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New Routes

A JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH AND ACTION

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Inter-faith initiatives for peace

**Trauma-healing
in Liberia**



**Palestine-Israel
Time for ecumenical
accompaniment**

**Reconciliation
as metaphor**



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Inter-faith

Have you seen it in the conference programs? Inter-faith, inter-religious, multi-faith, people of all faiths ... Numerous meetings are reflecting on the world after September 11, often from a multi-religious angle.

The role of religions in peace and conflict is searched, and researched more than ever, and not least through revived efforts among the churches and ecumenical movements to look for common, positive denominators among religions in order to promote peace in a world that is suspiciously closing doors and windows. The "war on terrorism" is not only causing fear. It is also contributing to new commitments.

In this issue of *New Routes*, we are happy to have a couple of reflections on inter-faith action as a means to bring peace. Ipe Joseph, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in India, is looking at peace building through dialogue. He notes that there are questions Christians are afraid to ask, such as "Is God listening to my Hindu or Muslim neighbours' prayer?" Stein Villumstad, Nairobi-based coordinator for Norwegian Church Aid, compares inter-faith initiatives to bring peace in the conflict areas in Ethiopia-Eritrea, Sierra Leone and Kosovo.

Read also Hans Lindqvist's report about the struggle for trauma-healing and reconciliation in Liberia, and Charles Villa-Vicencio's "The art of reconciliation" out of the South African experiences of the Truth commission. Not least, find out more about the courageous ecumenical initiative to send peace teams to accompany the peoples of Palestine and Israel.

I wish you fruitful reading and new experiences in the never-ending search for new routes to peace and reconciliation. Do get in touch and share your views and material with other *New Routes*-readers.

Tore Samuelsson

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New Routes

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Inter-faith action:**Religious leaders challenged**

This article is an excerpt from a longer paper by Stein Villumstad, where he looks at dialogue for inter-faith action in times of war. He acted as facilitator for the process described in the article. The full text expresses the importance of **both** words **and** action in these contexts. This shortened version puts focus on the dialogue, which serves as a background and framework for actions already taken and planned for in the future. The full paper will be published by the Life & Peace Institute as an Occasional Paper in August/September this year.

Religion is important in the lives of large majorities of the world's populations. On an individual level people's lives are guided by their religious beliefs and values. The social significance of religion is played out through and in religious communities and institutions, whose historic roots, to a great extent, determine their nature and functioning. Their leaders are the custodians of values, history and social power.

In a number of contemporary conflicts throughout the world, whether international or domestic, religion is mentioned as one of the factors. Even in wars without religious overtones, religious leaders have involved themselves to various degrees.

This paper looks at dialogue for interfaith action in times of war, based on the involvement of Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), together with the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP), in three cases: Ethiopia and Eritrea, Sierra Leone, and Kosovo. The main emphasis is on the Ethiopia/Eritrea process, since NCA involvement in this process has been the longest and most comprehensive. The other two are used as supplementary evidence and for comparative observations.

Three examples***Ethiopia/Eritrea***

"Religious fathers called upon the peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea not to bear any resentment against one another as a result of the conflict that raged between the two countries. Patriarch of the Eritrean Orthodox Church said there would not be war hereafter between the two countries. ... At a press conference they gave at the Bole International Airport the religious fathers said they have conveyed a message of peace to the people of Eritrea to bury the past and work for a better future. The Ethiopian religious fathers who travelled to Asmara returned home February 14 after concluding their visit to that country."¹

"At a public gathering at the United Nations Conference Centre yesterday, the religious leaders of both countries have reiterated the importance of peace to the leaders and peoples of the two countries ... 'My hope – my stubborn optimism – is that with your spiritual and pastoral guidance, with your prayers and actions, las-

ting peace will return to the land of Ethiopia and of Eritrea and their people will once again enjoy a life of dignity and prosperity', ... [the special representative of the Secretary-General of the UN, Legwaila Joseph Legwaila] said."²

For the first time since the war between the two countries broke out in 1998, the Eritrean and Ethiopian people witnessed delegations publicly visiting each other in their respective capitals. The significance of the meetings was further underlined by the high levels of leaders participating in these talks, with the massive popular support of their religious communities. The joint visits of the religious leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea were the culmination of a process that experienced countless high and low points.

A significant breakthrough occurred more than two years earlier during a meeting. Twenty men in full religious pontifical, across religious and national divides and tensions, spontaneously broke up the formal meeting. They rose, walked about in the room, hugging each other and sharing greetings of peace. This emotional and colourful episode took place in a secluded hotel in Norway in the early fall of 1999, and was sparked off by an historic agreement reached around the table.

After serious and difficult negotiations, starting almost a year earlier, the religious leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea had finalised a joint appeal to the peoples of their countries. They asked them to work for peace in their respective religious traditions, to reach out in support of those who were suffering, and to open their hearts to forgive and thus to end hateful propaganda. The backdrop of the appeal was the war between the two countries which, in just more than a year, had killed thousands of people, displaced hundreds of thousands and caused

serious humanitarian crises. In the same meeting, they prepared joint letters to their two governments, in which they respectfully urged them to make the utmost effort “to end the hostilities”, and asked for a meeting with their respective heads of government to share their reflections.

The religious leaders of the two countries had signed the same piece of paper for the first time. Religion united influential people in efforts to work for peace, despite the popular belief that it is a divisive element which aggravates conflicts. The signatories to the two documents were the Patriarchs of the Orthodox churches, the Archbishops of the Catholic churches, the Presidents of the Protestant churches and the Sheiks of the Muslim councils.

The talks between the religious leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea started in August 1998. NCA contacted the respective religious communities, shared their deep concern over the outbreak of the war a few months earlier, and offered to facilitate a process between them.

NCA has not been a peace organi-

denominational institutions and communities. Internal conflicts inside some of the denominations, and between the countries within denominations, were characteristics of the context in which the process was to start up.

When the two delegations first met confidentially in Norway in November 1998, the atmosphere was tense and cautious. Politeness and superficial friendliness characterised the initial hours and days. They managed, however, to agree upon a platform of shared values and a commitment to peace that should guide their future dialogue. This kindled hope among the groups, and gave encouragement to the people in Ethiopia and Eritrea who were suffering from the war and were longing for peace.

The process, in which NCA co-operated closely with the WCRP, continued with shuttling activities by the facilitators to the respective countries, and by a number of new encounters in three other countries. For most of the duration of the war, the religious leaders were the only significant groups from the respective countries who met face-to-face. At one critical point, the process broke down. Two

official negotiation table in Lomé in the spring of 1999, during which the government and the rebel movement tried to reach a peace accord.

The following incident illustrates the position of credibility and trust that the IRCSL had attained among the people of Sierra Leone. The talks in Lomé dragged along for an extended period, and the religious leaders decided to return to Sierra Leone until some new developments became evident in the negotiations. The decision was mainly made to save scarce economic resources and to respect their primary duties as religious leaders. Some of them, as expressed by the respected Muslim leader, Haja Madi, were met by the following aggressive statement when they returned to Freetown: “Get yourself back to Lomé immediately, and do not return to Freetown until you have secured a peace agreement!”³ The statement reflected an immense war fatigue, coupled with considerable expectations of and trust in the religious leaders.

The religious leaders, at certain moments during the internal conflict that started in 1991, had discussed what could be done. A more concerted effort was initiated when they, under the auspices of the WCRP, established the IRCSL.

Following the massacres in Freetown during December 1998, the IRCSL stepped up its activities. Contact with the government was initiated on the highest levels and the president was urged to search for a negotiated peace. Simultaneously, contact was made with the rebel movement, and the IRCSL managed to establish radio contact with them. The Council further agreed to meet with rebel leaders in the bush. Medicines and some other essential humanitarian supplies were brought along to the bush meeting. In return, the religious leaders asked for genuine gestures that would prove the seriousness of the rebels’ commitment to continue a negotiation process. As a result, more than 50 children held hostage by the rebels were released.

For most of the duration of the war, the religious leaders were the only significant groups from the respective countries who met face-to-face.

sation traditionally, but with a long history in emergency relief and development assistance in the two countries, there was a legitimate rationale for taking the initiative. Significant for NCA’s decision to intervene was also the absence of any ecclesiastical agenda that could create suspicion or confusion.

Taking their local contexts into consideration, it was not a *fait accompli* that the religious leaders would come together as a group. Particularly in Ethiopia, there has been a history of some tension between religious and

weeks later, a major military offensive started in which thousands of people were killed. Careful and patient facilitation brought the two groups slowly back together, resulting in the episode in the Norwegian hills, only one event in an ongoing and volatile process.

Sierra Leone

On the western coast of Africa, the Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone (IRCSL) had taken courageous steps to end the extremely cruel and inhumane civil war in the country. Their actions brought them to the



The talks between the religious leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea started in August 1998. The photo is from a historic meeting when the leaders met in Eritrea in February 2002. Foto: NCA/Bente Bjercke.

Although the main actors in the Lomé negotiations were the UN and the Economic Community of West African States under the leadership of the Togolese president, the parties to the conflict insisted that the religious leaders should also be included in the negotiations. Their moral strength and popular legitimacy were essential for the negotiations even to proceed.

During the process, which started with consultations with the president of Sierra Leone and culminated in the peace accord of July 1999, the WCRP, supported and accompanied by NCA, was actively involved as resource and facilitator.

The main challenge for the IRCSL was to gain the acceptance of the rebel group, since the religious leaders were all based in government-controlled areas. Their basic religious values, principled positions and even-handed behaviour soon served to build the necessary trust with the rebels and

helped to develop a relationship between these two groups.

It is well known that many questioned the peace accord, and that it did not hold. A new outbreak of tragic violence the following year introduced entirely new dynamics. For this reason, the role of the IRCSL during the peace talks is not put into question. Its role remains important, in particular its attempts to work for reconciliation and the rehabilitation of the most vulnerable groups.

Kosovo

During the summer of 2000 a group of religious leaders from Kosovo also gathered in the hotel in Norway, where leaders from Ethiopia and Eritrea had met. They had been involved in intermittent consultations for some time. They met for the first time under the auspices of WCRP during the spring of 1999. Further two meetings were held during the spring of 2000. These

meetings had not yielded significant results in terms of action. They were mainly aimed at producing a common platform, from which they made a joint statement to the people of Kosovo.

NCA and the WCRP, both organisations present in the Balkans, rekindled the contacts, and invited representatives to the consultation in Norway.

During their negotiations in Norway, the religious leaders of Kosovo were able to work out a plan of action, which committed them to concrete actions in support of peaceful co-existence, reconciliation and rehabilitation of the different ethnic communities in Kosovo.

Religious leaders were not seen to be significant opinion makers in Kosovo, but the action plan arrived at in Norway was well-publicised in the national media. The symbolic significance of the action plan was obviously far beyond its importance on the ground. Expectations for the

systematic follow-up of the plan gave hope to people tired of hatred and fear.

Comparing Ethiopia/Eritrea, Sierra Leone and Kosovo

There are fundamental differences between the conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and in Sierra Leone and Kosovo. The religious landscapes and cultures are also rather different in the four countries. In Ethiopia and Eritrea, there is a comparable culture of loyalty evident in religious institutions. The joint appeal from Oslo in September 1999 was therefore a bold step forward. As religious leaders were the sole channels of face-to-face communication between the two countries during the war, their significance may be gauged even better. The religious leaders of Sierra Leone took a significantly more proactive role when they literally travelled to the bush to meet with the rebels and urged the parties to come to the negotiation table. The *de facto* influence of the Kosovo religious leaders is said to be relatively limited. Their joint public action was quite visible and in contrast to many divisive actions taken by other groups and individuals.

In spite of differences in the three contexts and approaches, there is one key common denominator in all three examples. The religious leaders accepted their role and responsibility

Religion not at the heart of conflict

Religion is not at the heart of any of the conflicts in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sierra Leone or Kosovo. This is not to say that there have not been tensions and conflicts within and between the religious communities. In all four countries, Islam and Christianity are the main religions, and the ones that were represented in all three cases. The number of followers and tensions between denominations and faiths vary in the four countries.

Sierra Leone is religiously comparatively harmonious. The number of intermarriages across religious divides is noteworthy.

Political forces have exploited the fact that there is a certain coincidence between ethnic communities and religious following in Kosovo that widen rifts. Symbolic actions of destroying houses of worship have been rampant, and the three main denominations can each list catalogues of destruction. The religious communities are relatively small compared to the total population, and religion as such has not been the contentious issue.

In Ethiopia, there has been an historic tension between the Orthodox church and the protestant Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus. In certain areas, physical confrontations have occurred.

