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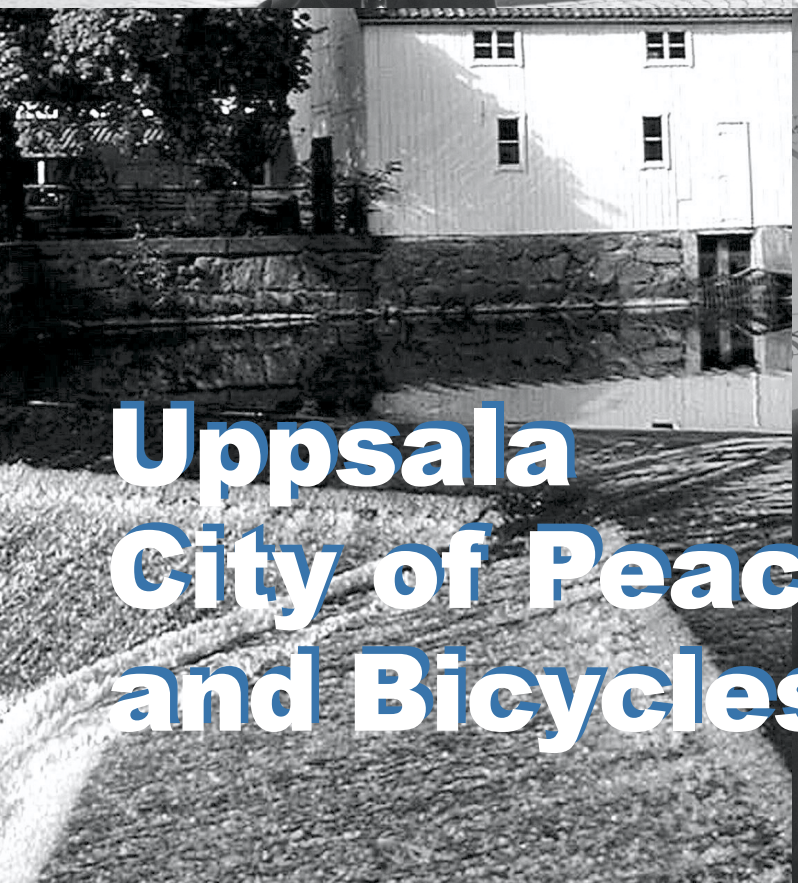
New Routes

A JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH AND ACTION

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Uppsala City of Peace and Bicycles

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A jigsaw on peace

If peace begins at home, we are certainly on the right track, as the lead story in this issue features our home base, the Swedish city of Uppsala. If you have been here at some point, you will probably recognise Dr. Björn Ryman's descriptions and conclusions with a smile.

Even a stranger to Uppsala and Sweden will no doubt recall names and happenings put together in this remarkable Uppsala jigsaw puzzle on peacebuilding over the past 90 years or so. Look out for names like Hammarskjöld, Tutu, Söderblom, Chikane, Schweitzer, Wallensteen, Sundkler, Ahlstrand, Blix …

Lindsey Weber, former intern at LPI, now back in Canada, writes about Rebellion, Religion and Resolution. This preliminary research is done by the Uppsala Program on Religion and Conflict, and is an illustrative example of fruitful collaboration between the Church of Sweden, Uppsala University and LPI.

Along the line of peace culture, we offer a touch of the democratisation wave now sweeping over Africa. It is Harare based Dr. Khabele Matlosa who provides a rather hopeful report on recent developments across Africa. The African Peer Review Mechanism is one good reason for optimism. So far have 23 countries signed up.

Don't miss other important contributions such as Gisela Blumenthal's article on health and security, as well as the reflections on DR Congo post-election and the need for real peace in the Israeli-Lebanese conflict.

If you plan to visit the 22nd international Göteborg Book Fair in Sweden, September 20-23, watch out for LPI and New Routes. We offer three mini-seminars and a book display at the international exhibition centre.

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New Routes

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Uppsala: City of peace and bicycles

Nathan Söderblom and Dag Hammarskjöld, two internationally well-known profiles from Uppsala, Sweden, devoted their lives to promoting peace and understanding among people and nations. Their work has many followers in present-day Uppsala, representing both the Church and the University. Some of the peace institutions may be easiest to reach on a bike ...

Twenty-five years ago I was asked to go down to the railway station in Uppsala[1] to meet a church leader from Indonesia. He was easy to recognize, as he had a badminton racket attached to his bag. His first astounding look at Uppsala made him think he was in the wrong place.

– Have I come to Hanoi or Peking? There are as many bicycles here in this sophisticated city as in Asian cities!

His astonishment that a city in one of the wealthiest countries allowed so many unorganized bicycles in the parking area made me think.

I have always biked to work, whether in heavy snowfall or in dim midnight sun. I am convinced that biking in cities makes you a better decision maker, and a stronger advocate for peace and a sound environment. In Uppsala you will find the Archbishop biking around, as well as the Chancellor of the University.

Uppsala has been the city of the Archbishop of Sweden since 1164 and the site of the University, founded in 1477 as the oldest university in Scandinavia. Since that time the Cathedral and the University have dominated the city, most of the time intertwined with each other. Although I never had Uppsala as my place of study in my younger days, I have now been attached both to the University as a lecturer and to the Church and its national office here for almost 30 years. In this article I will try and explain why Uppsala has become such a centre for peace and development, and portray some of the personalities of peace, shaped in this environment.

Church and University

Frank Chikane, former General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, is now in the South African government. During the apartheid era, when seeking refuge in Sweden, he made a remark during a conference discussion:

– What I admire in your city is the close connection you can see between the Church and the University. They are next to each other. That is something I long for in the new South Africa we are now building up.

How wrong he is in this analysis, I thought, but did not dare to say so to the esteemed anti-apartheid activist. I thought of the academic debate raging in Sweden during the 20th century. Its epicentre was in Uppsala, and its analytical philosophy attacked the state-paid theologians for not being scientific enough and therefore deceiving the people of the truth. The Church should have no privileged place in society and the University should be a scientific institution, free from religious influence.

The secularization process speeded up in Sweden due to this philosophical Uppsala debate, and some say that Sweden is now one of the most secularized nations. As I write this article, however, I come to the conclusion that Frank Chikane was right in his assumption that the Church and the University are indeed very close in this age of globalization and in the efforts for peace and development in the world. I myself had a narrow and preconceived idea of a philosophical rift between the Church and the University. I was too blind to see the many close links in Uppsala between the Church and University related to peace work.

As we entered the new millennium a poll was conducted. Who was the most outstanding personality in the district of Uppsala in the last century? The first two places were awarded to two Nobel Peace Prize laureates: Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931) and United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961). Söderblom received his prize in Oslo the year before he died, and Hammarskjöld was awarded the prize posthumously after he died in a plane crash in Ndola in 1961. Both are linked to the university city of Uppsala, where they conducted their studies. Neither of them was born in Uppsala. Söderblom was born in a rural parish 250 kilometres north of Uppsala, and



Committed for peace then and now. Professor Peter Wallensteen and professor Kajsa Ahlstrand by the statue of the former Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, outside the Archbishop's residence in Uppsala. Photo: Jim Elfström

Hammarskjöld in the residence for the Court of Appeals in Jönköping, 350 kilometres southwest of Uppsala.

Nathan Söderblom

Söderblom's father was a pietistic pastor who stressed the pure Lutheran doctrine. He was harsh on his demands that others should follow his lifestyle, especially Nathan. As a student of theology Nathan picked up the modern ideas of criticism, called liberal theology. He was a student leader and one of the "founders" of the World Student Christian Federation in the Swedish town of Vadstena in 1895. In Swedish society he met the radicalism of his day, which was extremely critical of the Church he was supposed to defend.

The search for truth, the true search for God, became the hallmark of Nathan Söderblom's studies and his many publications. He called this the "Theology of Revelation". He looked upon God as revealing himself to humankind through the ages, often through personalities like Moses and the prophets, but also through Socrates and Plato, culminating in Jesus Christ. It did not stop there, but continued via the apostles, saints and heroes of faith until this day. Söderblom wrote his thesis in French on Mazdéism in the Persian religion, while serving as a Swedish pastor in Paris. His scientific subject in Swedish is branded as a history of religion.

Many of the ecumenical pioneers conducted studies in comparative religion. Nathan Söderblom's studies were in France, and most of his admirers were in German universities and churches. He himself became more and more attached to the Anglican Church. The three European nations of France, Germany and England were all his favourites. Yet with dismay he experienced how the wolves of war in these countries yelled louder and louder.

In 1912-14, Söderblom was a guest professor in Leipzig. From there he was unexpectedly appointed Archbishop of Sweden and entered the office as the First World War started. Moving out of Leipzig he could see the preparations for war. He could never understand why the nations of Christian European heritage started the war. As Archbishop, he was determined to use his office for promoting peace and making the churches peace-makers. That was the simple idea behind his efforts to draw together the churches ecumenically. He had wished it to happen earlier, but

churches who had not met formally for ages were hard to bring together.

Söderblom was restless as he dictated his letters to tens of thousands of people. His whole office consisted of a sole young stenographer, who often had to work long nights. One of the secrets of his success is his networking with people of all kinds. To my mind, no Swedish politician or intellectual managed to build up such a personal network as Nathan Söderblom. His correspondence is now documented in a book from the University Library of Uppsala, where his collection of letters is preserved.

Life and Work Conference

In 1925, the Universal Christian conference on Life and Work finally took place in Sweden – in the capital of Stockholm and not in Uppsala. However, on a Sunday all of the delegates took a special train to Uppsala and its Cathedral for a memorable service. The Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria confessed the Nicene creed in original Greek. Most Protestant church leaders were there, and most likely the Anglican and US churches dominated. The defeated Germans felt ill at ease as they during the Conference were haunted by accusations of guilt for the war. Söderblom said in his sermon: "St Paul has come today, that is, the Lutheran tradition, and St John is here – the Orthodox churches and a representative from the Coptic Church – but we are still waiting for St Peter – the Roman Catholic Church". 64 years later St Peter arrived in Uppsala and his name was John Paul II, the first and only visit of a reigning Pope in two millennia.

Was the meeting of 1925 successful? Yes, it set the ecumenical movement in motion. The 20th century became the age of ecumenism. Söderblom and the Archbishop of Sweden put Uppsala on the map of international affairs. The official synod of the Church of Sweden had never made the ecumenical ministry their priority. It was the office and the personality of the Archbishop that became the centre for the ecumenical work, and so it has continued. Most of the 600 delegates and observers of the meeting committed their lives to the ecumenical movement. Peace and justice were the lead words; doctrine divides, but life and work unites, was the motto. Two future Archbishops were there: Eivind Berggrav of Norway, primate of Oslo 1936-1951, and Yngve Brilioth, Archbishop of Sweden 1950-58. A future Secretary-General of the UN was also there as a twenty year old steward: Dag Hammarskjöld.

Economically, the conference ran into obstacles. Söderblom had an arrangement with a businessman in Uppsala to sponsor it, but he went bankrupt beforehand. That is why it took place in Stockholm, albeit officially because of better access to hotels. This says something of the uncertainty of ecumenical ventures. When a postdoctoral student of Uppsala, Nils Ehrenström, was recruited in 1929 as the first professional Swedish ecumenist for the continuation of work in Geneva, Söderblom got the biggest



Biking gives you time to reflect on problems and enjoy the surroundings. The historian and author of this article, Dr. Björn Ryman, in the old quarters around Uppsala Cathedral. Photo: Jim Elfström



Statesman, poet and seeker, servant of humanity, mystic and politician – posterity has given many attributes to the former UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld. Photo: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

finance man in Sweden to pay his salary. Two years later he was bankrupt, and Ehrenström continued his job until 1954 on meagre resources.

In the fall of 2006, the newly established Nathan Söderblom Professor in the Faculty of Theology is installed. Professor Mattias Gardell's studies specialize in modern Muslim movements encountering modernism and democratic rule. Religion and the modern world are again on the agenda. Will the chances for peace enhance?

Dag Hammarskjöld

Dag Hammarskjöld knew Nathan Söderblom already at the time of the meeting in 1925. He lived in the huge 17th century castle in Uppsala, where his father was Governor and, during WWI, an unpopular Prime Minister. The families socialised in the 1920's.

The bright, intellectual, aesthetic Hammarskjöld listened to Albert Schweitzer in 1920. This peace-maker and philosopher, holding three doctoral degrees, was devoted both to France and Germany, but was badly treated as a war prisoner by the winners of WWI. He was later invited to Uppsala University by Söderblom to give lectures and recite organ concerts to raise money for his hospital in Lambarene. Hammarskjöld said this about Albert Schweitzer's ideal of reverence for life:

"The two ideals reigning in my childhood world met me in the ethics of Albert Schweitzer. The ideal of personal service is supported by and supports the fundamental attitude towards the human being, as it is portrayed in the Gospels. In Schweitzer's work I also found the key for modern man to the world of the Gospels."

