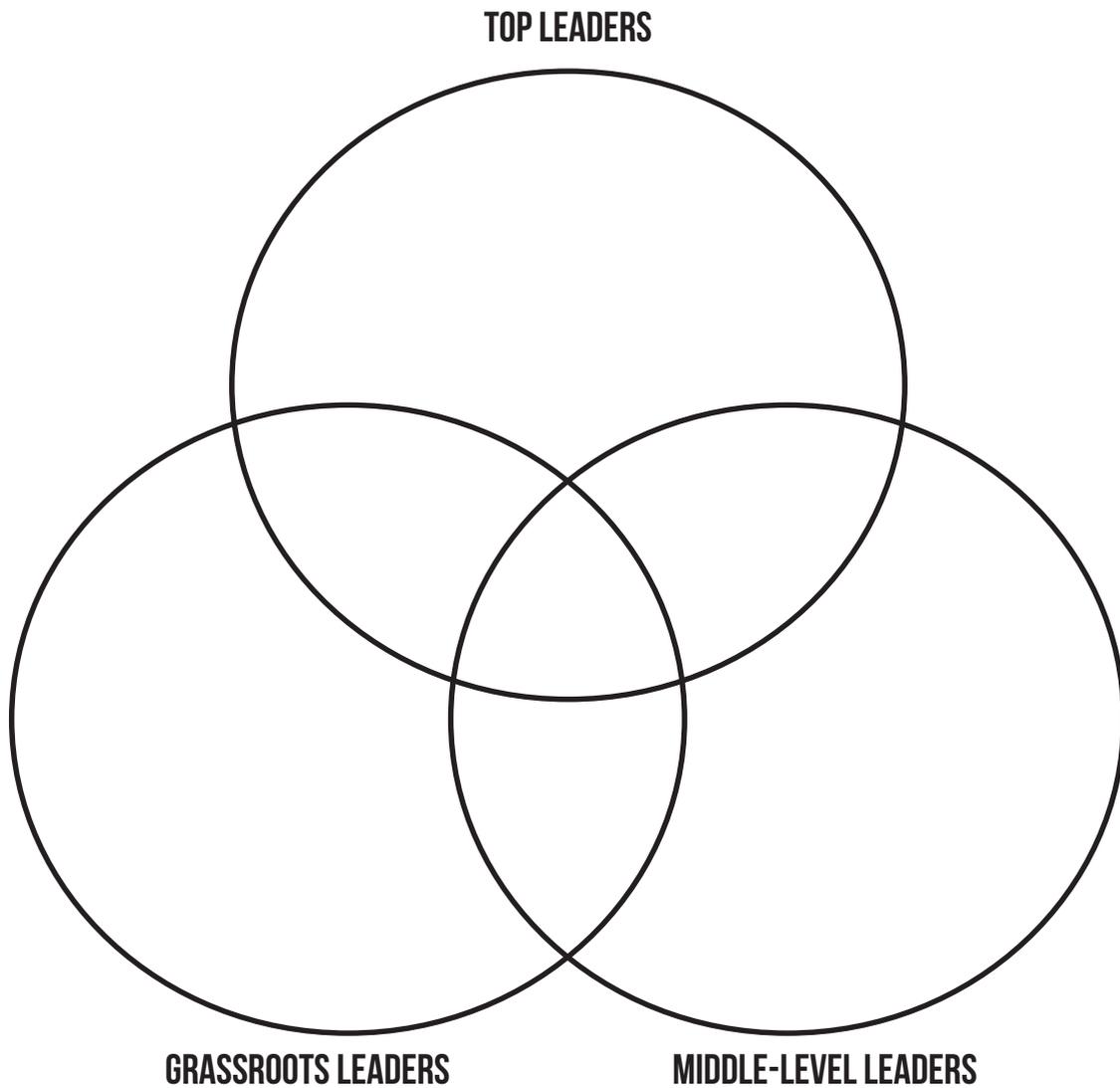
- Community trainings on conflict transformation, advocacy, peace and human rights education.
- Bridge-building between local hostile communities.
- Community mental health care and trauma support.
- Promoting reconciliation.
- Helping to reintegrate former soldiers, internally displaced persons and 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

