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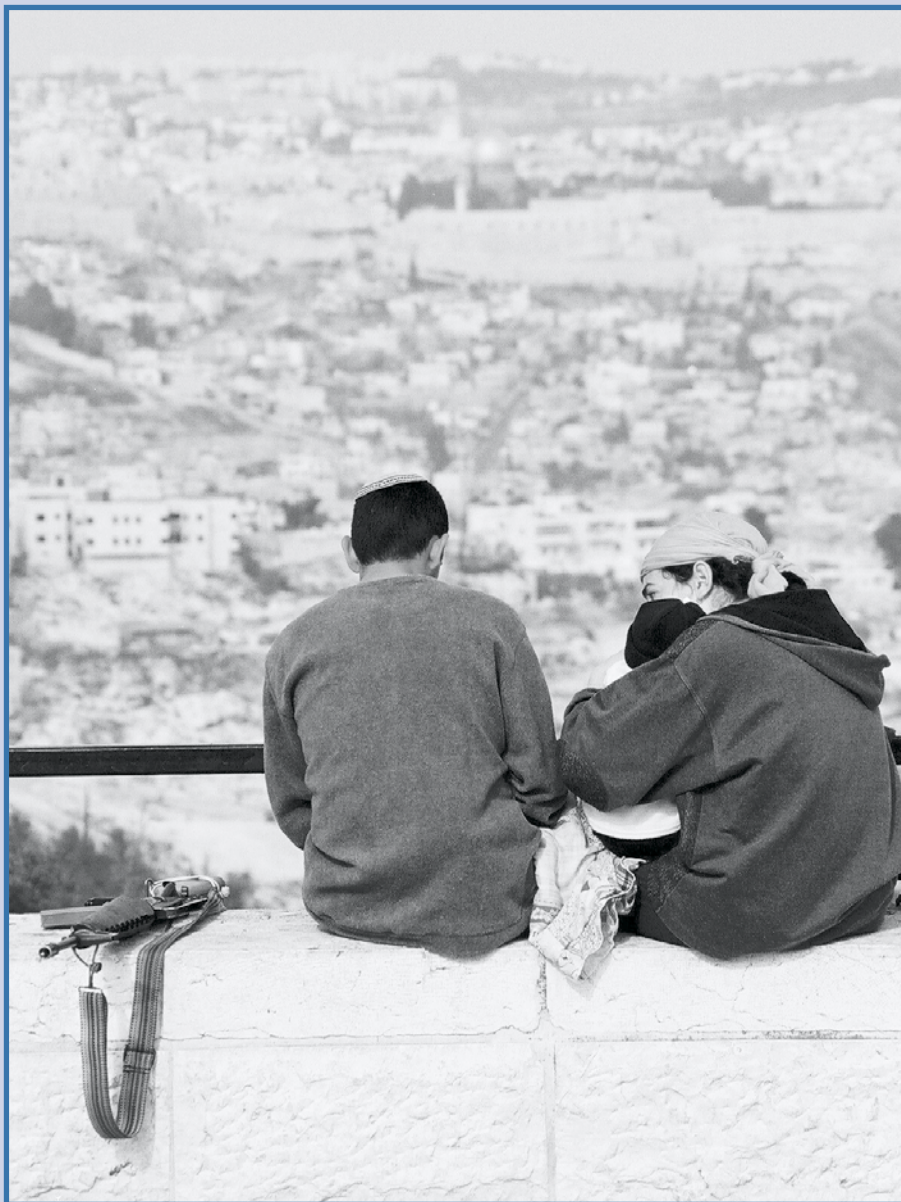
New Routes

A JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH AND ACTION

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A human view on security



**Security
and churches**

**Education
for peace**

**Gender
and violence**

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Challenging faith

Is the concept of peace and reconciliation (still) an issue for churches and other people of faith? Or should it rather be left to a growing number of experts? There are the shuttle diplomats, specialized NGOs, the peace researchers, and the nonviolence activists, to name some. This issue of *New Routes* will provide some answers. Just look at these examples:

Speaking at a meeting with of the Conference of European Churches recently, the Director of the Life & Peace Institute, Peter Brune, presented three concrete challenges to the churches when it comes to human security. It has to do with fragile states, civil-military relations and the arms trade.

Senior Iraqi Sunni, Shiite and Christian leaders met in March "to stand united for social reconstruction and nation building", as Stein Villumstad, from the World Conference of Religions for Peace, reports.

A third example is Malin Brenk's reflections on her stay in East Jerusalem as part of the impressive Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme, which so far has supplied 290 accompaniers!

A fourth example is LPI itself. Read on the back page about board members and staff from across the world coming to the peaceful Valamo monastery in Finland to evaluate and plan for the coming years. It was decided that LPI should move on in its courageous expansion of peace research and action in post-conflict contexts like Congo, Sudan and Somalia, and take on new commitments in Latin America and Asia as well.

What do these four examples have in common? The answer is *commitment*: commitment to work with people for people, commitment to work for transformation of conflicts, for peace, reconciliation and human security.

Welcome to join us! Your contributions, financially or in other ways are most welcome. Visit our website www.life-peace.org for updated and more information, or contact us directly.

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New security concept challenge to churches

The concepts of peace and reconciliation are quite familiar to the churches, but how is security understood and applied in a human and state perspective, respectively? The churches are challenged to raise their voices and show alternative ways of interpretation and advocacy, said Peter Brune, Executive Director of the Life & Peace Institute, in his presentation at the plenary meeting of the Church and Society Commission of the Conference of European Churches in Sigtuna, Sweden.