To most observers Hammarskjöld was an efficient Secretary-General during the Cold War. He was a promoter of the interests of the third world countries entering the UN as independent states. He also defended the small states against the superpowers.

Dag Hammarskjöld was killed in an air crash on September 18, 1961, while trying to negotiate between Katanga and the Congo. After his death it was revealed that Hammarskjöld had written his *Markings* (in Swedish: *Vägmärken*) as a white book of his negotiations with himself and God. He had read the mystics and on his night table in Leopoldville lay Thomas à Kempis. In his briefcase he carried the New Testament and his translation of Martin Buber's dialogue philosophy. Some people only stressed Hammarskjöld as the international statesman and diplomat. Others just concentrated on the mystical side of Markings. How to merge the two sides of Hammarskjöld?

Already in 1962 the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation was established in Uppsala. It has served as a small staff agency producing many studies on peace and development, mainly through its biannual series Development Dialogue. Thousands of international scholars have taken part in seminars organized by the Foundation. In Uppsala there is also a Dag Hammarskjöld Library acquiescing books related to the UN and international issues. Hammarskjöld as the international civil servant was immediately recognized and honoured in Uppsala. Annually, outstanding personalities like Kofi Annan, Sir Brian Urquhart and Mary Robinson give lectures to his memory around September 18.

Peace at the University

One of the most well known institutions of Uppsala University is the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, headed by the Dag Hammarskjöld Professor, Peter Wallensteen. This research institute is also action oriented. It has been present in many of the hot spot conflicts in East Timor, Sri Lanka, Palestine, the Horn of Africa and Iraq, to name a few. Its studies are read by many participants, and hundreds have come from different nations to take courses in peace and conflict resolution.

Inside its network is the Jimmy Carter Centre. They have co-operated in efforts to reach peace in many

regions. President Carter himself paid tribute to this effort when he gave an outstanding lecture in front of 2 000 people in the Uppsala University Hall three months before the war on Iraq started. It was two days after he received the Nobel Peace Prize award. The meeting was chaired by Professor Wallensteen.

Out of this history there are currently at least a dozen institutions dealing with peace, development and international affairs in Uppsala. Some of them seldom see each other or know of one another's existence. In 1962 another international institute connected to the University was established, the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI). It is devoted to research on African topical affairs, mainly political and social studies. Its library contains the largest collection of books on Africa in northern Europe.

A database has been collected by NAI on the liberation movements in southern Africa. I remember a visit a couple of years ago by a Namibian delegation that wanted to get as much material as possible on the struggle for liberation. I had particularly covered Namibia. Through a government agreement NAI collected the documents for this database from the archives of all NGO and government organizations in Scandinavia that were active in efforts for liberation. You may find it on www.liberationafrica.se. The databases are examples of both the activism for peace and liberation among grassroots organizations in Scandinavia, but also the academic research on these issues regarding how to better understand the globalisation process. Which leader of liberation movements did not visit Sweden from 1961 onwards? There is a common history.

One of the founders of the Nordic Africa Institute was professor Bengt Sundkler (1909-1995), a missiologist whose last work is a 1 200-page volume called *A History of the Church in Africa*. He also wrote the only authoritative biography so far on Nathan Söderblom, in English. It appeared just in time for the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Uppsala in 1968. That is probably the most international event that has taken place in Uppsala. It happened during the Biafra War and the Vietnam War. Martin Luther King should have been a key speaker, but was shot three months before. For churches in Africa, Asia and Latin America this was a new paradigm, when the era of European colonialism was at an end. Liberation theology was to take the stage, and the aggiornamento of the Second Vatican Council had started. New doors were being opened as never before. Social justice was at a peak and authoritarian structures were to be crushed. This was manifested through Uppsala 68.

Bengt Sundkler specialized in missiology, particularly the growth of the African churches. His followers in the discipline continued this track but broadened it after 1968 to include the encounter with liberation movements, and between Christianity and other religious cultures. Its series of doctoral theses include 100 publications. The new professor of this chair, Kajsa Ahlstrand, devotes her research to religions in dialogue with each other and how to find a common understanding of religious practices.

The world coming to Uppsala

Usually Nobel Peace Prize laureates give a lecture in Uppsala. Among them was Desmond Tutu, also an honorary Doctor of Theology of Uppsala University. I met him in his position as head of the South African Council of Churches for the first time in 1979, and wrote about his organization's work against apartheid. My church-related organization, Lutherhjälpen, with its office in Uppsala, was one of the main funders of the Asingeni fund for apartheid victims. At that time his visit received almost no headlines in the news.

Desmond Tutu became a frequent traveller to Sweden and Uppsala. In March 1984, before the snow had melted, I passed him and his entourage on my bicycle. They had checked out of the hotel and were carrying their suitcases by hand. I offered to take two bags on my bicycle. We walked to the Cathedral. The bishop had not been there, so I tried to explain its history and some of its many art objects. Then it struck me: How often do not the international guests just come to a conference room and then leave? Even for a church leader it is hard to find time to visit the Cathedral.

Nine months later Tutu was awarded the Nobel Peace prize. When he came to Uppsala that time there were headlines, TV teams, government people and security police. My bicycle was no longer in demand. I could hardly get through the restricted area myself. When are we most needed, I wondered to myself. When all of the spotlights are geared to a certain person? Or when they are almost in the dark, just lit up by a bicycle lamp?

The outgoing Chancellor of Uppsala University was interviewed in the summer of 2006 about the most memorable events during his decade as Chancellor. The dinner with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, when he received his honorary doctorate, had been one such unforgettable event, "a gift of grace", he said. In this age of globalization, a South African Archbishop is one of the most respected and admired personalities because of his stand against oppression and for justice based on his Christian conviction. That confirms the point of Frank Chikane: The Church and the University are closer in this age of globalization than in the age of the nation state.

Another world famous Uppsala student is Hans Blix of the International Atomic Energy Association. As 75-year old international professional he withstood the pressures of Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz and Condoleezza Rice, not to mention other US war pundits in February-March 2003, who demanded a clear "yes" to the existence of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq.

I use this encounter as an example of Hans Blix' training in Uppsala

philosophical reasoning to my students of historical source criticism. He made an investigation. He found no proof whatsoever of the assumption of WMD. He told this clearly with all of the world's spotlights on him. He was scorned for it by news commentators and politicians in the so-called Allied nations. His answer was:

– There might be WMD but then give us more time, more concrete suggestions where to look for them.

In September 2005 Hans Blix lectured on these experiences in the Uppsala University Hall. It was packed.

On the other hand, Colin Powell, then US Secretary of State, argued from the assumption that there must be WMD and gave false proofs on this assumption to the UN. If you do that in a paper for the class, you do not pass, I tell the students.

Religion in conflicts

The Life & Peace Institute (LPI) in Uppsala is in a sense a result of this Uppsala tradition, going back to Nathan Söderblom's ecumenical efforts for peace and Dag Hammarskjöld's *Markings*. The original initiative stems from Archbishop Olof Sundby (1917–1996). In 1983 he called together 160 church leaders to a conference on Life and Peace. In the deepest distrust between the two blocs in the Cold War period the conference said emphatically "no" to the use of nuclear weapons. They also said many positive things about peace education. Again it made Uppsala a centre for peace and international understanding, and it took place in the University building and in the Cathedral. Originally the meeting was scheduled for the Convention Centre in Stockholm.

In 1985, LPI was established as a research institute focusing on the role of religion in conflicts. The ecumenical movement with its headquarter in Geneva probably wished to reserve the issue of peacemaking as its own. As the reader of this magazine knows, LPI has produced hundreds of studies based on solid research, on peace and conflict resolution globally. It co-operates with University departments in Uppsala and the national office of the Church of Sweden.

Recently, a research project has been established in co-operation with the research unit of the Church of Sweden and the Department of Peace and Conflict Research of the University. It investigates the role that religion plays in conflicts around the world. As a research organization, LPI is hardly discernible in downtown Uppsala. It has to fight for resources for its work, and its task is networking with University and Church related organizations around the globe. It does, however, carry the distinct Uppsala mark in its research and is part of the city's ecumenical history.

From past to future

If you take a biking tour of Uppsala, you will easily see the magnificent buildings of the Cathedral, the Castle and the University. You will have a harder time finding the different institutions dealing with peace and development dwelling in ordinary buildings downtown. You will not so easily find the traces of Nathan Söderblom and Dag Hammarskjöld. Just ten years ago, a small statue of Söderblom was dedicated outside the residence of the Archbishop.

– So typical of you Swedes, said an African church leader. In other countries the statue would have been huge!

This last year a bust of Dag Hammarskjöld was placed on the Castle Hill, where he grew up. Some said it should have been placed indoors where it would not be so visible. If you still bike around in Uppsala you have to be prepared to bike hard uphill to reach it. The same is true for our roots to the existing peace and development organizations. You have to bike uphill to find them.

After the steepest slope in Uppsala you reach the castle. In some of the rooms in the back you find the Museum of Peace. It was inaugurated in December 2005, and is the first of its kind in Sweden. It was planned and initiated by the Association for Peace Museum at Uppsala Castle. The aim of the Association is to run a peace museum in the spirit of Dag Hammarskjöld and to illustrate the Swedish efforts in UN peacekeeping forces. A special target group of the Museum is young people who want to discuss issues of war and peace.

One person who left Uppsala in the summer of 2006 is Archbishop KG Hammar. More than anyone else, he epitomizes the intellectual and peace ideals of both Nathan Söderblom and Dag Hammarskjöld. He himself lived most of his life in the "rival" university city of Lund, in southern Sweden. He returns there to lecture in theology. Nobody in the last decade has had such an influence in interpreting the *Markings* of Dag Hammarskjöld. When the centennial of the birth of Hammarskjöld was celebrated in 2005, KG Hammar's writings, sermons and devotions were often referred to and shown on television. On his initiative, a stone was placed in the Chapel of Peace in the Uppsala Cathedral with one of Hammarskjöld's *Markings* inscribed: "Not I, but God in me" (in Swedish: "Inte jag utan Gud i mig"). Uppsala is receiving new impetus for peace endeavours all the time. So the new paradigm of university research and Christian devotion to peace efforts is a fact. The future belongs to this fact.

Björn Ryman

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[1] Uppsala is the fourth biggest city in Sweden, situated 70 km northwest of Stockholm.

Democratisation wave sweeping over Africa

While democracy is a fundamental prerequisite for development and stability throughout the world, the converse is also true, namely that authoritarianism breeds mal-development and instability. There is no doubt that one of the major explanatory factors for the state of development and peace in Africa today, barring external factors, has a lot to do with the extent to which the continent has embraced and institutionalised democracy since political independence in the 1960s.[1]

A majority of African states embraced authoritarian rule following the departure of the colonial oligarchies, which, themselves, had entrenched an autocratic and conflict-prone governance regime during the heyday of colonialism. Colonialism aside, since the continent's post-colonial existence, the authoritarian rule of either mono-party, one-person, theocratic, monarchic or military varieties has had its [un]fair share of that mal-development and instability in the continent between the 1960s and 1980s, the period widely regarded by the United Nations as the 'lost' two decades. The experience over these two decades demonstrates vividly that without democracy and peace, people-centred development can neither be realised nor sustained.

Development and peace themselves cannot be achieved under conditions of conflict (especially violent conflict) that in turn generates political instability. It also goes without saying that political instability itself does not constitute a healthy diet for democracy. Put somewhat differently, a sustainable people-centred development requires a democratic setting; both democracy and development require political stability within an environment in which there exist effective mechanisms for the constructive management of conflict.

What challenges face the African continent for achieving the complex triple agenda of (a) development; (b) democracy and (c) peace? The development-democracy-peace nexus is increasingly becoming a key feature in the extant literature. In a recent volume entitled *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*, Sylvia Chan explores the question of whether or not liberal democracy is good for economic development.[2] This debate also features prominently in a recent volume on democratic governance in Southern Africa.[3] The interface between democracy and development and its implications for conflict resolution is also explored on the basis of the following assumptions:[4]

- Democratisation is directly and positively correlated with conflict resolution/prevention;
- Socio-economic development is directly and positively correlated with democracy; and
- Therefore, democratisation and socio-economic development are necessary prerequisites for the resolution/prevention of deep-rooted conflict.

In summary, linkages in the democracy-development-conflict triad are established.[5] "Political instability within countries … is most commonly associated with poverty, inequality and unequal access to resources, influence and power."[6] This article provides a broad exposé of the challenges facing the African continent, especially post-conflict societies, in respect of the triad of development, democracy and peace. To what extent can the three be achieved as part and parcel of a comprehensive post-conflict reconstruction agenda?

The next section will define the problem; why has Africa experienced conflict that has in turn adversely affected its development and democracy prospects? Challenges for peace building in post-conflict societies are then discussed. The African Union's mandate for democratisation as part of conflict management is outlined. The discussion is concluded by highlighting the conundrum of pursuing democracy and peace-building in tandem in post-conflict reconstruction.