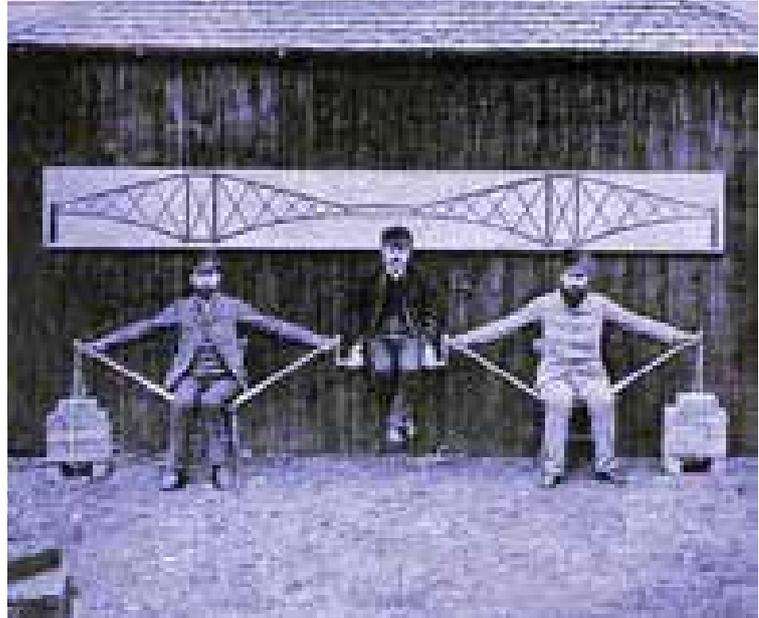
1. Make a list of the activities that you have participated in that had one (or more) of the following effects:
 - Built positive relationships;
 - Prevented violence from escalating;
 - Challenged structural violence;
 - Increased social justice.
2. Look back at your list. Choose the activity that you 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

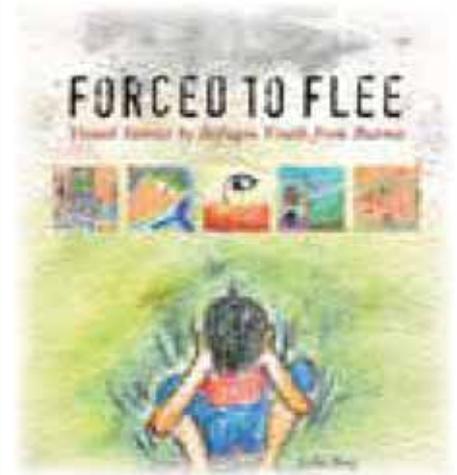
After the Rwandan Genocide, some perpetrators of violence were released from jail and helped to rebuild the homes of families they had harmed. Some of these perpetrators had burned down homes. Others had killed family members. In these “reconciliation villages”, the perpetrators rebuilt the houses of 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

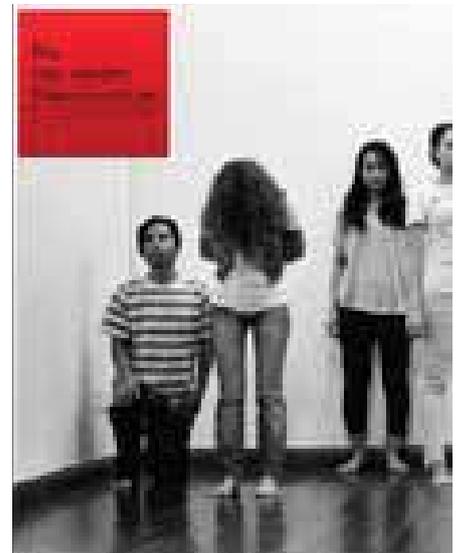
Experiences of violence and human rights abuses, or losing loved ones, can cause many years of pain. As a result, many people are not comfortable talking about these experiences. Theatre provides a different way to express their feelings and experiences in a safe and non-threatening environment. It can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