During its 20 plus years of existence, the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) has devoted a lot of energy to exploring the role of religion in violent conflicts and what the churches and other faith-based institutions can do to safeguard our core values from abuse for the sake of hatred, killings and deteriorating relations between human beings and communities. In today's world, peace, reconciliation and security are some areas of special relevance, where the churches "could do more" and take on a greater responsibility.

Of the three concepts, peace and reconciliation would fall quite naturally within the framework of the churches, who would have a relatively clear conceptual understanding of the terms. But what about security? This is a major challenge for the churches today. Do we have a common understanding of what security is? How many of us could deliver the standard discourse on the concept of security from a biblical perspective, as with peace and reconciliation? It is sometimes a useful exercise to switch words, and the words peace and security are often used together. But how would this sound:

Jesus as a prophet of security? Christ as the king of security?

Certainly there is a need to explore much more about what we mean by security, from a theological and ethical point of view. At the end of the 1990's an interesting work was done by the Church of Norway on security and vulnerability¹. Vulnerability interpreted in a positive way could also mean interdependency. And as well as we talk about positive and negative peace, I think it would be appropriate to reflect more in terms of negative and positive security and what these concepts mean in a Christian context.

There is a heated debate going on today regarding a "needs based" versus

objectives for the project are as follows: 1) to deepen the Nordic partners' understanding of the relationship between security, development and human rights, and 2) to shape the Nordic partners' related policies and enable their advocacy efforts.

What is the rationale behind this joint Nordic effort? We can see that since the 1990's there have been moves towards greater awareness of the need for security to include human development and human security requirements. The European Union (EU) as well as other actors started to take into account the root causes of conflicts and to include conflict prevention in development aid. Slogans like "sustainable disarmament for sustainable development" started to be used by governments, the traditional development and peace and security/ arms control NGO's alike.²

State (in)security

The September 11, 2001 attacks on the USA put security in the centre of popular discourse, but it also made it a tool for more narrow purposes with a focus on combating international violence, diverting attention and human and financial resources away from development. Perceptions shifted, making everyone everywhere, especially

It would be appropriate to reflect more in terms of negative and positive security.

a "rights based" agenda. A new project on this topic has been launched by some of the main Nordic Ecumenical agencies, hosted by LPI. The specific

in the West, feel insecure to so-called terror attacks. Attention to failed, failing and fragile states increased with the argument that they affected regional



A symbol of security? An Iraqi boy in Baghdad, carrying his father's loaded Kalashnikov and wearing a helmet, poses for a TV camera at his father's request. Photo: AFPI/Ahmed al-Rubaye/Pressens Bild.

and international security, while in the 1990's development attention was mainly directed towards "good performers". Respect for human rights started to be compromised by states in the name of the "war on terror". The emphasis seemed to shift to state security one more time at the expense of meeting the needs of human development and human security.

Kofi Annan's report *In Larger Freedom* presented in March 2005, outlines a comprehensive strategy to forge solutions that should be supported. However, in order to achieve its goals the United Nations (UN) needs the cooperation of states, and it needs to work in partnership with other stakeholders, including the churches. Kofi Annan states that if the UN is to be a useful instrument for the world's

people in responding to these challenges, it must be fully adapted to the needs and circumstances of the 21st century.

In recent years the inter-relationship between security and development has also been high on the development agenda of the EU, of national governments and of the NGO development family, including the church-based development community.

Civil-military relations

Another concrete example deals with civil-military relations. At the Caritas Internationalis Congress in Rome, November 2003, Fr Joe Komakoma from Caritas Zambia stated:

"In Africa, the main principle was that each nation needed a body that could offer defence, stability and

deterrence. These gave positive space to a country to go about its business of nation building. Armies in Africa have played such a positive role. It is also, however, true that the same means that are used for security can be and have been used for destruction."

Despite the negative examples, Fr Komakoma urged that Caritas should think positively and consider the type of army that allows nation building.

"Positive elements of the work of the armed forces include improved communications and health care, opening up of inaccessible areas, training, building projects, construction work and the general protection of national resources."

In Sweden, we have been invited by the armed forces to participate in what is called the Viking exercises³. This has been one of the most challenging experiences in recent years. Very briefly, it is about simulating a UN armed field mission in a fictitious country called Bogaland. We are invited to play the civil society. In modern warfare the decision-making structure on how to run the field programs are often sitting very far from the actual battlefield, receiving their information through e-mail, phone calls, briefings etc. Thus it is relatively easy to simulate the field dimension.

It is a challenge to sit with highly educated military staff, who have broad international experience in different violent conflicts, and discuss the role of the churches and other faith-based structures. Some of the staff are full of prejudices, but most of them are constantly saying that their role is very limited and that civil society, including the churches, could do so much more in the different phases of the conflicts, during the violent phase, but also when it comes to preventive measures and in post-conflict settings. The topic is very important when organisations are involved in conflict zones and have to deal with military structures. We need to know more and increase our analytical capacity to include a broader security analysis.

The Gothenburg Process

The third concrete area where the churches “could do more” is their role and acting when it comes to the international trade with arms and military equipment.

