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New Routes

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A journal of
peace research
and action

Communication – a peace issue

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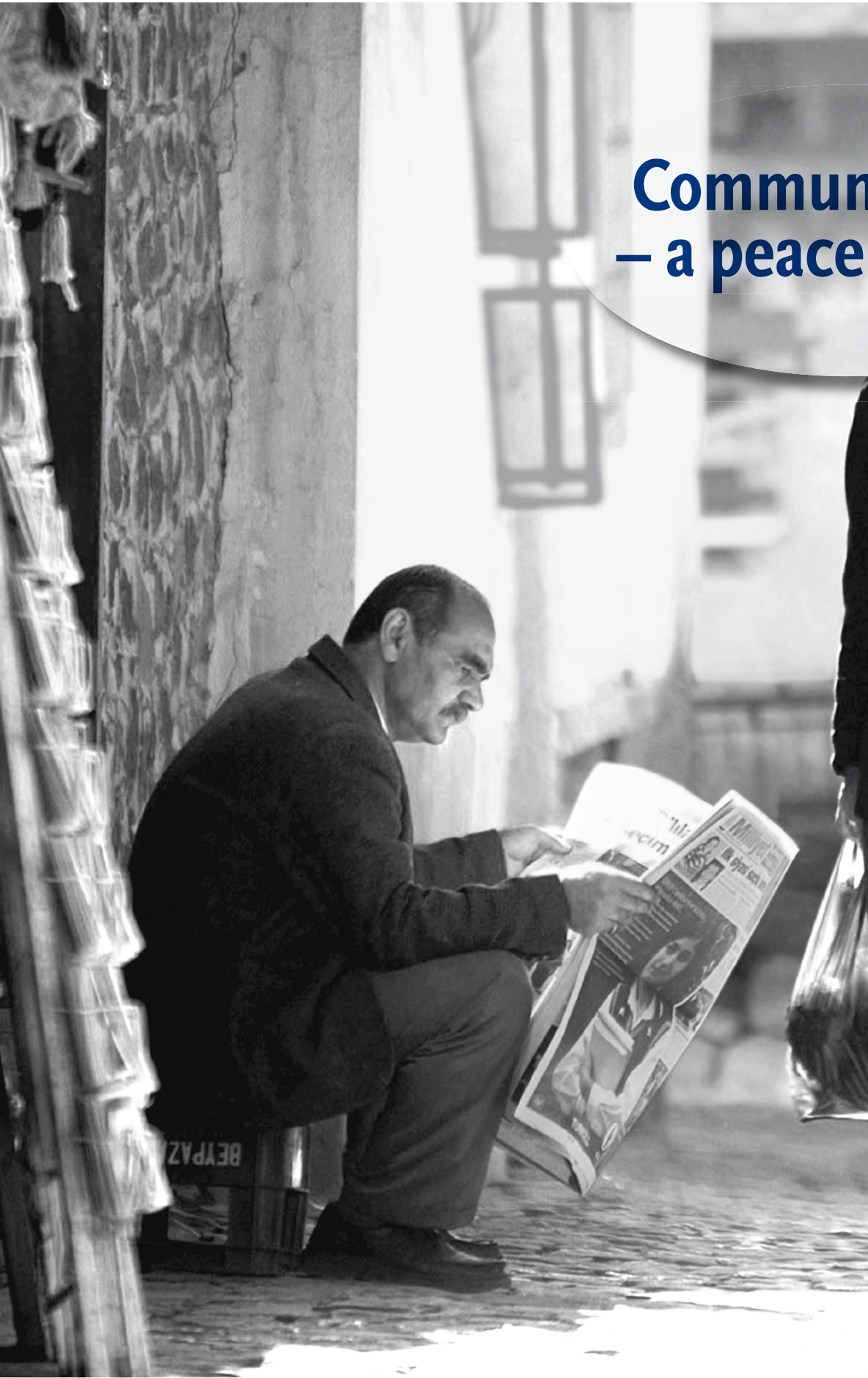
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TO COMMUNICATE PEACE

WHAT ROLE DOES COMMUNICATION PLAY to foster peace?

Independent journalism should be neutral and not take sides, shouldn't it? A closer look, however, reveals that between the lines in the news, there is often a hidden message. What is not spoken can to a great extent be as important or truth-bearing as the printed words. Sandra Pineda de Forsberg and Jake Lynch in their respective articles discuss the role of journalism and media as promoters of peace – or war.

Does language play a role in peacemaking? With examples from teachers and students in South Africa, Athalie Crawford in her article shows that the way people speak with each other is crucial for their mutual understanding. To learn another person's language is not only a linguistic effort, it also shows that you have an interest in, and respect for, the life and culture of your fellow-beings.

If development and security do not communicate well, both are lost, according to Martha Mutisi and Peter Tendaiwo Maregere. Many countries in Africa have experienced the disheartening effects of protracted wars with no sustainable peace in sight. It is an encouraging sign that the nexus between development and security is now realized and recognized by a number of political actors.

As you – hopefully – cannot miss, New Routes has had a face-lift, starting with this issue. We hope you will appreciate the changes and still feel well oriented among theories, challenges, news and resources. We always welcome your comments and reactions. Don't forget to visit our website: www.life-peace.org

We look forward to 2007 as a year of renewed efforts in the sphere of much needed peacebuilding.

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Free, critical and independent media is one of the key constituents in democracies. The media can act either as an instrument for peace or as a weapon of violence that disseminates biased information. The market demands for sensation and profit often counteract the need for analysis and serious debate. With the example from Colombia, this article discusses the dual role of the media.

The role of the mass media through a Peace Media Lens

Sandra Pineda de Forsberg

The 'peace media lens' metaphor in the title suggests the need for attitudinal and behavioural changes about the values every media person and agency should adapt to when covering conflict, in order to become peace agents. This way, peace media values can be incorporated into all levels of news coverage. The aim of this article is thus to identify the role of the mass media through a Peace Media Lens.

Free and critical media plays a central role in democracies by constituting the main source of information, which provides the society with knowledge and a variety of experiences. It also serves as a forum for public debate, conception and development of opinions.¹ The media is viewed as a source of power that influences, controls, and promotes new standards in the society² and reinforces the existing ones. Media is thus one of the principal agents for societal development, democracy and good governance, and a crucial element in areas of conflict.

It can be suggested that media is both a friend and a foe to a peace process. Media can foster human security, and there is evidence that media can reinforce motives for fuelling wars. It can be an instrument for peace and conflict management, which promotes messages and strategies that can lead to peaceful agreements and tolerant behaviour in a given society. Media can also be a weapon of violence that propagates biased information and manipulates societies or groups in conflict with divisive ideologies and harmful actions. Thus, the media have become pervasive and extremely influential in attitudes towards conflict.

The role of media in conflict has increased its place in public attention. Policy makers, journalists, and social

scientists all point to the central role of the press in events such as the genocide in Rwanda, the Israel-Palestinian conflict, the war in Bosnia, Somalia etc. A more descriptive example is the case of Colombia. Daily life in Colombia is bombarded, not only with explosives, but also with war news. It is very common to read news that vividly describe the drama of death and terror by informing the public of how many people have been massacred, for instance. Most Colombians have accommodated to this type of news, since there is nothing else on the menu.

Wolfsfeld, one of the leading peace media scholars, states that it is more complex to cover peace news than war.³ The drama and emotions of violent news are more profitable than peace reporting, since they attract more public attention. Still, studies and research on the role of the media in conflict are very limited compared to other conflict-related issues. An even more neglected area in this field is peace media.

Media as promoter of peace

There are efforts to promote the use of media to facilitate conflict resolution, and 'peace media'. Peace media can be defined as the use of "radio, television, and printed journalism, to promote peace, to disseminate truthful information or alternate viewpoints that could turn public sentiment toward peaceful resolution of conflict, or to counter 'hate radio'".⁴ Peace media workers are supposed to be balanced and unbiased

when describing the parties involved in the conflict, but not neutral and passively observant when it comes to depicting peaceful means as the only acceptable way of resolving conflicts. Wolfsfeld holds that media in many ways can contribute to reshaping the course of events in a peaceful direction. For instance, media can stress the advantages



The role of the media should be concerned with democracy, justice and the interest of people

of peace building, promote individuals and groups involved in peace initiatives, and balance the view of the actors. Often, however, media conveys the opposite type of messages to the public.⁵

The theoretical background to understanding the power of media in shaping events is related to, among other things, how news is framed. Gitlin explains: "Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual."⁶ Frames can thus be understood as culturally flavoured frameworks that help journalists organise information and package it for their audience.⁷

The interactions between the elite and the news media can be shown by the way political events are framed or structured by news media in order to give meaning to events by packaging information. Media frames are thus fundamental in news coverage and undergo changes with varying conditions

over time. These frames are most often analysed from a social constructivist point of view, which holds that meaning is generated through actions limited in time and space – meaning is not intrinsic to persons or events. Hence those who control a situation through their actions create or define the meaning of a particular circumstance.⁸

From this constructivist perspective, frames are always present when distributing information, which is particularly important in mass media. Tuchman states: “Within the realm of political communication, framing has to be defined and operationalised on the basis of this social constructivism. Mass media actively set the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events.”⁹ Hence, the framing of news presentation constitutes the very actions that create meaning to events. We can conclude that this important potential of media could be used for creating peace-promoting messages. Do we see that this is the case?

Unfortunately not. Wolfsfeld notes the difficulty of the media to contribute to peace processes and suggests four possible explanations that all revolve around the contrasting characters of the peace process itself and the news.

First, news coverage aims to depict immediate events and actions rather than longitudinal developments. For instance, media that takes a short-term view of a peace process usually creates a sense of irritation and anxiety.¹⁰ Second, drama and spectacle (bloody pictures, negative statements about antagonists, frustration, hopelessness and death, etc.) convey a greater negative impact on the news instead of expressing modera-

bate. Finally, ethnocentrism in media coverage favours the journalists’ own convictions, and tends to skew the perception of the conflict and petrify hatred between actors. Antagonists become synonymous with threats to groups or interests represented in such coverage.

Endurance versus urgency

Peace processes need endurance, whereas news media require urgency that agitates emotions on all sides. This has of course the effect of counteracting peace processes, which need calmness for their nurturing. Wolfsfeld calls this relationship between peace processes and news media a ‘static model’.¹¹ Many journalists, editors and others do not perceive these undesirable news values and counterproductive effects of the media from a peace building perspective. We thus see that media, despite its strong influences on the society, for a number of reasons is handicapped in the role of peace building in that the media tends to choose frames that are not compatible with the nature of peace processes.

The four hampering attributes of media mentioned above are cornerstones in what is called the ‘static model’ of media. The changing nature of media over time and its dependence on conditions is also important in the context of peace processes and is referred to as the ‘dynamic model’. Wolfsfeld identifies two elements involved in this phenomenon. These elements are: the conditions associated with the political environment, which are related to the peace process, and the conditions related to the media environment. The latter can be defined as the sum of professional convictions,

values and practices applied in news production.¹² The political environment is based on the private and public norms, atti-

tudes, customs and values that shape political life.¹³ This environment undergoes changes over time according to the circumstances.

tudes, customs and values that shape political life.¹³ This environment undergoes changes over time according to the circumstances. When the elite is split over an issue, the division itself becomes the focus of the news reporting and contributes to perpetuating the dispute.¹⁴ Likewise, the diversity of debate in the news is proportional to the diversity of debate within the political leadership.¹⁵ Wolfsfeld thus sees automatic adaptations of the media world that are in accordance with the political circumstances.

Apart from the political and media environments, other crucial elements within the dynamic model are the intensity of the conflict and the frequency of crises. Wolfsfeld claims that the more severe the conflict, the more likely the media is to make things worse by selectively emphasising the antagonism and highlighting the resulting problems to satisfy their need for ‘drama’, as we noted earlier. A broad political consensus and a smoothly progressing peace process can only counteract this tendency where the news spontaneously will cover agreements for constructive and resolving solutions.¹⁶

Finally, the interactions between the polity and the media can be understood as a circle with mutual successive influences, where usually the polity makes the first move followed by a media response that in turn affects new policies. Certain prominent political events can create a political wave, which is characterised by media involvement generating elevated public awareness that contributes to intensifying the impact of the event. Peace frames are easily placed in a context where, for instance, a major agreement between antagonists with a great amount of international support is negotiated. The event immediately becomes newsworthy and also provides significant political advantages to the government. The opposite scenario is when one of the antagonists is attacked and the peace process is threatened. Then the news media becomes more events-minded (kidnapping, assassinations etc.) and finds it difficult to keep the frame of the peace process in view.