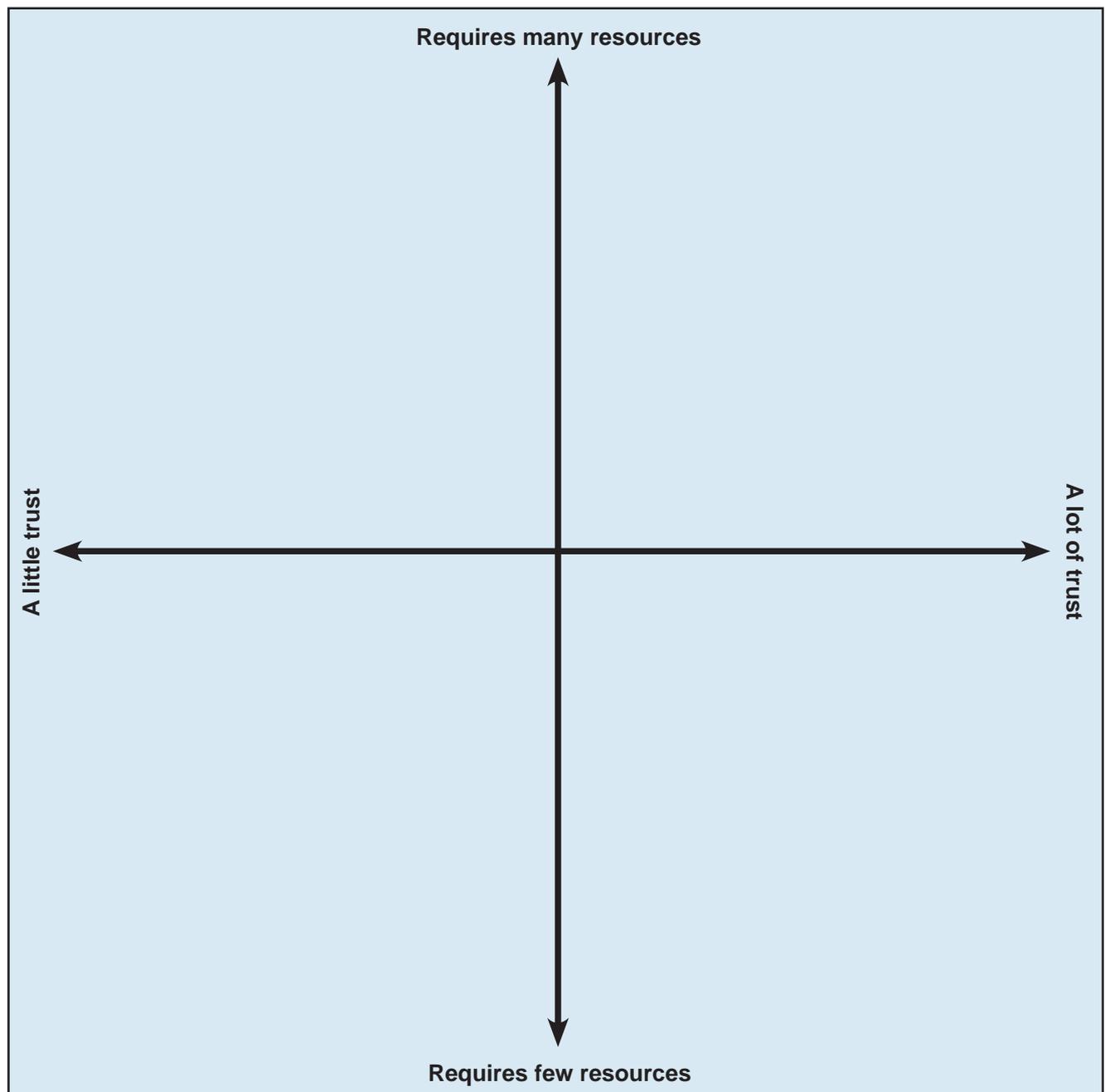
1. A community education programme runs English classes. Lessons include learning how to communicate about difficult topics. Students also learn how to critically evaluate information they see online, and how to prevent hate speech from spreading.
2. Youth groups from a church, a monastery and a mosque 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.