In 2001, the so-called Gothenburg Process was initiated by members of the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is an ecumenical project, aiming to further the dialogue between the churches and the different actors in the international legal arms trade. The main actors are the producers (the industry), the buyers (mainly the armed forces), the controllers (governments and government authorities), and the critical civil society (i.e., the churches). The process has now been spread to the other Nordic countries and Germany and, to some extent, Great Britain and the USA.

The Gothenburg Process focuses on the legal production and proliferation of military equipment, and has two main focus points: 1) the need for an ethically responsible arms export policy, which is effective at the European and international levels, and 2) the need for greater transparency in the arms trade in order to ensure that government and industry actors be held accountable. One main aspect of the ethical dimension is also to highlight the recipient side.

In the background is the Christian concept of stewardship, humanity’s responsibility to God for our lives and our handling of the earth’s resources. The knowledge gained in the process and the contacts that are made between the different actors will hopefully contribute to promoting a more responsible and trustworthy attitude.

One goal is to raise understanding and awareness of the issues. This is very much a matter of what the various churches have done on this topic. The issue has begun to be one to which some attention is being paid. The government authorities in many countries, and also the legal producers

of weapons, have become more aware of the churches’ interest in this question, and slowly a new climate of discussion is being created.

invaluable possibilities for a kind of dialogue that would otherwise hardly take place at all.

One of the recommendations from

The enormous military costs in the world are something deeply unethical.

Debate about arms trade

We also need to question the use of the scarce funds available. The enormous military costs in the world are something deeply unethical. Resources that are needed for basic human needs, such as food, health care and education, are spent on military equipment. Therefore, the churches need to initiate and take part in a debate about the arms trade. They can contribute with ethical views on these issues and lift up the developmental and global aspects of the arms trade. Not least important would be to discuss the regulations and codes of conduct that govern the arms trade.

As the churches have an extensive international network, much information from all parts of the world could be assembled and looked into. And when the churches really speak out on these matters, it often makes a big difference. We know, for example, that President Bush has had great difficulties anchoring the war in Iraq among the Catholics in the USA, as the Pope has come with harsh criticism against the war. Such actions may have a greater impact than many conference reports.

So far two international conferences on arms trade have been held: Gothenburg I in June 2001 and Gothenburg II in May 2004. A third conference is planned to take place in Nairobi in October 2007. At the conferences all parties involved in the process have the opportunity to meet and discuss the issues together. They are quite unique in their way and give

the first conference was to add a transatlantic dimension to the work. Regarding some of the future activities, it is now clear that the National Council of the Christian Churches in the USA will host a conference on 24–25 October.

The future ambition of the Gothenburg Process is expressed as a long-term task to make the churches better equipped to induce the governments to follow the laws for arms exports, which they themselves have formulated and passed. To meet this aim, the churches need to raise their competence and build a better network with all actors involved. The Gothenburg Process should be seen in this context.

From the three concepts mentioned in the beginning, peace, reconciliation and security, and the three examples mentioned, I think it is necessary to further elaborate what we mean by security. On a conceptual basis the rapid development of what we mean by human security is positive, and this debate has only just begun. Hopefully the churches and other faith communities will make their voices more heard in the future.

Peter Brune

¹ *Vulnerability and Security. Current challenges in security policy from an ethical and theological perspective.* Prepared by the Commission on International Affairs in Church of Norway Council on Ecumenical and International Relations. Updated version 2001.

² See also the article on p. 9 in this issue.

³ See also the article on p. 6 in this issue.

Two weeks with the military: Viking 05 from a civilian perspective

Both clashes and fruitful meetings between different cultures occurred, as people from a multitude of different countries, military and civilians, met for the 2005 Viking Exercise in December 2005. The overall aim was to practice crisis response and civil-military cooperation.

The Life & Peace Institute was represented by five participants during the exercise and thus got the opportunity to spread information about its existence and work, exchange useful experiences with people from other civilian organizations and get an insight in the working and communication methods of the military.

From December 5th to 16th, five representatives of the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) participated in the 2005 Viking Exercise: myself (from Canada), Lisa Minnhagen (Sweden), Darryl Whitehead (Canada), Sandra Bauser-Poirson (France), all interns at LPI, and Peter Brune, Executive Director of the Institute. Viking 05 is the fourth in a series of exercises intended to train a core group, termed the Training Audience, by simulating a peace-building operation with an emphasis on civil-military relations. It comprises eleven different sites in eight countries throughout Europe, including Sweden, Finland, Ireland, Ukraine, Switzerland, Slovenia, France and Croatia. In total, 2 000 officers and civilian representatives were involved as trainers and trainees. LPI was located in Kungsängen close to Stockholm, Sweden, as part of the directing staff that conducted and controlled the game for the Training Audience.

The exercise unfolded in accor-

dance with a fictitious scenario in the country of Bogaland, created specifically for Viking. According to the scenario, Bogaland is based on Northern European geography and has a long history of ethnic tensions, secessionist movements and civil war. A Bogaland Peace Agreement was signed in 2004 in conjunction with a United Nations Resolution that established the United Nations Mission to Bogaland. NATO formed the Bogaland Force, a Combined Joint Task Force, to implement the Resolution and Peace Agreement. The 2005 Viking Exercise began nine days after the deployment of forces in Bogaland, and the subsequent days accounted for both military and civilian aspects of the operation and the evolving political situation.