The drama and emotions of violent news are more profitable than peace reporting.

tion and stepwise progress. This does not help the peace process perception of the public. It shows the propensity to polarise the parties as well as to frighten the society as a whole. Third, plainness due to time and space restraints in news presentation risks losing details and a sense of the complexity of the problem. In particular the importance of ideologies that have a bearing on the peace process are often neglected, which in turn lower the level of the public de-

tudes, customs and values that shape political life.¹³ This environment undergoes changes over time according to the circumstances.

When the political environment is shaped by an elite that is in agreement concerning the peace process, only one frame, good or bad, is at hand. If this singular frame is favouring, for instance, a peace process, then the news coverage can have a positive influence on the peace process. On the other hand,

Sensationalist or balancing media

It has been argued that the media can initiate events, although it is not the rule. Media can however, play a major role in defining the political atmosphere in which the process takes place and hence influence the nature of the debate. The strategy and behaviour of the antagonists can be affected as well as the public standing and perception of the legitimacy of antagonists. As



PHOTO: PAUL JEFFREY/ACT

The media, sometimes called “the fourth estate”, play a multifaceted role and have a strong impact on the evolvement of the society.

seen, though media rarely initiate conflicts, they are potent in shaping them through their reactions to conflicts.¹⁷

A media environment that is influenced by sensationalist priorities for news coverage is less likely to contribute to a peace process. Peace media, in contrast, is characterised by balanced reporting, emotional distance, presenting a broader and more multifaceted view of the conflict, and rejecting entertainment and partisan interests as major influences on news presentation. In this context, it is noted that an independent public sphere for open and free communication between different political currents, religions, minorities etc. is necessary for an effective peace media approach.

In sum, as a platform for discussions and sharing information by antagonists, peace media is needed as a significant catalyst for any peace process. Since the general public is dependent on news media for information, the media also influences the general view on the conflict and the peace process. Unfortunately, many have found that the media

is more likely to hinder peace processes than to promote them.

The Colombian situation

The Colombian Nobel Prize winner and author Gabriel García Márquez holds that “journalists cannot cover peace talks if we intend to find daily news without the sufficient capacity and responsibility to deal with them as a process.”¹⁸ The Colombian media and journalists appear to lack training for the efficient presentation of news that describe and analyse peace and conflict events and dynamics, with both immediate and long term perspectives. The content of the news articles in relation to the conflict portrays a very limited contribution to the conflict discourse from peace and conflict perspectives in order to build a more substantial dialogue. The quality of the work of the journalists can strengthen civicism and culture in relation to the respect of human rights and value of life above money. Thus, a novel media approach is greatly needed for the promotion of sustainable peace in a society that is capable of structural

changes. The Colombian media have missed the central point by only looking at immediate events and displaying the short version of the story for forty years.

The social obligation of the media to contribute to the peace process is a constant struggle as mentioned above. A peace media journalist is expected to take a position that will favour the peace process, for example, as a facilitator for coexistence, pluralism and dialogue in order to reconstruct a Colombia based on democratic values. Respect for human rights and the achievement of peace as an integral part of the Colombian society are the other challenges.

Peace negotiations and local organisations facilitate the building of networks for the protection of human rights, refugees, peace initiatives, and democratisation. For establishing security reforms, the media come into play again. In the assistance of peace processes, the international community and Colombian policy makers need to realise that the challenge of peace in part depends on development and fair governance but can

only be fully achieved with reconciliation strategies, after the actors have come to fully agree to make peace, which can be greatly influenced through the media.

Sentiments and positive feelings are also important to convey, particularly when a society faces harsh situations. Peace is positive, inspires tranquility, and keeps some memory of what is meant by silence in the middle of so much screaming and convulsion. Harmony and serenity are desirable in the context. Agreements, dialogue, empathy, understanding, equality, opportunities and humanisation of the conflict are also instrumental. They are not highlighted sufficiently in the Colombian news. The violence is a daily reality, but it should not be lasting. A passive attitude towards peace-seeking alternatives when making frames is a dangerous choice.

Influence on the peace process

How can the media maintain the balance between transparency of the peace process and the need for confidentiality? Can the media meet the imperatives of market forces such as sensationalism and commercialisation, and at the same time create a forum for serious and responsible public debate? Media reporting and the public exist in symbiosis, each one moulding the other, which contains within it the key to both conflict resolution and conflict formation.¹⁹ In contrast with news about the elite who are mentioned very specifically, as in the case of families of deputies or elite associations etc, the nearly two million civilians that are displaced are almost forgotten by the media, and in the headlines they are mentioned only in very extreme cases. Here I do not intend to say that peace media is the absolute answer to the Colombian peace process, but it follows that better media coverage using the peace media

features will greatly influence, shape and promote the Colombian peace process.

Finally, forty years of conflict in Colombia is enough to learn important lessons. Peace media needs time and perseverance in highly complex conflict situations like the one in Colombia. A shift from a short term to a long term perspective and gradual peace building must permeate the news media and the society as a whole. Unity and dialogue are required and media could contribute to these by setting the platform for a point of convergence for all institutions of the Colombian society.

*"All of us who professionally use the mass media are the shapers of society. We can vulgarise it. Or we can brutalise it. Or we can help lift it to a higher level."*²⁰

Bernbach

Why peace media? Bernbach's words emphasise the power of media to shape conflicts. With this ability comes a responsibility. Therefore, a moral answer would be both necessary and sufficient for the most part. It is because a peace media focus on solving conflicts rather than winning them, given the horrors of warfare, may reduce human suffering. From another angle, peace media provides a more realistic image of what goes on in the world. Ideally, the role of the media should be concerned with democracy, justice and the interest of people. Peace media is not far from this concept. The information that is conveyed to the members of society should be useful for their development and be concerned with their immediate struggles. Here peace media encourages functional messages that take the society into account as a one whole unit comprised of human beings that have individual needs. 

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¹ Grisprud, *Understanding Media Culture*, 2002

² McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory. An Introduction*, 1994:1

³ Wolfsfeld, 2004, 2

⁴ Communication and Education, 2002

⁵ Wolfsfeld, 2004, 1

⁶ Gitlin, 1980, 7 in Wolfsfeld, 2004, 33

⁷ Wolfsfeld, 2004, 33

⁸ Wolfsfeld, 2004, 32

⁹ Tuchman, 1978, in Scheufele, 1999, 105

¹⁰ "[T]he mass media keep society on its toes. They generate a constantly renewed willingness to be prepared for surprises, disruption even ...the mass media 'fit' the accelerated auto-dynamic of other function systems such as the economy, science and politics, which constantly confront society with new problems." Luhmann, 2000, 22

¹¹ Wolfsfeld, 2004, 16

¹² Wolfsfeld, 2004, 38-39

¹³ Jary and Jary, 1995, 497

¹⁴ Entman, 2004, in Wolfsfeld, 2004, 26

¹⁵ Bennett, 1990, in Wolfsfeld, 2004, 27

¹⁶ Wolfsfeld, 2004, 30-31

¹⁷ Wolfsfeld, 1997, 2-5

¹⁸ Fundación para un Nuevo Periodismo

¹⁹ Hattotuwa, 2002

²⁰ Bernbach, in Atkin, 2003

Media, religion and conflicts

What role does the media and individual journalists play when it comes to reporting the role of religion in relation to violent conflicts? This issue brought together some 30 journalists and media people in Sweden for a seminar initiated by the Life & Peace Institute last year. Among the recommendations were:

- Create more meeting places for journalists and people from faith-based organizations dealing with peace and conflict matters;
- Develop a national "religious map" with contact details so journalists can get hold of the representatives, both in times of need and also to build relations;

- Initiate and support training and capacity building for journalists in terms of media-religion-conflict;
- Aim at more emphasis of the issue in the general debate about the role of religion in society;
- Search for more creative and innovative ways of awareness-raising and information about religions as peace preserving factors, e.g. standup comedy; and
- Active involvement and lobbying against demonisation and simplified and incorrect media images of "the other".

Tore Samuelsson

The concept Peace Journalism has emerged as a new field within journalism and within academic subjects, notably Communications and Peace and Conflict Studies. It offers both a form of critical analysis of existing war reporting, and a set of practical plans and options for journalists. Peace Journalism does not just mean 'reporting peace'. In essence, it entails the application of insights from Peace and Conflict Studies to the everyday jobs of editing and reporting the news.

Peace Journalism: More than war reporting

Jake Lynch

'The only battle we might lose was the battle for hearts and minds. The consequence would have been NATO ending and losing the war'.¹ These were the reflections of Alastair Campbell, then press secretary to British Prime Minister Tony Blair, after the bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999.

This battle has become increasingly important as wars have become increasingly mediated. Nearly three thousand media workers accompanied NATO forces when they entered Kosovo at the end of Operation Allied Force. For comparison, a generation before, five hundred were on hand to witness the peak of the action in Vietnam.²

To narrow the timeframe a little further, even by 1991, just 22 overseas journalists were in Baghdad for Operation Desert Storm. By contrast, during the invasion of 2003, Lindsey Hilsum, a senior British television reporter recalled: 'We used to bang on about this thing called, "the New World Information Order" which was going to be imposed by UNESCO. It has in fact been created, by technology. There were two Indian TV stations there, there was a Bangladeshi reporter for a newspaper, Philippines television was there, everybody was in Baghdad. The rest of the world was not depending on European and American broadcasters and newspapers anymore, so that is a real change, something new and very important'.³

Technology has also enabled non-western owned media to transcend their national boundaries in the form of satellite broadcasting, with rolling television news services, led by al Jazeera, now available on screens around the world. And a different set of technologies – for the targeting and guiding of

missiles and shells – have been used to attack it, with the organisation's offices hit in Kabul, Basra and Baghdad.

News representations of conflict now form 'a key site for the exercise of power, seen as such by "primary players" and many others besides'.⁴ This awareness, too, is shared by many beyond the traditional elite. According to an influential critique of reporting of the Great Lakes crisis of 1996–1997, journalists should 'understand from the start that warring factions, even if their soldiers wear gumboots, have now acquired a sophisticated military doctrine and techniques for fighting low-level information warfare using manipulation, disinformation, misinformation and obstruction'.⁵ The crisis itself stemmed from the Rwandan genocide two years earlier, in which media played a sinister role.

It is within this context that Peace Journalism has been more and more widely discussed, developed and carried out – whether known by that name or not – among journalists, media and development workers and within universities, around the world, since about the middle of the 1990s.

The country involved in the highest number of international armed conflicts of any in the world between 1946 and 2003, according to the Liu Institute's inaugural *Human Security Report*, was Britain, with 21. France came next on 19 and the US third with 16.⁶ At the same time, 'the journalism of professional editors, reporters and producers [in Britain] has a strong claim to be considered the best in the world'⁷ – a

reputation attributable partly, though by no means only, to the BBC.

Iran – the next frontier

When Iranian revolutionaries stormed the American embassy in Tehran in November 1979 and took approximately 70 hostages, the incident occurred almost exactly halfway through a history of conflict between Iran and the US.



As soon as you start to observe something, you cannot avoid changing it.

But it was the British who involved their American allies in the first place. Twenty-six years previously London had called in the CIA to help overthrow the elected government of Mohammed Mossadegh. His crime? To nationalise the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, following failed negotiations in which Iran sought higher royalty payments from Britain. And in 2005, President Bush, on a trip to Israel, warned that 'all options are on the table' in 'dealing with Iran's nuclear ambitions'.⁸

Blair mused, at a European Union summit he was hosting in London, 'the question people will be asking us is – when are you going to do something about Iran?' A favoured journalist, Trevor Kavanagh, veteran political editor of Murdoch's popular *Sun* newspaper, told his readers: 'We are now to all intents and purposes at war with Iran'.⁹

To represent the formation of this conflict as we have briefly done here is to apply some of the principles of Peace Journalism. The term and the concept were coined by Johan Galtung, founder

Peace/conflict journalism**I. Peace/conflict-orientated**

Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding
 See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity
 Humanisation of all sides, more so the worse the weapons
 Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)

II. Truth-orientated

Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups

III. People-orientated

Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children;
 giving voice to voiceless

IV. Solution orientated

Peace = non-violence + creativity
 Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society

War/violence journalism**I. War/violence-orientated**

'Us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice, for 'us'
 See 'them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war
 Dehumanisation of 'them'; more so the worse the weapon
 Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)

II. Propaganda-orientated

Expose 'their' untruths / help 'our' cover-ups/lies

III. Elite-orientated

Focus on 'our' suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece

IV. Victory orientated

Peace = victory + ceasefire
 Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society

of Peace and Conflict Studies, and one of its trademarks is to report conflicts as occurring in 'open space, open time, (with) causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture'.

Peace Journalism is the counterpart and corollary of War Journalism, which tends to report conflicts as if they are confined to the present day and to the 'conflict arena' where violence is taking place, or might potentially take place. Above are some excerpts from Galtung's original and now classic table, setting out the characteristics of each form.