- 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.
- Add any additional reconciliation activities you can think of.
- 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.

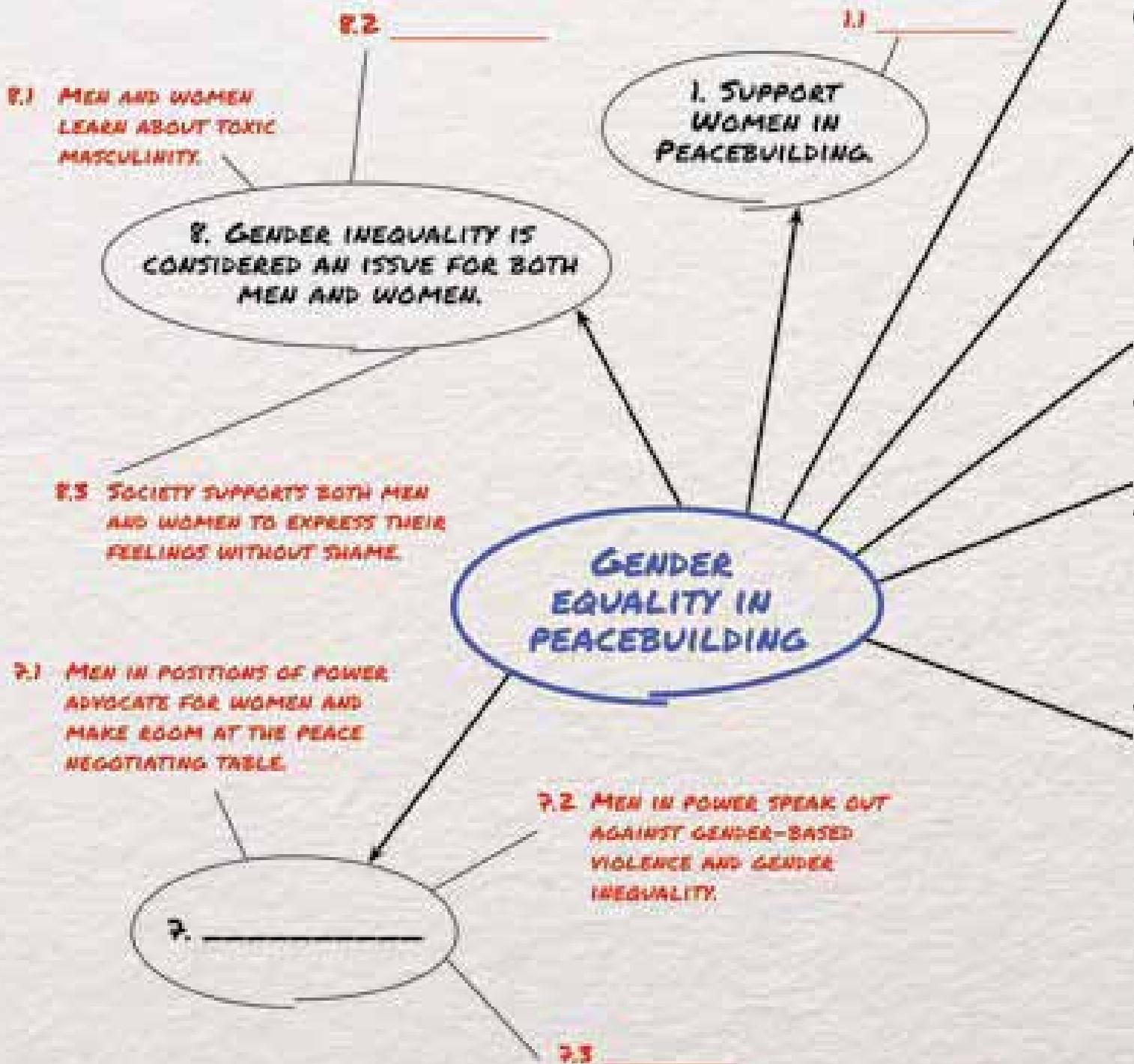
