well as the positive aspects to a progressionary approach to NGO involvement, we are now in a better position to examine and discuss a long-term peacebuilding strategy.

Towards a Long-term Peacebuilding Strategy

A long-term strategy for peacebuilding should ensure that countries have the support that they need to sustain the efforts and environment instituted by those organizations involved in the short-term process. This does not mean that all organizations involved in short-term initiatives will abandon their projects, but it is a possibility that must be accounted for and, those that do continue there work may need help, in terms of various resources, to be able to sustain their efforts. There are two critical components to a long-term peacebuilding strategy: the mobilization of civil society and the development of an agency to oversee and coordinate the work of NGOs in various countries.

Before discussing the relationship between civil society and peacebuilding, it is first necessary to briefly examine the concept at hand. There are two distinct perceptions of what constitutes civil society. The first draws on the work of scholars such as Alexis de Tocqueville. This view of civil society is grounded in democracy and may be defined as:

> ...a rich fabric formed by a multiplicity of territoriality - and functionally based units. The strength of civil society is measured by the peaceful coexistence of these units and by their collective capacity to simultaneously resist subordination to the state and demand inclusion into national political structures. The public character of these societal units allows them to justify and act in open pursuit of their collective interests in competition with one another.[12]

Others, such as Antonio Gramsci, would argue against the democratic nature of de Tocqueville's concept defining civil society as a sphere that is dominated by the ruling strata and is most often dominated by the state. Indeed it would be a fallacy to argue that civil society is always free from state influence, or that the establishment of a strong civil society will always enhance democracy. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, civil society will not be defined in terms of the state, or democracy, but will simply refer to a sphere where citizens are able to "associate according to their own interests and wishes."[13] Indeed, whether civil society represents some state interest, or has the capacity to stimulate democratic institution building will vary from situation to situation, however, the necessity of working within civil society for sustainable peace is clear.

The mobilization of civil society is essential to successful peacebuilding initiatives: "sustainable peacebuilding requires the identification, support and harnessing of indigenous resources. If peacebuilding is to be sustainable, it will need to be 'indigenized.'.....A bottom-up

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[12] Michael Gray, "Creating Civil Society? The Emergence of NGOs in Vietnam," *Development and Change*, V30, N4, Oct. 1999. Pg. 695

[13] Thomas Carothers, "Civil Society: Think Again," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1999-00. Pg. 18