The aim of the 2005 Viking Exercise was to “enhance multinational interoperability by providing a training environment that makes it possible for the involved military units and all

participating organizations to achieve their objectives”¹. From a military perspective, the four central objectives were to practice and conduct planning at the operational and tactical level, exercise Standing Operating Procedures within a Combined Joint Task Force concept, practice Civil-Military Cooperation and Civil Military Relations in a Crisis Response Operation, and further develop procedures and capabilities for a computer assisted exercise within the framework of NATO’s Partnership for Peace Simulation Network.

Thus, Viking 05 was a training exercise based on a fictitious scenario pursued through a combination of role-playing and computer interaction. In the exercise, it was possible for the various civilian and military participants to “drop in and drop out”, that is, engage in the game but periodically return to their regular employment when necessary. Moreover, pre-training and preparation allowed the participants to “plug and play”, or simply log in to the computer program and begin gaming. The overall aim was to practice crisis response and civil-military cooperation.

Clash of cultures

In Viking, differing concepts of culture were visible on multiple levels, yet the most pervasive divide was that between the military and civil society. For example, the military participants did not comprehend why certain civil society actors would possibly be late for a morning meeting that began at “0800” exactly. In turn, civil society actors experienced terrible difficulties in understanding the meaning of sentences consisting entirely of acro-

nyms. The military cherished their hierarchical chain of command, whereas the civil society actors preferred open, loose, anti-bureaucratic consultation and at times did their utmost not to obey military directives.

Moreover, the international scope of Viking displayed a myriad of cultures within these two overarching traditions. Participants from a multitude of countries and nationalities participated in the exercise, which created further linguistic, communication and coordination challenges.

The role of LPI

During the exercise, LPI had a field office on the island of Gotland, a province of Bogaland. Importantly, the

Bogaland Peace Agreement did not apply to Gotland and therefore ethnic tensions and violence continued to rage on the island. As the only civil society organization with an office on Gotland, LPI performed a coordinating function for all of the different agencies active in the area. The work of LPI focussed on peace and reconciliation, and the empowerment of citizens as actors for change rather than passive victims of violent conflict.

Our main activity was a grassroots conference for reconciliation and peace, intended to facilitate dialogue among various local leaders and interested parties to address fundamental issues of peace and cooperation between civil society and the military.

We wrote various press releases with respect to this conference, many of which detailed direct threats by the Gotland warlord Barkan against the activity. Despite a bomb in the vicinity, the conference proceeded as planned. LPI also maintained contact with the military forces on the island headed by the Finnish delegation, which provided security for civil society activities.

LPI participation in the Viking Exercise was exceedingly beneficial, as it provided the opportunity to increase awareness about our work and share experiences with others. Indeed, Darryl Whitehead presented the work of LPI before the King of Sweden when he visited Kungsängen. Our involvement also afforded us the chance to create a



A Swiss military observer visits the civil society room at Kungsängen during the Viking exercise. Elisabeth Löfgren, Amnesty International, and Darryl Whitehead, LPI representative, were among the trainers. Photo: Tore Samuelsson/LPI.

detailed scenario outlining LPI's role in Gotland regarding the number of offices, staff responsibilities and the external political context.

Furthermore, all of the civilian organizations were grouped together in one small room, an occurrence that would never happen in reality. Yet, it

and understanding was possible. The social aspect of Viking cannot be discounted, as it helped to bridge the cultural gap.

Viking challenges you to perceive cooperation as a viable alternative to confrontation.

From a civilian perspective

Of all of the areas that required immediate and unquestioning adaptation when I first set foot on the military base in Kungsängen, the need to simultaneously operate in both a real and a fictitious world was the most interesting and complicated. Indeed, the Viking Exercise required its participants to leap in and out of reality at a moment's notice, depending on the role you were required to play and with whom you were speaking. The environment in Kungsängen was real, as we could speak to one another about the game and control its implementation with respect to the Training Audience. But when speaking to a member of the Training Audience, writing a press brief, or giving an interview for the television media, you had to suspend your belief and engage in role-play.

This was at times an immense challenge; for instance, it is difficult to maintain composure when in the role of a civil society actor you call the military to report shooting outside of the LPI office on Gotland, only to be met with laughter on the other end of the telephone. Rocks were being thrown outside of our window, not bullets, but the computer did not have an expression for rocks. Or more to the point, in the computer system that monitored and enabled the movement of actors around Bogaland, LPI discovered that our trucks were able to drive on water without fuel. We therefore took this opportunity to drive our trucks around the island, as well as on it.

offered an opportunity to coordinate our activities, which may be an important lesson to apply in reality. Confusion also prevailed at times regarding whether we or the Training Audience were being trained, for we reacted to them as much as they reacted to us with benefits for both groups.

My colleagues and I were in a unique position on the base in Kungsängen. We were not only a minority as civilians, but we were all significantly younger than the other participants, and with the exceptions of Darryl Whitehead and Peter Brune, we were three of the few women. We did not view these three strikes against us as a deterrent, however, but as an opportunity to inject the exercise with our own particular perspectives and challenge the prevailing culture with that of bright, interested youth. Indeed, at the end of the session even the most high-ranking of the military officers would give Darryl a high-five instead of a handshake, symbolizing mutual respect. For our own part, it was an exceptional opportunity to witness the military culture and learn its intricacies before we comment or criticize, and how to communicate those perceptions once formed.