What is the problem?

We note from the onset that Africa has been a theatre of various forms of conflict since independence marked by both exogenous (e.g. the Cold War) and endogenous (e.g. authoritarian rule) factors for the larger part of its post-independence existence.

> Since independence, African countries, one after another, have

> been engulfed in political turmoil which have (sic) not only derailed the hastily-launched pre-independence democratic process as a successor to the colonial oligarchic administration but has also brought about strife, violence and civil war in many countries in the course of competition for political power and control of resources. In a large number of the countries, conflicts have become pervasive and civil strife a tragic and persistent plight of the population. Of the 53 member states of the African Union, only six - Botswana, Mauritius, Malawi, Namibia, Tanzania and post-apartheid South Africa - have been spared from civil strife and civil war.[7]

This observation is a serous indictment of the pervasive trend of political instability in Africa that has in turn undermined development and postponed for a long time the democracy-building agenda in a majority of the member states of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), particularly during the 1960s-80s period. Kwame Nkrumah, Africa's renowned visionary, rightly predicted that Africa needed the political kingdom (read African unity and political integration) before achieving the socio-economic kingdom (read socio-cultural and economic integration). Addressing the inaugural summit of the African states at the founding of the OAU, Nkrumah poignantly proclaimed that:

> African unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round. ... In independent Africa, we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule. The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom from that kind of rule was not only a revolt against the conditions which it imposed. Our people supported us in the fight for independence because they believed that African governments could *cure the ills of the past* in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule.[8]

With the benefit of hindsight, it is no exaggeration to observe that in a majority of independent African states that attended that epoch-making founding summit of the OAU, development was throttled, democracy asphyxiated and peace and security compromised by both endogenous and exogenous factors. "In the first two decades of independence, there were some forty successful coups and countless attempted coups."[9] While the OAU played its role fairly successfully in pursuing the liberation of various parts of the continent, its achievements on the peace and security front were limited by the consideration of colonial boundaries and national sovereignty as sacrosanct and thus cast in diplomatic iron.

The OAU has since 2000 been transformed into the African Union (AU) with important implications for the pursuit of collective security in conflict and post-conflict situations. Thus, while the OAU tackled most of the challenges of the continent relating to political liberation, the AU is pursuing the agenda of peace and security, development and democracy with greater impetus and resolve judging by the strides made thus far in establishing the AU Peace and Security Council and efforts underway to establish the Africa Standby Force.[10] Additionally, AU member states are pursuing the triple agenda of development, democracy and peace through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).[11]

The AU evolved as a successor to the Organisation of African Unity in July 1999 in Sirte, Libya. It was then formally launched in 2002 in Durban, South Africa. In pursuit of continental development, democracy and peace, the Constitutive Act of the AU adopted by the member states on the 11th July 2000 provides for ten organs of the Union.[12] While these institutions have begun to make their impact felt in the three areas of democracy, development and peace, on the issue of whether or not the AU will in the final analysis achieve its overarching goal of political integration, unity and political stability, the jury is still out.

Challenges for peace

It is worth noting, though, that since the collapse of the Cold War and the demise of apartheid in South Africa, a new momentum for democratisation has set in throughout the African continent and this momentum has been accompanied by a noticeable trend of reduced incidences of inter-state violent conflict. "The liberalisation of political space that came through pluralism, multiparty politics and constitutional reform in the wave of democracy which swept through Africa in the 1980s and 1990s was a major achievement on a continent where authoritarian one-party and military regimes previously held sway."[13]

However, intra-state conflict still constitutes one of the major challenges facing the achievement of the triple agenda of development, democracy and peace as the war in Sudan's Darfur region and the violent conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Côte d'Ivoire clearly demonstrate. In order for us to see the bigger picture of conflict mapping in Africa and efforts towards peace-building, democracy building and post-conflict reconstruction, a continental scanning exercise would be helpful. The annual publication of the Nigeria-based African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies (ACDESS) classifies African states into six categories in terms of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction.[14]

Table 1: Conflict Mapping in Africa, 2005

Classification	Nature of Conflict/Conflict Management	Countries
Group 1	Countries engaged in major intra-state violent conflict	Côte d'Ivoire, Sudan and Democratic Republic of the Congo
Group 2	Countries engaged in major inter-state violent conflict	Ethiopia and Eritrea
Group 3	Countries experiencing low-intensity conflict	Nigeria, Uganda, Ghana and Senegal
Group 4	Countries where conflict is in the making	Zimbabwe, Guinea, Togo and Kenya
Group 5	Countries engaged in peacekeeping Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau	Liberia, Burundi, DRC, Côte d'Ivoire,
Group 6	Countries engaged in peace-building and democracy building	Mali, Angola, Rwanda, Mozambique and Somalia

Source: ACDESS, 2005:5-6.

Why have these conflicts persisted in Africa especially between the 1960s and 1980s? Many explanations have been proffered, ranging from greed to grievance. One of the most profound political statements regarding the persistent political crisis and instability in Africa was made by Nkrumah during the founding of the OAU. His conviction was that post-independent regimes in Africa had not succeeded to "*cure the ills of the past*". In his own words: "if, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilized against us."[15]

Table 1 validates Nkrumah's prophesy that unless real transformation takes place that reverses the colonial legacy, political instability will plague Africa, development will prove a distant mirage, democracy will remain elusive and political stability and peace will remain an unrealisable dream. It is evident that the challenge for peace-building and democracy-building is enormous and daunting, yet not insurmountable in Africa today. Already the democratic transitions of the early 1990s have helped reduce inter-state violent conflict considerably, thereby confirming the thesis that democracy can become a conflict management tool.[16]

A new trend in the world today is that traditional inter-state conflict is increasingly giving way to intra-state conflict. Whereas most violent conflicts over the course of the twentieth century have been *between* states, in the 1990s almost all major conflicts around the world took place *within* states.[17] Between 1989 and 1996, for example, 95 of the 101 armed conflicts identified around the world were such internal disputes. This also explains in part the fact that in Africa today, the only major inter-state violent conflict is that involving Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Challenges for democracy

In a very encouraging and indeed bold move, the OAU adopted the Declaration on the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government during the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Lomé, Togo, in July 2000. The Declaration commits member states to prevent military coups and unconstitutional regime changes and to safeguard democratic governance. Within the framework of the Declaration, an unconstitutional change of government is perceived as:

- a military coup d'état against a democratically elected government;
- intervention by mercenaries to replace a democratically elected government;
- the replacement of a democratically elected government by armed dissidents and rebels; and/or
- The refusal of an incumbent government to relinquish power to the winning party after free, fair and regular elections.

While military coups and other forms of unconstitutional changes of government have occurred as in Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, the Comoros, Central African Republic, Mauritania and Togo, the undeniable reality is that the spate of military coups has been severely scaled down. The African Union (AU) intends to consolidate its resolve to eradicate the political culture of military coups by adopting a comprehensive Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. The draft Charter focuses on four main areas as follows:

- Culture of democracy and peace;
- Political, economic and social governance;
- Democratic elections;
- Measures to be taken in case of unconstitutional change of governments.

Pan-African Parliament

Through the proposed Democracy Charter, the AU will play a major role in assisting countries to build peace and democracy for sustained people-centred development. Furthermore, the democratisation agenda is being pursued with vigour by the AU today through its various structures, especially the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), located in Midrand, South Africa.

The PAP came into being through a specific protocol acceded to by AU member states in 2004. It is made up of five representatives of parliaments from all the 53 AU member states.[18] The long-term goal of the PAP is to evolve into an institution with full legislative powers, whose members are elected by universal adult suffrage. At the present moment, the PAP is an advisory and consultative body with little legislative or oversight functions vis-à-vis the AU Commission. The main objectives of PAP are as follows:

- Facilitate the effective implementation of policies and objectives of the AU;
- Promote the principles of human rights and democracy in Africa;
- Encourage good governance, transparency and accountability of member states;
- Familiarise the peoples of Africa with the objectives and policies aimed at integrating the African continent within the framework of establishment of the African Union;
- Promote peace, security and stability;
- Contribute to a more prosperous future for the peoples of Africa promoting collective self-reliance and economic recovery;
- Facilitate cooperation and development in Africa;
- Strengthen continental solidarity and build a sense of common destiny among the peoples of Africa; and
- Facilitate cooperation among Regional Economic Communities and their parliament.

Whereas national parliaments will play an important role in terms of ensuring political integration of the African continent through the PAP, it is worth noting that regional legislative bodies are also poised to be at the centre of this process and could act as a bridge between the PAP and national parliaments in the five main sub-regions of the continent, namely West Africa, Central Africa, North Africa, Eastern Africa and Southern Africa. For the PAP to enhance its facilitative role for political integration and democracy in the African continent, it needs to play a critical role in four main areas:

- Contributing to the AU Peace and Security Council's efforts at conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict transformation (such as in the DRC, Darfur (Sudan), Côte d'Ivoire, etc);
- Contributing to the NEPAD political governance initiative through the APRM process (learning lessons from the Ghana and Rwanda examples and involving the PAP more in subsequent countries such as South Africa, Lesotho, Mozambique, Senegal, Nigeria, Mauritius, Kenya, etc);
- Contributing to and encouraging electoral and parliamentary reforms in AU member states with a view to nurturing and consolidating democratic governance; and
- Contributing to election observer missions of the AU in all scheduled parliamentary and presidential (where resources permit even local government) elections as has been the practice thus far.

Furthermore, the NEPAD programme, especially its African Peer Review Mechanism, is likely to assist in the post-conflict reconstruction programmes of the AU member states.



Local citizens of Brewersville assisting the National Elections Commission and the United Nations Mission in Liberia by destroying the remaining voting material from the successful presidential elections. Photo: UN Photo/Eric Kanalstein

NEPAD/APRM Initiative

The APRM is a voluntary self-assessment mechanism for African states aimed at institutionalising and consolidating democratic governance. It is acceded to by AU member states with a view to "foster the adoption of

policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and enforcement of successful and best practice, including identification of deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building".[19] Participation in the APRM is open to all members of the AU through notification of the Chairman of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee, Olusegun Obasanjo, the president of Nigeria. A country that accedes to the APRM commits itself to be periodically reviewed in terms of its practice around four clusters of governance, namely:

- Democracy and good political governance;
- Economic governance and management;
- Corporate governance; and
- Socio-economic development.

Such a country is thus committing itself to a continuous and periodic review that takes place every two to four years. Conversely, in some instances, participating NEPAD Heads of State and Government could be driven by signs of an impending socio-economic and/or political crisis to call for a review in a given country "in a spirit of helpfulness to the government concerned".[20] In essence, therefore, there are four types of reviews:[21]

- The first baseline review undertaken after eighteen months of the country acceding to the APRM;
- A periodic review every two to four years thereafter;
- A member can also request, on its own accord, a review which is not part of the mandated reviews; and
- Early signs of an impending political or economic crisis in a member country could also trigger a review which could be called by the participating Heads of State and Government.

The implementation of the review is coordinated by the Panel of Eminent Persons with administrative and logistical support from the APRM Secretariat. So far 23 countries have acceded to the Memorandom of Understanding on the APRM. These are Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, Egypt, Benin, Malawi, Lesotho, Tanzania, Angola and Sierra Leone. The APRM Panel of Eminent Persons is deliberately drawn from all five sub-regions of the African Union.[22]

The main functions of the Panel of Eminent Persons are (a) to exercise oversight with respect to the APR process with a view to ensuring the independence, professionalism and integrity of that process; (b) to recommend appropriate African institutions or individuals to conduct technical assessment and country reviews; (c) to meet periodically to review and make objective assessments of country review reports submitted to it by the APRM Secretariat; (d) to consider and approve recommendations contained in the country review reports submitted to it by the APRM Secretariat; and (e) to present to the participating Heads of State and Government all country review reports with recommendations for consideration and adoption.[23] The medium to long-term impact of the APRM as part of a wider post-conflict reconstruction package is yet to manifest itself in Rwanda, one of the two countries that have fully completed the review process (the other being Ghana).

Risks and benefits of democracy

The pacifying effect of the ongoing democratisation wave in Africa helps in reducing the incidence of intra-state conflict. Thus, democratisation can become part of the broader agenda of post-conflict reconstruction too. However, caution must be exercised here. Democracy accentuates diversity and provides room for multiple popular demands, and if this diversity is not well managed and if these demands are not met, instability could result.

The challenge for peace-building and democracy-building is enormous and daunting, yet not insurmountable in Africa today.

Thus, as much as democracy could add value to post-conflict reconstruction, if not well managed it could trigger instability or political decay à la Huntington, who has argued that under conditions where the institutional foundation of democracy is weak and popular demands are huge and not met by the state, instability becomes the end-result and this leads to political decay or disorder.[24] This decay and disorder could become costly to both democracy and post-conflict reconstruction. A good example of this outcome is the flawed democratisation and peace process in Angola.