Kosovo, there has been a constant need to build relations between the faiths, and thereby strengthen the group coherence in order to face the joint challenges posed by conflicts. Religious theological dialogue, however, was not the focus of any of the three cases. The dialogue was aimed at joint religious action.

Specific potential and limitations of religious leaders

The initial prioritised objective of the Ethiopian and Eritrean religious leaders was to stop the war between the two countries. This implied an assumption that the religious leaders had sufficient influence over the political actors. The dialogue between the two groups came to a grinding halt when they were not able to agree upon a joint approach in working aggressively towards this objective. Their ability or willingness to separate their nationalistic agendas, reflected through their respective political leaders, from their religious mandate was not sufficiently strong. They got stuck in their own political mindsets, while probably realising at the same time that they lacked the necessary influence and power to move their respective political leaders. The two groups eventually had to adjust their objective towards post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction to move the dialogue forward.

The relationships with the respective governments and parties to the conflict have been different in the three cases. As facilitator, NCA has been physically present in encounters between the religious leaders and their respective governments to a very limited degree, and thus the observations are not based on 'hard evidence'. Two elements in the relationship, however, seem to be sufficiently exposed to justify some comments.

The historic relationship between religious institutions and the government differs in the four countries in question. In Sierra Leone, there are close ties between the government and civil society in general. Civil society

The religious leaders accepted their role and responsibility in working for peace across religious tensions and divides.

in working for peace across religious tensions and divides. In all three situations, religion and religious values were dynamically used as a common platform for action. The values are 'deeply held and widely shared', and therefore central to human life. Another commonality is that religious dialogue was not an academic or theological exercise, but consisted of focused preparation for joint action.

In other areas, tensions between Muslim groups and the churches have arisen. Due to instabilities in neighbouring Sudan and Somalia, this tension seems to have increased over the last few years. The traditional moderate expressions of religions have been complemented with more radical groups. The same pattern is basically also true for Eritrea, although conflicts have come to the surface to a lesser degree.

Particularly in Ethiopia, Eritrea and

organisations, partly due to endemic political instability, have carved out a significant role in the public discourse. Pulpits, media and public events are arenas for civil society groups to address and link up with the government. These arenas are used at times for highly politicised debates.⁴ The religious leaders were therefore well placed from the outset to influence the peace process. In spite of this culture of civil society 'politics', the religious leaders were conscious of their core mandate and primary 'zone' of operation. This consciousness earned them respect, and prevented them from being politically compromised.

The historic traditions of Ethiopia and Eritrea are quite different. There is no historic tradition of the churches or mosques involving themselves in the public discourse or speaking out against the government. The many centuries of feudalism and imperial rule have created a culture of submission and obedience. The 'prophetic' voice of the churches, for example, in South Africa and Kenya, is far removed from the Abyssinian culture. The Orthodox church has historically been the church of the Emperor, and the ties between the state and the church have traditionally been quite close.

Since the conflict between the two countries was basically of a political nature, there was a much deeper need to carve out the zones of operation for the religious leaders. In relating to their governments, they have promoted general values, concerns and suggestions. The potential role of facilitating contacts between the two governments has not been possible. Therefore their initial objective 'to stop the war' was over-ambitious, not only due to internal tensions in the dialogue, but also due to the feeling of some religious leaders that their real influence over their respective governments was limited. The establishment of the overlapping 'zone' between the religious leaders and the governments has so far been limited, since the understanding and acceptance of their

primary 'zones of comparative advantage' are still to be fully explored.

Eighty years of communism and a secular state heavily influenced by atheism in the former Yugoslavia placed the religious communities and institutions in Kosovo in a vulnerable position. Civil society institutions outside 'the party' had no official room within which to operate. There was no tradition of religious leaders and communities influencing the public debate. The Orthodox church was traditionally close to the Russian and Serbian political establishment, and has restored part of its position in many countries in Eastern Europe.

The situation in Kosovo is different. Large groups see the Orthodox church as the representative of 'the Serbian oppressors'. The other religious communities or institutions are therefore not seen as having high stakes with the government. There is, on the other hand, no tradition of dialogue between religious leaders and the government. During the peak of the armed conflict in the Balkans, religions were in danger of being abused by external actors with religious motivations for their direct military involvement. This forms part of the backdrop of the relationship between religious groups and the authorities.

The newly re-obtained religious freedom has increased the religious influence in the Kosovo society. One should therefore not downplay the positive effect of the role the religious leaders could play. There are indications that local politicians are consulting their respective religious leaders.

Since the Orthodox mostly represent Serbs, while Albanians are Muslims or are members of the Catholic minority, the linkages between politics and religious communities seem evident. The possible role for religious leaders in influencing the government therefore needs to be explored and developed.⁵

The main challenge for religious leaders with respect to their own religious communities has been to communicate with them and empower

them to carry on the interfaith dialogue within their immediate organisational environments and on local levels.

Lessons for the new world 'order'?

Has 11 September 2001 and other recent global events brought about a new paradigm for interfaith relations? It seems as if the relations between the Abrahamic religions are at the centre of this discourse. People are drawn into global conflicts, which invariably play out locally.

Bishop Mano Rumlshah⁶ claimed that it is impossible to dismiss the religious element of the present conflict, which is of global reach. Although there is a multitude of factors contributing to the conflict, religion will remain one of them.

Global conflicts most often have local roots and elements. Muslim and Christian leaders should therefore 'de-globalise' Christian/Muslim tensions. The tendencies to frame local conflicts as global tensions between the two religions must be replaced by looking for the specific local causes and problems that need to be solved first and foremost locally. Interfaith action is therefore called for on local and national levels as a key contribution to conflict transformation and social rehabilitation.

¹ *Addis Zemen*, Newspaper, Addis Ababa, 15 February 2002.

² *Addis Zemen*, Newspaper, Addis Ababa, 16 February 2002.

³ Verbal communication with author, June 1999

⁴ As part of the peace process there was, for example, a comprehensive civil society consultation, involving a great number of civil society organisations. The process culminated in a report with a number of recommendations that varied between basic human rights concerns to more specific constitutional and political solutions.

⁵ E-mail communication, Reverend Leif Magne Helgesen, NCA coordinator in the Balkans, March 2002.

⁶ Bishop of Peshawar and General Secretary of USPG, Manower Rumlshah, Challenge to Religions, paper presented to the World Council of Churches Consultation on *Beyond 11th September, Assessing the global implications*, Geneva, November 2001.

From pagans to fellow pilgrims

In this article Dr. Ipe Joseph, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in India, reflects on the World Council of Churches' initiatives in peace building through dialogue and suggests that peace cannot be brought about by secular processes alone. We have to heavily depend on religious dialogue as an instrument of making peace.

In today's world the contrast is clear and vivid. On the one hand, nations and ethnic groups and terrorists are trying to build up the latest warheads to establish their supremacy. As a result, there is a great increase in militarization, terrorism, ethnic conflicts, annihilation of innocent lives and insecurity to life all over the world. September 11th, 2001 will always remain as a blemish in human history. Still people are under the spell of the horror it has created. On the other hand, there are people, communities and organizations of goodwill, who have not given up hope. They are organizing themselves into many patterns and groups to enhance the activities of peace building. As a result, local, regional, national and international peace initiatives have emerged all over the world. The World Council of Churches (WCC), which represents more than 340 churches and many ecumenical bodies, has been involved in building up communities of justice and peace. Its efforts through dialogue have proved to be successful in many ways to bring about peace. This essay is a reflection of WCC's activities in the area of dialogue.

Historical notes

The word 'pagan' was very much in use in early Christendom. It denoted all those who were not within the fold of

the Church and it was understood that the pagans did not come under the protective umbrella of salvation. The faithful did not have anything to do with them, except to have the responsibility of converting them to Christianity. The International Missionary Conference in 1910 proclaimed as its goal the evangelisation of the whole world during the century. However, the World Mission Conferences later spent considerable time attempting to define the right attitude of the Church to other religious traditions. The *Commission on World Mission and Evangelism* of WCC took up the task of studying "the Word of God and men of other faiths".

Certainly the shift from *pagans* to *men of other faiths* was a long step forward. WCC came to the conviction that it was necessary to develop the concept of *dialogue* as an instrument to relate to people of other religions and traditions. A significant document, the Zurich Aide Memoire was prepared by the Council and presented in the Central Committee Meeting in Addis Ababa in 1971, and consequently WCC established a new sub-unit, namely '**Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies**' under the Unit on Faith and Witness. Since then the Council entered into many bilateral and multilateral meetings with

people of other religious groups, globally, regionally and nationally. In 1979 WCC published *Guidelines on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies*¹, which came out as a successful document which had been in use all over the world since its publication. In 1982 a document on *Ecumenical Consideration of Jewish-Christian Dialogue*² and in 1992 a booklet on *Issues on Christian-Muslim Relationship*³ were published.

The WCC went through several restructuring processes, and now the programmes are managed by a *Programme Committee*. At the Central Committee Meeting of WCC in 1999 the Programme Committee recommended that an Advisory Group be established for inter-religious relations. In the WCC Secretariat, the Office on *Inter-religious Relations and Dialogue* continues to work in strengthening the process of dialogue. The Advisory Group has its periodical meetings to assess the situation and respond accordingly and also to guide the activities of the Office on *Inter-religious Relations and Dialogue*.

The meetings of the Advisory Group held from 4-9 April 2001 in Cairo, a special consultation by selected participants held in Bose, Italy, from 4-8 October, 2001, and the recent meeting of the Advisory Group in Djursholm, Sweden, from 7-12 May, 2002, made efforts to revise the old guidelines to cope up with the new situation. It was gratifying to note that more than a quarter of a century's work of the Dialogue Sub-Unit has made remarkable change in the attitude of the churches and the ecumenical organizations. From '*pagans*' to '*people of other faiths*', which was the first step, another step soon followed to call

people belonging to other faiths as our 'neighbours'. A veteran in the area of dialogue, Rev. Wesley Ariarajah wrote a book entitled *Not without my Neighbour*. The journey has to go on and we are on the threshold of a new awareness, recognizing people of other faiths as *fellow pilgrims*.

Various types of dialogue

Now let us come back to some basics. Dialogue is usually classified into three types. The most common type is *academic dialogue*, where leaders and theologians of various faiths meet to discuss the theological and philosophical basis of their traditions. This process often helped to remove prejudices and misconceptions about each other's faiths. However, occasionally this process faced the danger of some of the participants trying to prove *one-up-manship* of their own faiths.

The second type is *spiritual dialogue*, where believers of different faiths attempt to meet each other in the *cave of their hearts* and cooperate with each other in common spiritual activities, such as prayer, meditation and worship. This certainly requires a high level of spiritual maturity.

The most significant type of dialogue is the *dialogue of life*, where members of various religions, who live together in the same community, come together to discuss subjects relevant to the well-being of the community and to build up trust and openness. Dialogue of life has been helpful in building up peace and harmony and in confronting increased violence. It is the *dialogue of life* that needs to be further developed, integrating *academic dialogue* and *spiritual dialogue* into its domain.

Basic affirmations of mature dialogue

Dialogue is different from *encounter*. Encounter is meeting of people or groups out of sheer compulsion to negotiate possibilities of settling conflicts or issues. Encounters are usually politi-

cal and business-like. There need not be much common ground to meet nor any lasting relationship to follow up. *Dialogue* is much different in its nature. It is founded on very strong pillars. WCC through the years tried to identify and strengthen these pillars:

- *Plurality*, which includes religious plurality, is a gift of God expressed through the lives of people living in different parts of the earth.
- As testified in the Bible, God is a God of all nations and peoples. God is present and active in all God's creation. Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word, is the uniting factor for the whole human family and Christ is at work in the world in more ways than we can understand.
- Holy Spirit has been at work in the life and traditions of peoples of living faiths.
- Understanding the faith of my neighbour will help me to understand my faith better.

God's saving activity in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ to God's presence and activity in all history?

- How do we reconcile the affirmation that '*all the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof*' with the phrase in the Gospel of St John: "*no one comes to the Father except through me*"?

Guidelines on dialogue

The Guidelines provided by the WCC affirm that dialogue takes place in community. The nature and context of the community have to be thoroughly examined and understood by those who are involved in effective dialogue. Why do Christians involve in dialogue? Dialogue is a fundamental part of Christian service within a community. Christians actively respond to the command to "*love God and your neighbour as yourself*". Dialogue enables the faithful to speak the truth in the spirit of love and build up communities of peace and

Dialogue enables the faithful to speak the truth in the spirit of love and build up communities of peace and justice.

- Respect for each other's faith is a basic requirement of mature spirituality.