We learned these and many other lessons under the strict mentorship of our friend David Lightburn, Senior Adviser with the Swedish Folke Bernadotte Academy, with whom we shared many experiences and observations often in the mess hall or Officers Club. Indeed, it was here after the operations were completed for the day that true deeper communication

Changing perceptions

The Post-Exercise Military and Civilian Discussions both affirmed that 2005 Viking Exercise was a success, because it achieved the central aim of fostering close cooperation between the civil and military participants. Indeed, all stressed a desire for increased civilian involvement in the future. Further refinements to the game and its operation must of course be made, and preparations begin for the next Viking Exercise in 2008. The overall civilian coordination function performed by the Folke Bernadotte Academy before, during and after the exercise has been invaluable, and the sense of cooperation and unity among the civil society organizations and also with the military participants offers momentum that must be harnessed in order to sustain such cooperation within and beyond Viking 05.

Ultimately, the most significant accomplishment of Viking 05 was the changes in attitudes and perceptions of many participants from differing cultures, be they military or civilian. Viking challenges you to perceive cooperation as a viable alternative to confrontation, and thus alters behaviours and actions accordingly. It is above all an exercise in learning and education.

With financial support from the Folke Bernadotte Academy, Darryl Whitehead/LPI has made a study on scenario-based exercises as a means of conflict prevention. LPI has got permission by the Swedish armed forces to use the Bogaland scenario in this context.

Lindsey Weber

¹Viking 05 Exercise Aims and Objectives, retrieved from <http://www.viking.mil.se/article.php?lang=E&id=13557> on February 6 2006.

Nordic initiative aims to meet global needs

A new joint policy and advocacy initiative on security, development and justice has been undertaken by three Nordic development agencies in collaboration with the Life & Peace Institute. In a spirit of mutual benefit, the project aims to further the understanding between actors in traditional peace movements and those engaged in international development co-operation.

Recognizing that we live in a world of interconnected global challenges and opportunities, the Church of Sweden, DanChurchAid and Norwegian Church Aid agree with the comprehensive strategy put forward by the UN Secretary General in his report *In Larger Freedom* in 2005. In this respect they therefore believe that it is of utmost importance that issues of poverty eradication, environmental sustainability, climate change, infectious diseases, collective security, democracy and the rule of law are addressed in a coherent, sustainable and accountable manner by states and NGOs alike.

The main aim of the Nordic development agencies is to ensure that their respective governments address these interconnected threats and challenges effectively in order to “enhance the freedom from want, the freedom from fear and the freedom to live in dignity”.

Pooling together financial and human resources as well as knowledge has already proven to be a success for the development agencies involved. Apart from managing to shape a concrete joint effort to develop policy, share information, strategize and plan, they are working together effectively to undertake monitoring and advocacy.

Important initiative

For LPI this also adds a new dimension of co-operation and service to the churches, their specialized ministries and the ecumenical movement. Working together as a partner with mutual benefits allows LPI to be relevant and visible to its donors. Peter Brune, Executive Director of LPI, has been personally involved to ensure this co-operation since mid-2005:

– This initiative is really very important for LPI. We can see that the agendas of the traditional peace movements and those engaged in international development co-operation are coming closer to one another. LPI is involved in both areas, and through this project we will be even better equipped to respond to the challenges that current international development is posing us.

of the initiative. A steering committee of three policy directors and the LPI Executive Director guides the initiative with one senior advisor who does policy and lobby work. The agenda remains knowledge based, aiming to deepen the agencies’ understanding of the relationship between security, development and human rights, and to shape their related policies and enable advocacy efforts vis à vis their respective governments, the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN).

Co-operation naturally continues with other partners working on the same issues, in particular with APRODEV¹ when it comes to the EU, as well as CCIA/WCC² and the Lutheran World Federation when it comes to the UN. If successful, the current partners want to continue this way of working and hope that other Nordic church-based development agencies would join the initiative.

Global structural change

Following an initial preparatory and developmental phase since December 2005, work began in earnest in April 2006. Salpy Eskidjian Weiderud, who until 2005 was a Programme Executive at the CCIA/WCC, serves as the senior advisor working for the joint initiative. She explains that the framework for

The Nordic partners aim to contribute to the renewal and strengthening of the UN.

As this is a new pilot policy and advocacy initiative, all involved are committed to keep it flexible and dynamic, which is one of the strengths

analysis and prescription regarding development for the Nordic development agencies continues to be the numbers of people living in desperate

poverty, the extent of their deprivation of food, clothing, accommodation, and access to services such as health and education, water and transport.

- The Nordic partners involved recognize that the absence of these basic living conditions is a clear violation of human rights and human dignity. They are also very conscious that there are many structural impediments to equitable development and relief of poverty, which can only be adequately addressed by global structural change, Salpy Eskidjian Weiderud states, and continues:

- We are adamant that the development agenda should not be guided by a narrow focus on security, military logic and the perceived fear of terror attacks. In addition, we are concerned that this shift is not only diluting the poverty focus of development, but aid budgets are rarely being increased to take into account new objectives.

Development and security

The Church of Sweden, DanChurchAid and Norwegian Church Aid as well as the LPI strongly agree with the UN Secretary General's statement that

"humanity will neither achieve development without security, nor security without development, and it will not achieve either one without respect for human rights". For them it is clear that there is a need to adapt development co-operation to the new challenges of security while staying loyal to the ideals that have motivated development aid. Further, they recognise that joint action towards the Nordic governments as well as the EU is of vital importance for the possibility to influence the political agenda of these bodies in their role in the global arena.