The 1991 Bicesse Agreement did not bring about peace and allow a process of post-conflict reconstruction. The country held its presidential and legislative elections in September 1992 in the context of hostilities and where belligerents had not fully committed to peaceful engagement. The elections result delivered a victory for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). In the presidential race, José Eduardo dos Santos of the MPLA secured 49.67 percent of the votes, and

the leader of the Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita), Jonas Savimbi, received 40.07 percent of the total votes cast. In the National Assembly race, the MPLA won 53 percent of the votes and Unita just 34.10 percent.

The election, instead of becoming a political asset, proved a political liability for post-conflict reconstruction. Angola has adopted the proportional representation electoral model, which is highly regarded as enhancing broader participation and thereby contributing to political stability. The Angolan situation provides sufficient evidence that elections alone are insufficient to bring about political stability, reconciliation and peace. The Angolan conflict is one of the most protracted and costly conflicts in Africa today.

It is highly encouraging, indeed, that since the death of the UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, in early 2002, considerable progress has been made towards resolving this conflict constructively. A new peace agreement is in place and has brought about relative political tranquillity, harmony and reconciliation in most parts of the country. Consequently, the Angolan government and opposition parties are currently busy hammering out some constitutional reforms in advance of a general election scheduled for 2006.

But the reverse is true in other cases in the SADC region; democracy and elections could add value and become a political asset for post-conflict reconstruction. Witness, for instance, how Lesotho's 1998 violent conflict involving a power struggle for control of the state by the country's political elite was well managed through constitutional engineering that culminated in the displacement of the British-style first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral model and the adoption of the mixed member proportional (MMP) electoral model, first put to the test in the country's 2002 general election.

There is general consensus in the democracy discourse today that one way of building peace and democracy in post-conflict societies requires, among others, electoral systems design.[25] It is for this reason that the example of Lesotho's electoral system reform is cited as one the key lessons of experience for other African states embroiled in intra-state violent conflict. Since the adoption of the MMP model, Lesotho has experienced less political instability, has broadened the party political representation in the national assembly and enjoys a relatively enhanced level of public confidence in election management, credibility of the outcomes of elections, and legitimacy of rule.

Khabele Matlosa

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[12] The ten organs are the Assembly, the Executive Council; the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), the African Court of Justice, the Commission, the Permanent Representatives' Committee, the Specialised Technical Committees, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council, the Peace and Security Council, and the financial institutions.

[13] Osaghae, E. (2004). "Making Democracy Work in Africa: From the Institutional to the Substantive", *Journal of African Elections,* 3 (1).

[14] ACDESS (2005) *Africa Conflict, Peace and Governance Monitor*, Ibadan: Dokun Publishing House.

[15] Nkrumah. 1963.

[16] Harris, P. and Reilly, B. (eds) (1998) *Democracy and Deep-rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators,* Stockholm: IDEA.

[17] Ibid.

[18] The PAP's President is the honourable MP Mrs Gertrude Mongela from the Republic of Tanzania and she is assisted by four vice-presidents:

- Hon. Prof. F. José Dias Van-Du'Nem (from Angola) - First Vice-President (South);
- Hon. Dr Mohammed Lutfi Farahat (from Libya) - Second Vice-President (North);
- Hon. Mrs Loum N. N'eloumsei Elise (from Chad) - Third Vice-President (Central);
- Hon. Mr Jerome Sacca Kina Guezere (from Benin) - Fourth Vice-President (West).

[19] African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (2002) Midrand: NEPAD Secretariat.

[20] NEPAD Action Plans, July 2002, p 10.

[21] APRM 2002.

[22] The Panel comprises the following:

- Mrs Marie-Angelique Savane from Senegal, West Africa;
- Prof. Adebayo Adedeji from Nigeria, West Africa;
- Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat from Kenya, East Africa;
- Dr Graça Machel from Mozambique, Southern Africa;
- Mr Mourad Medelci from Algeria, North Africa;
- Dr Dorothy Njeuma from Cameroon, Central Africa; and
- Dr Chris Stals from South Africa, Southern Africa.

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DR Congo:

Enormous challenges remain after elections

To organise elections in DRC, Africa's second largest country, with high illiteracy, poor infrastructure and 269 political parties was a huge challenge. Both local actors and the international community have done their share to fulfil the task. However, the second round of elections presents another challenge.

One of LPI's priorities in the future will be to create a base for a responsible and peaceful leadership in the country.

On 30th July 2006, the Democratic Republic of Congo experienced its first free and competitive elections in 40 years. Originally scheduled for June 2005, these elections were to represent a key point in the transition of the country from conflict to peace and mark the end of the current transitional government, which has been in place since June 2003.

The process has been the largest electoral undertaking ever supported by the international community, with the UN, the European Commission and other bilateral donors contributing a total of $422 million. In a country where 60 percent of the population are illiterate, with no integrated national army and ever present armed groups stirring violence in the East, large numbers of internally displaced people and refugees, and virtually no infrastructure, no public services nor democratic culture, the challenge of organising elections has proved enormous.

In April 2006 the electoral commission (CEI) approved lists with 33 presidential and more than 9 500 legislative candidates from 269 parties. Despite the country's new Constitution providing for equal representation of men and women in the Government, only four of the presidential candidates and ten percent of the parliamentary candidates were women.

Limited road and communications infrastructure in the country meant that there were fears the CEI would not be able to deploy all electoral material in time, especially in isolated rural areas. The experience of the December 2005 referendum on the Constitution still echoed in people's minds, when the population had hardly been informed about the process and many flaws on the day of the election had been observed.

The process has been the largest electoral undertaking ever supported by the international community.

From January 2006 onwards, local and international NGOs began to address some of these challenges by concentrating on sensitising local populations largely ignorant of electoral politics. Already in December 2005 the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) and its partners organised a rapid sensitisation campaign on the Constitution's referendum, which served to explain to local populations the importance of the vote for the future of the electoral process.

In May 2006, LPI decided to invest more structurally in the process and trained 100 "sensibilisateurs" (= "sensitisers"), who were sent out to isolated rural areas of all the territories in North and South Kivu (the Eastern provinces of DRC) in June and July. They travelled from village to village to explain the modalities of the elections to local citizens – especially women: political implications of the electoral law, profile of the candidates, electoral ethics, set-up of a polling station, use of electoral ballots, etc.

Election observation

In an effort to guarantee maximum transparency in the process, LPI joined forces with other local and international organisations in July 2006 and trained 20 members of its partner organisations in election observation techniques. A workshop organised in Goma mid-July in collaboration with the British NGO International



The people of the Democratic Republic of Congo went to the polls for the first time in more than four decades. Photo: UN Photo/Kevin Jordan

Foundation for Election Systems addressed the ethical and political aspects of election monitoring before going on to identify, per geographic zone of intervention, the major challenges of the electoral process for local peace dynamics.

The regions that were chosen for investigation were those less covered by national or international observers, and presenting the most challenging political dynamics which were thought to have important implications for the electoral process. In North Kivu, these were Rutshuru, Lubero, Masisi, and Walikale and in South Kivu, Fizi, Minembwe, Mwenga and Shabunda.

election phases. The way in which the election process has affected local dynamics might vary from one context to another, depending on the political, social and economic realities of each context. LPI's action-research project therefore covers the period July-December 2006.

The project analyses the political strategies of each candidate during the campaigning, the use of local conflict dynamics for the campaigning, voting modalities during the polls, and populations' and politicians' behaviours and attitudes in the run-up to results and after. The final objective of the project is to identify, in collaboration with local communities, potential new

The challenge of organising elections has proved enormous.

The idea is that election observation should not be limited to the day of the polls itself, but should include an analysis of the entire pre- and post-

change agents for future conflict transformation initiatives. By the end of the year, LPI's partners should have developed new initiatives locally, aimed at addressing some of the challenges brought about by the entire electoral process.

LPI has just completed the first phase of the project, having analysed the pre-election phase and observed the day of the election on the 30th July. The poll day proved an incredible achievement. Despite a few irregularities due mainly to the voting population's high levels of illiteracy (which meant that many needed help in choosing their candidates and sometimes voter's secrecy was not respected), voting took place in the utmost calm and with the most impressive levels of professionalism on the part of the CEI in most provinces. In North and South Kivu, the general feeling was that people were intent on making what they regarded as "their" process a complete success. Most international and national observers commented positively on the outcome.

The challenges today, however, remain enormous. It is unclear whether the second round of elections – now planned for the 29th October - will be carried out in the same serenity, nor whether the final outcome will be deemed legitimate and credible by a population tired and discouraged by years of war and violence. Much investment is still needed in sensitising politicians and local leaders who remain key actors in bringing about change in the long run.

Structural problems such as the unification of the national army, the demobilisation and reintegration of soldiers, as well as the physical reconstruction of the country and the investment in public services will have to remain high on the agenda. More importantly, working together to create bottom-up systems of governance that can legitimate and sustain a responsible and peaceful leadership in the long run will remain one of LPI's and its partners' main priorities in the coming years.

Alexandra Bilak

Health and security threatened by conflicts

Health and security has not been a usual combination of words but have recently been connected, and with reason. The problems that people living with HIV/AIDS are facing are well known. We know about the violence against girls and women in civil and military conflicts. We are aware of the possible consequences of global pandemics such as avian flu. This article touches upon the concepts of health and security, and especially HIV/AIDS and its linkages to human security issues.

The concept of security is changing; threats are new or are presenting themselves in new forms. The threats can be distant and difficult to define, although they can cause widespread fear or affect the basic functions of society. Human security is a wider concept than military security; it is a broader concept than just the absence of violence.

Human security consists of physical safety and of economic well-being, social inclusion, and the full exercise of human rights. The reasons for insecurity at the most basic level often relate to merely daily survival. Access to basic services, including health services, can be considered part of human rights and part of human security. Human security complements state security; it is not opposed to it.

Human security enhances human rights and human development. It also stresses the importance of acting in a preventive fashion, not only because it is more humane, but also because it is more effective in achieving stable solutions. In fact, it has been stated that the best protection of human security is a democratic state, where citizens can influence the decisions affecting their everyday life and surroundings. Human security is not achieved by states alone, but also in dynamic collaboration between governments, civil society, communities and businesses.

Human security is not isolated in one state alone, security threats cross borders. There is a need to work across borders in order to reach the common purpose of human security. Every state has a responsibility to protect every person in its territory, but the responsibility to protect people extends globally. If governments fail to meet their responsibility, others must act to protect the safety and rights of people.

The people at highest risk of human security threats are usually the least powerful members of any society - the poor, marginalised and excluded. Governments tend to "under-insure" the less privileged against high probability human security risks. We need policies and actions to reduce the risks of the most vulnerable especially. Effective human security policy-making starts by asking who is at risk and what are the greatest threats facing them. We also need democratic empowerment, and to give voice to those who are excluded from decision-making or are socially marginalised.

Health and security

Good health is both essential and instrumental to achieving human security. There has been a clear progress in human health during the last century, but the improvements are very unevenly distributed, and it seems that the inequalities are again widening. The World Health Organisation estimates that still more than 40 percent of the over 50 million annual deaths in the world could be prevented. Many of these deaths are linked to poverty. Poverty, like conflict, contributes to epidemics and blocks people's access to health care. Illness, in turn, contributes to family poverty, and prevents children's education and adults from working.

Good health is for most people a valuable aim in itself, but it is also a means to achieve human security.

Good health is both essential and instrumental to achieving human security.

Good health enables good functioning - at work, at school, at home. Good health expands your freedom and choices in life and forms your future



All concerted efforts are necessary to alleviate the effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Thusanang is a programme for home nursing in Zimbabwe, engaging many volunteers. Thusanang from the Sotho language means "Let us help one another". Photo: Morgan Ahlberg/IKON

in many ways. Good health is said to be a precondition for social stability.

Thus, the interconnections between health and security are deep and long-standing. But you need to remember that not all health issues are directly linked to human security, and human security issues do not cover all aspects of human health.

Health and military security are directly linked. Military security has strong health dimensions. Battles have been won by diseases rather than arms, and maintaining the health of the combatants has been an important element in military preparedness. Troop movements have spread infectious diseases.

Social insecurity

Health systems always suffer during conflicts. Poor access to services, lack of medicines and lack of or internal migration of trained personnel are seen in and often before conflicts. Conflicts cause a lack of food and even famine, and large population movements bring along health problems, both physical and mental. One needs to remember that disease also creates social conditions that lead to instability and conflict.

The health impacts on certain essential human security issues, such as violence against women and children in armed conflicts and human trafficking, need some further elaboration. Violence that afflicts men is usually public violence of criminality and political conflict, while the violence that women suffer often is more private. Women suffer much of their pain and lasting injuries in silence because – especially in war situations – violence against women is meant to humiliate the enemy and intimidate the victim.