The 'Iran nuclear crisis'

The remarks by Bush and Blair, quoted above, were reported in the context of the 'Iran nuclear crisis'. This had been brewing at least since 2002, with Bush's State of the Union Address, in which Iran was labelled as part of the 'Axis of Evil' along with Iraq and North Korea. Months later, Russian technicians started to build the country's first nuclear reactor.

US political leaders and diplomats took a lead in convincing many allies that Iran was in breach of its obligations under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1970. For many years, the country had, indeed, concealed aspects of its nuclear programme from the international community.

After the NPT entered into force, a succession of arms control agreements followed between the superpowers.

Latterly, though, the US in particular had been increasingly criticised for reversing this progress, both through the development of new nuclear weapons and for changes in its nuclear doctrine, which widened the range of circumstances in which a first strike would be contemplated.¹⁰ In the UK, the government of Tony Blair had already been thinking aloud about commissioning a like-for-like replacement for its own fleet of Trident nuclear submarines.

In UK media, War Journalism tended to concentrate on 'expos[ing] "their" untruths' – chiefly by referring to 'suspicions' or 'fears' that Iran's nuclear power programme was a cover for its real ambition of developing a military capability.

In the comment quoted above, Blair continued: 'Can you imagine a state like that ... having nuclear weapons?' According to Kavanagh's article, the Prime Minister now faced a 'nightmare ... fuelled by certain knowledge that nothing – apart from unimaginable military action – can now stop the mullahs acquiring nuclear power and then nuclear weapons. Worse, there is every prospect they will use them'.

Was military action 'unimaginable'? If so, that would have been bad news for a President determined to remove no options from the table – a line echoed by Blair himself.¹¹

The restriction of time and space in representing the conflict is a key part of such propaganda. Detailed 'public inter-

est polling' carried out in the US shows that public approval for the use of force depends on the case being made passing six 'screens':¹²

- Rogue leaders
- Evidence tying them to heinous crimes
- Non-military means exhausted
- Military allies (to share the risk and cost)
- A 'visionary' objective (eg turn an enemy into an ally or bring long term peace to a region)
- Early non-military intervention tried in good faith, but confounded

In the case of Iran, the 'rogue leader' duly arrived, in mid-2005, in the shape of newly elected President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. At the summit, Blair was responding to journalists' questions about his remarks, interpreted in the West as a call for Israel to be 'wiped off the map'.

In August 2005, results were announced of a two-year investigation by a team of scientists into what was, on the face of it, the most incriminating 'exhibit for the prosecution' – traces of highly enriched uranium, found on centrifuges seized from an Iranian laboratory by international inspectors two years earlier. Iran said at the time these must have been on the centrifuges when they bought them from its nuclear-armed neighbour, Pakistan – an explanation supported by the scientists' conclusions. Iran had, on this charge at least, been found 'not guilty'.¹³

Shortly afterwards, the US National Intelligence Estimate concluded that the country was ten years away from acquiring the bomb – putting it in the same category as any other state with a nuclear power plant, certainly including South Korea and Brazil, for instance, if they were so minded. There was, in other words, in the consensus view of all the American intelligence agencies, no *specific* evidence against Iran.

Comparing news to research reports

'When covering conflicts', Peace Journalism proposes, 'we can tread down to find solid ground beneath our feet, by studying and applying what is known and has been observed about conflict ... We can use this knowledge to help us decide for ourselves what is important, and to identify what is missing from what we are told by interested parties.' Key findings include:

- *Violence is never wholly its own cause.* Conflict is made up of structure, culture and process – the context, without which no explanation for a violent event is complete or, indeed, correct
- *Nonviolent responses are always poss-*

ible. There is always more than one way of responding to conflict. Many people, in many places, are devising, advocating and applying nonviolent responses

- *More than two sides.* There are always more than two parties to any conflict – some, whose involvement or interest is hidden, need putting on the map. Others, presented as a solid aggregate of view, may contain important internal divisions, and they need *dis*-aggregation
- *Every party has a stake.* Parties to conflict should be seen as stakeholders, pursuing their own goals, needs and interests – some openly acknowledged, but almost invariably some hidden as well' (2005, p xviii).

All over the world, professional editors and reporters define their job as bringing readers and audiences the answers to 'five w's and one h' – who, what, where, when, why and how.

Another definition of propaganda is 'a partial account or representation which is not, on closer inspection, a lie' but which is 'a deliberate attempt to mislead'.¹⁴ To shape perceptions and manipulate cognitions, then, it relies on the omission of certain parts of the picture. It works

by *framing* issues in such a way as to exclude or eclipse countervailing facts and perspectives. Specific pieces of evidence, for example, that, for all the 'fears' and 'suspicions', Iran was not secretly developing nuclear weapons after all.

Peace Journalism proposes that, when it comes to conflict, the answers to be found in news reports can be assessed by comparing them with the answers furnished by researchers in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies. These have been assembled under the normal safeguards of academic rigour in social science: openness about – and preparedness to justify – starting assumptions for both observation and interpretation, and peer review. Built into social science, moreover, is the principle of the participant-observer – as soon as you start to observe something, you cannot avoid changing it.

Peace and Conflict Studies is further distinguished, in terms of content, by acknowledging the potential for the creative transformation of conflicts, and by the insight most readily associated with the Australian peace researcher, John Burton, that behaviour in conflicts cannot be explained solely in terms of pow-



PHOTO: AHMAD YUSNI/SCANPIX

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century non-western media like al Jazeera have reached out to millions of spectators with television news, here being launched in Malaysia, February 2007, in the presence of Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi.

er – power gradients, or the struggle for power. There is an irreducible role for human needs.¹⁵ In all these respects, it offers accounts of *relationships* in conflict that journalism generally ignores – and, without which, the representations it makes are bound to be flawed, both by incompleteness and by a lack of critical self-awareness.

Journalists' six questions correspond roughly to what peace researchers call 'conflict dynamics'. According to Diana Francis, any statement of the dynamics of a conflict must identify 'its history, recent causes and internal composition – the different parties, the nature of their involvement, their perspectives, positions and motivations, and the different relationships between them in terms of power, allegiance and interest'.¹⁶

Crucially, this means that any representation of a conflict which omits or oc-

cludes any of these factors is inaccurate. In the UK press study, those publications with a higher quotient of Peace Journalism, on the criteria applied, were reporting the 'Iran nuclear crisis' more accurately than those with a lower score.

This important claim to accuracy can also be made for Peace Journalism on other counts than the openness in time and space. To quote another peace researcher, John Paul Lederach:

'I have not experienced any situation of conflict, no matter how protracted or severe, from Central America to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, where there have not been people who had a vision for peace, emerging often from their own experience of pain. Far too often, however, these same people are overlooked and disempowered either because they do not represent "official" power, whether on the side of government or the various militias, or because they are written off as biased and too personally affected by the conflict'.¹⁷

Lederach writes about reconciliation in societies divided by years, even decades of war, but his remarks could equally apply to international conflicts. Johan Galtung's proposal for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East¹⁸, to repeat the Helsinki Process of the 1970s and its eventual success in bringing down the 'Iron Curtain', has been aired around the fringes of the news media by two British uni-

versity researchers who make a habit of writing for newspapers – Mary Kaldor in the context of Iraq¹⁹ and Timothy Garton Ash in the context of Iran.²⁰

And an avowedly alternative news service, Alternet, reported on a peace proposal in the 'Iran nuclear crisis', which commended the principle adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev to end the Cold War – 'mutual security':

'If you threaten your adversaries, they'll threaten you back. If you make your neighbors more secure, you make yourself more secure. The basis of peace is understanding the fears of others.'

According to the authors of this proposal, the US should say to Iran:

'We don't expect you to endure the nuclear double standard forever until the end of time. The NPT doesn't just impose non-proliferation obligations on you, it also imposes disarmament

obligations on us. We understand that you will not forever forego nuclear

weapons if we insist on forever retaining nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons won't protect you, and nuclear weapons don't protect us. We know that eventually we must abolish these abominations, or they will abolish us'.²¹

Such visions and the people who create them – not to mention their actions to bring it about, or to alleviate the worst effects of conflict and violence – are generally absent from the dominant discourse of War Journalism, with its elite orientation and focus on 'elite peace-makers'. Peace Journalism creates space for 'people peace-makers' too – not 'either/or' but 'both/and'. In doing so, it is a better match for what is known and has been observed, both about individual conflicts and about conflict *per se*. It therefore has a strong claim to be more accurate in its representations. 

The full-length version of this text is found in a chapter by Jake Lynch in the forthcoming Routledge Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies, edited by Johan Galtung.

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¹ Campbell, 1999

² Knightley, 2000, p 504

³ In Lynch, 2004, p 123

⁴ Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p xvi

⁵ Nik Gowing, Lessons Learned, quoted in Lynch, 2000

⁶ Liu, 2005

⁷ Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p 1

⁸ Associated Press, 2005

⁹ Kavanagh, 2005

¹⁰ Norton-Taylor, 2005

¹¹ Blair, 2005

¹² Kay, 2000

¹³ Linzer, 2005

¹⁴ Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, pp 115-116

¹⁵ Burton, 1993

¹⁶ Francis, 2002, p 28

¹⁷ Lederach, 1997, p 94

¹⁸ Galtung and Fischer, 1998

¹⁹ Kaldor, 2003

²⁰ Garton Ash, 2006

²¹ Daley et al, 2006.

– *There is no quick fix for overcoming racial prejudice. This was perceived by the participants in a project aimed at overcoming the racial diversities in a poor suburban area in South Africa. It proved that unity between black and coloured people can only be achieved by slow, steady and patient work. A key issue in this effort is the need to understand one another's languages and cultures.*

Language skills to overcome prejudice

Athalie Crawford

There are no shortcuts to overcoming racial prejudice. Prejudice is a remarkably stubborn and resilient thing: it may go underground when it's not safe to speak about it aloud, but it burns on unseen, until something happens and it bubbles to the surface and boils over - and everyone is shocked and dismayed.

President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa stated baldly in August 2006 that the Western Cape is the most racially divided province in the country. Does this come as a surprise to anyone? Looking back to the hectic days of political organisation against apartheid by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s, I remember having misgivings about shortcuts: I was an organiser for a union at that time, and in our union we felt that the UDF policy of calling everybody who wasn't white, black, was simply papering over the real historical differences, fears and resentments between blacks and coloureds, and in so doing, was making it impossible for people to raise these problems without appearing to be a racist.

The union, which had both black and coloured members in defiance of apartheid labour policies, could not afford to sweep these fears and problems under the carpet. We knew unity between our black and coloured members was only achieved by slow, steady, patient organising, which took into account the differences in their history and political understanding. There was no point in our making grandiose ideological gestures. This critique was borne out in 1994 when the coloured community in the Western Cape overwhelmingly voted for their old oppressors, the Nationalist Party.

And so in 2006, twelve years after democracy, if we are still reaping the bit-

ter harvest of apartheid, is it because we have been too complacent about being the rainbow nation? Or are we still too scared to raise issues of racial prejudice for fear of seeming racist?

Since August 2005, the Quaker Peace Centre's (QPC) Diversity Project has been involved with one of the primary schools in Delft, whose learners and educators are both black and coloured.

Victims of a vicious circle

Delft is a windswept township to the east of the Cape Town International Airport that was initially established as a coloured area. It became a Reconstruction and Development Programme area after the advent of democracy, with the result that black people, mainly from the impoverished Eastern Cape, began to move to Delft with the promise of houses and jobs. Black and coloured families live next door to one another in small identical houses on the long treeless streets, but there is little social integration, and no shared understanding of how they all came to live together in Delft. The majority of households are living in poverty, and the area is plagued by crime of all kinds. Domestic violence, child abuse, overcrowding, drug abuse and gangsterism are rife. Communal recreational facilities are almost non-existent. It is a bleak environment, and represents a serious challenge within which to build a culture that celebrates diversity, but a challenge that the QPC is nevertheless striving to take up.

At the school, although there is a policy of gradual transition to English as a medium of instruction, the Xhosa and Afrikaans-speaking children are divided into classes along language lines, which teachers see as a practical neces-

sity. However, from the focus groups that we conducted with them initially, it was clear that the group of thirty Grade 6 children, aged from ten to thirteen years, perceived it as a racial division, and that racial barriers were high.

Apart from one suburb, Voorbrug, which the children saw as "posher" than the other suburbs, possibly because it is the longest established area, the area is uniformly poor. They told us that the black gangs prey on the coloured households and the coloured gangs prey on the black households. Everyone was a victim of the vicious spiral of unemployment, poverty, crime and prejudice.