Other such specialised agencies and committees include the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), who account for more than 90 percent of official development assistance (ODA) world-wide. Individually, these Nordic church-based development agencies already monitor their respective governments' performances and criteria for ODA, as well as their relationships and agendas with member states of the OECD, especially the DAC.

- Initially the specific aims of this initiative are to enable the agencies to engage more actively with the strategies and structures that have emerged as a result of UN reform, in particular with the agenda of responsibility to protect, the Human Rights Council and the UN Peacebuilding Commission, giving special emphasis to the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on the role of women in peace and security, as well as the general role of civil society", Salpy Eskidjian Weiderud explains.

With the initiative on Security, Development & Justice, the Nordic partners involved, with the assistance of LPI, aim not only to develop a more effective joint advocacy agenda but also to reinforce their own collective capacity to respond coherently to these challenges and in doing so, to contribute to the renewal and strengthening of the UN and its ability to prevent and respond to global threats.

¹ Association of World Council of Churches related Development Organisations in Europe

² The Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches

Youth exchange for peace

About fifty young people from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Belgium, Portugal, Estonia, Northern Ireland (Great Britain) and Åland (Finland), and ten youth leaders, are meeting in Bosnia-Herzegovina on 1-10 July. This big international youth exchange meeting is called "Youth cooperation in post-conflict rural areas". The main responsibility for the meeting rests with a young Bosnian man, Nedrad Cengic, at present living in Belgium.

The young people are travelling in the south-eastern part of Bosnia surrounding the towns Gorazde and Foca. They will visit both Serbian and Muslim villages, get to know the local inhabitants and take part in their everyday life. They will also tell them about the project and their respective home countries.

The tour is finished at the monument of World War II in the town of Tjentiste, where the youngsters will give performances and present an exhibition for the public about their journey around the villages.

Demilitarisation

Another international youth camp on the theme "Peace, Democracy and Human Rights" is arranged by the Åland Islands Peace Institute on 14-23 July. The meeting takes place on one of the Åland Islands, in the Baltic Sea between Finland and Sweden. The forty participants and eight leaders come from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Northern Ireland (Great Britain) and Åland (Finland).

The aim of the camp is to enhance

the knowledge of the young people about peace, democracy, human rights, tolerance, solidarity and demilitarisation. The camp will be part of the 150 year jubilee of the demilitarisation of the Åland Islands.

Many of the participants come from conflict-ridden areas and can tell about the harsh conditions of their lives. The group from Åland will share their experiences of living in an autonomous and demilitarised area.

As all participants are potential future decision-makers, the camp will hopefully provide them with a platform from which they can influence and form tomorrow's world.

For further information about the Åland Islands, see *New Routes* No 3/2005, p. 24.

Transforming conflicts through peace education

Since the end of 2004, the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) has been engaged in the project Publications for Peace Education (PPE), within which some hundred key academic institutions, mainly in Africa, are supplied with literature on peace and reconciliation for teaching purposes.

Furthermore, four seminars are planned within the PPE. Basil BS Nyama, Programme Officer for Communications and Information at the LPI Horn of Africa Programme, gives an account of the topics discussed at the first seminar in the series.

A stable state of peace and security remains generally elusive in the Horn of Africa, especially in Sudan and Somalia. This was discussed at the first of four seminars planned within the LPI project, Publications for Peace Education (PPE), on the theme *Peace agreements and the role of civil society*. Characteristically, it was easy for the seminar to link the elusiveness of peace with the behaviours of the very parties to the peace agreements.

The key presentations that kicked off much of the discussions for the seminar were delivered by Lt General Lazarus Sumbeiywo and Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat. The speakers were Kenya's special envoys to the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) Peace Talks for Sudan and Somalia, respectively. The seminar witnessed a timely and ardent expression of apprehension as well as optimism over this region's peace agreements.

Peace practitioners, scholars, researchers, LPI staff and members of civil society from and beyond the Horn of Africa region, including Cameroon, Democratic Republic of

Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Somalia and Sudan attended the seminar. Some of the staff from the LPI office in Uppsala, Sweden, also participated. The relevance of the topics of the seminar was reflected in the attention from local and international media houses.

The PPE seminar turned out to be a viable forum for discussion in the quest for pragmatic theories, paradigms and mechanisms for pursuing sustainable peace in this conflict-ridden region of Africa. It was also a means of enhancing

partnerships with a selection of institutions of higher learning and civil society on peace research and education in the region.

Experienced mediators

Speaking from practical experiences gained from his navigation of Sudan's intricate peace process, which culminated in the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Lt General Lazarus Sumbeiywo concluded on a rather optimistic note vis-à-vis Africa's resourceful capacity in the pursuit of the peaceful resolution of conflicts. This, he noted, was depicted by various regional leaders who played critical roles during the Sudanese peace process. It was this aspect of African resourcefulness that finally encouraged the Sudanese conflict counterparts to accept the Peace Protocols as a basis for the Peace Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army. This would be helpful in dealing with the external and internal interference that is being experienced now in Sudan and Somalia.

On the challenges and prospects of the Somalia peace process that led to the establishment of a Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Somalia, Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat was both cheerful and melancholic,

“Peace is a common need for all of us. Maybe you don't understand how much it changes the mind of people, but it's really amazing.”

especially on the way forward. Noting that some 13 peace processes had initially failed to broker a truce, as with the Mbagathi Peace initiative,



Participants at the Peace Education seminar in Nairobi sponsored by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Finland, represented five countries in the Horn of Africa region. Photo: Basil Nyama/LPI.

the road to sustainable peace, security and development in Somalia is one of patience, diligence and determination.