A good example of the correlation between human insecurity and powerlessness is the effect of armed conflicts on children. Children are robbed of their secure and familiar environment and are prone to e.g. malnutrition and preventable diseases. Recruitment of children as soldiers has long-lasting effects and may harm them for life.

Among migrants (refugees, guest workers, new immigrants and internally displaced people) the most vulnerable are the victims of human trafficking,

which is a violent assault on human security. The sex trade, bride trafficking, selling babies for adoption, trafficking for domestic or military service, trafficking for organ transplants – all forms of human trafficking have either direct or indirect health impacts.

Health on the military agenda

In our days, the possibility of biological weapons has caused alarm and put health matters on the military agenda. Bioterrorism has also raised fears among the general public and those responsible for state security. Global epidemics – among them HIV/AIDS – bring insecurity in all countries of the world. Sudden outbreaks of contagious diseases or other health crises can destabilise an entire society.

Humanitarian emergencies, conflicts and poverty cause illness, injury, disability and death. These critical pervasive threats imbalance the vital core of human security, which is formed from a balance of survival, livelihood and dignity.

In the control of all global infectious diseases, coordination between poor and rich countries is essential. Global population moves and the identification of infected individuals needs concerted efforts and strict adherence to agreed control and surveillance mechanisms. International cooperation is required for the effective monitoring, control and eradication of infectious diseases, to prevent further outbreaks and decrease transmission both within and between countries.

Poor people repeatedly express fears about multiple insecurities of everyday life: the loss of a job bringing along economic insecurity, local violence, sickness and untimely death are among their fears. For the poor, sickness can deprive an entire family of daily wages. Illness of the mother can have devastating effects on children, depriving them of their secured childhood, forcing them to quit school and earn wages too early in their lives. Hunger – caused by unemployment, conflicts or disease – is a strong factor for increasing insecurity in poor families.

The health dimensions of conflict are multifaceted, emergency medical demands as well as long-term health impacts. The scale of deaths due to conflicts can escalate dramatically through indirect impacts on society – health, education, environment and livelihood. Natural disasters are also major threats to health and human security worldwide. These unexpected catastrophes can devastate families and communities, especially in poverty stricken environments.

HIV/AIDS is one of the major issues threatening security globally and especially in Africa.

HIV/AIDS and security

The HIV-epidemic affects all countries and cultures, and all people regardless of income level. However, the biggest burden of HIV/AIDS is carried by the poorest regions of the world and the poorest people in them. Sub-Saharan Africa has suffered most from the HIV pandemic. It has been predicted that the next wave of the epidemic concerns some of the most populous countries in the world, such as China, India, Nigeria, Ethiopia and the Russian Federation. The epidemic spreads differently in each of these countries and the ways to control it need to be different. A common factor is, however, that HIV/AIDS affects the human and economic stability of all nations where the epidemic is rampant.

There have been some global statements regarding HIV/AIDS and security during the past five years. The UN Security Council discussed a health issue for the first time in 2000, and noted in its following resolution the devastating effect of the HIV pandemic and its special nature in conditions of violence and instability. When the normal social safety nets and control mechanisms are broken and there are large movements of people, the risks for HIV-exposure increase. Simultaneously, there is usually reduced access to medical services during conflict. The UN resolution specifically brought up a worry about the impact of HIV/AIDS on peacekeeping personnel and demanded that HIV/AIDS prevention awareness be an essential part of the skills training given to peacekeeping forces.

The UN High-Level Panel on Challenges, Threats and Change, which prepared a thorough report on global security issues (*A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*) in 2004, highlighted HIV/AIDS as one of the major issues threatening security globally and especially in Africa. It also noted that the long-term effect of the pandemic is still obscure. HIV/AIDS experts have stated that much more research is needed on the factors that contribute to HIV transmission in the military and during conflict situations.

We need to study and identify the different patterns of HIV infection found among uniformed services, including military defence, civil defence and peacekeepers. For instance, what factors determine the level and pattern of HIV-infection in the army? Does this differ from other uniformed forces? We also need to know how the HIV-pandemic affects the national security policies and military budgets, and regional organisations undertaking peacekeeping missions. Research is also needed in determining:

- Whether an armed conflict is always a driver of HIV prevalence, or HIV prevalence is in fact lower in conflict situations?

- What are the mechanisms, which in post-conflict situations increase the risk of becoming HIV-infected?
- What are the links between complex humanitarian emergencies and HIV-transmission? What happens to vulnerable populations?
- What are the gender aspects of conflict situations and HIV-transmission?
- What are the human rights links in correlation to testing and counselling, who gets access to care and treatment?
- How can we integrate HIV/AIDS into security sector reforms, programmes and action plans?

HIV/AIDS in the army

Why do we need to be concerned about HIV/AIDS in the military? Because 1) soldiers are people; 2) soldiers can be important drivers of the epidemic; 3) armies are a good entry point for HIV/AIDS programmes; and 4) the military should guarantee national security. We know that the HIV rates in armies are highly variable: some armies have higher and some have lower HIV prevalence rates than the civil population. Also there is no single pattern for AIDS in the armed forces. However, we know more about AIDS in the army than in other forms of uniformed services, e.g. police. Most armies have been secretive about the levels of HIV – as with many other things regarding the armed forces, as part of national (state) security. Do we know enough about unsafe sexual behaviour among young men and women, who are away from their families?

Policies and practices on HIV and AIDS in the uniformed services bring along several unanswered or problematic issues and dilemmas, which need to be considered before the HIV-programmes for the army are agreed upon. What are the preventive methods used, does the army treat its HIV-positives in the military medical system or does it rely on civilian medical care? Can the army speak about harm reduction measures? What about women in the army? What are the army's obligations to its AIDS orphans? If HIV testing is mandatory, what happens after a positive result, can a permanent staff member be sacked? Is there stigmatisation of the positives and how do the army or police forces react to that?

Young recruits and de-mobililized personnel can be effective agents for change. What experiences are there on this? Does a high level of awareness lead to behavioural change?

We know that most of the risk indicators for HIV vulnerability in the civil population rise sharply in conflicts. Lack of food and livelihood may force women to barter sex for survival or money to help their relatives away from the conflict area. Health services deteriorate, so that the victims of violence are not able to get the help they need, people who fall ill do not get their treatment, and health promotion activities are put to halt. Sexual violence is rampant, not only by the armed forces on the civil population, but also among the civil population at large. Dependence, power and authority are strong driving forces in people's behaviour.

HIV/AIDS and refugees

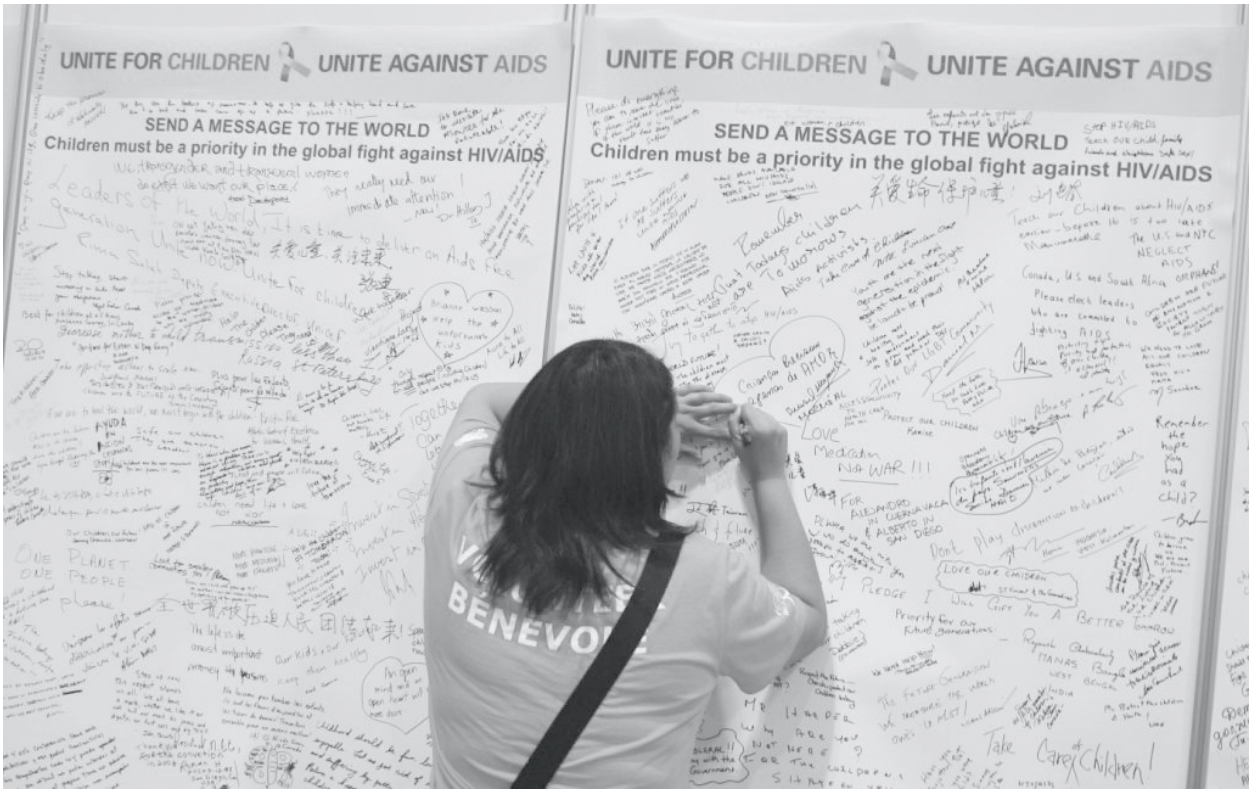
We need more information regarding the HIV transmission patterns and vulnerability of refugees and internally displaced people. Many refugee populations seem to have a relatively low prevalence of HIV, while post-conflict situations have been identified as periods of high risk for accelerated HIV transmission. How can we specify the different components of this elevated risk and protect the vulnerable refugees?

The UN and EU organisations involved in humanitarian activities have prepared guidelines for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in emergency situations. All actors doing humanitarian work should familiarise themselves with these guidelines and follow them as relevant to their work. The UN Security Council has, in its recent resolution from April 2006, strongly condemned all sexual and other forms of violence against civilians in armed conflicts and stressed that peace support operations must prevent such violence. The UN peacekeeping forces must not in any circumstances get involved in sexual exploitation, abuse or trafficking of women and children. UN peacekeeping forces often have AIDS-advisers, but there is a clear need to increase knowledge on sexually transmitted infections, gender, and injected drugs to name a few core issues.

Gender issues are closely linked with AIDS and security. Wartime and military institutions promote masculine roles, which places both men and women in risk of unsafe and risky behaviour regarding HIV. Rape is used as a weapon in war. It is considered a war crime and hopefully the increased "publicity" that systematic abuse of women during war and conflicts has received can help make it less frequent and less tolerated by those who supervise the armed forces. The rape victims are heavily stigmatised and excluded in many cultures. The women face impoverishment, and if rape brings along an HIV-infection, the stigma is increased.

From what we know so far peer education is a tool that has not been sufficiently utilized in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Greater involvement of people living with HIV/AIDS, provision of condoms and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases have also been proven effective. But we still need to know more about knowledge, attitudes and practices that shape people's perceptions and behaviour. More research is needed on links between HIV/AIDS and security. Presumptions and anecdotal evidence is not enough.

Gisela Blumenthal



A volunteer signs her name to UNICEF "Unite for Children, Unite Against AIDS" solidarity banner at the Global Village at the XVI International AIDS Conference. Photo: UNAIDS/J. Ross

Build an alliance for HIV-prevention

– Faced with this exceptional crisis, we have no choice but to act in exceptional ways.

With these words of caution UNAIDS Executive Director Dr. Peter Piot addressed the plenary of the XVI International AIDS Conference, held during a week in August in Toronto, Canada. A colourful ceremony welcomed an estimated 24,000 participants from more than 170 countries. The opening session began with welcome remarks by Aboriginal, national, provincial and city officials from Canada, followed by plenary remarks from Frika Chia Iskandar, a young woman from Indonesia living with HIV/AIDS, who has actively campaigned against HIV-related stigma.

In his plenary address entitled AIDS: The Next 25 Years, Peter Piot called for a long-term, sustained response to AIDS. This forward looking approach was to be a key focus for UNAIDS at the conference.

– We must acknowledge that long-term sustainability does not mean five or ten years, but twenty-five years and more. We must anticipate the future in our planning and action, because for generations to come, ours will continue to be a world living with HIV, he said.

UNAIDS also focused heavily on the need to rapidly intensify global HIV prevention efforts. Despite recent evidence of reduced HIV prevalence in some countries, in 2005 there were still 4.1 million new HIV infections with over 40 percent of new adult infections occurring among people aged 15-24. According to latest estimates, HIV prevention services reach only one in ten of those in need.