We also held focus groups with the teachers, and discovered that although there appeared to be almost no social mixing between black and coloured teachers at school or in the community, only one teacher was prepared to assert that there was racial prejudice at school. All the black teachers at that stage were on contract, which may have contributed to their not feeling free to criticise arrangements or decisions made by the school authorities. They pointed out that contract workers did not enjoy benefits such as medical aid and housing subsidies.

We then embarked on a series of parallel weekly workshops for a group of thirty Grade 6 learners, and a group of fifteen teachers, beginning in September 2005.

With the children, we started by assigning each Xhosa-speaking child to an Afrikaans-speaking partner, and these pairs were maintained for the duration of the workshops. Initially, there was some considerable resistance to this, but as time went on the pairs mostly seemed to warm to each other. In each session,



Xhosa and Afrikaans-speaking teachers and students need to communicate through language barriers, thus enhancing their mutual trust and understanding.

the children would decide what new word they wanted to learn in their partner's language, and each would teach the other the desired word and write it in their partner's diversity notebook. We got them to interview one another, to role-play and to learn songs in the other's language.

Workshops with teachers

We did group exercises involving discussion of images of different cultural groups in South Africa, and at another time an exercise involving discussion of images of different cultural groups worldwide. One of the things we learned from these discussions was that the children unhesitatingly equated happiness with wealth. When asked why they thought someone (one of the images) was happy, they would say, "...because she's got beautiful clothes ...because he's got lots of money..."

In the last session with the children at the end of 2005, they painted pictures for a Human Rights Day exhibition, which was to be held at the school on 10 December. It was clear from the paintings that these children saw human rights as being able to enjoy the good life as portrayed on television – enjoyed by only a fraction of South Africans, and certainly by no one in Delft. One especially poignant painting featured a smiling

mother and father, each diligently watering a flowering plant in the garden of a palatial house, outside of whose gates stood an enormous shiny car.

From the enthusiasm displayed in all our workshops, it seemed to us that any intervention that gave the children some positive attention, and provided even a small glimpse of a wider world outside of the crime and poverty of Delft, was beneficial. However, it was also clear that the real problem wasn't with the children but with the adults – teachers and parents – from whom they naturally took their cue. Thus we resolved that our efforts for the following year should be concentrated on the teachers, and then extended to parents as well.

With the weekly workshops we held with the teachers in 2005, our basic approach was to get them to interact, to learn about themselves and their colleagues, and to uncover and come to terms with the attitudes about other cultural groups that every person growing up in South Africa inherits to a greater or lesser extent, including ourselves as facilitators. The idea is that you cannot do something about an attitude that is not admitted, and that it is within our power to hold up outworn beliefs and attitudes to the light of consciousness and choose to modify or reject them. Two of the basic Quaker values are very

pertinent here: that there is that of God in everyone, and that we all have the ability to change.

Accordingly, one of the workshops we devised was exploring the myths and stories about other communities that we had all grown up with, so that they could be seen and accepted, divested of the power that comes from fear of disclosure. We were aware that this subject matter was very close to the bone for the level of trust in the group, as the teachers initially strove to maintain that their childhoods had not been imbued with feelings and attitudes about other groups at all. However, as it went on, even those who had denied having any significant memories of this kind came up with many experiences. One coloured teacher admitted, for example, that he had feared black people as a child, because his parents would say that if he was naughty, the blacks would catch him and hurt him. Though this workshop started slowly, with initial nervousness and denial, for fear of being thought racist or offensive, they all warmed to the theme eventually, and one teacher commented at the end that her heart felt lighter; she felt freer.

Misunderstanding and division

We were aware by the end of 2005, however, that we had merely scratched

the surface of the racial tensions at the school, and that it would take a sustained effort in 2006. In their end of year evaluations of the workshops, the teachers emphasized that they needed a more intense, extended time to get to know one another and work through issues together. We then planned to hold a residential weekend for the whole staff, outside of the constricting atmosphere of Delft, in early 2006.

Meanwhile, the school had moved to occupy a new campus where for the first time the Foundation and Intermediate phases were together. This radically re-defined the racial power balance: in the old school there had been a majority of coloured teachers, and all the black teachers had been on contract. In the new much bigger school, black teachers were in the majority. However, with the move, a number of teaching posts had become redundant as a result of the numbers of children in particular classes changing. The resultant shifting of teachers to other schools to avoid retrenchments rapidly became a hot racial issue – in the way that problems of scarce resources routinely become in the Western Cape.

In the beginning of this article, I mentioned that differences in history and political tradition between black and coloured communities, which were not acknowledged or explored, are a potent source of misunderstanding and division. This has a bearing on how our school operates as well: many of the teachers at the new school had come to Delft from Eastern Cape, and some, upon their arrival, had become members of a subcommittee of unemployed teachers under the auspices of the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO), whose members in Delft are seemingly almost exclusively black.

This subcommittee saw it as the unquestionable right of teachers who lived in Delft to have first option on jobs in local schools. The view of the Education Department, however, was that the best candidates for the job would be employed, whether they happen to live in Delft or not. This has meant that some teachers who commuted from Cape Town were made permanent, and some black teachers on contract complained bitterly about injustice and racial discrimination. The principal of the school is coloured. Each time permanent teaching posts are advertised, the racial temperature at the school rises.

An incident illustrates the kind of problem I am discussing. It occurred the night before a workshop on genocide offered by the Cape Town Holocaust Centre, which we had organised for our teachers to attend. When they climbed out of the bus, it was immediately apparent to me that something was wrong. As the workshop went on, I saw how tense they were, watchful of one another, and fearful of saying anything that might be repeated against them in the “other camp”. What had apparently happened was that a parents’ and teachers’ meeting had been disrupted by militants from SANCO, who had demanded that the coloured principal resign to make room for a more representative, i.e. black, principal. It was not clear to what extent this demand was supported within the staff, but racial polarisation was evident at the workshop.

The fundamental language issue

At the weekend itself, all the teachers expressed the fervent wish to overcome these divisions and learn to trust each other. But as one of the facilitators said, “peace is hard work,” and for a while after the workshop, it seemed that some of the frank talking might even have given rise to further distress, particularly for the principal, who already felt under attack. However, to her great credit, she was prepared to go with the process, and we pressed on to address one of the major themes that had emerged during the weekend: the need to un-

derstand one another’s languages and cultures. We at the QPC saw this as the most fundamental way to address problems of diversity at the school.

Being myself an English-speaker who learned to speak Xhosa as an adult while working for a trade union in the late seventies and eighties, I know what a fundamental difference language makes to working relationships. The issue of language was central in the union also, and our policy in the Western Cape was that everything said in every meeting had to be expressed in both Afrikaans and Xhosa. Translation was a right, not a privilege, and it gave substance to the slogans of worker unity.

Later, working for a language rights NGO, I observed that the commitment and effort put into learning the other’s language counts as much as the lan-

guage learning itself, in the transformation of attitudes. I also know that unless it is taken very seriously and even made compulsory, our lazy brains will not put in the effort required. It is common cause that many English and Afrikaans-speaking children who have undergone Xhosa classes at school, have singularly failed to acquire the language. I strongly suspect that apart from questions of teaching methods, this failure is due to the children perceiving rightly, in spite of what might be said to the contrary, that these language classes are not really serious. English is still seen as the only really important language, even by native Xhosa speakers.

We have secured the enthusiastic support of the Chief Language Practitioner in the Western Cape, who is assisting us to set up compulsory second language classes for teachers at the school, to be held once weekly in the staff development period. We have decided to begin with Xhosa, and the classes are compulsory for the Xhosa speakers as well, so that they can be paired with Afrikaans speakers to assist and mentor them throughout the process – taking a leaf from our workshops with the children, where the pairing was crucial to developing trust. The same procedure, with the mentoring and support system will then be put to teaching Afrikaans.

This is not a short-term solution,



Everyone was a victim of the vicious spiral of unemployment, poverty, crime and prejudice.

but there is no quick fix for overcoming racial prejudice. Everything we have learned in this past year confirms that relationships are the key to transformation: building relationships, maintaining relationships, through the bad patches as well as the good ones, is the only strategy with a hope of working. There have been many challenging moments in the process with this school where I thought it would all end in tears, but somehow we are all managing to stay the course. Teachers who are under enormous pressure don’t always, or can’t always, prioritise the work of transformation, but although progress is uneven, it is undoubtedly happening. We need courage to confront our own darkness, and the perseverance to see it through – and thankfully, there is no shortage of that in our school. 

Security without development will never present any durable peace. Neither will any sustainable development take place in an environment that does not provide safety for communities and individuals. The nexus between the two is a more and more obvious and inescapable fact, now being recognized by the UN, international NGOs and scholars.

AFRICA:

Development and security – interdependent and interconnected

Martha Mutisi and Peter Tendaiwo Maregere

The relationship between security and development is becoming increasingly significant in African countries. Since the end of the Cold War, the nexus between security and development has become more salient as development agencies recognise the interdependence of well-being and security. The concept of security has shifted from a phenomenon concerned more with sovereignty and territorial boundaries, with the state being the primary actor, to a concept that focuses on human development. It is therefore imperative that the 21st century becomes an era where security is broadened to incorporate individual concerns apart from state interest.

Present-day conflict in Africa has become more internal and protracted in nature, with structural dimensions like poverty, unemployment and under-development assuming centre stage. It is therefore crucial to acknowledge that development in an insecure world threatens human development, while the lack of development or inept development policies poses a serious threat to the security of the nation and of the individual. It is also important to note that in order to address security threats facing Africa, there is an increasing need to confront the development malaise in the continent, manifested in aspects such as declining standards of living, HIV/AIDS, unemployment and environmental degradation.

Development is a process through which societies and states seek to achieve more prosperous and equitable

standards of living. During this process, different players are involved, including governments, civil society organisations, grassroots institutions as well as international development agencies. Thus, according to Todaro (1993), development is “a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty”.¹

On the other hand, security is much more than the protection of territorial integrity, stability and the vital interests of states through the use of the political, legal or coercive instruments of the state. Security issues now grapple with attempts to address threats to the security of individuals, communities and nations. In essence, the emphasis should be on promoting ‘human security’ and the welfare of ordinary people. Against this background, security therefore refers to the attempt to prevent or resolve violent conflict, which emanates from structural conditions. This holistic definition explains why security sector reform is such a topical issue in contemporary Africa. Security sector reform acknowledges that security is an essential condition for sustainable development and poverty reduction. The security sector should therefore reflect a multiplicity of voices including the military, police, judiciary, collective security organisations and civilian associations.

The Post-Cold War era in Africa brings new types of conflicts and security threats, which are no longer confined to the international and military arena, but are more internal, protracted and intractable. Consequently, it has been increasingly recognised that there is a need to integrate security and development policies. Many scholars (including Bond², Stiglitz³, and Boutros Ghali⁴), the United Nations (UN), the Department for International Development (DFID), other development practitioners and actors in the security realm do realise that peace, conflict, security and development are intrinsically connected. These two concepts have to be viewed through integrated lenses for sustainable peace and development.

Africa – a vulnerable continent

Although nuclear war and terrorism present threats to the global world, the main security threats in Africa are poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS, and environmental degradation. Widespread poverty and unemployment create easy targets for war recruitment and political manipulation. Thus, if development challenges are left unaddressed, they tend to spill over and transform into agitations for self-determination, fundamental freedoms as well as struggles for identities and values. Furthermore, in Africa the lack of human security is compounded by the failure of development projects such as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). SAPs have largely witnessed burgeoning poverty,

unemployment and a boom in HIV/AIDS. Such development quandaries leave the continent vulnerable to internal strife, as in the case of Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where protracted civil wars have raged for decades.

There is a growing consensus that security must be concerned with the protection of individuals and communities from all forms of violence. Too often in Africa, the military is used to sustain governments in power instead of promoting internal security. However, an encouraging development is that security is increasingly becoming interdisciplinary. This connection has been embraced by international agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)⁵ as a result of the deepening inequality between the North and the South and the chronic poverty in many areas of the developing world. It is widely acknowledged that intrastate wars and instability in Africa have inhibited and destroyed development and progress. Collier presents empirical evidence to demonstrate how instability in countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, the DRC and Angola has retarded development in areas of health, education, agriculture and infrastructure.⁶

The importance of non-military dimensions of security, such as the economic, social and environmental spheres, should be acknowledged and debated.⁷ Both the security and development fields have the ultimate purpose of seeking to enhance and improve the human condition. It is encouraging that the UN does realise explicitly the relationship between security and development. The former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, acknowledges that development and security are inseparable and mutually reinforcing factors.⁸ He adds that poverty, inequality and underdevelopment create and reproduce conditions of instability, making poor countries ripe for civil discontent. This is why the alleviation of poverty surfaces as one of the UN's Millennium Development Goals. The same view is echoed by Collier⁹ and Tandon¹⁰ who, when analysing causes of civil conflicts in Africa, posit that poverty and poor economies make resource endowed countries such as Sierra Leone more susceptible to rebellion.