The above basic affirmations help us to answer some of the questions Christians are afraid to ask:

- Is God listening to my Hindu or Muslim neighbours' prayer?
- Does God's self revelation take place in nature, in all human history and in human experience?
- Does revelation of God's self exist only through a specific historical experience of a people within one stream of history?
- Is it too important to have an adequate understanding of who God is before God listens to our prayer?
- What is the relationship between

justice. The Guidelines also provide direction in learning and understanding, sharing and living together, and planning for dialogue. These Guidelines are given to the churches. The following are some of them:

1. Churches should seek ways in which Christian communities can enter into dialogue with their neighbours of different faiths and ideologies.
2. Dialogues should normally be planned together.
3. Partners in dialogue should take stock of the religious, cultural and ideological diversity of their local situation.
4. Partners in dialogue should be free to "*define themselves*".
5. Dialogue should generate educational efforts in the community.



US Muslim Imam Sayed Moustafa Al-Qazwini lights a candle, joined by leaders of other religions at an inter-faith memorial service for the victims of 11 September terrorist attacks. Photo: Pressens Bild/Lucy Nicholson.

6. Dialogue is most vital when its participants actually share their lives together.
7. Dialogue should be pursued by sharing in common enterprises in community.
8. Partners in dialogue should be aware of their ideological commitments.
9. Partners in dialogue should be aware of cultural loyalties.
10. Dialogue will raise the question of sharing in celebrations, rituals, worship and meditation.
11. Dialogue should be planned and undertaken ecumenically wherever possible.
12. Planning for dialogue will necessitate regional and local guidelines.
13. Dialogue can be helped by selective participation in world interreligious meetings and organizations.

Moving forward

WCC Advisory Group on *Dialogue and Interreligious Relations* held in Djurs-holm, Sweden, May 7-12, 2002,

articulated several renewed steps in the process of dialogue. It pondered on the question: *Are religions part of the problem or the solution towards trust and community in the world?* The meeting also seriously noticed the changing world situation⁴:

- The impact of globalization on individuals and communities and the growing sense of insecurity in human relationships which is instigated by increasing poverty and marginalization;
- Dramatic changes which are accompanied by a regained vigour and renewal of major religious traditions. Religion sparks off some of the deepest feelings and sensitivities of individuals and communities. It carries deep historical memories and appeals universal loyalties. Negatively, it perpetrates violence in its name.
- Increased migration and large-scale movements of refugees have resulted in the emergence of more religiously pluralistic societies.

- Secular and government sectors have come to realize that religion plays a significant role in global problems and that secularity has something to do with spirituality.
- Religious traditions have too often been supportive of oppression and exclusion and as a result there is much ambiguity of religious expressions of love, compassion and wisdom.
- The urgent necessity of commitment to openness. We have to acknowledge that we are not fully aware of all the ways of God and hence our willingness to be open to newer ways is limited. So Christians must approach witness with repentance, humility, joy and freedom of spirit. The Church has to bear witness through dialogue as an integral part and learn to work together with people of other faiths. The Sweden meeting also identified specific areas of inter-faith collaboration, such as sustainable creation, peace building, education, concerns of women and youth, community building and communication.
- Nurturing relationships, mutual respect, planning together, respecting the integrity of all religious traditions, rejecting elitism, affirming hope, confronting common threats.

It is encouraging to note that the Roman Catholic Church is working in full partnership with other churches and ecumenical organizations in enhancing the process of dialogue. His Excellency Bishop Michael Fitzgerald, the Vatican's nominee, contributed richly in all the meetings of the Advisory Group. Francis Cardinal Arinze writes: *'The emerging situation calls for joint action of people from different religions to promote justice and peace, to reduce or eliminate tension and extremism and to defend human dignity and human rights, especially as regards life and family. Inter-religious cooperation is not optional.'*⁵

Referring to the Indian situation, Msgr. Felix Machado writes, *"The Church needs to do more to strengthen existing Hindu-Christian relations as some extremists, through their systematic hate*

campaign and attacks on Christians, are trying to destroy the existing bonds of friendship and trust between Hindus and Christians, especially in India."⁶ In response to September 11th, there was a day of prayer in Assisi on 24th January, 2002, where the Holy Father exhorted: "Violence never again! War never again! Terrorism never again! In the name of God, may every religion bring upon the earth justice and peace, forgiveness and life, love!"⁷

The world is in need of building a culture of peace globally, internationally, nationally, regionally and locally. The recent Sri Lankan experience is a case in point as to how negotiations and dialogue can bring about peace. In other parts of South Asia tension is mounting, especially between India and Pakistan. The churches and secular society in India have rejected the option of war and asserted that peace cannot come through war. Other parts of the world, which are victims of war and conflicts, also stand in urgent need of the use of the effective instrument of dialogue to bring about peace.

Conclusion - the need for a renewed anthropology

The world at one time was run by the

principle of the *survival of the fittest*. That principle still continues to exist. As a result, the weak are marginalized and the strong win. But the civilized world often operated on other ideologies and philosophies. Democratic principles of liberty, fraternity and equality started ruling many nations, though some not effectively. Yet, the recent awakening and resurgence of religions all over the world has created alarmingly volatile situations of conflicts and hatred. In the name of religion many wars are being fought and countless lives are lost even now. For many people peace remains a distant dream.

Peace cannot be brought about by secular process alone. We have to heavily depend on religious dialogue as an instrument of making peace. The reasons are already mentioned. The world needs the assistance of religious principles and values to resolve its problems because we are convinced that religion is ontological to human beings and spirituality is inseparable from human lives.

What we need today is a new anthropological perspective which would accommodate and contain all the differences of races, cultures and

even religions. There can only be one starting point for this anthropological perspective. It is *life* which comes to us as a gift from God. Anything less than life would be only partial and will not sustain creation without crisis. So it is the challenge before churches and peace centers to rediscover this new starting point and interpret everything related to human community, including religion, on the basis of *life* and educate the community using this new paradigm.

Peace will come only when we respect life in all its forms and in its fullness. Dialogue is an effective way to attain this goal and fulfil our dreams about peace. Fellow pilgrims, let us unite, and give peace a chance!

¹ Guidelines on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies, WCC Publications, Geneva, 1979

² Ecumenical Considerations on Jewish-Christian Dialogue, WCC, Geneva, 1983

³ Issues in Christian-Muslim Relations, WCC Publications, Geneva

⁴ New Guidelines Draft

⁵ Pro Dialogo, Bulletin 109 2002/1, Pontificium Consilium pro Dialogo inter Religiones, Cita del Vaticano, p 57

⁶ Ibid, p 114

⁷ Ibid, p 137

Christian-Muslim dialogue

Participants in a meeting on Christian-Muslim dialogue pointed to the urgent need for reconciliation in light of the growing tendency to radicalise religion. This tendency gives rise to violent conflicts in such places as eastern Indonesia.

The meeting, organized by the LWF Department for Theology and Studies and the LWF working group in Islam, was held in Yogyakarta, Central Java Province, in April this year.

Discussions by the 30 participants, representing LWF member churches, other churches and the Muslim community in Southeast Asia, focussed on issues such as human growth and responsibility, education, inter-faith marriage and neighbourliness.

The consultation took place in a

country, which has been known for its tolerance among adherents to different religions. In view of recent violent ethnic and religious confrontations around the world, the participants called for tolerance and mutual understanding.

- True tolerance is not achieved by eliminating diversity but through understanding universal values. Through their emphasis on love, kindness and concern religions provide a basis for true neighbourliness, they said.

The issue of human growth and responsibility raised questions about the need for a global ethic. Participants agreed that all religions have a common responsibility to disseminate integrity and prevent destruction.

Recognizing overall a prevalence of stereotypes that could lead to

dangerous situations, the conference called on Christians and Muslims to pay special attention to education in order to develop balanced educational materials about religious traditions, and focus on peace and reconciliation. Human identity is relational. In dialogue and common action, Christians and Muslims come to understand each other and safeguard one another's dignity, they noted.

The Indonesian context points to the reality that close neighbours are often more important than relatives who live far away. In view of the isolation created by today's social, economic and political structures, neighbourliness needs to be proactive, participants observed.

(source: *Lutheran World Information, lwi*)

Trauma-healing and reconciliation

What is happening in the West African country Liberia? After eight years of cruel and devastating civil war, peace was officially declared in 1997. Rev. Hans Lindqvist reflects on reconciliation attempts in the midst of continued violent confrontations.

Soon after the outbreak of the Liberian civil war on Christmas Eve 1989, the Lutheran Church in Liberia (LCL) invited the Lutheran World Federation/World Service (LWF/WS) to Liberia to assist with humanitarian aid in the complicated and complex emergency situation. During the war LWS gradually acquired a more holistic approach to its work, realising that not only imperative physical/material needs must be met, but also essential psychological/spiritual needs. As early as 1992, LCL began its organised trauma-healing work among Liberian refugees in neighbouring countries. The psycho-social work of the church expanded during the war, into Liberia itself, through making use of the experiences and knowledge of trained pastors and other parish workers.

From the very beginning, the church clearly stated that this work should be looked upon as a contribution of the church to the Liberian people and society in a crucial time; it was not to be considered as an evangelistic activity aimed at converting non-Christians or recruiting new church members. Since both LCL and LWS were considering trauma-healing and reconciliation work as their top priority, it was quite natural and more effective to merge the two programs into one, the LCL-LWF/WS Trauma Healing and Reconciliation Program

(THRP). Formally the joint program was established in the later part of 1997 and is still in operation and highly needed. The THRP has been and still is mainly supported by Church of Sweden and its back-donor Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency).

A basic principle, probably the most important one, that has guided the THRP work from the very beginning is the conviction that only people involved in or closely affected by a certain violent conflict can build real peace and reach genuine reconciliation. No external experts, expatriate or national, can do it, not even if they are equipped with academic, theoretical training in conflict resolution or peace-building. Only people who have been actively involved in or personally affected by a certain brutal conflict can find the definite and final solution to the abnormal situation caused by the conflict.

However, adequately trained and open-minded persons, like the THRP staff, can with their expertise and experience certainly contribute extensively to the peace building process. The THRP considers its role to be mainly a facilitating one. The program through its activities initiates personal meetings between people, who are often afraid to meet again. Traumatized people are encouraged to dare to speak out, and

possibilities for reconnecting people to each other are provided. The THRP helps to start the peace process and keep it moving, and shares knowledge, experiences and lessons learned. These inputs by external facilitators are very important, much needed, and sometimes even quite crucial and decisive. But the actual, local peace-building and reconciliation process can be successfully carried out only by individuals who have experienced the violent conflict themselves, or who have been personally affected by it.

During a Conflict Analysis workshop in 2000 focusing on how to transform ethnic tensions into peaceful co-existence, a young man, Mayango Marwolo, told the participants that during the war his father's arms and legs had been cut off before he was killed right in Mayango's presence. His little brother had been castrated by members of a rival militia. After having fled to Guinea Mayango attended the same refugee school as the young man who had killed his father. "Every day I was thinking of how to take revenge on this boy". But during the workshop Mayango realised that violence is never a solution to violence. His attitude to his former enemies has gradually been transformed. Hate and revenge, his spontaneous feelings, have been replaced by a desire to forgive and reconcile, an attitude more difficult to reach, but the only one that leads forward, towards a better future.

Peace must grow from below

Another basic principle that forms an important part of the philosophy directing and inspiring the THRP, is the belief that peace must grow from below. Two approaches to establish peace can be considered: peace is imposed from above, and peace grows from below. Both ways are necessary in order to reach peace after a conflict.



War memories and basketball in the Liberian capital Monrovia. An objective of the church-based trauma-healing project is to equip war-affected individuals to become peace-builders. Photo: LWF/Jonas Ekströmer.

They are usually not conflicting or contradictory, but supplementary. The conventional method is to try to reach peace through high level diplomacy, through political decisions and formal accords. An alternative and more informal track to reach peace is by building peace from below, through a bottom up approach. The task of the THRP is to initiate and support peace-building from below, an approach that probably needs to be more emphasized. Others may take the lead in working for peace on a high diplomatic level. The THRP complements these attempts.

An important principle driving the THRP work is, consequently, its commitment to build peace by involving the whole local society in the peace process. Or at least as many citizens in

a community as possible. In order to be able to build a just and sustainable peace the best option is to begin with people who really want peace. Often they are not found high up in the political, financial or social hierarchy, but on the grass-root level. Some people in high positions may even have personal reasons to want a conflict to continue. But people in villages and towns who have gone through a cruel war, who have suffered - they know what war is all about and what violence means. Therefore, they want peace. And this ardent longing for peace usually makes ordinary people better and more motivated peace-builders than top leaders, and civilians better peace-builders than the military. So an objective of the THRP is to encourage and equip

war-affected individuals to become peace-builders in their respective local environment.