In response to the need to rapidly increase the size and scale of prevention programmes globally, UNAIDS joined with civil society, treatment activists, private sector and governments to call for 'out of the ordinary partnerships' to intensify HIV prevention efforts and mobilize an alliance for HIV prevention.

– There is an urgent need to build on good work already taking place and mobilize an alliance for HIV prevention that goes 'beyond the converted' involving more than 'the usual suspects', and with strong links to HIV treatment activism, said UNAIDS Executive Director.

– We need an alliance that is united by commitment to the goal of saving lives, even if we may have different tactics. We need an alliance that draws in the best and brightest minds of our generations, and that is a partnership between governments, people living with HIV, the most vulnerable groups, civil society, faith-based organizations, business and international institutions, he said.

Religious dimensions of peace agreements

The nexus between religion and armed conflict has received a significant amount of attention by policy-makers, academics, and NGOs alike as a result of recent events unfolding on both the international stage and within countries embroiled in civil wars. Therefore, an exploration of this relationship is especially timely and relevant.

Religion is a central factor in the development as well as the settlement of intrastate conflict and must be taken into consideration in the pursuit of sustainable peace. Indeed, a debate currently exists among academics and practitioners surrounding the link between religion and conflict, which raises issues such as whether the religious characteristics of societies contribute to the likelihood that armed conflicts will be initiated, whether religious conflicts escalate more frequently and through different dynamics than other types of conflicts, and the positive role played by religious agents such as faith-based third parties in armed conflicts.[1]

Yet two important shortcomings of this discussion can be identified. First, the debate focuses almost exclusively on religious conflicts as situations in which groups from different religions engage in violence towards one another. However, this comprises only one aspect of how religion influences armed conflict. For a more comprehensive image of the relationship between religion and conflict, it is also important to examine situations in which belligerent parties make incompatible claims that contain a religious dimension, that is, when the issues over which the parties are fighting are religious in nature. For example, parties may demand the establishment of religious laws and legislation. Despite their significance, the religious dimensions of conflict incompatibilities have received little attention in previous research. Second, previous research explores the conditions under which religion is a cause of conflict, as opposed to how and why religion infuses possibilities for conflict resolution.[2]

The Uppsala Program on Religion and Conflict aims to address these shortcomings and increase knowledge of the ways in which religion may be used as a tool for conflict transformation and peacebuilding. To do so, it attempts to forge connections among scholars in different research institutions who share a common interest in the interrelationships among religion, conflict, and peace. Guided by a steering committee from Uppsala University, the Church of Sweden, and the Life & Peace Institute (LPI), the program is a platform for various interdisciplinary research and publication initiatives that highlight new perspectives on religion and conflict.[3]

One such research initiative was undertaken in the fall of 2005 by Isak Svensson, a Ph.D. Candidate at the Uppsala University Department of Peace and Conflict Research. He was assisted by two interns from LPI, Lisa Minnhagen and Lindsey Weber. This project culminated in a paper, *Rebellion, Religion and Resolution: Exploring the Religious Dimensions of Peace Agreements*, in the spring of 2006.[4] The paper contributes significantly to the accumulation of knowledge regarding the relationship between religion and intrastate conflict, especially as it relates to peace agreements and post-conflict peacebuilding.

Identity and incompatibility

Cases such as the struggle to create a constitution in Iraq illustrate the importance of addressing or regulating religion in post-conflict contexts. However, very little is known about the different forms of such regulation in armed conflicts. Some scholars argue that religious dimensions of conflicts make them more intractable and less amenable to resolution.[5] Given that the religious dimensions of conflict may complicate resolution efforts, it is particularly interesting to examine the exceptions to this trend, or the cases in which religious issues are actually addressed by primary parties themselves. Of particular interest are the general conditions under which parties' religious dimensions are incorporated into peace agreements, and the types of regulation or conflict resolution mechanisms found in peace settlements.

Religion may be an important aspect of all armed conflicts. However, there is substantial variation in how religion is actually related to conflicts. In order to investigate this relationship, it is necessary to distinguish among the various types of conflicts. An armed conflict is defined by the Uppsala Conflict Database as a contested

incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory, where the use of armed force between the two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle related deaths in one calendar year. This definition consists of three fundamental elements: the parties, the fact that they are fighting each other, and the stated incompatibility. Accordingly, religion may play out in three distinct ways in relation to these three elements.[6]

First, religion may be part of the identity formation process if the belligerents' identities break down along religious lines. In this regard, religion creates and upholds separate identities between the parties, based on a sense of common history or belonging with a distinct group. Second, religion may also be part of the incompatibility, whereby parties' explicit demands relate to religious issues. However, including religious issues in conflicts does not automatically imply that the causes of conflict are also religious. Elites may simply take advantage of religious sentiments among the population to mobilize support.[7]

Third and related to this point, religion may be a component of the conflict mobilization process, as religious actors lend their support to one side or another. Religious symbols and language may be used to discredit the opposing party, or to create a sense of righteousness for a cause. Religious mobilization may even be used in conflicts that are not religious in any other way.[8]

Thus, the two central aspects of religion in armed conflicts are: religion as part of a group identity and religion as part of an incompatibility. The relation of these two aspects to one another enable the categorization of four types of conflicts: 1) a religious issue and dissimilarity conflict has a religious dimension in the incompatibility and different religious traditions between the parties; 2) a religious issue conflict has a religious dimension in the incompatibility and similar religious tradition between the parties; 3) a religious dissimilarity conflict has no religious dimension in the incompatibility and different religious traditions between the parties; and 4) all other types of conflicts have no religious dimension in the incompatibility and similar religious traditions between the parties.[9]

Types of agreements

The regulation of religion in peace agreements is possible in each of the four different types of religious conflicts and is relatively common across all countries and regions. The agreements also include both government and territorial incompatibilities and are dispersed over an expansive time period. The agreements signed before and after the events of September 11th are equal in number and character, which may be counter-intuitive given the discernable increased presence of religious issues in the popular consciousness after 2001.

An additional factor that must be investigated is the type of peace agreement that addresses the role of religion, as this may impact the way in which religion is regulated as well as overall conflict resolution. The vast majority of agreements for conflicts that provide religious regulation are comprehensive peace agreements, which are inclusive agreements signed by all parties that address central issues or incompatibilities.

A significant number of conflicts contain one or a succession of peace process agreements that outline the evolution of the peace process, culminating in comprehensive peace agreements. Examples include the agreements for the conflicts in Guatemala, Mozambique, and Papua New Guinea. Importantly, the comprehensive peace agreements addressed the incompatibilities in each of these conflicts and fighting has not resumed.

Religious conflicts can be, and are, regulated in peace agreements.

In the latter, the 1991 *Honiara Declaration* and the 1994 *Honiara Commitments to Peace* specify an end to the conflict and implement a ceasefire on Bougainville Island but do not determine the outcome of the incompatibility. Instead, they present phased arrangements for the restoration of peace. The 2001 comprehensive *Bougainville Peace Agreement* includes previous decisions and resolves the incompatibility, with a constitution that contains specific religious regulation.

The peace agreements are measured on a dyadic level; a dyad consists of two parties to a conflict, and there may be several dyads within one conflict. The agreements for Afghanistan and the Philippines (Mindanao) are dyadic peace agreements, signed by some but not all parties. The parties that did not sign may be withholding their support for the peace process, do not desire an inclusive consensus for self-interested reasons, or only became active after the agreement was signed. The existence of dyadic peace agreements alone in Afghanistan reinforces the pervasive nature of the conflict. The 1993 *Islamabad* and *Jalalabad Agreements* include the Government of Afghanistan and multiple warring factions, and the *Mahipar Agreement* of 1996 is signed by the Government and Hezb-I-Islami, but not the Taliban. Certain provisions of the latter agreement were implemented, yet the Taliban forcefully ousted the coalition government in late 1996, and civil war continues.

Religious conflicts can be, and are, regulated in peace agreements. Out of the twenty-one agreements in conflicts that display religious incompatibilities,

nine agreements contain religious regulation. Explicit religious regulation also occurs in each of the four types of conflict outlined above. For instance, the conflicts in Sudan (Southern Sudan) and Philippines (Mindanao) are religious issue and dissimilarity conflicts. Religious dissimilarity conflicts are found in the dyad of Fatah versus the Israeli government and the Irish Republican Army versus the British Government.

The conflicts in Afghanistan and Tajikistan are religious issue conflicts, and in these conflicts at least one of the parties in each dyad either demands the creation of an Islamic state or the unification of the country under Islamic principles. Additional dyads in conflicts in Indonesia (Aceh), Mali, Algeria, Ethiopia and Eritrea exhibit similar characteristics but have not resolved their conflicts with similar peace agreements. Finally, the conflicts in Angola, Comoros, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Guatemala, Mexico, and Papua New Guinea do not have religious identity aspects or religious incompatibilities, yet contain religious regulation in their respective peace agreements.

Religion in peace agreements

The existence of religious regulation in peace agreements for conflicts with and without religious incompatibilities raises the question of how this is achieved. An in-depth analysis of the types of religious regulation reveals a myriad of conflict resolution mechanisms within the four types of conflict.

In terms of religious issue and dissimilarity conflicts, specific conflict resolution mechanisms relate to opportunities and tools for religious groups, monetary policy, the legal system, religious freedoms and non-discrimination, religious customs and traditions, territorial provisions, and education. Examples feature prominently in the succession of agreements that comprise the 2005 *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* for Sudan. Detailed rights are described that provide the opportunities and tools for religious groups to function as part of the society, yet maintain their distinctive religious traditions. These include the right to worship or assemble in connection with religion and establish or maintain places for this practice, make, acquire and use necessary articles and materials related to rites, and observe days of rest and holiday in accordance with religious beliefs.

Religious mobilization may even be used in conflicts that are not religious in any other way.

A further conflict resolution mechanism relates to monetary policy and religious law through both a dual banking and legal system. For example, an Islamic banking system operates in Northern Sudan and a conventional banking system in the South. Sharia law applies to people of Islamic faith in Sudan, but the rights of non-Muslims are protected as well. Assurance of religious freedom is also guaranteed, as all personal matters are governed by the religion and custom of those involved.

Similar arrangements exist in the 1996 *Mindanao Final Agreement* of the Philippines regarding the creation of a new Autonomous Region and its Government and an Islamic banking and legal system. Additional conflict resolution mechanisms apply specifically to education in the Autonomous Region; the peace agreement stipulates that the education system will perpetuate Islamic ideals and aspirations with special consideration given to those of Christians and indigenous people.

Conflict resolution mechanisms apparent in religious dissimilarity conflicts address religious freedoms and non-discrimination, access to and protection of religious places, guarantees to ensure religious events and holidays, and the relationship between the state and religion.

For example, the 1998 UK/Northern Ireland *Good Friday Agreement* affirms in particular the right to freedom and expression of religion. Moreover, provisions for access to and protection of religious places or holy sites are apparent in the 1994 *Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area* and the 1997 *Protocol on Redeployment in Hebron* of Israel-Palestine. These agreements also guarantee religious events and holidays.

In Macedonia, the incompatibility between the National Liberation Army and the Macedonian government concerns the issue of constitutional reform as a way to achieve improved rights for the Albanian ethnic group. The *Ohrid Agreement* prohibits religious actors from dominating the state by ensuring the separation of the government and religion and by instituting the equality of all religious communities before the law.

Unity and diversity

Religious issue conflicts contain conflict resolution mechanisms related to defining the relationship between the state and religion, regulations for the powers and duties of the leader, the legal system, and the basis for country unification. In Afghanistan, the 1993 *Islamabad Accord* and 1996 *Mahipar Agreement* establish a self-reliant Islamic welfare state and implement measures to ensure Islamic morality. In contrast to the agreements of the Sudan and the Philippines, the peace agreements for Afghanistan pertain to conflicts in which the side desirous of an Islamic state reached its demand. The peace agreements for Sudan and the Philippines regulate a conflict between two different religions and stipulate that Sharia law be imposed on the Muslim population in a specific geographic area of the country. In Afghanistan, the dyads in conflict share the same general religion, and the Islamic regulations

give directions for the entire population of the country.

Despite similar origins to the conflict in Afghanistan, the peace agreement in Tajikistan prioritizes the equality of all citizens as nationals of Tajikistan rather than a country united by Islamic principles, which was the demand by the rebel group. It provides guidance for the entire population, yet emphasizes diversity rather than homogeneity under Islamic law.

Conflict resolution mechanisms in peace agreements for conflicts without religious identity aspects or religious incompatibilities include regulations against using religion as a mobilizing factor, the establishment of a Council of Elders and Religious Leaders or a National Assembly as part of post-agreement conflict resolution, the participation of faith-based actors to the implementation of the agreement, and indigenous rights.