PREVIEW

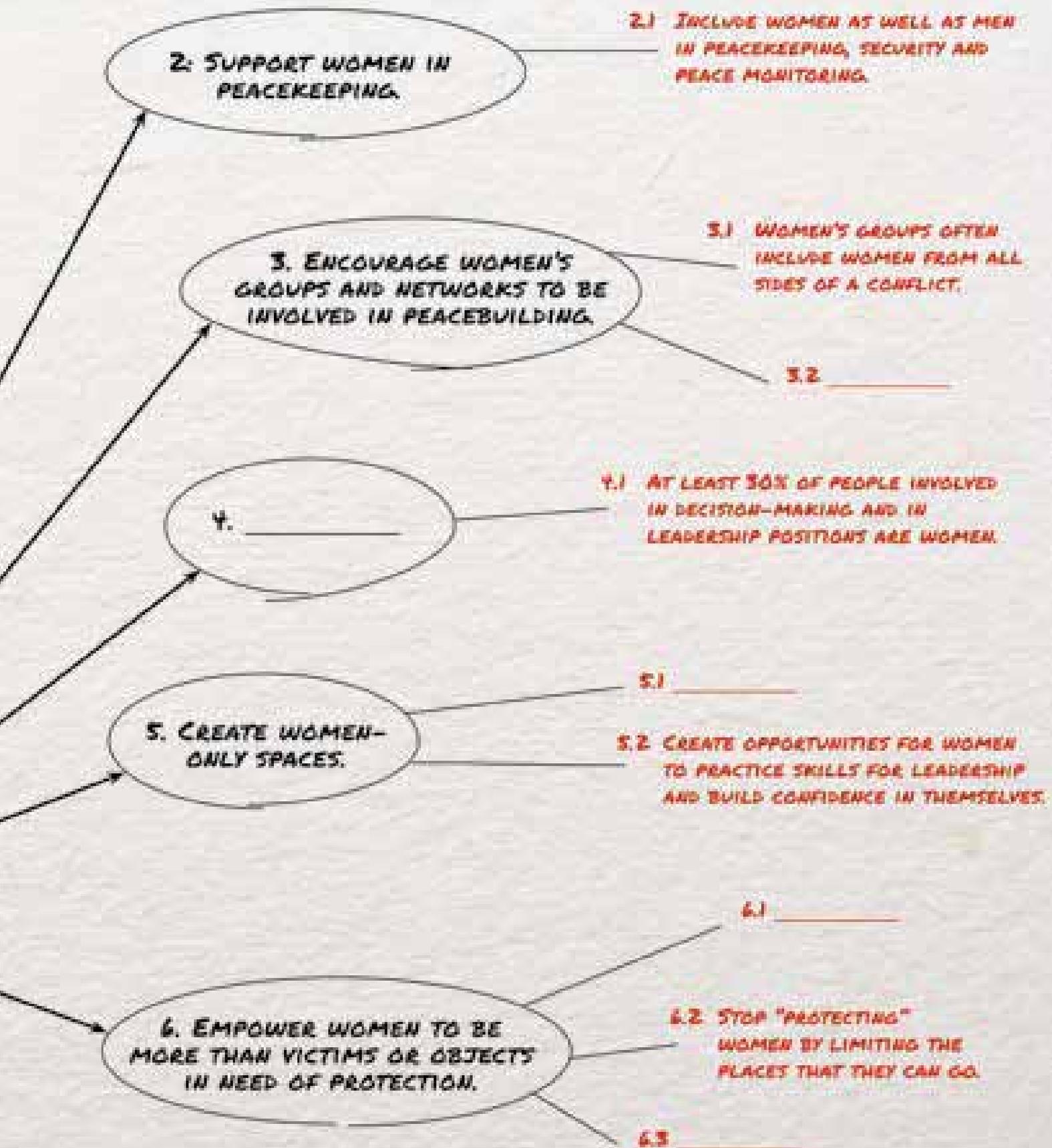
1. Why is it important to include men and women equally in peacebuilding?
2. Do men and women have different reasons for wanting peace? How are they different?