The mere presence of strong state security is not adequate for building sustainable peace. Security without development is hollow and is likely to lead to a situation of violent conflict. State

machinery alone cannot build sustainable, durable and positive peace. Comprehensive security must account for the overall security context, allowing for both fundamental and specific aspects of sustainable development.¹¹ Hovland¹², who writes about violent conflict in post-apartheid South Africa, concretises this argument when he posits that the conflict settlement in South Africa, exemplified by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, did not tackle the economic needs of communities. After apartheid, structural dimensions of the conflict were largely left untouched, with black South Africans remaining poorer than their white counterparts. This implied that the peace processes had not tackled the human security realm. The exclusion of structural dimensions of the conflict essentially evoked insecurity and mal-development.

In the post-apartheid era, the inequality gap between blacks and whites leads the young South African "rainbow nation" to grapple with internal violence in the form of crime, mainly robbery and rape. Although South Africa is considered the most developed country in Africa, it has one of the highest rape statistics on the continent.¹³ The crime rates in South Africa are an indicator of how ignored human development needs can curtail stability. There is a need therefore for inclusive development in order to promote sustainable security. It is increasingly being recognised that conflict is generated when certain parts of the population, groups or communities feel excluded from the development process. In order to promote security, sustainable development as a concept and praxis becomes a key issue. According to Yash Tandon,¹⁴ sustainable development should address the increasing social and economic imbalances that divide the world by analysing the underlying political and economic causes of conflict.

Interdependent prerequisites

Development without security is ephemeral. Similarly, security without development is a façade. One aspect of the development and security equation is the assertion that security is a prerequisite for development. For any country to be labelled secure and developed, it is

imperative to have investor confidence, rule of law and stability in order to nurse the development dream. Investors do not want to risk their wealth in volatile economic and political climates where their private property is not guarded safely. There is increasing evidence of how instability has stifled development in most African states.

The "farm invasions" in Zimbabwe, which began as peasant revolts and were later sanctioned by the government, have dealt a blow to Zimbabwe's economic development. The country has witnessed massive capital flight, as investors and farmers realised the high degree of impunity in the country. Many multinational companies moved to other parts of southern Africa, thereby contributing to "development in reverse". This haphazard land reform has negatively affected agricultural exports, further creating a volatile and inflationary environment. Such an economic malaise is a security threat in Zimbabwe and the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front party is aware of this "time bomb", hence the muzzling of the press, repression of civic freedoms and



Conflict is generated when certain parts of the population, groups or communities feel excluded from the development process.

growing militarisation of the state in anticipation of civil turmoil.

In order to promote development through security, there is a need for programmes to support the rule of law in most developing countries. The rule of law is emphasised in order to address the current developmental challenges facing developing societies, particularly the African continent. This requires that laws be understood, be clear and be equally applied to everyone. This means that the security sector, namely the police, judicial and penal institutions upholding the legal system, should be reasonably fair, competent and efficient. Local actors have to be meaningfully involved, and their capacities enhanced for success in strengthening the rule of law.

In Africa's security-development discourse, human development and human security can be achieved by civil society, the private sector, education centres,

Without security no sustainable development will take place. Violent conflicts and poverty create streams of refugees in search of acceptable living conditions.



PHOTO: FAO

international agencies and the state, through a multidisciplinary approach. This brings to the fore the concept of multi-track diplomacy,¹⁵ where each player has a significant role in the achievement of security, development and durable peace. Non-governmental organisations in Africa are working to promote both human security and human development through various humanitarian and development operations.

Similarly, educational institutions, health agencies and industries are working towards the same goal. This trend has seen the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Heads of States and Government coming together in 1993 to formulate the SADC Declaration, asserting that the objectives of security and development go hand in hand, implying, furthermore, that security is considered to be a prerequisite for development: "These [peace, security and stability] are prerequisites for development, and for the improvement of the standard and quality of life of the peoples of the region."¹⁶

Since the violent conflicts in Africa reflect the challenges of weak and failed states, the search for security and development should be accompanied by attempts to enable the states to resuscitate and revitalise their governance structures and operational machinery, such as the legislature, executive, judiciary and security forces. It is apparent that weak states are in themselves unable to

create conditions for stability, security, development and ultimately durable peace. Successful democratisation and development depends to a large extent on state capability and strength.

In Africa, the problem of weak and failed states is a reality, with Somalia and Sudan topping the list on the weak states scale. Weak states are not only unstable, they also struggle to address the issues of poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS and environmental degradation, the major factors in development. Subsequently, this process leads to a "legitimation crisis",¹⁷ wherein citizens become discontented with the state. Discontented citizens usually choose from an array of options, ways of expressing their disgruntlement. In most cases, the frustration has been manifested through rebellion, riots, crime and coups.

Capable states – enabled people

The linkage between security and development demonstrates an awareness of the extent to which security is a human development issue. The security of states is merely instrumental; the state is a necessary actor in the provision of security and in the process of development. To fulfil this role, the state itself needs to be secured and developed. For a state to be secured and developed, there is a need to achieve a just society in which people actively participate in development and human security processes. Such a society demonstrates the rationale for secu-

rity, which is to enable people to develop and become the architects of their own lives. Therefore, the creation of capable states is also imperative in the security-development discourse.

The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report identifies seven specific elements that comprise human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. In the development realm, HIV/AIDS is a primary security threat in sub-Saharan Africa. United Nations former Secretary-General Kofi Annan has called the virus no less destructive than warfare itself. This assertion is heavily backed by statistical evidence. For example, in 2000, more than 200 000 people died in conflict in Africa, while 2 million people died of AIDS during the same year.

Against this background, in 2000, the UN Security Council historically recognised the link between human security and development by acknowledging that HIV/AIDS is indeed a threat to peace and security in Africa. In developing countries AIDS curtails security and development by infecting the ordinary people who are pivotal to development. These casualties include teachers, doctors, nurses and other caretakers in their most productive years. The pandemic creates a cycle of poverty and underdevelopment, reversing the advances developing countries

have achieved in these areas. According to Kofi Annan, "...AIDS is causing a social and economic crisis which in turn threatens political stability. In already unstable societies, this cocktail of disasters is a sure recipe for more conflict. And conflict, in turn, provides fertile ground for further infections."¹⁸

Rebel activity in most African countries is another indicator of the inextricable link between security and development. While it is not given that poverty causes internal wars, there is a broad consensus that addressing instability and internal strife should also be merged with the fight against poverty, underdevelopment, inequality, disease, and other economic and social problems. The concept of "solbels" is an indicator of the link between security and development. Solbels are "soldiers by day and rebels by night" and are found in most war-torn African countries. Such people easily cross the divide between rebel movements and government forces depending on the economic gains they get from either side. Such a practice occurred in Sierra Leone during the civil war and is still common in the Northern Ugandan war as well as the conflict in the DRC. In most civil wars, young men join warring parties if they are not employed or if their income-earning opportunities are increased by joining the war.¹⁹ Thus, as long as young people are hungry, uneducated and unemployed, the prospects of insurgencies remain high. This is why the Kofi Annan emphasises that poverty reduction, basic literacy, employment creation and infrastructural development should occupy the centre stage in Sierra Leone's peace process.²⁰

It is against this background that the effects of development on poor countries should be juxtaposed with security and defense issues. Most dependency scholars including Amin (2001) assert that the impact of the economic slowdown is most acutely felt by developing countries.²¹ Poor countries such as Mali, Chad, Ivory Coast and Ghana are struggling with unsustainable debt repayments, unfair terms of trade as well as insufficient development assistance volumes from rich countries. It is also in these countries that internal strife has erupted or threatens to explode. Therefore, issues of debt cancellation, fair terms of trade and conflict-sensitive development must be urgently addressed in order to promote durable peace and sustainable security in Africa. The re-

alisation of such a nexus has spurred several development-focused projects in developing regions, including Africa's own New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). NEPAD offers hope for Africa, because it is a tool for inclusive development, with a vision for eradicating poverty and promoting sustainable development.

Overall, the security-development nexus compels us to think outside the box. Acknowledging the nexus between security and development calls for a revision of mind-sets and thinking in the security studies and development realm. New approaches to security are needed in Africa, because the continent has its own set of security concerns. For example, the proliferation and unlawful use of small arms poses one of the most pressing security problems in countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Sudan. Poor economies and lack of resources to endow the security sectors have meant that law enforcement agencies in these countries are often incapable of collecting illegal arms and prosecuting offenders. This compounds the insecurity-underdevelopment challenge.

Against this background, there is a need for continued security sector reform to facilitate collaboration between traditional security providers and civilian actors. While a poorly managed security sector curtails development, discourages investment and helps to perpetuate poverty, a lack of development and shortage of resources for state organs pose a security threat. Security sector reform should therefore provide a safe and stable environment for development, while development should enhance the delivery of security.

It is important to note that as the relationship between security and development in Africa continues to unfold, so does the terrain of conflict resolution and peace-building. Any approach to peace that does not realise the congruence between security and development is transient and may not lead to durable peace. Making the security-development nexus a reality requires concerted efforts from civil society, the private sector, education institutions and the state itself to introduce and sustain development that addresses poverty, HIV/AIDS and environmental insecurity. The benefits from such processes will not only promote human development, but will also cushion the continent from instability and agitations, thereby promoting holistic security. 

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¹ M Todaro (1997), *Economic Development*, London: Longman, Chapter 3

² R Paris, 'Human security: Paradigm shift or hot air?', *International Security* 26(3), Winter 2001/02, p 87

³ J Stiglitz, (2003), *Globalization and its Discontents*, New York: W. W. Norton and Company

⁴ B Boutros-Ghali (1995), *An Agenda for Development*, New York: United Nations Publications

⁵ Ibid.; UNDP (1994), *Human Development Report 1994*, New York: Oxford University Press. I make the point elsewhere, though, that this link between security and development was already drawn earlier in the Kampala Document and in the rationale for creating SADCC in 1980.

⁶ P Collier (2003), *Breaking the Conflict Cycle: Civil War and Development Policy*, Washington DC: World Bank

⁷ J Matthews, 'Redefining Security', *Foreign Affairs* 68(2), Spring 1989; D Deudney, 'The Case against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security', *Millennium* 19(3), 1990; S Walt, 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', *International Studies Quarterly*, 35, 1991

⁸ In *Larger Freedom: Towards Security, Development and Human Rights For All*, Report of the UN Secretary General for Decisions by Heads of State and Government, September 2005

⁹ P Collier (date), 'Economic Causes of Conflict and Their Implications for Policy', in Chester, A et al (eds) *Managing Global Chaos*, Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace

¹⁰ Y Tandon (1999), 'Economic Causes of Peacelessness and Approaches to Peace in Africa', *Peace and Change*, 25(2), April 2005

¹¹ DFID Issue 2005, *Understanding and Supporting Security Sector Reform*

¹² I Hovland (2003), 'Macro-Micro Dynamics in South Africa: Why the Reconciliation Process will not reduce violence', *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 1(2)

¹³ M Robertson (1998), 'An Overview of Rape in South Africa', *The Continuing Medical Education Journal*, 6, pp 139-148

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ L Diamond and J McDonald (1996), *Multi Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*, Kumarian Press Books

¹⁶ SADC, *Towards the Southern African Development Community: A Declaration by the Heads of State or Governments of Southern Africa*, Southern African Development Community, Gaborone, 1993, p. 3

¹⁷ J Habermas (1975), *Legitimation Crisis*, Boston: Beacon Press

¹⁸ Security Council holds debate on impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa, 4086th meeting, press release, SC/6781, 10 January 2000

¹⁹ P Collier (1999), *Doing Well Out of War*, Washington DC: World Bank

²⁰ Kofi Annan quoted by Jeanette Goldman in 'Annan: Sierra Leone Must Focus on Root Causes of War', *Rapport News*, 26 September 2005

²¹ S Amin (2001), 'Imperialism and Globalisation', *Monthly Review*, 53(2)

What is the worth of human lives in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where millions of people have lost their lives in the devastating war? Do the efforts of the UN and international NGOs to alleviate the plights of the Congolese make any difference? No real improvement will occur until the root causes of the conflict are addressed, said Déo Buuma, administrator at LPI's programme in DR Congo in a speech delivered at Columbia University, USA, in 2006. His conclusion is that a deeper analysis is needed of the most effective relief and development strategies.

DR CONGO:

No peace without the people

Déó Buuma

Over the past seven years more than four million people have died in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Out of this fact one could draw the pessimistic conclusion that people do not matter. On the other hand, the international community is spending billions of dollars in DR Congo, and thus, one could

The cease-fire could turn into violent combat again or at least endanger the transition process, which should officially have led towards peace, security, stability and democratisation.