Hundreds of awareness workshops

The basic principles mentioned inspired the THRP to initially focus its activities on conducting awareness workshops in needy communities all over the country, usually upon the request of local community leaders or local or international NGOs working in the area. Hundreds of community-based awareness workshops have up till now taken place in small and big communities, along the road and off the road, in almost all counties in Liberia. This kind of locally based workshops is still the core of the program, very

dear to the staff, but they have been more and more supplemented with capacity-building activities for different organisations and by Training of Trainers.

In order to reach more people than the actual number of persons taking part in local THRP awareness workshops, the THRP has since its beginning facilitated capacity-building training within organisations or groups (agricultural, educational, social, humanitarian, religious, and others), that are directly or indirectly involved in peace-building activities of different kinds. Interest groups consisting of former combatants, veterans, often ex-child soldiers, have also been undergoing peace-building training by THRP. In fact, the whole present leadership within the National Veterans' Association has taken part in THRP training. Hopefully a peace-building approach will be included in activities conducted by many different organisations working in various program areas, and the peace and reconciliation message will thereby reach a larger number of persons than it would if working only through THRP's own activities.

Additionally, in order to empower as many war-affected individuals as possible to become peace builders, Training of Trainers (TOT) is a necessity, because it is not feasible for the limited THRP staff to reach and work in all needy communities or organisations in Liberia. The local peace-building and reconciliation work has to be carried out mainly on a voluntary basis by able community members, who have been appropriately trained and thereby prepared to initiate and facilitate community-based peace-building work. But even training of these local peace builders is too much for the THRP staff. Therefore, qualified Training of Trainers is required. The TOT goal is to train and enable individuals, already with some level of THR training (acquired e.g. through participation in one of the THRP awareness workshops) and interested in

THR work, to serve as community animators and as trainers of local peace-builders, by giving the TOT participants appropriate additional training skills.

Training of security personnel

A particular reference must be made to the on-going, extensive work among government security agencies. The THRP has of course included members of the security apparatus at the local community level in its numerous community-based trauma-healing and reconciliation workshops conducted around the country. But eventually it became clear that a more focused training program for security personnel in the field of trauma-healing, reconciliation and peace-building was needed. In response to this need, since the middle of 1999 the THRP has been involved in the training of middle level security personnel from six major security agencies in trauma-healing, reconciliation, conflict transformation and peace-building. These institutions include the National Security Agency, Ministry of National Security, Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Liberia National Police Force, National Bureau of Investigation and the Armed Forces of Liberia. Participants are selected on the basis of interest and proven willingness to return and extend the skills and knowledge gained from the training, primarily within their respective agencies and institutions. The focal objective of the training is to prepare the participants to become more knowledgeable and skilled to train others within their respective organisations.

Furthermore, in February and March 2000 a series of consultations on reconciliation and peace-building took place, in which about 90 senior level officials of the Liberian government, including Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Assistant Ministers and heads of other autonomous agencies and bureaus participated. Participants in the above mentioned THRP activities have

expressed the need to reach out to locally and regionally based security personnel in all 15 counties. In response to this request, workshops were conducted during 2001 at various locations all over Liberia for military and paramilitary personnel in order to inspire and prepare them to assist more effectively in enhancing peace and reconciliation within their various areas. Work within the security agencies is prioritised by the THRP, since security personnel play a crucial and decisive role in the ongoing peace process. The security personnel can certainly strengthen and support the process in a positive way, but they can as well delay and even destroy the process, if their behaviour and attitudes are aggressive or violent.

Unpredictable future

The future for Liberia is still uncertain and unpredictable. A black cloud blocks the future, and there is no way to discern what will come. The political situation is certainly worrying and unstable: recurring violence in different parts of the country, frequent acts against human rights, UN sanctions, upcoming elections next year. But it is never possible to stop or reverse. Today will soon be yesterday, and tomorrow will soon be today. And the work for normality, harmony, peace and reconciliation must continue, even against all odds.

On the other hand, already many individuals, concerned women and men, all around Liberia are able to handle and cope with their traumatic war experiences, and they have rejected revenge and violence for forgiveness and reconciliation and are consequently forerunners and advocates for a better future. Therefore, working for peace in Liberia will continue, even if the peace is always threatened. There is no other alternative.

The art of reconciliation

Charles Villa-Vicencio, out of his South African experience, and as a close collaborator with Desmond Tutu in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, argues that reconciliation must by definition reach beyond the restrictive ghetto of any creed, culture or ideology.

Asked about reconciliation, Archbishop Desmond Tutu replied: "It is a miracle." The question is whether reaching beyond the Archbishop's theology, the miracle can be deconstructed? It is a bit like trying to talk about God in a secular world.

A tight definition often goes a long way to bedevilling the reconciliation process. To define hope too tightly is to destroy the metaphor, to overlook the inherent ambiguity of the healing process, to undermine the very goal of reconciliation which is to bring people together.

Reconciliation must by definition reach beyond the restrictive ghetto of any creed, culture or ideology. It must necessarily be both conceptually and substantially available to everyone. Long held to be a religious concept, in order to attain universality, it must acquire secular meaning too.

Reconciliation defies reduction to a neat set of rules. It is more than theory. There are no simple 'how to' steps involved. It includes serendipity, imagination, risk and the exploration of what it means 'to start again'. It involves grace. It is a celebration of the human spirit. It is about making what seems impossible possible. It is about the complex business of real people engaging one another in the quest for life. It is an art rather than a science.

Discerning the metaphor

Resisting banality, determined to transcend the logic of 'what seems possible' and eager to find some

pointers to practice that unites rather than alienates, the indefinite facets of reconciliation are considered rather than defined in what follows. This is an attempt to understand (rather than explain) reconciliation as a concept that lures, eludes and intrigues. This effort constitutes an exercise in unpacking the metaphor rather than naming it.

Reconciliation does not necessarily involve forgiveness. The holocaust survivor, Simon Wiesenthal, published his memoir, *The Sunflower*, twenty-five years after being liberated from impending death.¹ He tells of an occasion when he was sent to work in a makeshift hospital for wounded German soldiers. A nurse escorted him to a mortally wounded soldier, named Karl, who was struggling to die. Karl told Wiesenthal that he needed the forgiveness of a Jew in order to die in peace. He spoke of his years in the Hitler Youth and sorrowfully confessed to having been sucked into the treachery of Nazi slaughter. The dying German soldier asked the embattled Jew for forgiveness.

Wiesenthal questioned how he, a beleaguered Jew, should respond to a repentant, dying Nazi soldier. Could he forgive or deny forgiveness on behalf of other Jews? Without a word he walked out of the room, leaving the soldier to die alone. Haunted by the experience, when the war ended he went in search of Karl's mother. She confirmed for him Karl's story and the apparent sincerity of his confession. For the rest of his life Wiesenthal ques-

tioned his actions in having walked out on a repentant, dying Nazi soldier. Wiesenthal, at the same time, pondered the lack of obvious regret by so many Nazis who were brought to trial and by a German population that wished to forget rather than to make amends.

What should he have done? He was not ready to forgive. He was tempted to break or interrupt the continuum between hatred and revenge. He went in search of Karl's mother. It was the beginning of a relationship - an attempt to transcend estrangement, which could, 'in different circumstances, have been taken further.

Reconciliation interrupts an established pattern of events. Wiesenthal's search for Karl's mother suggests as much. Reconciliation is a first step beyond enmity. It makes "time for speech", sometimes in the midst of violence, without any guarantee as to whether such talk can have any long-term benefit.² Seen on a continuum extending from temporary suspension of the logic of established patterns of cause and effect to a rupture of such patterns that contain the possibility of new life, the interruption offers no guarantee of enduring success.

Reconciliation is process. It is a process that begins perhaps with no more than a measure of intrigue, curiosity or perhaps morbid fascination as to what it is that makes the alienated person who he or she is. "It started by me wanting to see what the people who killed my daughter looked like," observed Ginn Fourie, mother of Lyndi, who was killed in an armed attack on a Cape Town pub. "I wanted to know what made them the kind of people they were."³ In her case, the encounter with the killers led to her forgiving them and the beginning of a different kind of relationship with them. Reconciliation is often as painful as it is costly.

Reconciliation involves understanding.



President Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, icons of hope in South Africa and globally. Photo: Photo Oikumene.

Understanding does not necessarily lead to reconciliation. When, on the other hand, the story of a perpetrator is thoughtfully told, heard and deeply understood, it can soften the perception the victim, survivor or observer has of the perpetrator concerned. It opens space for the possibility of a new kind of interaction between adversaries. Many perpetrators are themselves victims of one kind or another - of propaganda, religious indoctrination, fear, disillusionment and a culture of submission.

In understanding the perpetrator, we begin to understand the forces that make for evil. We discover the power of these forces and we begin to realize that the enemy does not have a monopoly on moral insanity. We discover that maybe there is a 'little perpetrator' in each of us. It is this that makes unconditional negative judgement of another a little more complex and opens the possibility of a basis for interaction in the present that could lead to a new kind of future.

Reconciliation requires acknowledgment.

As understanding does not necessarily lead to reconciliation, so truth is not necessarily a conduit to reconciliation. There are, however, few who have suffered deeply who are able to begin to rise above this suffering without having at least a rudimentary knowledge of the cause and circumstances surrounding these events. They want to know who killed their spouse, child or parent. They want to know why. For the victim or survivor, silence concerning the past often results in a wall of *inertia*, an inability to move on. There is a sense of paralysis that entraps the victim in his or her sense of defeat.

Acknowledgment does *not* mean forgetting the ghastly deed. It does *not* mean necessarily becoming friends with the person responsible for one's suffering. It does mean a break with overt enmity, and the beginning of a different kind of relationship. Not all survivors of torture accomplish this.

Consider the words of Kalu: "What really makes me angry about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Tutu is that they are putting pressure on me to forgive ... I carry this ball of anger within me. The oppression was bad, but what makes me even angrier, is that they are trying to dictate my forgiveness." Her words capture the pathos involved in the long and fragile journey of healing. No one has the right to prevail on Kalu to forgive. Would acknowledgment of the truth about the past help her to deal with the "ball of anger"? It is an open question.

Reconciliation takes time. I visited Rwanda, where I was asked to speak about reconciliation. "We are still burying the dead and looking for justice," I was told.⁴ Reconciliation may come later. It would have been obscene to ask Jews to be reconciled with Germans in 1945. The miraculous thing is that there were some Jews who were able to explore the meaning of reconciliation in the immediate wake of the holocaust. There are some Rwandans who argue that reconciliation is the only alternative to genocide.

In South Africa Nelson Mandela came out of jail after twenty-seven years seeking reconciliation - and there are others in South Africa who are ready to forgive. Icons of hope are important. But for most people, only a first enquiring venture beyond hatred is possible. The reconciling process takes time.

What then is reconciliation?

We have suggested certain pointers: Interruption, something less than forgiveness, process, understanding, acknowledgment and patience. To the extent that *a word is what it produces*, it has something to do with the engaging people in an attempt to overcome enmity. This could be grounded in self-interest, in curiosity or in intrigue. Ultimately it involves grace.

Whatever the immediate motivation, at a deeper level reconciliation gives credence to the African expression of *ubuntu*, which states that a person is only a person through other people.⁵ The word suggests that people are incomplete to the extent that they are alienated from one another. It is an African spirituality that is akin to a spirituality grounded in the western theological tradition that comes to expression in the writing, for example, of St Augustine in his confessional meditation: "Thou hast made us for thyself and our hearts and minds shall know no rest until they find their rest in thee."⁶

Grounded in the New Testament imperative, as it is, we are reminded that the biblical "Thee" is inextricably related to a 'thou'. Love of God and love of neighbour cannot be separated. Suffice it to say, within the kind of spirituality that links the love of God and the love of humanity, that lies at the heart of African and western spirituality (and elsewhere) there resides within humans and nations a desire for living in peace one with another, which seeks to transcend even the most hostile conflicts. Often neglected at the height of war, rebellion and conflict, this hope drives conflict resolution, peacemaking

and the need for coexistence. It is an anthropological incentive, grounded in a spiritual reality, that those who would live in peace with their neighbours would do well to ponder.

When individuals and nations are consumed with anger, faced with the possibility of annihilation and yet neither willing nor able to capitulate, reconciliation is often the only alternative to the impasse. Trapped within a deadlock of destruction or submission, the quest for a way out of despair is to find an alternative to what seems like the iron grip of fate. It is this kind of impasse that resulted in the South African settlement that led to the political transition of 1994. In the words of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*: "as two spent swimmers, that do cling together", black and white South Africans realised that a settlement of one kind or another was imperative. It was the only option to bringing to an end an ever-escalating war that threatened to destroy the very identity, infrastructure and promise of a nation yet to be born. The Archbishop's "miracle" is that both sides somehow came to believe that new life could still emerge, phoenix-like, out of the strife that characterized the apartheid years.