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.”*

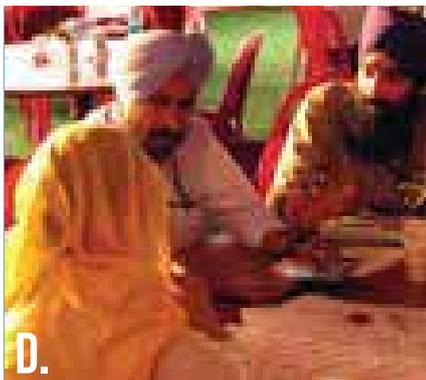
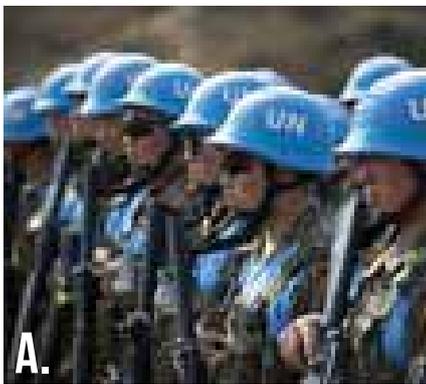
Activities that aim to create this kind of change include:

- 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	<p>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.</p>
6. Grassroots Mobilisation	

Theories of Change:

CONTEXT

Who is



And who is not?

What are
the CAUSES?

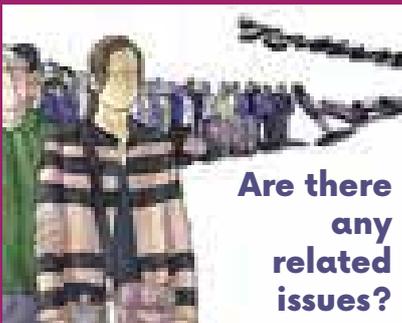


And what are

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
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is being done to support peace? (e.g.: dialogue, peacebuilding activities, inter-group cooperation) 2. What resources and opportunities are available to make the community more peaceful? (e.g.: jobs, organisations, schools, sports clubs) 3. What connects people across conflict lines? (e.g.: language, sports, education, music, shared experiences) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. What are the sources of destructive conflict? (e.g.: scarce resources, different values or identities, structural violence) 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). 6. What other issues divide people or cause the conflict to escalate? (e.g.: development projects, natural resources, discriminatory laws) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Which people can positively influence the community/society to make it more peaceful?(e.g.: leaders or organisations are working for peace) 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) 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