However, Ambassador Kiplagat reiterated that the conflict scenario of Somalia should be seen as a means of developing African solutions to African problems. Somalia's milieu is more of a

Ironically, Africa does not readily utilise its seasoned peace mediators and negotiators as strategically as it should have done with General Sumbeiywo and Ambassador Kiplagat in accompanying the implementation of the peace agreements for Sudan and Somalia, respectively. It is in this regard that generally, the participants noted with keenness, IGAD should have continued to play a strategic role in ensuring that the process of implementing the CPA was on course. But the seminar, too, was an eye opener for LPI in the context of the viability of partnerships, especially in their leverage for and promotion of a peace research and education process that promotes a culture of nonviolence and peace in this region.

Apparently, the context in which the PPE seminar and discussions therein happened is that of a region where governments and disgruntled groups use violence as means of resolving conflicts. It is not rare to see the use of all kinds of socio-political and religious instruments for causing disorders, which in turn either sustain the status quo of the conflict or maintain the particular regime in power. Least to emphasise is the fact that these phenomena have shrouded the potential for peace research and peace education that resides in the local institutions, including the wider civil society and higher institutions of learning. The big question was how – at all – can the wider civil society play a critical role in the implementation of peace agreements?

Carefully tapped, they can be utilised for peace interventions such as scientifically conducted peace research and education. Notwithstanding, these institutions possess a quantifiable knowledge base that is critical to the development of newer and contextually appropriate paradigms for peace work or interventions. Therefore, the inclusion of academic institutions and the wider civil society is as essential as it is critically necessary for the implementation of the peace processes, especially in the light of the Sudan and Somalia scenarios.

Unfortunately, the paradox of implementing the IGAD brokered peace agreements to end the conflicts in Sudan and Somalia seems to have lain in the exclusion of civil society. Unique to its traditional approach to advocacy on peace-building and conflict transformation, the eventful PPE seminar ended with a press release statement that expressed concern about the slow pace of implementing the proposed measures to obtain peace in Sudan and Somalia.

It was also felt that with a more critical role of the United Nations in ensuring that these peace agreements were duly monitored to the word, the ongoing terror and violations of the peace agreements might have been averted or abated. Possibly, the recurrence of conflict-threatening instances, such as sectarian or inter-group conflicts, often re-ignited by the politics of domination, religion and culture, might as well be managed. In this regard, it was suggested that where possible, both state and informal structures should be used appropriately to enlighten the communities.

Participants agreed that the inactivity of the wider civil society in the implementation of the peace processes is another serious setback. Typically, the issue of the cooption of key civil society resources into the resultant governments, especially in this region, was seen as one of the

“Please do include the role of the youth; they play a very big role in peace-building and the role of media.”

homogenous society with a similar predominant racial or ethnic, religious and cultural composition, which is not the case with most African countries.

Need for more actors

Most institutions of higher learning hold some of the region's best human and institutional resource bases.

ways by which civil society loses its potential and capacity for exerting the checks and balances that are needed in realising responsible, accountable, transparent and effective governments in the region.

Progress and setbacks

On the positive side, peace practitioners, researchers and civil society at the PPE seminar greatly appreciated the peace gains brokered for Sudan and Somalia by IGAD with the support of the international community. They commended IGAD and all those involved in the peace processes that led to the realisation of the CPA in Sudan and the Peace Accord and TFG for Somalia. Some areas of commendation about the parties to these peace agreements that were mentioned were the facilitation role of IGAD, the patience exercised during the protracted negotiations and the move of the TFG into Somalia. Participants also emphasized a continuous desire to utilise faith-based institutions as peacemakers and agents of grassroots reconciliation.

However, it was noted that as long as the slowness of the international community in responding with the required means for the implementation

of the peace processes persists, governments in this region – especially the government of Sudan and Somalia's TFG – may not see the need to utilise

region's diaspora to return the talent that they have for nation building.

For these reasons, the signatories to the respective peace agreements,

“What has been discussed in the seminar should be translated into practical terms.”

resources equally for the enhancement of the implementation of the peace agreements. This goes hand in hand with the current situation of insufficient financing as well as the inadequate commitment and dissatisfaction of civil society groups. This is particularly crucial for, among others, women and youth due to broken promises on power sharing, especially in relation to the allocation of percentages of executive and legislature to these groups.

There is a risk that peace in Sudan and Somalia will be delayed, as long as external and internal spoilers are at large. Even worse is that with too much power left in the hands of powerful faction leaders – who apparently are continuing to monger violent clashes – there will not be much left for the

including IGAD, frontline and observer states, the African Union, the United Nations and the international community were strongly urged to hasten the development of the required institutional structures that are necessary for the implementation of the tenets of the agreements in Sudan and Somalia. There should be a common understanding on the importance of the involvement and utilisation of higher institutions of learning for peace research and peace education that is informative to the implementation of peace agreements.

Basil BS Nyama

The quotations are comments from participants in the seminar.

Publications for Peace Education Seminars

The aims of the Publications for Peace Education (PPE) seminars involve providing an opportunity for students and faculty in different African regions and the Middle East to meet and exchange experiences, while at the same time strengthening cooperation between universities and civil society.