Reconciliation begins where people who are at enmity one with the other, learn to deal with conflicts in a humane manner, at the heart of which is civility and creativity. It suggests that being human involves a process of engagement between strangers and adversaries, however difficult, as a basis for the possibility of a relationship and a space within which to deal creatively with issues (material and subjective) that make us less than human. It involves refusing to heighten the potential for self and mutual destruction.

In South Africa reconciliation involves the perpetrators of gross violations of human rights, as well as beneficiaries and bystanders, but also victims and survivors, dealing with the dehumanisation that has come to characterise *their persons*. Njabulo Ndebele, powerfully and yet simply,

suggests that reconciliation has essentially to do with "who we can become".⁷ It involves committing ourselves to overcoming the dehumanisation that has shaped our lives as well as our dehumanising attitudes towards others. Steve Biko articulated this better than most in the South African context:

"All in all the black man [sic] has become a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery ... The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign in the county of his birth."⁸

Reconciliation involves the humanisation of the victims and survivors of slavery, colonialism, racism and apartheid. It involves people who have been treated as less than human and who sometimes internalise that dehumanisation, seizing their humanity and their destiny. Antjie Krog in *Country of My Skull* speaks of the importance of one who has suffered being able to shift from a pre-linguistic state within which one is overwhelmed by the extent of the suffering, to the point where one can take control of the suffering, at least, to the point of being able to speak about it. A "particular memory at last captured in words can no longer haunt you, push you around, bewilder you, because you have taken control of it - you can move it wherever you want to."⁹ Maybe we should say we can begin to wrestle with the possibility of 'moving' it. This, she suggests, is what the TRC was all about.

This was, in a sense, what Biko's words, quoted above, are all about. It's what Habermas¹⁰ is talking about when he speaks of taking a measure of rational control through speech, redeeming the "inner foreign territory" of the perverse unconsciousness by bringing it to words - by naming the beast.

It also involves perpetrators, bene-



Reconciliation takes time. For most people, only a first enquiring venture beyond hatred is possible. Photo from Congo Brazzaville: Pressens Bild/David Dahmén.

ficiaries and bystanders dealing with the dehumanisation that has come to characterise *their persons*. This often involves claims to rightful privilege, arrogance, greed, indifference, ignorance and fear. In the South African context, the transcendence of such dehumanisation might need to involve a 'white consciousness' that seeks to strip away the layers of deceit that have come to characterise 'white superiority'. This 'superiority' has, in different ways, survived the momentous events that heralded the demise of apartheid in 1994 - in much the same way that the 'slave condition' has survived emancipation in the previous century.

An abiding divergence

Directly related to a theory of reconciliation grounded in anthropological desire is, of course, the challenge of

justice, without which the goal of the reconciliation fails. The process cannot be fully attained. It is an inherent part of reconciliation. At worst it renders reconciliation no more than a façade that is not reconciliation at all. Just as a case can be made for a human inclination towards self-fulfilment in relation to others, so there is a penchant within most people to seek material and legal satisfaction for loss suffered. The weight of wrong suffered is at times such that it lends credence and understanding to an ingrained human desire for revenge.

The nature of the relationship between non-codified social rules and legal norms in society is complex¹¹ and need not be entered into here. It is enough to note that it is in relation to this kind of reality that Martha Minow defends organised (state) retribution as an exercise in taming, balancing and

recasting the personal animus involved in vengeance.¹² By institutionalizing feelings of anger, resentment and even hatred, the state exercises procedural controls over individual and group anarchy. In Susan Jacoby's words, it is an alternative to the "wild justice" of the vigilante.¹³

The refrain of critics of the TRC is, "I want justice". But, if justice is no more than "an eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth", there is an entrenched divide between justice and reconciliation that can only have the most disastrous implications for deeply divided societies like South Africa and a host of other countries in political transition. In the sense of breaking with, or interrupting, the logic of revenge, reconciliation is the creation of time and space in which to find new ways of dealing with past grievances.

It is this space that, in South Africa, has given rise to competing notions of justice that at least partially satisfy the human impulse for satisfaction. The development of notions of restorative justice as an alternative to retribution has generated extensive debate in this regard.¹⁴ The unresolved debate concerns the extent to which retribution necessarily entails vengeance. The need, not least in a deeply divided society, is to define 'reconciliation' and 'justice' in non-exclusive ways. Indeed they often feed one off the other. The threat of punishment in South Africa has, for example, in several ways contributed to the success of the TRC and the possibility of former perpetrators and their victims finding a basis for co-existence.

The TRC model of justice is not perfect. Howard Zehr suggests that from a restorative justice perspective the South African TRC "is flawed, opportunities have been missed, but the importance of this understanding [of justice] - not only in South Africa, but for the world - must not be underestimated. It is a bold step on an uncharted path."¹⁵ The TRC was assigned the important task of instituting *corrective moral justice* by putting the record straight, in the sense of naming both perpetrators and victims, as well as pronouncing a 'just cause' in the conflict under review. It had no power to execute *punitive justice*, nor did it have the power to execute *distributive justice*, in the sense of correcting material imbalances.

We are back with the "time and space" that must be used to redress the material and other imbalances that brought the nation to the brink of collapse in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The TRC has made certain recommendations in this regard, which include recommendations of material payments to those who it found to be victims of gross violations of human rights. The state and the nation as a whole has been regrettably slow to respond to these recommendations, which, somewhat ironically, means that

If the national memory is to be powerful enough to check future atrocities, future generations must encounter the memory of past atrocities.

the success or failure of the TRC process to resolve the tension between justice and reconciliation will not and cannot be resolved by the TRC. This is up to the state and the nation as a whole.

It is a process which includes material redress - both individual and at the level of social services for all victims of apartheid. It must necessarily also include the healing of memories. It must further enshrine in the national consciousness the memory of past abuse, through the establishment of museums, monuments, memorials and other national symbols. If the national memory is to be powerful enough to check future atrocities, future generations must encounter the memory of past atrocities. This memory must, as in the case of the holocaust, be ingrained in the consciousness of every South African. The burden of this essay is to enquire how this may be accomplished. It is about the process of reconciling a nation.

To the extent that the nation establishes material redress, national memory and the will to resist those forces that made for apartheid, it will have achieved a level of justice that will not satisfy the thirst for revenge of all, but could have begun to redress the needs of most. It is here that the possibility of a creative encounter between justice and reconciliation resides. It is about promoting a process that focuses less on who we are and more, in the words of Njabulo Ndebele, on "who we can become".

¹ Simon Wiesenthal, *The Sunflower* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976)

² Duxtader, "Middle Voices in Transition: The Form of Public Speech in Post-TRC South Africa", *The Public*, Vol. 8 (2001), 3, 28-34

³ In conversation with the author, Cape Town, 1999

⁴ In Kigali, June 1999

⁵ Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 31

⁶ Saint Augustine, *Confessions* I.i. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3. Clearly it is necessary to note the obvious limitations of Augustine's interpretation of his own spirituality as identified, for example in Rosemary Ruether's "Augustine and Christian Political Thought," *Interpretation*, 29 (1975), 258. Few live up to the standard of their own insights!

⁷ In his address at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's award ceremony of the Reconciliation Award given to Tim Modise, 8 March 2000.

⁸ Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1987), 29

⁹ Antjie Krog, *Country of My Skull* (Johannesburg: Random House, 1998), 42

¹⁰ See Jurgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*, translated by JJ Shapiro (Boston: Beacon press, 1973). Also "Systematically Distorted Communication", *Inquiry*, 13, 1970.

¹¹ See Richard Wilson, "Reconciliation and Revenge in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Rethinking Legal Pluralism and Human Rights". Paper delivered at the workshop held by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation / History Department. *The TRC: Commissioning the Past*. The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11 - 14 June, 1999.

¹² Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 12

¹³ Susan Jacoby, *Wild Justice: The Evolution of Revenge* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 10

¹⁴ John Braithwaite, *Restorative Justice: Assessing an Immodest Theory and a Pessimistic Theory*. Australian Institute of Criminology, Australian National University, 1998; Jennifer J Llewellyn and Robert Howse, "Restorative Justice: A Conceptual Framework." Tony Marshall, "Restorative justice - an overview," *Criminal Justice Quarterly*, Issue 5, 1993, 2-3; Charles Villa-Vicencio, "Why Perpetrators Should Not Always be Prosecuted," *Emory Law Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 1, Winter 2000.

¹⁵ Howard Zehr, "Restorative Justice: When Justice and Healing Go Together," *Track Two*, Vol. 6, Nos. 3 and 4, December 1997, 20.

Ecumenical campaign to support a just peace

Solidarity through active presence, advocacy to bring about public policy change, witnessing non-violent resistance to the occupation of Palestine, protection and deterrence of violence: these are the four priorities of an Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI) which will be operational as of August.

From September 2000 to March 2001 the heads of churches in Jerusalem issued a series of joint statements and calls. They requested "protection for all our people" and called "on all peace-loving people from around the world to come and join us in a manifestation of just peace" (Appeal from the Churches of Jerusalem, 24.03.01).

The World Council of Churches

(WCC) Executive Committee in September 2001 recommended that an accompaniment programme be developed, including an international ecumenical presence based on the experience of the Christian Peacemakers Team. The WCC General Secretary announced the official creation of the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme in Palestine and Israel on 20 October 2001.

The programme is based on a framework developed last February by a working group of 41 participants from WCC member churches and ecumenical partners in Jerusalem, Europe, North America and South Africa. The name was changed to Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme. As preparations continue on the recruitment and training procedures for participants, an EAPPI pilot project, the Christian

Accompaniment Programme, has been underway since March. Eight participants, seconded by Danchurchaid and Icelandic Church Aid, have been regularly reporting on human rights violations, facilitating access for health teams crossing military checkpoints, and escorting humanitarian convoys to the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

The EAPPI will be based on principles of international humanitarian and human rights law, including resolutions of the UN Security Council, General Assembly and Commission on Human Rights. The programme is a response to Israel's violation of internationally accepted norms and principles of human rights and the rule of law.

"Participation in the EAPPI is proof that the church responses to the conflict have moved up one level", says Salpy Eskidjian of the WCC International Relations team. "The programme signals a shift from strong statements of principle to tangible solidarity on the ground: physically helping and giving hope to local Christian and Muslim Palestinians and Israeli peace activists in their non-violent struggle to resist the military occupation."

The EAPPI is a central element of the Ecumenical Campaign to End the Illegal Occupation of Palestine: Support a Just Peace in the Middle East, through which the WCC has invited member churches and partners to join in advocating an end to the occupation as a means of addressing the root causes of the conflict, helping create a viable Palestinian state, and working for a negotiated, secure and just peace in the Holy Land.

**Alexandros Karides, WCC/
Kristina Lundqvist, LPI**

More information: www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/international/palestine



Danish-Icelandic team studying Arabic. Photo: Rudolf Hinz

Danish-Icelandic team: **Witness, manifest, report**

In August 2001 DanChurchAid decided to prepare a Christian Accompaniment Programme, in collaboration with the World Council of Churches.

This decision was based on the deteriorating humanitarian situation in the Occupied Palestinian Areas and ever increasing difficulties of Palestinian project staff, including health professionals, to cross Israeli checkpoints and access project beneficiaries.

The mandate of the companions was to: *witness* the events taking place in Palestine, not only the violent confrontations, but also the impact of the violence and the occupation on the daily life of people; *manifest* themselves as part of an international civil society force inside the occupied areas; *report* on what they witnessed.

Six Danish participants were selected, of whom four had a medical background, one was an Arab student and one was a retired school master and chairman of a local congregation. Icelandic ChurchAid (ICA) contributed to the programme with two participants,

The group was sent to the Occupied Palestinian areas early March 2002 to spend five months in the area. They were hosted by the Lutheran Church and Badil Resource Centre for Palestinian refugees, both in Bethlehem, the Augusta Victoria Hospital and its mobile health clinics based in East-Jerusalem, and the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees based in Ramallah.

The team of companions was sent to the Palestinian occupied areas a few weeks before the Israeli invasion and reoccupation of a number of larger Palestinian towns, refugee camps and villages on the West Bank. The escalating violence automatically brought the attention of international media, including Danish journalists.

The presence of companions proved to be extremely useful in this situation. In the period 29 March to 14 April 2002 Danish companions were the primary source for interviews of 'witnesses' in the region.

Although few systematic records have been made, partner organisations indicate that there is a clear relationship between the presence of companions and the likelihood of crossing checkpoints, crossing checkpoints faster or without being humiliated.