We have seen several concrete examples of this over the past years, like for example the Bukavu events in June 2004, and the Gatumba and Nindja massacres. Several problems that the country is facing have not been properly addressed, neither in the peace accords, nor in the

transition period. So many people blindly refer everything to God, especially in the face of unaffordable problems.

No functioning structures

The actual problems that influence the transition could be described as follows: For over 40 years there has been an absence of functioning state structures. Corruption and clientelism are widely embedded in practice at all levels. The integration of the Congolese army, FARDC, has not been a smooth process, because trust and a common agenda are lacking. Integrated brigades still prefer to listen to their former commanders instead of the new commander in line, so orders are not obeyed and different agendas are pursued. Demobilisation and reintegration do not really work on a large scale because of mistrust, insecurity, and the lack of reintegration strategies.

Impunity is omnipresent, so serious human rights violations continue on a daily basis. The Congolese army is not being paid regularly, while eight million US\$ a month is being spent on the army. People are taken hostage on a dai-

ly basis, food and cattle are stolen, and women are regularly raped. One week for example, 22 women were raped in Kalonge, not far from Bukavu, the majority of them by FARDC soldiers.

The different practices in getting access to land did not help in distributing it evenly to the population. Many conflicts in North and South Kivu are linked to this, and nothing has been done yet to change it on the level of the transitional government. People with the most interest at stake are also the people in power, so what changes should we expect? Unfortunately, the same goes for the mining sector. The exploitation of resources, which DR Congo has in abundance, is of major interest to some national and a lot of international actors.

The transitional institutions have adopted a nationality law that formally might solve one of the important problems in the East. However, exclusion of certain communities and manipulation of the population by politicians continues in practice.

Rwandan presence

Another major problem is the presence of the Democratic Front for Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) in Eastern DR Congo. Joint military operations by FARDC and MONUC regularly take place in order to make the lives of the FDLR so difficult that they would prefer to be demobilised and return to Rwanda. In practice the FDLR are dispersed by these military operations, but do not agree to return to Rwanda. Abuses and atrocities by the FDLR worsen because of frustration and the fact that they are disconnected from their former environment. These operations increase the displacement of civilians; in South Kivu alone more than

“***So many people blindly refer everything to God, especially in the face of unaffordable problems.***”

conclude that the Congolese do matter. The question has different answers, depending on which angle you take.

Due to the genocide in 1994 in Rwanda and ravaging wars in DR Congo, the bulk of humanitarian agencies have entered the country and saved lives in many different ways. All the work that UN agencies, the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), the International Committee of the Red Cross and many humanitarian NGOs do is improving the lives of the Congolese. Why then do so many people still die on a daily basis because of human rights abuses, atrocities and starvation?

One crucial part of the answer would be that most interventions deal with the consequences of the situation instead of the causes of the conflicts. The peace accords, which led to the transition period, were a fragile power-sharing agreement between different actors. Every time a peace accord was signed, the fragile power balance was shaken by one of the components (or within one of the components) of the transition.

160 000 people are currently displaced.

The former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, said in the spring of 2006 during his visit to Kinshasa that after the elections the international community should stay involved in DR Congo. This is a very important statement, because legitimising the political elite, which has a greater interest in defending personal interests than serving the needs of the population, will not solve all the problems that the country is still facing.

Several actors have saved many lives with their interventions for which the Congolese are grateful, but development issues should not be forgotten even during crises and wars. There is a need for the Congolese people to remain responsible for their own country,

for their own lives. Massive relief operations tend to increase dependency, ignore local opinions and destroy existing local development mechanisms. Collaboration with the Congolese is imperative, because they know the situation better than anyone else. The enormous investments in relief etc. could be more effective if collaboration with the people (for example customary chiefs, elders, religious leaders, civil society actors, etc.) would be taken more seriously, notwithstanding the fact that mechanisms should be used to retrieve the correct information.

Furthermore, finding ways of how to combine preventive strategies with reactive strategies needs much more attention. Finding solutions for the causes of

the problems would be much more effective in the long run than dealing with, or running after, the consequences.

For decades the state has not been functioning, recent wars have devastated the country, and the root causes of the conflicts have not been solved during the transition period although so much has been invested. My conclusion is that the debate on how to improve the effectiveness of the relief, development, political, military and economic interventions should be high on the agenda, because people, in this context especially Congolese people, do matter. 🐦

PHOTO: YLSE VAN DER SCHOOT/LPI



The international community should listen carefully when the Congolese express their own needs and opinions, whether in demonstrations like this one in South Kivu or within more formal structures.

Church agencies urge: Stop cluster munitions

– We encourage all governments to commit to a new international treaty prohibiting cluster munitions. These weapons maim and kill indiscriminately, but as church related agencies we are driven by our faith that life is sacred.

This was said in a joint statement by the two church related agencies DanChurchAid (DCA) and Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), directed to the participants in the Oslo Conference on Cluster Munitions, held in February this year.

DCA and NCA claim that cluster munitions create the effect of an unmarked minefield and that there is no “safe” place to use them. As they spread a large amount of submunitions, they virtually guarantee civilian casualties when fired into populated areas.

As clearly demonstrated in recent conflicts, e.g. Kosovo,

Iraq, Afghanistan and Lebanon, the lack of respect and non-implementation of the existing rules of International Humanitarian Law have proven inadequate to provide protection to civilians from cluster munitions. In six months after the ceasefire in Lebanon in 2006, at least 200 civilians were killed or injured by unexploded cluster munitions.

– We therefore call on our own states as well as other states participating in the Oslo Conference on Cluster Munitions to recognize the urgent need for a new treaty prohibiting these weapons entirely, as they are incompatible with the compliance with International Humanitarian Law, said Henrik Stubkjær and Atle Sommerfeldt, General Secretaries of DCA and NCA, respectively.

Full-fledged war is not the only threat to development and democracy. Potential conflicts in vulnerable zones and the proliferation of small arms pose a great threat to people's lives, livelihoods and health. Coping mechanisms at the community level often prove to be a powerful resource in peacebuilding.

SOUTH ASIA:

Peacebuilding begins in the village

W. James Arputharaj

Trying to understand the root cause of any conflict around the world brings us closer to the people, and the vulnerability of the community they belong to. Globally, there are examples of how people living in poverty experience injustice, denial of rights and deprivation, while the democratic institutions that are meant to redress the grievances of the people, are failing due to poor governance at different levels of the society. Such situations have often led to groups resorting to violent agitation to make their voices heard.

In March 2004, a seminar was organized by the Asian Youth Centre in Madras, India, to reflect on possible geographical areas within South Asia that could be termed "potential conflict" areas in the years to come. One such poverty corridor reaches from the Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh through South Orissa and Bihar. This region is characterized by poor governance both at local and district levels, food insecurity and landlessness leading to extreme poverty, coupled with low literacy and poor health among the communities. In some parts of this corridor, the elected representatives are landlords who do not represent the interests of the people. There is already a small violent non-state actor group called the Peoples War Group emerging in this region. If the development dimensions and the people's agenda are not addressed, there will probably be a full-fledged conflict in the near future. Pockets of similar zones of deprivation could be mapped out in every country in South Asia.

These risk zones are in addition to the major conflict zones in the North East of India and elsewhere in the region. The governments have chosen military solutions for many years to

resolve these conflicts. Given the continued instability, there is a need for alternative confidence building measures and commitment to address the root causes of some of these conflicts before they escalate into large scaled violence. This trend is also visible in the multiple conflict-ridden zones of Sri Lanka.

Local initiatives to provide security

In the context of the conflict in Sri Lanka, some of the most intense fighting has been in the peninsula of Jaffna. The fighting has led to the displacement of people a number of times. The most significant event was the mass displacement of the Tamil community in 1995, when approximately 500,000 people were displaced during army occupation. During our dialogue with the surviving members of the community, we realized that the experiences of the community vary from one to another. They have employed a variety of strategies to cope with risks to a) their lives, b) their livelihoods and c) their physical/psycho-social health.

The common definition of community coping mechanisms is to describe the ways in which individuals adjust to difficult situations. The coping mechanism is a process in which the individual manages the demand of the person-environment relationship that is considered stressful and the emotions generated from it. In my earlier study of Jaffna villages on understanding human insecurity, we realized that in village after village there was a small group of women who withstood the ordeal of war. Interestingly, a significant proportion of the

men died of shock, unable to cope with the stressful situation.

An example of a) would be that of Komathy Francis from the fishing community in Navanthuraia, who at the time was nine months pregnant. Her family was informed of the impending army occupation and given less than two hours to escape. She, like the rest of the community, walked for more than twenty hours at a stretch. She carried her sister's disabled child, and without a drop of water to drink, walked until she reached safety. Her only source of food was a banana given to her by a stranger, which she thought of sharing twice with her niece. While in displacement, to survive and feed her family, she sold her jewellery for the asking price, which was one fourth of the market value. After she returned to her village, she negotiated with some of her women neighbors to obtain an entry pass and formed a committee for



The proliferation of small arms undermines democracy, leads to an increase in human rights violations and stalls development.

security and protection. The men were unable to negotiate as they were always considered suspect.

In order to cope with b) people try to negotiate with military personnel to cultivate their land, get access to the sea etc. An important factor is the material support that village communities provide to each other. In situations of threat women often become the income earners of the family, facilitated



PHOTO: REUTERS

The high presence of the military in the daily life of northern Sri Lanka is a constant reminder of the threat of new eruptions of violence.

by the community support structures.

In order to cope with c) women form grief or survival groups, or groups that deal with missing persons etc. The Tharaka Widows' Centre in Jaffna is a group of widows who initially came to undertake beedi rolling (a kind of cigarette) to ease their livelihood. But this togetherness gave them time to share their grief. In the words of Selvi, "We were glad that we have at least four women to hug and cry together." At the Jaffna Hospital more than half of the patients suffer from psychosocial trauma.

Small arms undermine democracy

The people living in the conflict zone in the North of Sri Lanka face a constant threat to their lives and livelihoods from varying communities and non-state actors. More than 75,000 people have lost their lives as a result of the conflict. Due to the classification of high security zones, there is also a high presence of military in the paddy fields and along the fishing coast. Small arms proliferation is one of the most intractable issues

in the conflict in northern Sri Lanka. The proliferation of small arms by non-state actors is equally serious a problem as the excessive accumulation of arms by the state. The proliferation of small arms by both parties to the conflict to a large extent impedes the peaceful negotiated settlement of issues.

Because of the lack of any institutionalized support mechanism, the communities over the years have developed their own locally-based peace building efforts in small groups. These efforts strengthen the coping mechanisms to foster unity in the villages and encourage the settlement of differences of opinion between individuals and groups among themselves, so that non-state actors or the military do not interfere with the affairs of the community.¹

It is interesting to note that outside the theatre of conflict, the proliferation of small arms in the South is quick and

at an all-time high. There are more than 85,000 army deserters with arms, who are in hiding and are believed to be the cause of most of the road and house robberies. There is a mushrooming of private armies, and even a few state ministers prefer private armies to defend them as security personnel. Contract killing is on the rise.

The proliferation of small arms undermines democracy, leads to an increase in human rights violations and stalls development, besides escalating conflicts and promoting a culture of violence and increased poverty. Due to



In village after village there was a small group of women who withstood the ordeal of war.

the proliferation of small arms, the Sri Lankan society is becoming a weapon dependent society.

To work at the community level to address the proliferation of small arms

means looking at the community dimensions of peaceful coexistence, justice and development. A basic element is development work to enable people to be aware of the problem at the local level and build the capacity of the community to resolve disputes itself. The endeavors of NGOs and non-state actors

community-based peacebuilding efforts to bring lasting peace to the country.

The team of RPR gathered the people in the entire village and explained to them the rationale behind forming Village Reconstruction Committees (VRCs), and requested them to elect twenty persons to work in these committees. They were

trained in human rights law, mediation skills and nonviolent communication. Over the last two years, the VRCs have been able to solve disputes among individuals, groups

and communities. They have also been able to address the problem of returnees, their land rights, etc. The problems hitherto referred to the military or LTTE guerillas are now independently resolved within the community by the VRCs. They have regular monthly meetings and every quarterly meetings at the divisional level to share their experiences and learn from each other. They also contribute to a newsletter, which highlights the successes as well as failures.

In Mada village about one hundred people who took shelter in the church were bombed. Madutheen from the village said, "In the past, I realize now that I was mad and indulged in many violent acts and I thought they were the right thing to do. Now being part of the VRC group, we were made to realize that we should do things without hurting others, and I have reduced viewing others in a narrow-minded way. I have now understood what violence is. I believe that if men change, the society will change." Another VRC member, Sribalan of Katta Hopistal, says, "In my village, people of Hindu, Islam and Christian faith live together in peace. We have learnt through the RPR training how truthful we should be in respecting other people's feelings. This to a large extent has reduced the violence in our village."