For example, the agreements for Mozambique and Burundi contain regulations against using religion as a mobilizing factor. In addition, several peace agreements explicitly mention the inclusion of faith-based actors as part of civil society's contribution to the peace process. The 2001 *Bougainville Peace Agreement* of Papua New Guinea provides for the contribution of churches to the implementation of the agreement and governing structures. The 1999 *Lusaka Accord* for the Democratic Republic of the Congo also calls for the inclusion of religious actors in the peace process. Certain peace agreements define specific institutional mechanisms for the involvement of faith-based actors. For example, the 1999 *Lomé Peace Agreement* for Sierra Leone creates a Council of Elders and Religious Leaders as part of post-agreement conflict resolution.

Of particular interest, the multitude of agreements for Guatemala and the 1996 *San Andres Accords* for Mexico give special consideration to indigenous rights in terms of the protection of sacred sites and ceremonial areas used for religious purposes in connection with nature. Here the term "spiritual" is substituted for "religious", an obvious attempt to acknowledge the unique characteristics of indigenous culture and beliefs that were previously marginalized by the predominantly Catholic Central American countries. This conflict resolution mechanism is crucial, as the centrality of nature to indigenous culture is linked to the protection of natural resources and land rights that were historically exploited by the government. The detailed arrangements in the peace agreements provide a modicum of autonomy for the indigenous populations, yet ensure that their rights are incorporated into the structure and function of the state.

Conclusions

The study reveals several important findings for both policy and the theoretical debate surrounding the topical issue of religion and conflict. First and most importantly, it illustrates that parties in armed conflicts are able to regulate the religious dimensions of armed conflicts through peace agreements. It moderates the belief that conflicts with religious issues are inherently irresolvable. This is a hopeful sign.

Second, this study moderates the picture of Islamic conflicts as unsuitable for conflict resolution. Islam is the most frequently regulated religion in the peace agreements explored. Alone or with others it is regulated in eleven agreements, including those of Sudan, Comoros, the Philippines, Macedonia and Afghanistan. Conversely, Christianity is regulated in three peace agreements: Papua New Guinea, the Philippines and Macedonia.

There are many possible reasons why Islam is regulated more frequently, two of which merit further discussion. In a majority of the conflicts with a religious incompatibility, both resolved and unresolved, one of the parties is an Islamic group that desires an Islamic state. An additional reason is that according to certain interpretations Islam does not separate religion and the state, asserting that Islam is simultaneously a religion and a form of governance. It thereby follows that if the society is regulated, the religion is as well.

Third, this study highlights the potential dilemmas between different policy goals that do not necessarily complement one another: to achieve democracy and freedom, or to manage the conflict and achieve peace. For example, defining a state religion as in the Afghanistan peace agreements may help to settle the incompatibility between the parties but may also imply less religious freedom for some individuals in the country. The conflict resolution mechanisms identified in this study do not necessarily generate conditions that are favourable to plurality and democratic government.

Therefore, the existence of religious regulation in peace agreements contributes a new perspective to the discussion surrounding the relationship between religion and armed conflicts, with an emphasis upon the ways in which religion may be used as a tool for conflict transformation and peace-building.

Lindsey Weber

[1] Isak Svensson, Lisa Minnhagen and Lindsey Weber (2006) *Rebellion, Religion and Resolution: Exploring the Religious Dimensions of Peace Agreements*.
[2] The Uppsala Program on Religion and Conflict, retrieved from http://www.religionandconflict.net on August 23, 2006.
[3] The Uppsala Program on Religion and Conflict, retrieved from http://www.religionandconflict.net on August 23, 2006.
[4] This paper can be found on the Uppsala Program on Religion and Conflict website, http://www.religionandconflict.net/reports.php
[5] I. Svensson (2005) "Fighting in Faith: Issue Indivisibility and Negotiated Settlement of Internal Conflict", *Unpublished Manuscript*, and L. Reychler (1997) "Religion and Conflict", *The International Journal of Peace Studies*, 2 (1)
[6] I. Svensson (2005) "Fighting in Faith: Issue Indivisibility and Negotiated Settlement of Internal Conflict", *Unpublished Manuscript*
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

Military loss – political victory

In modern wars the victory is not won once and for all, as in traditional warfare. A military victory may be won on the battlefield, but in order to reach a political victory, it has to be accompanied by diplomatic talks and political agreements. The saying that there are no winners, only losers in war, can be turned into the opposite, if negotiations lead to sustainable peace between Israel and Lebanon.

Israel hoped for a victory that would be clean, clear and decisive. The modern battlefield and complexities of international relations do not seem able to provide the good old fashioned total victory, like against Nazi Germany or Japan in 1945. Even the American campaign in Iraq with the fall of Saddam is far from a clear victory. Israel was hoping for another Six-Day War in Lebanon. In the end, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) understood that military campaigns are not determined by capturing the next hill. On the modern battlefield where armies face guerrilla warriors, capturing the next hill is a lot easier than holding on to it. Israel's biggest casualties in this war were battles for the same hills that were already captured only a day or two before. Decisive military victories are not so easy to achieve anymore, and in the end, it is the use of other items in the international relations "tool box" that determine whether or not military campaigns pay off.

War is only one part of the battle to change the political realities on the ground. Wars often create new political and diplomatic opportunities. In the aftermath of the Six-Day War Israel announced that it was waiting for a phone call from the Arab leaders to exchange territories for peace. King Hussein did call, but he demanded everything, including East Jerusalem, and Israel said no. Sadat's attempts to reach out diplomatically were also rejected, stating that "Sharm el Sheikh without peace is preferable to peace without Sharm el Sheikh", and Israel ended up with the Yom Kippur War. In the end the Yom Kippur War was a huge military victory, but the price paid, economically and in blood, was much too heavy to bear. The political opportunities created then were the Sadat visit to Jerusalem and the Israeli-Egyptian peace.

Victory for Israel must be claimed in the political outcome in Lebanon.

The Lebanon war of 1982 was another huge military victory for Israel. The Israel Defense Forces swept through Lebanon, occupied Beirut, and expelled the PLO from Lebanon. But it also gave birth to Hezbollah and to 18 years of bloody and painful occupation of southern Lebanon. Israel's rush to put an end to the Lebanese fiasco led to the unilateral withdrawal that gave birth to the first Palestinian intifada.

The first intifada led to the political opportunities of the Madrid and Oslo processes, but these were not sufficient to produce an end-game acceptable enough to both sides to put an end to the conflict. Vis-à-vis the Palestinians, Israel returned to the use of warfare with the second intifada. Militarily, Israel had no problems re-conquering all of the Palestinian territories, but that did not give Israel a decisive victory over the enemy, and at least politically they find themselves in an unbearable stalemate waiting for the next round, be it military or political.

Claiming victory

Israel's fighting ability and technology far overpowers that of Hezbollah, yet Hezbollah is able to present itself as the winner despite the significant blows that it received and the great losses of life and property. While Nasser also declared victory in 1967, Hezbollah's claims of victory are significantly different from those of Nasser. In the aftermath of this war it will be important for Hezbollah to continue to retain its ability to claim victory, which will be the best guarantee that the next round will not happen.

Israel too needs to be able to declare victory. It seems that with all of the criticism against the army, the generals,

and the politicians who made the tactical decisions in this war, it will be difficult for most Israelis to feel that they won militarily. Victory for Israel must be claimed in the political outcome in Lebanon. Israel has a direct interest in the full implementation of UN Resolution 1701 and should do everything possible to ensure full cooperation towards that goal.

All attention must now be placed on working with all of the parties, especially the Government of Lebanon, which now has to send its forces to the south at the same time that Israel pulls back to the international border. For Israel, political victory can be claimed if the Government of Lebanon becomes the main victor of this war. Lebanese Prime Minister Fouad Siniora has emerged as one of the main important players and one of the hopes for Lebanon. His emotions and commitment to a strong Lebanon are admirable, and Israeli leaders should learn not to mock those with whom we should now work to achieve real peace.

Israel should be interested in a strong Lebanese government. Israel should want to negotiate with that Government. Israel should state clearly that it wants to negotiate the prisoner exchange with the Government of Lebanon as well as the future of the Shebaa farms. Victory will come for both Israel and Lebanon, if down the road Israeli-Lebanese peace will be reached - not on the battlefront, but in the political and diplomatic arena.

Gershon Baskin

Christian voices:
- Real peace must be built

"Why such awful destruction?" was the question heard over and over again by members of an ecumenical pastoral delegation in relation to Israel's attacks on Lebanon.

Entrusted by the WCC, a delegation with representatives from the Conference of European Churches (CEC), the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) visited Beirut and Jerusalem in August this year. Their mission was to express global ecumenical solidarity with churches and people affected by the conflict in the Middle East.

The delegation wished to strongly affirm what representatives of Lebanon's different communities had shared with them about the over-riding value of the multi-cultural and multi-confessional nature of their society. For the community leaders, this represents a guarantee for peace. They noted that Lebanese of all religious faiths - Christians and Muslims, both Sunni and Shi'ia - had remained firmly unified despite the enormously divisive pressures of the war.

The second message members of the delegation brought back was that it is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and not the role and actions of Hezbollah that is at the heart of the present crisis. Nevertheless, the delegation reported that all religious leaders with whom they spoke condemned all use of indiscriminate violence from whatever source, including Hezbollah.

In Jerusalem, the delegation heard both the chief rabbi and the chief judge of the Islamic court separately voicing the same negative perceptions of each other's communities. "They have no compassion for their children", both men had declared. Another view the delegation also heard expressed was that the idea of permanent warfare seems to dominate thinking in the Middle East, and that there is a need for all thinking in the region to be demilitarized.

Although perceptions of "the other" bode ill for the ability to return together to the negotiating table and overcome mutual distrust and grief, members of the delegation said that they had also heard many church leaders voicing concern about how people can remove the hatred from their hearts and learn to live together as neighbours.

A message signed by the general secretaries of the WCC, CEC, LWF, and WARC concludes: "In the light of all that they tell us, we shall during the next weeks reflect prayerfully and urgently together on the contribution which the churches can make in furthering the cause of peace in the Middle East."

The Catholic peace movement Pax Christi International has in a message to the United Nations (UN) sent out a call for a new peace process in the Middle East. Pax Christi International has a Special Consultative Status with the UN and urges it to make a long term and active commitment to peace in the region. "It is high time that the UN implements its resolutions pertaining to the Middle East conflict. The peace movement is calling all members of the UN Security Council to seek a long lasting political solution to the conflict that is based on justice and respect for human rights", says the message.

Pax Christi International promotes the idea of an international conference for security and cooperation with all parties to the conflict involved, "as real peace must be built, not one that is manifested only in the absence of war".

Along with its 95 member organisations worldwide Pax Christi International will continue to pray for peace and raise awareness about the root causes of the Arab/Israel conflict.

LPI News

LPI engaged in Timor Leste

"Towards a new Timor Leste: The shared responsibility of religious institutions" was the theme of an inter-faith conference arranged in Baucau on June 20-23 by LPI, Christian Conference of Asia, and Progressio (formerly Catholic Institute of International Relations).

Runo Bergström, representing LPI at the conference, reports about high expectations on the religions communities. Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr José Ramos Horta, stressed the importance of cooperation between the communities and the government. NGOs and religious communities have a very important role to play and should be supported by the Government in many sectors where they do, and can do, an important job.

On the second day of the conference, the three religious groups were given opportunities to explain more about their stands in the future cooperation for peace and democracy. Father Martinho G da Silva from the Catholic Diocese of Baucau gave an historic review of the Catholic involvement in the struggle and compassion for the poor in different societies. He stressed that we must show our values with our actions, and that there is a need to know more about the plans of the Government for future actions.

Mr Abdullah Said Sagran, Representative of the Muslim Society in East Timor, explained the Islam values and stated that the Muslim society, just like the Christian society, wants to contribute to the peace process. On the issue of terrorists, Mr Abdullah declared that they were using religion for their own purposes and did not follow the rules of Islam.

The former Bishop of Oslo for the Church of Norway, Gunnar Stålsett, in the country to assist in the peace process on behalf of the Timorese and Norwegian Governments, was also invited to the conference and offered a speech. Bishop Stålsett, for many years a member of the Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee, pointed out that one must listen to the different parts in the conflict, analyze the result and act on the basis of the analysis. "Very often we do not listen, or analyze, we just act." Bishop Stålsett encouraged the cooperation in the Inter-faith Conference.

Mr Pat Walsh, Government Advisor for East Timor (Australia), stressed the serious situation in East Timor. The population is losing confidence in itself and in the institutions. It is now a job for the churches to contribute to rebuilding confidence. He suggested that an Interfaith Task Force should be established.

Following a day of group discussions on issues like nationalism, institutional crisis, displacement, unemployment, arms, poverty and discrimination, the conference concluded on June 23.