A data collection conducted by the Lutheran World Federation indicate that prior to the arrival of companions, mobile health teams travelling on the West Bank were rejected passage over checkpoints in 7 out of 10 cases. During the first weeks of companions' stay in the Palestinian areas mobile health teams with accompaniment were only stopped at checkpoints and denied access in 1 out of 14 cases.

In addition, the presence of companions appears to have an important symbolic value of solidarity and support to Palestinian staff members in very difficult times of living and working in the area. This may contribute to maintaining the motivation of Palestinian staff despite the very difficult situation. However, the impact of the presence of companions on local Palestinian staff members should be the subject of a separate study once the programme has been allowed to run for a longer period of time.

Based on a DCA mid-term evaluation report



Swedish teams in the pipeline

Sweden is one of several countries planning to send accompaniment teams to Palestine-Israel.

An ecumenical committee, with some ten churches and church-related organisations, has been set up under the supervision of the Christian Council of Sweden. A small coordination office has been established. It is planned that up to 45 Swedes will participate in ecumenical teams during a 12-months period. Each Swedish team will stay for four months. After returning to Sweden, the team members are expected to share their experiences with churches, NGOs, media and schools.

A Swedish pilot project with two companions was carried out in fall 2001 by Church of Sweden and SweFOR. It was initiated at the request of the Christian Augusta Victoria Hospital in East Jerusalem to facilitate safer and smoother travel for their medical teams to village health clinics.

A key-concept in the Swedish project is nonviolence. In the project proposal it is stated that:

"Both Israeli and Palestinian communities are suffering badly from violence, but they are also marked by a mentality looking for violence as a means to solve their problems. At the same time there are groups – though at present marginalized – among both Israelis and Palestinians advocating nonviolence as a more credible, constructive and effective method to deal with conflict. These groups need strong international support in both training and development of strategies and methods."

A as in Accompaniment

A team from the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation (SweFOR), Anna Åkerlund, Eduardo Villanueva and Kari Berg, have written a discussion paper on civil nonviolent intervention in the form av “accompaniment”. The article has special reference to the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI).

Having had the provisional name EMPPI (Ecumenical Monitoring Programme in Palestine and Israel), with an M as in *Monitor*, the World Council of Churches’ ongoing effort to make a civilian nonviolent intervention in Palestine and Israel has been renamed EAPPI, with an A as in *Accompaniment*. What, then, is the real meaning of the concept *accompanier*? This article was originally intended as a contribution to the formation of a Swedish Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme (SEAPPI) within the larger international ecumenical effort. The authors took an active part in the planning of SEAPPI as representatives of SweFOR. The article looks at some central concepts in relation to *Mission*, *Scope* and *Objectives* for the project, drawing upon experiences of SweFOR and offering some thoughts for further discussion.

In a conflict situation there are actors with different roles. It is possible to differentiate between primary and secondary actors in the conflict. According to this categorisation, contending actors are the primary parties and those who assist any of the parties in the conflict are the secondary. Both these actors are partisan; they take part in the conflict on different sides. There may also be parties in the conflict who do not take any standpoint for any of the primary parties but choose to take a third standpoint. They are in this sense nonpartisan (which does not mean that they do not take a general standpoint

for general principles - against violence and for human rights, for example).

External actors can thus interfere in a conflict in two ways: either on one side of the conflict to support someone’s struggle (as a secondary party), or to support the efforts for a solution or handling of a conflict, without being actively involved in it (the effort of a third party).

To meet violence with nonviolence

Underlying many civil answers to armed conflicts is the idea that violence (both structural and direct) can be met with nonviolence. Nonviolence in this sense means something more than the absence of violence. First and foremost nonviolence is the designation of a number of resistance methods, which are united by a clear and outspoken opposition against violence.

But there is also a nonviolent intervention by a third party. The classic example is the involvement of accompaniers. SweFOR has elaborated a model for peace service for its work in Guatemala and in Mexico, which is partly based on a theory developed by Peace Brigades International (PBI). The two organisations focus a little differently on their work in the sense that PBI to a larger extent have acted as accompaniers for, among others, human rights organisations and their activists, while SweFOR has focused more on presence in villages under threat. In both cases the work has a

double function: to discourage actions of violence and to react against violence which is still used, and to spread this information through international networks.

Accompaniment as nonviolent intervention by a third party

Accompaniment is thus the designation of a certain type of nonviolent intervention by a third party, as elaborated in the first place by PBI.

According to the model, an accompanier has three main tasks:

- to influence the scope of action of different actors: to increase that of ordinary people and decrease that of the aggressor
- to collect and spread information (internationally and nationally)
- to give moral support and hope

In a situation where organised violence and fear are used as a conscious strategy, people become isolated and are prevented from the possibility to get organised. The work of an accompanier is an attempt to make it possible for the victims to be actors¹.

The book ‘Unarmed Bodyguards’ by Mahony and Eguren describes some of the requirements, which have to be fulfilled to make the model effective:

1. The aggressor must be informed about which actions are unacceptable (which lead to sanctions).
2. The aggressor must be informed of the presence of the accompaniers and that a possible attack will lead to consequences.
3. The aggressor must believe that the organisation is capable of carrying through its resolutions, that is, a clear link between international presence and international sanctions.
4. The observer has to know who the aggressor is. Actions for which nobody takes on responsibility are difficult to counteract with this model.²

On the basis of SweFOR's experiences we wish to add: that the work is made on demand of local actors and that they understand how the nonviolence intervention can influence them and the conflict.³

In its purest form the work shall not be seen as a direct support for the work of cooperating organizations but rather as an effort to make it possible for these actors to act. The intervention is expected to be able to create a scope, "*in which the conflict itself is confronted, and the process of building a just peace is enabled*".⁴

Accompaniment is usually a designation of a certain type of nonviolent intervention by a third party. The accompanier is nonpartisan. A work that is nonpartisan is defined on the basis of external criteria and not in relation to different actors in a conflict.⁵

Accompaniment within the frame of EAPPI

To be an accompanier has in the EAPPI got a somewhat different meaning than the one described above. Here follows a discussion around *Mission, Scope and Objectives*, based on the document from the WCC Working Group on Accompaniment, February 1-2, 2002. The discussion first and foremost has its starting point in the reasoning above about the intervention of first, secondary and third parties.

The position you start from, as secondary or third party, of course influences your possibilities to take action in the conflict. In the choice between a secondary or third party's intervention, the theoretical bases are different. On the basis of the prototypes, a secondary party's engagement would lean on solidarity with one part in the conflict, while a third party's work would rest on universal ethical principles, such as human rights and international humanitarian law.

Mission:

Accompaniment of Palestinians and Israelis in nonviolent actions and concerted advocacy efforts to end the occupation.



Observers from the Lutheran World Federation and the Christian Accompaniment watching food distribution in Jenin. Photo: Rudolf Hinz.

The standpoint against the occupation will have as a consequence that one is conceived as being partial. It is, however, fully possible to take stand against the occupation on the basis of international humanitarian law without totally identifying oneself with the struggle of the Palestinians. There are Israelis who are against the occupation;

EAPPI's set-up is built on the assumption that it is possible to cooperate with Palestinians and Israelis in an active struggle against the occupation.

In the international public opinion it is important that there are voices that clearly argue against the occupation on the basis of international humanitarian



"In a third party role the main focus should be on your own witness about what is going on." Photo from Bethlehem: WCC EAPPI

law. This implies a very clear and disciplined acting. Contacts have to be consciously taken on both sides. EAPPI has to accompany the Israeli peace movement as well as the Palestinian

resistance based on international humanitarian law and human rights on a continuous basis and not only punctually.

Scope:

Monitor and report on violations of human rights and international humanitarian law;

This task can be carried out both in a secondary and third party project. The reports may, however, be deemed differently, depending on what position you have in the conflict. Maybe a clearly nonpartisan third party report will be given greater trustworthiness than a secondary party report.

Offer protection through nonviolent presence;

An effort by a third party can be formed to give certain protection to vulnerable actors. That is, however, not a task for an effort by a secondary party. To participate in a nonviolent struggle might make the situation more violent. If you take active part in a manifestation, you cannot promise any protection, as the action, in which you participate, might get a violent reaction. You will then be part of the reason for this reaction.

Supporting acts of nonviolent resistance alongside local Christian and Muslim Palestinians and Israeli peace activists

Active support of civil resistance is not the task of a third party. It is important to make it clear to the local cooperating organisations that such activities may lead to an intensification of the conflict. The cooperating organisation will be exposed and may become even more a target for violence from the other side. As an outsider you always have the possibility to leave the country, if the security situation deteriorates. Your cooperating organisation does not have that possibility. No outsider has the right to act in a way which puts individuals in conflict areas in a greater danger than the one they are already in, without their active consent. Even in the cases when your partner says that he or she is willing to take on an increased risk, one should consider

carefully: How well reasoned and well informed is such a standpoint? What is the risk that people around are affected (that is, others than those who actively took this position)?

Public policy advocacy

A task for secondary as well as third party efforts. The choice of strategy can, however, influence how the message of the programme is perceived by the different actors you want to influence. In a third party role the main focus should be on your own witness about what is going on. It is a well-known fact that truth is often the first victim in a war. There must not be any possibility whatsoever to make use of the international accompaniers to spread rumours or false propaganda in any direction. Therefore all information should be checked and double-checked. Such precautions shall not be seen as lack of trust to the informants but as a result of a realistic apprehension about what it means to live in a conflict zone.

Objectives:

1. *Expose the violence of the occupation*
2. *End the brutality, humiliation and violence against civilians*
3. *Construct a stronger global advocacy network*
4. *Ensure the respect of human rights and international humanitarian law*
5. *Influence public opinion in home country and affect foreign policy on Middle East in order to end the occupation and create a viable Palestinian State*
6. *Express solidarity with Palestinian and Israeli peace activists and empower local Palestinian communities/churches*
7. *Be an active witness that an alternative, nonviolent struggle for justice and peace is possible to end the illegal occupation of Palestine*

The objectives are linked to the scopes but with a somewhat clearer focus on advocacy. This implies that there is a highly developed structure for lobby-

ing within the project. The local presence should strengthen and increase the credibility of the international advocacy. The important thing is to build up an effective and convincing "advocacy organisation".

In a comprehensive strategy to heave the occupation there is no road past negotiations. The negotiations must be conducted with powerful support from the international community. International advocacy is in this context very important. The voice of the World Council of Churches in the UN and other international fora and the voice of the churches in influential countries should not be underestimated. The better that voice is used, the more will the churches be a target for criticism. The local presence should in this context be used to give increased credibility to the statements and must not be shaped in a manner that can be dismissed as partisan. The fact that EAPPI contains an inclination towards the tasks of a secondary party is a complicating factor.

Conclusions

EAPPI's mission is to accompany people on both sides of the conflict, who work for peace and an end of the occupation of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and Gaza. The demand for an end of the occupation is based on international humanitarian law and is upheld from the point of view of a third party. The road to sustainable peace goes through two states, side by side, Israel and Palestine - in accordance with UN's resolution 1397.

To realize EAPPI's mission, relations to both Israelis and Palestinians have to be cultivated. To maintain such relations today is a challenge. Hundreds of dialogue projects, which were started in the aftermath of the Oslo process, are today resting. Reportedly, dialogue promotion has been discredited and there is a widespread disillusion and disappointment in the trace of the dialogue projects.⁶

Considering how sensitive and difficult it is to maintain contacts across

the conflicting lines today, it is naive to believe that the mission – to accompany both Palestinians and Israelis - will be fulfilled, as long as all local cooperating partners are Palestinian churches. Cooperating relations with organisations on both sides have to be identified and established as soon as possible. A small part of EAPPI's task is to support local churches in order to make them a stronger power for peace where they work. This objective is included in the latter part of *objective* no 6. The former part of the same *objective* deals with the expression of solidarity with Palestinian and Israeli peace activists. To open up scope for peace forces on *both sides* through international presence - this is EAPPI's principal mission. To have *only* churches as cooperating partners, thus counteracts the aims of EAPPI.

The Swedish EAPPI (SEAPPI) should interpret all *scopes* and *objective* from the point of view of a third party. Here follows a rough grouping of *scopes* and *objectives* according to classic tasks for a nonviolent third party effort.

A. Open up scope of action for local peace activists:

- Accompaniment of Palestinians and Israelis in nonviolent actions and concerted advocacy efforts to end the occupation.
 - Express solidarity with Palestinian and Israeli peace activists and empower local Palestinian communities/churches
 - Be an active witness that an alternative, nonviolent struggle for justice and peace is possible to end the illegal occupation of Palestine
 - *(Supporting acts of nonviolent resistance alongside local Christian and Muslim Palestinians and Israeli peace activists)*
- Note!** The SEAPPI planning group has decided that the Swedish accompaniers will not take active part in this task, and the Swedish project should suggest that EAPPI interprets this mission in the direction towards a third party's standpoint.