This is truly a process of empowering the village communities. They have realized the need to live in peace and harmony. Over the years, their level of confidence in handling local disputes has increased.

RPR builds the capacity of the VRCs to analyze and find solutions to threats from external forces. The VRC groups are currently self-assessing their capacity. There is high proliferation of small arms in this area. Although the VRCs

thought of a strategy, they would like to take this approach gradually, as the situation is not conducive at the moment. Since the VRCs are widely accepted in the villages, they would be in a position to request those who carry arms to surrender the arms with the VRC elder, at least during the night, to avoid any incident in the village. This phase would recognize the arms in circulation without questioning their use or origin. The VRC could then gradually counsel those who carried arms and discuss their need to possess arms, and also try to make them think of people's security without the use of arms in the future.

While greater collaboration between the state and the non-state entities still needs to be fully achieved, it is evident that the role of non-state actors in preventing armed violence, peacefully resolving conflicts and facilitating post-conflict reconciliation of divided societies is increasing.

Peacebuilding from below respects the local capacities and cultures and deals with the roots of the conflict. According to John Paul Lederach (1995), "The principle of indigenous empowerment suggests that conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect, and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. This involves a new set of lenses through which we do not primarily 'see' the setting and the people in it as the 'problem' and the outsider as the 'answer'."² Rather, we understand the long-term goal of transformation as validating and building on people and resources within the setting. Therefore, the people are not the problem but part of the solution. 

The article is based on a presentation by the author at a "Seminar on Integrating Development into the UN Program of Action Process" in Oslo, March 2006, organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway.

¹ The author's views expressed here are based on his research in 2003 through the South Asia Partnership, supported by the Evangelische Entwicklungsdienst, Germany, in understanding human insecurity in Jaffna, where several types of community resilience/coping mechanisms were observed. His work in 2004-2005 with Cord Aid through a program called Resources for Peace and Reconciliation, which supports and strengthens existing coping mechanisms of the communities and gives them adequate training, broadens their scope as Village Reconciliation Committees.

² Lederach, John Paul: *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse University Press, 1995



Peacebuilding from below respects the local capacities and cultures and deals with the roots of the conflict.

to strengthen the local coping mechanisms will go a long way in addressing the problem of small arms.

Lessons learnt from looking at the potential conflict areas around the world are also in a way helpful in strengthening the development dimensions of the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons, with reference to the demand aspect of the small arms problem. Following are some of the recommendations we could consider:

At the regional level governments and non-state actors should agree on a time frame to resolve conflicts through negotiated settlement. At the national level governments should ensure good governance at the local levels. Elections for the local governance institutions should be conducted on time and be allocated sufficient resources. Major development projects of the national government need to take into consideration the views of the local government.

At the local level there is a need to train local government officials and elected members to assess the needs and priorities of the region and the problems faced by the people. Civil society organizations should represent the needs of the vulnerable communities to the local bodies. Communities should form peace committees to resolve conflicts within the village and to declare themselves gun-free villages.

Peacebuilding from below

Utilizing the opportunity of the ceasefire, the Resources for Peace and Reconciliation (RPR) in Mannar, Sri Lanka, formed peace committees to help the war returnees and to re-establish a sense of community 'we' feeling. This idea was part of the team's understanding of

LPI News

Successful support to peace education

The interest in peace and conflict studies is growing globally, and academic institutions in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East are no exceptions. In spite of a large number of difficult conflicts as well as plentiful peacebuilding projects around, many of the universities lack resources in terms of literature as well as contacts with practitioners. The Life & Peace Institute (LPI) has, with financial support from the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), been able to assist as many as 100 university institutions and networks in 40 countries with teaching material and regional seminars.

This project, which is called Publications for Peace Education (PPE), goes back to discussions between LPI and MFA in 2003. The initial phase of the project, which MFA funded up to the end of 2005, enabled LPI to update and re-print 15 major publications. The books were distributed in sets of ten copies to universities for teaching purposes. A growing list of institutions reached a hundred relevant faculties in countries like Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Namibia, Swaziland, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon, to mention some.

– It took us quite some time to finalize the list of beneficiaries, says Selin Amirthalingam at LPI. We used all means to reach out and establish contacts. The current list of a hundred partner institutions represented a variety of faculties and orientation across Africa and the Middle East, as well as a few in Asia. We were a bit surprised and impressed by the great interest for peace studies in universities. Most of them, however, reported a severe shortage in publications

Over 20 000 books

As the project continued in a second phase, a total of over 20 000 books were distributed. A preliminary evaluation in southern Africa indicated appreciation of the books as LPI embarked on a follow-up process with educational seminars in various regions.

The seminars bring together a selection of students, faculty, researchers, practitioners and representatives from the civil society in a particular region. Some 40 people from the Horn of Africa region met in April 2006 in Nairobi, Kenya, to discuss peace agreements and the role of the civil society.

– The seminar turned out to be a viable forum for discussions in the

quest for pragmatic theories, paradigms and mechanisms for pursuing sustainable peace in this conflict-ridden region of Africa, says LPI's Basil Nyama, who was one of the facilitators.

In a similar educational seminar in Cape Town, South Africa, in November 2006, close to 30 participants from Namibia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and South Africa met to compare their views on the theme, Building a Culture of Peace in Southern Africa.

– It was a most rewarding conference, says Tore Samuelsson, who coordinated the meeting in southern Africa together with the Cape Town-based Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. The participants, including some guest students from Rwanda and DR Congo, were very committed to contribute to the exchange and discuss constructively the ways forward in their respective countries and political contexts. While sharing some regional perspectives and history, the peace processes are very different. It is extremely important that students of peace and conflict get this opportunity to meet and discuss across boundaries, cultures and political systems.

A third seminar was arranged in by LPI in Brazzaville in December 2006. As many as 60 persons from universities in the two Congos, Brazzaville and Kinshasa, participated. Claudette Werleigh from LPI, who facilitated the seminar, was impressed by the motivation of the students. The participants and speakers represented governments, NGOs, students and faculty at theological seminars as well as state universities.

– The seminar really provided space for people with different backgrounds to commit themselves to work together for security and peace, reports Claudette Werleigh.

Two more seminars

The Publications for Peace Education project is winding up the second phase in the first part of 2007 with another two educational seminars. One will be arranged in Bukavu, for the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, and the other in Alexandria, Egypt, for North Africa and the Middle East. Meanwhile, the book distribution is being finalized.



PHOTO: TORE SAMUELSSON/LPI

Over 20 000 books have been sent out to about 100 countries within the project Publications for Peace Education. Louise Carlberg and Margaretha Norstedt at Temdahls Printing Office in Sweden are packing some of them.

All in all some 25 titles, mostly in English and some in French, for franco-phone universities, have been printed and distributed in well over 20 000 copies.

– We will do an evaluation of the project in the middle of 2007, but I am quite sure of the positive results, says Tore Samuelsson. It has been a very timely effort to boost the peacebuilding

Impact study

LPI has launched a new project aimed at working out a suitable approach for the planning, monitoring and evaluation of peace interventions. The development of such a theoretical and methodological instrument is needed for the systematic evaluation and improvement of peace interventions, as well as development assistance. LPI will

use the approach for evaluating and improving its own work, that of others' and for education purposes.

Dr Thania Paffenholz, one of the leading researchers on the subject, will work as LPI's consultant. She will spend the last week of March in Uppsala leading a workshop for LPI's staff and delivering public lectures on her work.

It is to be recalled

that LPI, as one of the few peacebuilding NGOs during the mid-1980s, pioneered the community-based bottom up approach in peacebuilding. Dr Paffenholz, tracing LPI's approach particularly in Somalia, has produced a highly appreciated conceptual work published by the LPI under the same title.

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) has

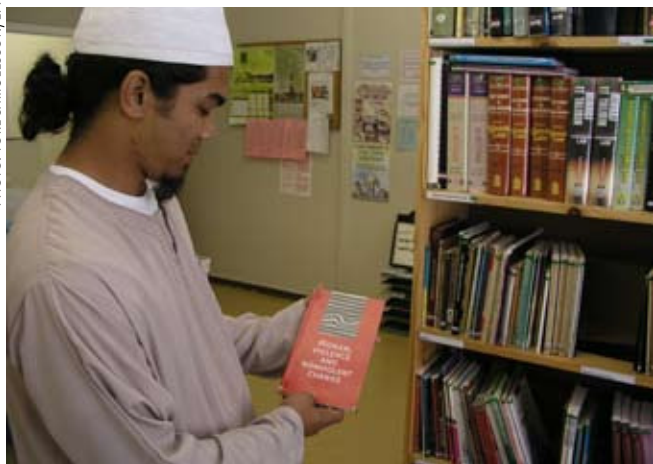
approved a budget for the planning, evaluation and impact assessment project, which will be completed in 2008. Dr Tarekegn Adebo at LPI is the coordinator of the project, assisted presently by Hannah Tsadik, an intern from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Link between government and civil society

After a period of restructuring in its regional office for the Horn of Africa Programme, LPI is resuming operations in Somalia, where the independent National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) is a vital partner in the effort to bring about a long lasting peace dividend. Through its independent status – and through its broad-based support in Somali society – it is hoped that the NRC can act as a link between the interim government and civil society in the daunting prospect of facilitating a process of national reconciliation. Coupled with this, LPI intends to support the position of women parliamentarians in the political process as well as civil society initiatives aimed at the community level throughout the south of the country.

Some weeks ago, LPI attended a meeting on Christian-Muslim leaders in Dar-es-Salaam at the behest of the World Conference of Religions for Peace. The increasingly volatile and worrying escalation of violence, particularly in Somalia, has persuaded

PHOTO: TORE SAMUELSSON/LPI



Hon. Falde Solomon, student representative from the Islamic International Peace University of South Africa, was one of the participants in the PPE seminar in Cape Town, South Africa.

at a number of universities. Thousands of students have already benefited from the books and the effect will last, as the books remain in use for at least some years. We are most grateful to the Finnish Ministry for their funding and look forward to a full debriefing later this year.

Staff changes

Claudette Werleigh, who has served the LPI as Director of the Conflict Transformation Program since 1999 is moving on. She will join Pax Christi International in Brussels as General Secretary.

Runo Bergström, Resident Representative in Congo Brazzaville, retires in March and returns to Sweden. He will, however, continue to serve LPI as a consultant. **Séraphin Ngouma** takes over as Resident Representative in Brazzaville on April 1.

Hélène Lundgren, who has been an interim Director for Finance and Administration, will return to her ordinary position at Uppsala University in April. LPI has three new interns working up until June. From left **Teémar Kidane**, **Catrin Rosquist** and **Hannah Tsadik**.



PHOTO: TORE SAMUELSSON/LPI



LPI Horn of Africa Programme is resuming its efforts for sustainable peace in Somalia. Staff in Nairobi, Kenya: Stephen Kinuanjui, Kirsi Saaristo, Abdi Aden Ali, Charity Nkonge, Joseph Muturi, and Liz Wmabui.

religious leaders in the region to come together as a first step to discuss the prevailing conflict on an interfaith level.



Seminars highlight Darfur crisis

– When tracing the causes of the conflict in Darfur, the crisis cannot only be seen as an incompatibility between the

central government on the one hand and the regional rebel movements on the other. One must also consider the communal elite's rivalry for leadership and another more serious issue, the rivalry between the different identity groups at the grassroots level.

These were the opening words of Professor Adam Elzain Mohamed at the second in a series of four seminars

on Darfur, Sudan. The seminars were arranged by the Life & Peace Institute in cooperation with the Nordic Africa Institute and the Workers' Educational Association Stockholm.

Professor Mohamed, who is affiliated with the University of Khartoum, continued his lecture by claiming that the Darfur Peace Agreement is a settlement, or a postponement, of the crisis rather than real a reconciliation process. According to traditional Darfuri-an conflict resolution mechanisms, internal reconciliation plays a major role, and cannot be neglected if sustainable peace is to be maintained in Darfur.

The seminars, which were held in Stockholm, Sweden, in February and March 2007, have been well visited. Lecturing at the first seminar was Professor Leif Manger of the University of Bergen, who addressed the regional-historical dimensions of the Darfur conflict. Following the second lecture by Professor Adam Elzain Mohamed was Marika Fahlén of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, who highlighted the humanitarian and military aspects of the conflict. Ending the seminar series was a panel debate with Björg Mide of the Norwegian Church Aid, Ove Bring, Professor of International Law at the University of Stockholm, and Jan Eliasson, UN's Special Envoy to Sudan, who provided useful insights on what could be done to end the violent conflict in Darfur.