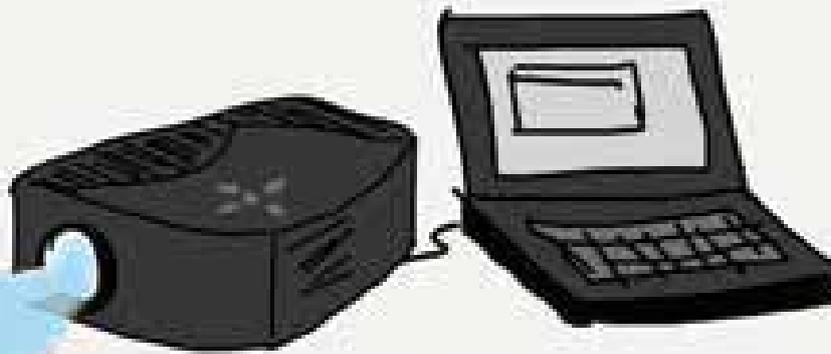
- Question: What needs to happen to make this community/society more peaceful?
- Answer: "Y" in the theory of change - Your goal.
 - E.g.: "...this will result in fewer men joining armed groups so there will be fewer soldiers."
 - "...this will result in them using non-violent ways to deal with their 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 | empathy (n) - စာနာခြင်း။ |
| amnesty (n) - လွတ်ငြိမ်းချမ်းသာခွင့် | escalate (v) - အရှိန်မြှင့်တင်သည် |
| betray (v) - သစ္စာဖောက်သည် | ethical (adj) - ကျင့်ဝတ်ညီခြင်း |
| black market (n) - မှောင်ခိုဈေးကွက် | famine (n) - ငတ်မွတ်မှုကပ်သော |
| census (n) - လူဦးရေသန်းခေါင် စာရင်း | gender mainstreaming (n) - ကျားမရေးရာ(ဂျွန်နီ) ကိစ္စရပ်များကို ထည့်သွင်းဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း |
| coalition (n) - ညွန့်ပေါင်းအစိုးရ | gender-sensitive (adj) - ကျားမရေးရာ(ဂျွန်နီ) ကိစ္စရပ်များကို သတိမူခြင်း |
| coexist (v) - အတူ ယှဉ်တွဲနေထိုင်ခြင်း | genocide (n) - မျိုးတုန်းသတ်ဖြတ်ခြင်း |
| communal (adj) - လူမှုအသိုင်းအဝိုင်းနှင့်ဆိုင်သော | grievance (n) - နစ်နာမှု၊ မကျေလည်မှု |
| compassion (n) - ကရုဏာရှိခြင်း | harmony (n) - သဟဇာတဖြစ်မှု |
| compensation (n) - လျော်ကြေး၊ နစ်နာကြေး | hostile (adj) - ရန်လိုသော |
| confiscation (n) - (မြေယာ)သိမ်းယူခြင်း | humane (adj) - လူသားဆန်သော |
| conflict resolution (n) - ပဋိပက္ခ ဖြေရှင်းခြင်း | immunity (n) - ကင်းလွတ်ခွင့် |
| conflict transformation (n)
- ပဋိပက္ခအသွင်ကူးပြောင်းခြင်း | infrastructure (n) - အခြေခံအဆောက်အအုံ |
| conscientious objector (n)
- တာဝန်သိဆန့်ကျင်ရေးသမား | integrate (v) - ပေါင်းစည်းမှု |
| disarmament (n) - လက်နက်ဖျက်သိမ်းခြင်း၊ စွန့်လွှတ်ခြင်း | internally displaced person / IDP (n)
- ပြည်တွင်းနေရပ်စွန့်ခွာတိမ်းရှောင်သူ |
| displace (v) - ရွှေ့ပြောင်းသည် | intimidation (n) - ခြိမ်းခြောက်မှု |
| diversity (n) - အမျိုးအစားစုံလင်ခြင်း | land grabbing (n) - လယ်ယာမြေများ သိမ်းယူခြင်း |
| elite (n, adj) - ထိပ်သီးခေါင်းဆောင်ပိုင်း | livelihood (n) - သက်မွေးဝမ်းကျောင်းလုပ်ငန်း |
| embargo (n) - ပိတ်ဆို့အရေးယူမှု | 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) - ပြောင်းလဲမှုရလဒ်ဖြစ်စဉ်

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) - ျအပြုလိုက်သေကြေပျက်စီးစေနိုင်သောလက်နက်များ

zero-sum game (n) - တစ်ဘက်နိုင်တစ်ဘက်ရှုံးကစားပွဲ

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37	RFA	Armed ethnic groups meet with government peace negotiators at the Myanmar Peace Center in Yangon, March 17, 2015.	http://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/final-peace-deal-eludes-government-and-armed-ethnic-groups-07242015144942.html	© 1998-2016, RFA. Used with the permission of Radio Free Asia, 2025 M St. NW, Suite 300, Washington DC 20036.
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If we have missed anyone out, we apologise. Please contact us and we will include you in future editions.