A delegation from Congo Brazzaville visited LPI in Uppsala in July to discuss possible collaboration in the programme for demobilisation of former combatants. From left Ambassador André Hombessa, Mme Antoinette Kebi, Coordinator of the conflict prevention programme, and Mr Michel NGakala, High Commissioner for the reintegration of excombatants. Photo: Tore Samuelsson/LPI

Book fair seminars

LPI offers three mini-seminars and a book display at the Göteborg Book Fair September 21-24. The theme of the book fair is Freedom of Expression. LPI has chosen seminar topics that deal with reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda, peace education, and research regarding the role of religion and conflict and peacebuilding.

New Sudan books

Local Structure in Sudan – a base for building civil society for the promotion of peace and reconciliation is the title of a new book in LPI's Horn of Africa Report series.

The original research was commissioned by LPI and carried out in the late 1990s by the author, Professor Raphael K. Badal, at the University of Khartoum. Taking into account the more recent developments, Dr Yacob Tesfai, Senior Researcher at LPI, suggests in the foreword that there are "very important lessons that are learned from the study which can be used in addressing the problems that arise in the communities affected by conflict".

At the end of 1970 nearly half a million Eritreans and Ethiopians found refuge from war and drought in Eastern Sudan. The Sudan Council of Churches initiated a comprehensive effort in co-operation with, among others, the Swedish Church Relief, to assist the displaced people. At the request of LPI a study of this enterprise was made by Damas Deng A. Ruay. As the author passed away in 1994 the manuscript was left with LPI and has now been published posthumously under the title ***Creating Humanitarian Space – Christian Refugee Work in Sudan in the 1970s and 1980s***.

Peace work in Ethiopia

Professor Ephraim Isaac, Chairman of the Peace and Development Committee (PDC) of Ethiopia, has visited LPI. Dr Isaac, who was a speaker at an international peace conference in Norway, expressed his wish to visit LPI in order to engage in talks for the further strengthening of the newly restarted relations between his organisation in Ethiopia and LPI. It was noted that a PDC project on the study of traditional mediation has been approved by LPI and it is hoped that research will start soon. Dr Isaac underlined the importance of the study as the outcome is to be utilised in the training of elders/community mediators. On his visit to Uppsala, Dr Isaac visited the library of the Nordic Africa Institute and was briefed on the work of the Institute.



At his visit at LPI Uppsala, Dr Ephraim Isaac discussed future collaboration between the Institute and the Committee for Peace and Development, which he chairs. Photo: Tore Samuelsson/LPI

Staff changes



Kristina Lundborg is a new intern at LPI for fall 2006. She has a BA from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.



Ulla Vinterhav, Executive Officer, is temporarily replaced by **Jenny Svensson** during her six months leave of absence and stay in Belgrad, Serbia. Jenny continues part of her work with the project, Publications for Peace Education.

Reviews

Conflict resolution as part of mission

Andrew Kirk: Mission Under Scrutiny. Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2006

Andrew Kirk, a long time member of the LPI Board until his resignation about a year ago, has authored a book entitled Mission Under Scrutiny. Divided into ten chapters, the book treats a variety of themes ranging from freedom, dialogue, postmodernism, pluralism, evangelism to contextualisation, all as related to the main topic. Chapters six and seven are devoted to the themes of conflict and overcoming violence, which are relevant for comments here. Kirk acknowledges his two decades of association with LPI's work has convinced him that "the resolution of conflict and the pursuit of reconciliation are fundamental tasks of mission" (p. viii).

As religions continue to influence human life, the author believes faith bodies do well in committing themselves to tolerance, pluralism and cooperation in peacebuilding, rather

than sticking to extreme stands against each other. Referring to some historical and current events, Kirk indicates that religion can play either a direct or indirect and contributory role in conflicts owing to certain combinations. Religion, he points out, may be a motive for violence when it is connected to territorial understanding or when a certain land is seen as belonging to a certain religion, when religion is tied to a spatial notion of holiness, when a particular location is given supreme significance and seen as having been 'desecrated', or when it is tied to certain ethnic identity and used to further 'sectarian' interests.

Although an ardent supporter of the nonviolent methods of conflict handling and reconciliation, Andrew Kirk, unlike pacifists, sees a role for coercion under certain conditions. He states, "however much one may advocate, and seek to put into practice alternative strategies of nonviolent action, their remain situations where not to choose physical force actually contributes directly to surplus violence" (p.149). While discussing the issues of 'just war' and related issues, Kirk warns against the tendency of power to corrupt and distort principles. In all its points, particularly for those keen on missiology, Andrew Kirk's book brings fresh and inspiring information and interesting reading.

Tarekegn Adebo

From violence to democracy

Violent Conflict and Democracy – Risk and Opportunities. Collegium for Development Studies/Uppsala University, 2006

On April 7-8, 2005, the fourth major conference in a series on democratisation and democracy assistance was arranged jointly by the Collegium for Development Studies and Sida. The chosen theme for the deliberations brought speakers like Marina Ottaway, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington DC, Patricia McFadden, Southern African Research Institute for Policy Studies, Harare, Zimbabwe, and Viva Stavrou from Christian Children´s Fund Angola/ South Africa, to Uppsala, Sweden.

Ottaway's paper "From conflict to formal democracy" draws on four cases: South Africa, Yugoslavia/Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Among the contributions now published in the report are also LPI's reflections on "Bottom-up vs Top-down approaches in peacebuilding" by Johan Svensson, and "The particular case of Somalia" by Johan Svensson and Tarekegn Adebo.

Tore Samuelsson

Business for peace

Local Business, Local Peace: the Peacebuilding Potential of the Domestic Private Sector. Eds. Jessica Banfield, Canan Gündüz, Nick Killick, London, International Alert, 2006.

41 contributors make this 582 page book an impressive global exploration of actors and activities. Local Business, Local Peace deals with responses to conflicts at all levels, including the informal, from grassroots to small and medium-sized enterprises, to large-scale businesses.

Dan Smith, Secretary General at International Alert (IA), points out in the foreword that the book should serve as inspiration for new generations of business leaders to take up the challenge of building peace. He rightly suggests that the publication will also be helpful for development agencies and national governments in terms of developing a better understanding of business and broader economic policy requirements in conflict-affected societies.

The introductory part providing an overview of the project and IA's ambitious research process (see article in New Routes no 2/2004 by Jessica Banfield) is followed by a rich collection of thematic articles. No less than 19 countries are featured in the main section of the book, as case studies.

Local Business, Local Peace is no doubt a valuable contribution to the peacebuilding literature. It will hopefully be recognized and functional in the business sector, and it will certainly also be a useful tool for more inclusive peace processes. The purpose of the book is to provide ideas, strategies and encouragement drawn from experience. Financial support for the research project and the book from big donors like BMZ (Germany), DFID (UK), USAID (USA) and GTZ (Germany) indicates high expectations and commitment to this new complementary track in peacebuilding.

Tore Samuelsson

Powerful actors in weak states

Sasha Lezhnev: Crafting Peace: Strategies to Deal with Warlords in Collapsing States. New York. Oxford: Lexington Books, 2005

The author of this book sees warlords as "powerful actors in weak states who base their control almost solely on rule by force for the overwhelming purpose of personal financial gain and glory rather than mass ideological struggle. They therefore prey on civilians through brutal armed intimidation instead of recruiting them for a greater cause" (p. 2). On a continuum with ideological movement at one end, absolute warlordism stands on the opposite pole, while in-between we have ethnic rights groups (lesser degree of warlordism) and ethnic/ideological faction (significant warlordism).

The book is divided into four main chapters and the last part dealing with conclusion. Chapter one deals with definition and conceptual matters, chapters two and three present cases of warlord violence in Sierra Leone and Tajikistan, and chapter four discusses strategies of dealing with warlordism.

Warlords are seen as a distinct type of actors that must be dealt with in a particular way. Lezhnev concludes, their widespread black-market network, predatory abuse of civilians, and their

selfish motives present unique challenges for conflict resolution. It is a challenge, which is not amenable to 'traditional power-sharing mediation', as this cannot check their drive for personal gains at any cost. As the cases of Sierra Leone and Tajikistan demonstrate, what is needed is a mix of 'short-term coercive measures and long-term state reconstruction policies', which are more effective in neutralising warlordism.

The book should have made a clearer analysis of the ethnic factor in conflict and the problem of domination-exclusion, rather than leaving it linked to warlordism. Then the author could have made a better judgement about the importance of political solution, power-sharing and democratic alternative. Yet, both the conceptual discussion and the cases presented make the book a valuable source for easy reading on the problems of collapsing states and warlordism.

Tarekegn Adebo

Increased complexitiy of conflict and security

SIPRI Yearbook 2006, Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2006, Oxford University Press

SIPRI's yearbook of 2006 combines summaries of the last 40 years within peace and security research with new observations and demands for increased research in specific areas. The yearbook stresses the steady increase in world military expenditure as well as in international arms transfers, reporting that military expenditure has risen with 34 percent since 1996, ending at $1.118 for 2005. On the note of international arms transfers SIPRI issues a warning that already existing political fatigue among governments with regards to transparency in combination with an increased tendency for commercial pragmatism could lead to even larger transparency deficits in national reports to UN Register of Conventional Arms.

The yearbook further highlights the increased complexity of conflict and security issues. Focus has shifted in the last 40 years from interstate to intrastate conflicts, and non-governmental groups have become more powerful and in many cases non-hesitant towards the use of violence. The current security situation is made even more difficult, as the War on Terrorism affects both how the International Community sees certain conflicts, as well as how participants in those conflicts see their own involvement. This naturally causes conflict management and conflict resolution in areas such as Iraq, Darfur (Sudan), Israel-Palestine and Kashmir to be hard and difficult to achieve.

Recent outbreaks of epidemic disease as well as rapid progress within the area of biotechnology further increases the perceived threat of bioterrorism at the same time as it complicates the general situation for human and global security.

On the positive note SIPRI does observe that there is an increased interest for regional security cooperation, even though it remains unclear how much practical use such cooperation can be at the level of global politics. SIPRI's yearbook 2006 can be ordered via SIPRI's homepage www.sipri.org

Kristina Lundborg

Civilian approach

Civil war, civil peace, eds. Helen Yanacopulos and Joseph Hanlon. Ohio University Press, USA, and The Open University, UK, 2006

This is an easily accessible and well structured book on, first of all, the matter of civil war, but also on matters such as humanitarian intervention and the problems related to it. While highlighting the point that outside intervention often can make matters worse, the authors argue that intervention can be a useful contribution to peace, as long as the initial temptation to do something quickly is avoided and thoroughly thought through actions are favoured.

The book argues for a wide approach towards the causes and reasons for civil war, and stresses that a broad understanding of both the reasons and the multiple ways in which intervention can take place is fundamental to all successful peacebuilding.

While the first part is dedicated to the exploration of a wide range of root causes of civil war, the second discusses issues and dilemmas related to intervention. The chapters have a good and clear layout with plenty of case studies and examples used in order to illustrate points that are made. Small notes on what implications certain theories and approaches have on peacebuilding and interventions are also included in several of the chapters.

Kristina Lundborg

Useful facts about churches

A Handbook of Churches and Councils. Profiles of Ecumenical Relationships. World Council of Churches, 2006

This volume from the World Council of Churches is a handbook with 624 pages of useful information. It demonstrates the reach out of the ecumenical movement, as it encompasses a Christian population of some 590 million people in 150 countries over the world.

Part I gives a global outlook at churches, Christian world communions and groupings of churches with facts about background and organisation as well as member lists of the different church families.

Part II contains presentations of member churches and Christian councils. Each church and council is described with statistical data, a brief historical account and an overview of today's profile. Moreover, basic facts about each country are given in the short introductions, which makes the handbook useful in many different situations.

Kristina Lundqvist

Where is our earth going?

Where is our earth going?
Our world, full of weeping,
where is it going?
If love is killed,
If we remain divided,
Where is our earth going?

Loving God, forgive us.

Nothing can be born again and live,
If our fists are clenched,
If our efforts are misdirected,
Nothing can be born again.

Loving God, forgive us.

In order to build the city and celebrate,
We need to learn to share,
Share wine and salt and wheat,
In order to build the city.

Sharing God, forgive us.

In this vast weapon-laden world,
Humankind has been made to love,
And to work for peace,
In this vast world.

Peace-loving God, forgive us.

War - never again!
What we want is friendship.
We raise our voices in support of unity.
War - never again!

God, making us brothers and sisters, forgive us.

Prayer adapted from WCC/DOV/Latin America

On 21 September WCC member churches worldwide are invited to pray for peace. This WCC initiative saw the light two years ago within the framework of its Decade to Overcome Violence (DOV), and was welcomed by UN secretary-general Kofi Annan. Its celebration coincides with the UN International Day of Peace.



Photo: Eitan Abramovich/Pressens Bild

LPI periodicals

New Routes is the quarterly in-house journal of LPI, offering analysis and commentary on issues of peace, justice and development. The journal provides information on research and programme issues as well as current publications and activities.

Horn of Africa Bulletin is a bimonthly media review covering the African countries of the Horn. The Bulletin provides a survey of current developments, with particular emphasis on issues of peace, development and conflict transformation.

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