B. To try to break the spiral of violence through international presence:

- Monitor and report on violations of human rights and international humanitarian law;
- Offer protection through non-violent presence
- Expose the violence of the occupation
- End the brutality, humiliation and violence against civilians
- Ensure the respect of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law

C. International advocacy:

- Public policy advocacy
- Construct a stronger global advocacy network

- Influence public opinion in home country and affect foreign policy on Middle East in order to end the occupation and create a viable Palestinian State

These three task categories are intimately associated with each other. To open up scope for peace (A) is related to increase of the scope for the “aggressor’s” actions of violence (B). In order to ensure that the international presence has these effects (A and B), crimes against human rights and international humanitarian law must result in political costs. International advocacy is therefore an important and indispensable part of the project.

Translated by Kristina Lundqvist

¹ Petra Hopfgarten, PM for SweFOR

² Liam Mahony, Luis Enrique Eguren, *Unarmed Bodyguards* (1997), pp 85-86

³ Eduardo H. Villanueva Conteras, *Handbok för fredstjänst*, Kristna Fredsrörelsen/SweFOR

⁴ Preface by Lucia Ann McSpadden and Susanne Thurfjell Lundén, *Keeping the peace* by Lisa Schirch, Life & Peace Institute, (1995) p ii

⁵ Lisa Schirch, *Keeping the peace* (1995) p 52

⁶ Unfortunately the dialogue projects themselves bear some of the guilt for this. Benevolent, but unprofessional, external actors sometimes believe that it is enough that people meet and talk to create peace. Reportedly, many Israelis, who took part in dialogue projects during this period, meant that the aim of the dialogue was to “normalize” the relation between the two peoples, while Palestinians meant that the prevailing antagonistic relations are a normal reaction to concrete injustices. The fact that some projects had a too shallow analysis (which more or less ignores the reasons of the conflict) unfortunately seems to have discredited the promotion of dialogue.

Campaigning against terrorism

I know hundreds of Palestinians on a personal basis. Many of them I have known for many years. Not one of them supports terrorism. All of them deplore the acts of suicide bombers and condemn those acts with real sincerity. After each such suicide attack I receive tens of phone calls from Palestinians expressing their condemnation, horror, sadness and even apologies. I believe that each person expressing those emotions and beliefs is sincere and true to his or her honest beliefs, worldview and value system that terrorism is wrong.

Many, in fact, most of the people I am referring to above, are Palestinian societal leaders, public figures, academics, members of elites, governmental people, political leaders, and teachers. They represent the kind of people who should be leading Palestinian society. After having many long and frequent discussions with these people, I am always dismayed when I receive the weekly public opinion polls of the West Bank and Gaza. For many months now there has been a strong majority of Palestinians who continue to support suicide bombers.

When I raise this issue with many of the people I am in contact with, they almost all feel a need to explain - as if I needed to hear their explanation. They say “end the occupation and the suicide bombers will end”. That may be true, but what I would like to see and hear is an unequivocal denouncement and a public campaign against suicide bombings because it is morally wrong to kill innocent defenseless people.

Palestinians must make a decision; it is a difficult one, I recognize: It is the classic dilemma about whether or not the end justifies the means. It is true that the Palestinians have no real army to fight with against the occupation. It is true that Israel has an army and makes use of its might in its fight against the Palestinians. There is no way that the Palestinians can win a military war against Israel. The suicide bombers extract great pain from Israel and I suppose one could be pleased when one’s enemy is suffering so deeply. (I cannot celebrate in the suffering of others, but I can see how some people would). The Palestinians feel weak and therefore

resort to the weapon of the weak - terrorism.

In today’s Al Quds Newspaper in Arabic a full page advert appeared calling for an end to suicide bombers, published and signed by tens of academics and public figures. This initiative was led by Professor Sari Nusseibeh, the President of Al Quds University in Jerusalem. I applaud this effort and hope to see it gain a lot of support. But I am quite concerned because I understand that many Palestinians on the streets of Ramallah and elsewhere are very critical of this public campaign against terrorism. I fear that those who initiated the campaign will be physically threatened or worse from within their own society. I applaud the courage of Sari Nusseibeh and the others who signed onto this campaign.

Gershon Baskin

This is excerpt from an article by PhD Gershon Baskin, the Israeli Co-Director of IPCRI - the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information. More information available on www.ipcri.org

LPI News

Annual report

The report for activities in 2001/2002 is available from Life & Peace Institute in Uppsala. It accounts, among other things, for the first phase of a project in Congo Brazzaville and the research and planning phase for a conflict transformation project in Congo Kinshasa (the Kivu provinces). There are new developments in the Horn of Africa programme as a Somali NGO and counterpart to LPI, Forum for Peace and Governance, has been established in 2001.

Two new research proposals: "Religion and culture of violence in a globalising world" and "An inter-continental exchange of peacebuilding experience – a south-south dialogue" have been planned. Staff from LPI have participated in a number of conferences and seminars as resource persons. The institute has arranged a major Sri Lanka consultation, as a third and final part in the project "Assessing peace: an inter-ethnic and inter-religious grassroots approach to peacebuilding in Sri Lanka".

In addition to the periodicals Horn of Africa Bulletin and New Routes that are produced in Nairobi and Uppsala respectively, research reports from Argentina, Nicaragua and the Pacific have been published. For more information about reports and publications see www.life-peace.org

LPI has worked with a number of partners, local, regional and international, and received financial support from Sida, Sweden, Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Sweden, Denmark, European Union, Rockefeller Foundation, Church of Sweden, DanChurchAid, Norwegian Church Aid, United Methodist Board of Global Ministries and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. Total financial turnover for general program and the various projects was 27 million SEK in 2001 as compared to 23 million SEK in 2000.

Evaluation going on

An evaluation of the Life and Peace Institute as an ecumenical institute for research on peace and justice has been initiated. The two evaluators, Dr. Agnes Aboum from Kenya and Dr. Lars Ingelstam from Sweden, have been commissioned jointly by the Christian Council of Sweden and LPI. A report of the findings and suggestions for the future direction of the work are expected by October 2002.

International peace conferences

The Christian Council of Sweden and LPI are planning for international peace conferences in 2003 and 2004. The initial conference, with participation from various churches and related peace work groups, will be in Uppsala in the fall of 2003. The purpose is to mark the 20th anniversary of the 1983 Conference on Life and Peace. More important, it will produce documents from a Christian and ecumenical perspective as preparation material for the major international multi-faith conference planned for in spring 2004. This major event with the theme "The role of religion in conflicts – divider or reconciler?" is expected to include up to 200 participants, and will be held in Gothenburg.

Nordic seminar held in Uppsala

In collaboration with the Christian councils in the Nordic countries, LPI in April arranged a conference on the theme "Learning for Peace". The purpose of the conference was to exchange reports and views of work in the respective countries in relation to WCC's Decade to Overcome Violence. In this context LPI, through senior programme officer Susanne Thurfjell,

shared lessons learned in many years of practical peacebuilding and non-violence promotion in the Horn of Africa and Somalia context.

Sudan LPI-trained peace worker awarded

Sometimes there is an obvious reconfirmation of the work LPI is carrying out. Recently we were informed that a former LPI trainee and a close collaborator in the Horn of Africa programme, Ms Awut Deng Acuil from Sudan, had been declared a winner of the InterAction 2002 Humanitarian Award in honour of her "extraordinary leadership" in promoting peace and development in the war-torn country. Ms Deng has been a long time trainer with the New Sudan Council of Churches and is a founding member of the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace.

Middle East research

LPI is planning a research and evaluation project in relation to the Ecumenical Accompaniment programme in Palestine and Israel. The proposal has come out of the Swedish engagement in this World council of Churches coordinated project. The purpose of the research is to look at accompaniment as a special but relatively new form of civilian intervention in violent conflicts. This project offers a strategic opportunity to study to what extent the intentions have been achieved.

LPI carried out a similar research project in the mid 90s. The researcher Lisa Schirch reports about experiences and effects of civilian interventions by peace teams in several countries in the book *Keeping the Peace* (can be ordered from LPI Uppsala).

Horn of Africa Conference

During the last 50 years when much of the world experienced peace and tremendous socio-economic prosperity, the Horn of Africa suffered violence and human destruction of untold proportions as minor and major armed conflicts, wars and civil strife proliferated for decades.

Some individuals from the region felt it was time to change this culture of violence, animosity and prejudices and rediscover the many connections

- cultural, religious, linguistic, social and economic – that bind people together, and utilise them for building peace among civil society members on the path of positive development for all. The conference that took place 11-12 May, 2002 in Lund, Sweden, was a successful beginning on this road.

Renowned academics, representatives of institutions both from within Sweden and other countries took part in the conference. LPI was represented by Claudette Werleigh, director of the conflict transformation programme, and Tarekegn Adebo, research coordina-

tor, who participated both as speakers and facilitators of the conference. There was a strong feeling among the participants to continue with similar efforts to further strengthen the efforts of peace and development in the Horn of Africa.

The Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre played a key role in organising the event, which was supported by Lund Municipality, Forum Syd/Sida, ABE, Swedish Foreign Ministry, Olof Palme International Centre and Folk University.

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Book reviews

Conflicts in mountains

The report *High Stakes, The future of the mountain societies* (Panos Report No. 44, May 2002, London) looks at conflicts through the dimension of natural environment, and shows the effect of wars.

In 1999, 23 of 27 major armed conflicts were being found in mountain regions (Afghanistan, Caucasus, the DRC...). The mountain societies are characterised by social, cultural and political marginalisation as a result of their geographical isolation. 80 percent of mountain populations live below the poverty line.

The report offers some research perspectives on the causes of conflicts in mountain areas (the control over resources, the rise of extremist groups caused by exclusion, the military strategy, the development of narcotic business). It shows, as well, the urgency of considering this problem of preserving the wealth of mountain environment, particularly the water supply, and take into account the specific contribution of the mountain societies.

Some additional information is available on the website www.mountains2002.org

Helen Morvan

Report on gender and violent conflict

A conference report on Gender and Violent Conflict is now available from APRODEV (see address below). The role of gender in violent conflict is still a relatively unexplored area for development agencies. The issues taken up in the report are therefore of great interest for agencies who want to broaden their scope and extend their knowledge about these questions.

In three chapters the report describes the main issues of the conference:

- A. Understanding gender in conflict situations
- B. Experiences from work in conflict situations and peace building
- C. Implications for policies and practices of APRODEV agencies

The report ends up with a Synthesis of the Conference by Edda Kirleis, Church Development Service Germany, and a summary of a panel discussion pointing to "Ways forward for APRODEV agencies and development". One of the two appendices contains the full papers of the four speakers at the conference, namely Dubravka Zarkov, Stefan Dudink, Chris Dolan and Anna T. Höglund.

The papers of the four speakers give, from different angles, an overview of gender in conflict situations. Dubravka Zarkov and Stefan Dudink explore the ways in which gender roles are changed or preserved in armed conflicts and vice versa. Chris Dolan questions "the message that gender is about women" and calls for an expansion of the gender focus to include other categories, too. Anna T. Höglund analyses the concepts gender and war from a theological and ethical viewpoint.

The second chapter of the report reflects upon peace building in different conflict situations with examples from Colombia, Kenya, Somalia, and a discussion about the humanitarian mandate in conflict areas.

The third part focuses on the advocacy role of agencies and gives a number of challenges for their future work on gender and conflict.

The aim of the conference was to understand how gender inequalities/relations produce conflict, how conflict affects gender relations and how to make a start with gender aware thinking. How do APRODEV agencies create space and opportunities for women to participate in an inclusive society at community and institutional

level? How do APRODEV agencies create space to redefine men's roles and to challenge the perpetuation of patriarchal institutions?

The results of a preparatory inventory suggest that the gender component in activities is limited to the support of women's organisations at the level of individual desks. None of the agencies have a coherent gender-awareness policy on peace building, conflict resolution or emergency aid. However, special assistance to women and girls is becoming a major concern in emergency aid. Where gender-sensitive policies and programmes are implemented, this is often the initiative of individual staff in country strategies or regional departments rather than an institutionally coherent approach.

In the context of violent conflict, it is not gender differences as such that are of interest, but the social processes in which these differences are constructed. War and violence actually produce a specific social order and social groups. War is a process in which specific social places of men and women are defined, and meanings are attributed to their acts and actions. Dominant notions of masculinity and femininity are constructed or reinforced, which are deeply rooted and which govern our way of understanding war and conflict. Thus, wars and armed conflicts are among those social processes in which gender relations and gender differences are produced.