Reviews

Humiliation and retaliation: a vicious circle

"Making Enemies - Humiliation and International Conflict" by Evelin Lindner. Praeger Security International, Westport, CT, 2006

What potent emotion lurks as a common denominator, perpetuating and fuelling conflict and violence? Noted peace scholar and seasoned psychologist Evelin Lindner proposes that humiliation is the "nuclear bomb of the emotions" and "the thread that ties all intractable conflicts together". Lindner paints a poignant picture of how humiliation has played a part in various conflicts, using examples across geographical and historical spans, from Nazi Germany to the recent Abu Ghraib debacle. With her thought-provoking and accessible way of writing, her argument becomes quite convincing. The book is as timely as a piece of writing can get, or as the author puts it: "Humiliation is a story as ancient as human history and as fresh as tomorrow's headlines."

Interestingly, very little is written about humiliation and even less research is done on how to end the cycle of

humiliation and retaliation. Lindner has filled a significant part of that gap as she has formulated a theory of humiliation and in essence, created a new multidisciplinary field in academia to tackle the issue from the viewpoint of various social sciences. In Lindner's emerging theory, the definition of humiliation comprises three elements - the perpetrator's act, the victim's feelings and the social process - and is intimately anchored in the human rights ideal of equal dignity for all. Thus, humiliation becomes "the enforced lowering of any person or group by a process of subjugation that damages their dignity".

In Lindner's conceptualization, it is a dynamic at work both in the minds of people (dealt with in Part I) and in the world, creating international conflicts (elaborated on in Part II). She ties the two realms together with the use of the terms 'globalization' and 'egalization' (the latter coined by the author herself). As people come close together in various ways through globalization, their expectations of equal dignity (egalization) rise, and any attempt to lower these expectations reverberate in a more magnified and threatening way in this new globalized context. A striking

case in point is the simultaneous uprising in several parts of the world around the caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed in the Danish Jyllands-Posten. Hence, the author surmises that it is more critical than ever to introduce the humiliation dynamic in our understandings of conflict and conflict resolution.

The third and last part deals with remedies to break the cycle. One of Lindner's more interesting antidotes is detaching from a few, strong social ties and fostering the ability to form a larger number of weaker ties within ourselves, to our emotions and with others. She perceives that weak and flexible bonds to the past or cultural differences can help people to cement their identity, primarily in the common arena of a shared humanity. Such an identity contributes to societal peace and though it may seem counter to the initial argument at first glance, it also contributes to the acceptance of human diversity, because as Lindner eloquently puts it: "Only when I make clear that my being different does not threaten us as human beings who are equal in dignity can I invite you to celebrate our diversity together".

Hannah Tsadik

Getting in and talking it out

Getting In, Mediators' Entry into the Settlement of African Conflicts by Mohammed O. Maundi, I. William Zartman, Gilbert M. Khadiagala, Kwaku Nuamah. United States Institute of Peace Press, New York, 2006

Talking it out, Stories in Negotiating Human Relations by Francis Deng. Kegan Paul, London, New York, Bahrain, 2006

The special representative of the UN for West Africa, Mr Ahmedou Ould-Abdullah, describes *Getting In* as an "important intellectual contribution to the understanding of the long and bumpy road toward peace". One could not describe these two books in a better way. Both books are brilliant and fascinating accounts of lessons learned. They deserve reading by all who want to learn more about negotiation, mediation and peacebuilding "live" out of Africa.

Getting In, which actually includes an account for Francis Deng's Sudan initiative back in 1987, is a study on the entry into the mediation of violent conflicts. It studies six African cases: Rwanda, Burundi, Congo Brazzaville, Liberia, Sudan and Ethiopia-Eritrea. The most important questions is: How do (prospective) mediators get access? The different cases offer many examples of interventions, and one conclusion by the authors is that Africa offers lessons that are of use in understanding the rest of the world. A list of 16 key findings is presented.

Talking It Out is more of a personal account including the author's family and background as the son of the leading Dinka Chief. It is a pity this manuscript was not complemented or updated following the more recent developments in Sudan. The foreword is dated (way) back in September 2002, although the book was released in 2006. I would have loved to see at least some comments from Francis Deng regarding Darfur, the agreement for Southern Sudan and the most recent one, regarding Eastern Sudan. But in a way that is really another book.

Anyhow, *Talking It Out* is a most interesting and valuable collection of stories and experiences from Sudan but also

externally. To quote Deng, "It expands over a period of time and involves the contribution of people who often cannot be identified". Deng, who became a scholar, diplomat and legal expert, shares his stories of mediating human relations from his youth as well as from his active, professional life in Sudan and elsewhere in the world.

Tore Samuelsson

Africa's untapped resources

European Union strategy for Africa. European Communities, Luxembourg, 2006

A document has been put out by the European Commission 2006 outlining the future EU strategy to chart 'new' relations with Africa, with an engaging introduction by Louis Michel, EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid.

Michel's opening words read:

"Africa is both the cradle of mankind and the future of the world ... It is also a continent full of potential – Africa is overflowing with untapped resources, whether natural and human ..."

Then he speaks about "determination to restore to health this ailing continent", also reminding the reader of a continent "deprived of the advantages of globalisation".

The former US President Bill Clinton once said: "Africa has no friends." Whatever agitated his mind to utter this, it was shocking and also revealing. Looking back to the traumatic and utterly unjust historical experience of Africa in its relationships with the West in general, and with Europe in particular, it is not difficult to grasp such a blunt statement.

The current strategy aims to develop "a common political vision for the future partnership between the EU and Africa, based on mutual respect, common interests and the principle of ownership". Is Africa on the way to finding genuine friends through this move?

Past grossly unjust relationships have bequeathed equally unfair and unjust trade regimes, among other things. An example in question is a recent international advocacy voice about the unfair coffee market and the burden of the Ethiopian farmers. A giant monopoly in coffee trade (Starbucks in this case) "earns \$24.00/lb, or more, while the Ethiopia farmers who supplied their premier land, distinctive plants, and hard labour earned less than a dollar". This could be repeated for all the riches of Africa – name them, starting from diamonds to tea and spices.

Now new emerging industrial giants too are entering the race in Africa for raw materials and markets – China, India, Brazil – without much ado for value jargons. The US has decided to establish a separate military command to protect Africa from becoming a terrorist foothold. Once Adam Smith said it is not the normative urge but 'the thirst for gold and silver' that drove the Spaniards to the Americas. Is it oil this time?

Anyhow, the EU strategy identifies peace and security, human rights and governance, development assistance, sustainable economic growth, regional economic integration and trade, and investment in people as its focus areas for the partnership. Critics are already loudly pointing out that there is nothing new in these enumerations; all are issues that have been raised for a long time without many practical results. Others indicate this document lacks both participation and ownership, as both the European civil

society and African partners are absent to add their views for its formulation.

There must be seriousness this time around – a change of mind and commitment to effect a ‘critical mass’ of self-generating development in Africa, not poverty reduction but uprooting poverty. Europe must decide to deal with developed Africa; this is morally right and rationally justifiable. Today, our world is more than equipped to root out abject poverty anywhere given a political will to act.

Everything is fluid, fragile and shifting in Africa. Wealth flies out constantly as it did for centuries, with scanty or no reinvestment, talent and intellect run away. No less than a million academics have abandoned their continent for life elsewhere. Africa needs staying and self-generating development like anywhere else. Can the new strategy challenge and arouse Africans towards real sustainable development?

Tarekegn Adebo

Black gold – a story of advocacy

Wem gehört das schwarze Gold? (To Whom Does the Black Gold Belong?) by Martin Petry. *Brot für die Welt/Brandes & Apsel Verlag GmbH, Frankfurt am Main, 2003*

It is a pleasure to read this very inspiring story accounted for by the Brot für die Welt (BfdW) colleague Martin Petry. It is about patience, integrity, endurance, networking and the important role that civil society can play.

An extended version of the book in French was published in 2005: *Le pétrole du Tchad. Rêve ou cauchemar pour les populations? (The Oil of Chad. A Dream or a Nightmare for the Peoples?)* by Martin Petry and Naygotimti Bambé, Karthala, Paris.

The book is about the exploration of the oil fields in Chad and the work to build a pipeline so that the oil could be transported to the Atlantic coast in Cameroon and shipped off to overseas consumers. Furthermore, it is about the work that was done in this particular case to see that it would not be the same story as always, about exploitation and misery following the interventions of the big oil companies with the interest to make money as their first and single goal.

The author has followed the whole chain of events from the mid 90's to today's situation, where a lot of things are better than they could have been. One can easily imagine the challenge it means to pull together all the different wills and ambitions from a large number of civil society organisations in Africa and internationally. Some are against the whole undertaking altogether. Some have the concern of their land or property as their main entry point. Some say it is a good idea to develop the countries but that the forms must be fair and transparent. Through the book we get to know how the oil companies and the different related structures and allies try to use different strategies of intimidation, co-optation, buying out etc.

A good example is the one of how much a mango tree is worth. The oil company presents in its study to the World Bank (who is supposed to give a generous credit for the pipeline, as it is presented as a development project ...) that a mango tree is worth 5 USD, a calculation made by an anthropologist who is hired to do the work. The counter investigation initiated by the civil society coalition comes

to the conclusion that each mango tree that has to be sacrificed through the construction of the pipeline is rather worth 840 USD, which would be some 170 times more. Through persistent and efficient work, the final agreement is that each mango tree is compensated by an amount in the end much closer to the NGO-position.

After recently having read the book by Adam Hochschild on the story of the Congo under King Leopold II of Belgium, one is tempted to compare the struggles described in the two books. The fight carried out more than a hundred years ago to end the terror reign of king Leopold and the efforts described in this more recent advocacy campaign certainly bear a number of similarities.

Those of you who need some inspiration but also understand the complexity of the campaigning should read this story. We congratulate BfdW for having supported this important work, both when it comes to the campaigning as such and through the publication of the book.

Peter Brune

Peace initiatives in the Middle East

Bridging the Divide – Peacebuilding in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Eds. Edy Kaufman, Walid Salem and Juliette Verhoeven. Lynne-Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London, 2006

How can we promote peacebuilding and conflict prevention strategies in Israel and Palestine, and at the same time highlight the important role NGOs and other civil society initiatives play (and can play) in achieving those objectives?

In this book the authors attempt to do just that, by eloquently chronicling and reviewing the valiant peacebuilding work that the civil society and grass roots organizations have done during the past fifteen years. It begins with an historical background of peacebuilding efforts since the birth of Zionism in the 1870's, and continues to deal separately with the peacebuilding efforts of NGOs in both territories. The following chapters concentrate on Israeli-Palestinian Joint Activities, Track II Diplomacy and Non-violent Action, as well as possibilities for cooperation between the two civil societies.

“Looking Back, Looking Forward” is the name of the last chapter, which analyses the perils and promises of the peacebuilding activities in Israel and Palestine and searches for possible solutions. The authors argue that even if much pessimism within the civil society has arisen from the lack of progress in the official Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, it is important to recognize the central work peacebuilders have done in influencing decision-makers and public opinion toward peace, even at the most crucial stages of the conflict.

What is especially useful about this book is its last part, which contains a fairly comprehensive directory of about 80 civil society organizations that are active in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding within Israel and Palestine. It gives NGOs and other civil initiatives the tools and a forum for networking and the exchange of experiences.

Altogether, “Bridging the Divide...” is a valuable hands-on publication that serves as an excellent basis for discussions on how to continue to strengthen the role of the Israeli and Palestinian grass roots organizations in their important struggle for peace and reconciliation within their homelands.

Catrin Rosquist

Horn of Africa Bulletin

- **New format**
- **New contents**

In times of dramatic changes and stepped up efforts to avoid further warfare in the Horn of Africa, Life & Peace Institute (LPI) has decided to restart the publication of the Horn of Africa Bulletin (HAB). The newsletter offers new material exclusively for HAB in the form of analyses, information and news primarily from Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The production stopped last year due to restructuring in the LPI office in Nairobi. LPI has now decided to re-start with a monthly production of HAB in a new format and with primarily digital distribution. A number of resource persons, writers and local ecumenical organisations will contribute to this initiative. The first issue will be out in March. The newsletter will normally comprise eight pages.

HAB has been produced by LPI for 18 years and has been spread in well over 100 countries. It is an important source of information to, among others, the Diaspora, refugees and people interested in and committed to the development on the Horn.

The new monthly newsletter will be distributed digitally free of charge but can also be subscribed to in a mail version. During the initial pilot phase (until July 2007) also the hard copies are offered free of charge. We do, however, appreciate financial contributions to our important work.



Subscribe to New Routes and Horn of Africa Bulletin!

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 monthly newsletter covering the countries of the Horn. It contains analyses, news, information and links to useful resources with emphasis on issues of conflict resolution, peace and reconciliation.

Please send us an e-mail, letter or fax with your full address as well as e-mail address for the distribution. Please indicate clearly if you prefer a printed HAB by regular mail instead of the digital edition, or both.

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