In conflict situations many men are forced to live up to expectations set by dominant norms of masculinity, which are held by both women and men in society. Thus, militarised masculinity becomes the dominant option for men. Unless alternative options are being created by and for men, violence will be perpetuated. A task for development actors promoting peace is to find spaces for alternative masculinities, which are not patriarchal and oppressive.

The dominant femininity is produced within the dominant power relations. In most societies the domi-

nant femininity entails motherhood and marriage. However, women's realities in conflict situations are far from these stereotypes. The gap between the dominant notions and women's lives can be an entry point for action towards social change and justice.

War and armed conflicts are social processes, which are always incomplete and contradictory. In a simplified picture of war there are male soldiers and female refugees. In every war, however, there are men who actively refuse to be soldiers and women who refuse to become refugees.

The very ideas about masculinity and femininity are used to produce legitimate perpetrators and legitimate victims. Along these lines, ideas about men and women, about masculinity and femininity are products of wars and violence. They become the fuel that further feeds conflicts. Gender can be used as an extremely powerful tool to produce perpetrators and victims in conflict situations.

Fault lines and contradictions form the weak links in the processes in which masculinity and femininity are produced. These are the 'ruptures' where we might attack the dominant ideas and practices of masculinity and femininity in order to try and construct new, less violent and more desirable ones. The starting point of a new ethics must be *women's and men's narratives of violent conflicts*.

The conference was arranged by GOOD (Gender Orientation On Development), which is part of APRODEV, an association of development and humanitarian aid agencies in Europe. The conference was an APRODEV GOOD contribution to the World Council of Churches Decade to Overcome Violence (2001-2010). Among the participating institutions was the Life & Peace Institute. The conference was held in Uppsala, Sweden, in September 2001, and assembled about 40 participants from a dozen countries.

The Conference Report can be ordered from APRODEV, 174, rue Joseph II, B-1000 Brussels, phone 32 2

234 68 40, fax 32 2 231 14 13,
e-mail gender.officer@aprodev.net

Kristina Lundqvist

Searching for peace in Europe and Eurasia

As a result of the European Conference on Conflict Prevention that took place in Amsterdam in February 1997, the Dutch foundation *European Centre for Conflict Prevention* initiated a *European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation*. The latter consists of an open network in which a number of policy makers, academics and actors from international and local NGOs share information, communicate their experience and co-ordinate their action in the field of conflict prevention and transformation.

Its work has been crystallised in one of its publications entitled *Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia, An overview of Conflict Prevention and Peace-building Activities*. The editors are Paul van Tongeren, Hans van de Veen, and Juliette Verhoeven.

Published in 2002, this book of 831 pages is the second in a series, following the publication of *Searching for peace in Africa*.

Focusing on Europe and Eurasia, the first part provides a contextual framework offering insight to the mandate and instruments of some organisations involved in the conflict management or prevention. Beginning with the possibilities and limits of the European Union and OSCE in the two first chapters, it explores the alternative of non-governmental and local organisation capacities.

This part ends with some recommendations for effective resolution of such conflicts. Amongst a large scale of enriching lessons, it also encourages the stimulation of an integrative approach to fill the gaps between local cross-community, authorities and international community participation, and "mainstreaming" conflict prevention through national and international infrastructures. In the second part, experts give an objective and com-

prehensive view on 18 major conflicts in Europe and Eurasia. It gives information on the roots of the conflict, the position of the parties, the context of discussions and the dynamics of the evolution of the tension and policies applied to resolve the crisis.

The publication includes in its last part a directory of some 500 organisations working in the conflict resolution field. By giving a brief presentation and contacts of actors involved in the conflict transformation or prevention in a specific area, the third part contributes to the provision of a holistic and intelligible understanding of who does what and where.

In brief, *Searching for peace in Europe and Eurasia* is a good instrument to work with. It is an excellent source of up-to-date information concerning the ongoing challenges of conflict prevention and management in Europe and Eurasia.

Fabienne Loyer

"Very little has changed"

Lee Griffith, The War on Terrorism and the Terror of God. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Grand Rapids, Michigan 2002

This book on terror and counter-terror was written before September 11, 2001. It was printed after that event and Lee Griffith took the opportunity to add a postscript. Rather often the author has made references to the attack on the World Trade Center, analyzing the bombing of 1993, easily forgotten after the second attack in 2001.

"Very little has changed", Griffith says in his postscript (p 273). In a few pages the author summarizes what he has found typical not only for decades and centuries but for thousands of years of human history: "There has been no change in the fact that when terrorists and counter-terrorists exchange brutalities, it is primarily the innocent who suffer and die" (271). The bible could testify to this statement. His choice of perspective when reading history is obvious here; it is the

perspective of the innocent victims. These victims see no difference between so-called terror and so-called counter-terror. They suffer from both.

Lee Griffith is a Christian American. His main concerns are the presidents in power at the White House and the Christian understanding of the mechanisms of terror. In other words, he delivers a self-criticism. At the same time he is always aware of general patterns of brutality in all the world, e.g. by referring to the sociologist Max Weber. He said that state power - in Europe and elsewhere - has a characteristic trait, a said legitimate monopoly to use violence (78). This understanding of the definite difference between governmental and non-governmental use of violence is best formulated by Eli Sagan: "A king was a king because he could kill at will". A ruler for various reasons can kill at will some of the citizens just to demonstrate who is in power.

Is it possible that modern presidents of the USA have killed people at home and abroad to demonstrate who they are, to inform the world that they are in power, legitimately? Now the USA as represented by president George W. Bush is the unchallenged superpower of the world. Almost all the world is open for Bush to kill at will as kings used to do. Griffith is worried and he has tried to answer that kind of questions in a serious, well documented and argued manner. His basic facts seem to be reliable. Behind the book are decades of research and studies in many fields, biblical studies, church history, political history, propaganda or "information". Griffith is astonishingly deep and broad in his insights, vivid and careful in his language.

Griffith has emphasized three parallel readings, seemingly simultaneously: daily papers (controlled by scientific documentation), church history and the bible. "The Terror of God" is a phrase that draws your attention, a surprise for any reader, referring to the resurrection in Christ. Aha! In the light of the resurrection the author uses a biblical basis to criticize the frequent

political rhetoric of to-day that stresses the absolute difference between good and evil human beings and cultures. US presidents Reagan, Bush, Clinton, Bush and others have one ideological platform in common according to Griffith, the systematic dualism. Not only Christian kings or presidents base their thinking and behavior on a dualistic conception of men and women, he recalls, mentioning Benjamin Netanyahu of the Jewish State of Israel. Not only human beings but also states are conceived as either good or bad, as terrorist or non-terrorist states (82). Both individuals and states are demonized thanks to this dualistic world view. The consequence can become both verbal, on the level of terminology, and physical. A manual by the CIA is quoted as advocating "neutralisation" of selected individuals in a coordinated counter-terrorism campaign" (90). For outsiders, it is commented, it is "difficult to distinguish the good guys from the bad guys" (ibid). So much for the individual rights of selected victims.

Michael Walzer is one of those scholars who charges states with committing terrorism, e.g. the firebombing of German cities during World War II. This charge holds even if Nazi Germany also bombed cities in Great Britain (81). Griffith also cites the US dropping atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki with many hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese victims as an example of US terror.

Well-known American TV-evangelists, such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and Billy Graham, share the dualistic view of mankind and society with the US presidents of our time, (144, 276, 285). They talk about themselves and Americans as a chosen people of God, the New Israel. So did Jonathan Edwards in his famous 1741 sermon "Sinners in Hands of an Angry God" (170) and so do 250 years later the so-called "Identity Christians" in developing a dominion theology (148ff).

Is there any hope, when the dualistic world view is almost unchallenged in dominating world affairs as the case is in our days? The dualism, whether it

appears in religion, philosophy, entertainment or politics, seems to be the main target of the criticism of Lee Griffith. He states that no person and no community, on the very essential level of existence, can be said to be absolutely good or absolutely evil. Only behavior can be classified. Individual actions, societal structures or government behavior can be good or bad in relation to different criteria and can be open for changes, for better or worse.

There are Christians and others who have refused to divide humanity and society into two spheres of either good or evil, e.g. Karl Barth (168, 112). His political actions against the Third Reich and his theological reorientation of Christian thinking is well known. Griffith mentions Barth, of course. More interesting is his comparing the behavior of Christian crusaders conquering Jerusalem in 1099 with the behavior of Caliph Omar, who had taken Jerusalem in 638, and the Saladin capture of the city in 1187 (100-110). The crusaders with their absolute dualism showed no mercy, displayed no tolerance and victimized Oriental Christians, Jews and Moslems alike. Caliph Omar, on the other hand, paid due respect to the Christian Patriarch Sophronius and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Saladin killed the armed Christian Templars in his *jihad*, it is true, but he spared the lives of other Christians. Griffith portrays Caliph Omar and Saladin in a way that permits the reader to think that the Moslem leaders might have understood the Terror of God as being resurrection and hope, even if they did not recognize Jesus of Nazareth as Christ and the Son of God. The hope for a non-dualistic conception of (hu)mankind and society is near.

Technically, it should be added, the section of notes is well worth careful study. Many notes are unusually rich, full of complementary information and provoking reflections. The bibliography is extensive. There is also a valuable Index of names and subjects and an Index of Scripture References.

Sigbert Axelson

New reports from LPI

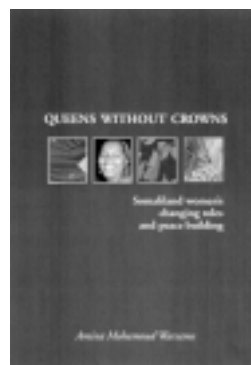
Horn of Africa

Queens without Crowns

- Somaliland women's changing roles and peace building

This new release in the Horn of Africa report series is written by Amina Mohamoud Warsome. For LPI and any other international actor supporting a process from a culture of war to a culture of peace and development, it is vital to listen to the voices of the people in the conflict – not least women – how

they define the situation and what recommendations they make. This interesting report by an initiated Somali researcher is another useful tool to support the positive developments in Somaliland or other post-conflict societies.



The Pacific

Militarisation, economic penetration and human rights

The research project on militarisation, economic penetration and human rights in the Pacific was a joint venture between the LPI Uppsala and the Pacific Conference of Churches in Suva, Fiji, carried out at the end of the 1990's. Four out of six manuscripts have now been printed as parts of the research report, namely:

Drugs, arms and national security: The global becomes local in Papua New Guinea by Henry Ivarature, Political & Legal Studies Division, National Research Institute, Papua New Guinea

Accelerated climate change: An emerging awareness of Pacific churches towards their environmental responsibilities by Peter J. Salamonsen, Justice, Peace and Development Secretariat, Pacific Conference of Churches, Fiji

Japan and the Pacific islands: The politics of fisheries access, aid and regionalism by Sandra Tarte, University of the South Pacific, Fiji

Business interests and the state in Papua New Guinea by David Kavanamur, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Papua New Guinea, Papua New Guinea

A background description to the research project by Haraka Gabutu Gaudi, project leader from 1996, has been added to the reports.

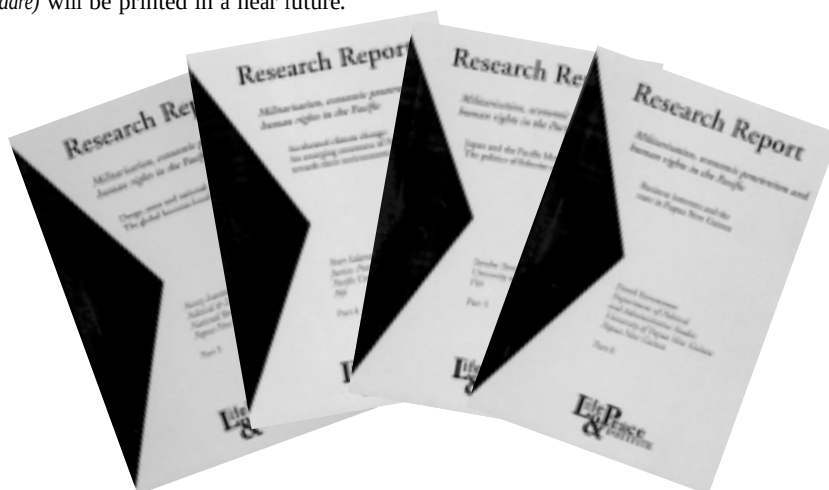
The two remaining manuscripts of the project (Storm in paradise: The military coups in Fiji by Steven Ratuva and Human rights violations in Bougainville 1989-1997 by Dorke de Gedare) will be printed in a near future.

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