The first PPE seminar on the theme, “Peace agreements and the role of civil society” took place at the Archbishop Desmond Tutu Ecumenical Centre in Nairobi, Kenya, 24–26 April 2006. It covered the Horn of Africa region and attracted about 45 participants, for example from Nairobi University in

Kenya, Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia and Juba University in Sudan.

During the seminar, General Sumbeiywo and Ambassador Kiplagat spoke about their challenges as negotiators in the peace processes in Sudan and Somalia, respectively. Two other speakers, Suzanne Jambo and Zahra Obego, gave another view on the same peace processes, emphasising the role that civil society played. However, just as instructive and interesting as these presentations were the vivid discussions and the presentations of the universities on their work in the area of peace education.

Three more Publications for Peace Education seminars are scheduled. These include seminars on the theme “Human Security and the Role of Civil Society in a Post-Conflict Context” in the Great Lakes region, “Building a Culture of Peace in Southern Africa” in Southern Africa and, “Identities, Human Rights and Co-Existence” in the Middle East/North Africa. The seminars are carried out by the Life & Peace Institute with financial support from the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The war on terror: Victimized women – militarized men

Is the gender perspective of relevance in connection with acts of violence, such as war and terrorist attacks? In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and the USA military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, women tend to be depicted as victimized outsiders, while men are supposed to take on the role of masculine rescuers and protectors. In situations of uncertainty people tend to seek the secure and familiar, which often makes traditional gender roles play an essential part in these contexts.

The terror attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on the morning of September 11, 2001, have, according to several commentators, come to define a historical turning-point. International politics, it seemed, shifted focus abruptly. The collapsed Twin Towers became a new signpost of world affairs. What we were witnessing, writes Ken Booth and Tim Dunne, was literally, “a collision of worlds”.¹ The overall question seemed to be ‘How could this happen?’

However, the reactions in the USA and Western Europe were also colored by the question ‘How could this happen here?’ Fatma Alloo writes on the 9/11 events from a Tanzanian perspective: “Dying in our part of the world does not traumatize us any more for our lives are lived on the edge.”² Her conclusion of what has happened is that the terror attacks ought to be an awakening sign for the USA. The global cry is for justice, not vengeance, she argues.³

John Hoffman has stated that if we are to move to a safer world, we need to understand why people perform

such dreadful things as these attacks against innocents. We must address “not merely the symptoms but the causes”, he writes.⁴ He also emphasizes that “terrorism, like the state, is patriarchal in character”.⁵ This article takes its stand in a similar assumption: that war and militarism are gendered phenomena. In the following, I intend to analyze the rhetoric on the so-called ‘war on terrorism’ (i.e. the USA’s and its allies’ military answers to the 9/11 attacks, directed primarily towards Afghanistan and Iraq) from a gender perspective.

When analyzing terrorism⁶ from a gender perspective, one can be met by the same reactions as when discussing gender and war in general, namely: ‘How can gender be relevant when life and death are at stake?’ Only, the reactions to the 9/11 events may be even stronger. One scholar tells how she was currently teaching a class on ‘Sex, Gender and Human Rights’ when the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were performed. The day after, she asked her class what gendered angles they could see in relation to the events. The

question prompted a hostile silence. After the class, a student came up to the professor and said that to bring up questions of gender on the terror attacks was to trivialize the tragedy.⁷ But to analyze the war against terror from a gender perspective is not trivial. On the contrary, I argue, it is crucial in order to get a more fully and complete understanding of the events and their aftermath.

Women as outsiders

Several commentators have raised the question of why so few women initially were allowed to comment the events of 9/11. Hilary Charlesworth writes, for example: “The first thing I noticed was that no women were speaking. Even Condoleezza Rice (US National Security Advisor [at the time]) has been very much in the background.”⁸ Further, she points out that the OpEd pages of the *New York Times* did not feature any woman’s voice the first weeks after the attacks. During the same time there were, however, articles by about 50 male experts on the issue in the very same newspaper. If women were at all mentioned in these articles, they were described as victims – either of the Taliban or of the terrorists. Women had “no agency at all in this confused and frightened world”, Charlesworth writes.⁹

In one of the few books that discuss the 9/11 events from a gender perspective, Susan Hawthorne and Bronwyn Winter write that “very few women’s voices have made it either into the press or the anthologies”.¹⁰ Of course, women *did* comment upon the attacks, but they were not listened to. The very same thing has been pointed out about the Nordic debate. The

Swedish journalist, Åsa Moberg, writes, for example: "And all these men who talk and talk in both Swedish and Norwegian broadcasting. It seems almost 'Talibanian'; the more acute the global situation, the fewer the women that are seen in television."¹¹

The marginalization of women does not only concern the comments in media. Carol Gilligan has noted that many heroic women were among the fire fighters and police officers, who worked to rescue the people trapped in the collapsing Twin Towers. In spite of this, the picture of the rescuers after the terror attacks was that of 'manly men' running to rescue and protect the victims.¹²

As J. Anne Tickner has underlined, this situation might very well reflect that our acceptance of a 'remasculinized' society is high during times of war and uncertainty. During such circumstances, people tend to seek the secure and the familiar. Traditional gender representations might be an important part of this pattern. Tickner writes: "We feel safer when 'our men' are protecting us (against other men) and our way of life."¹³

The fact that women were constructed as outside world politics and public violence after the 9/11 events reflects a cultural understanding of gender, which connects femininity and women as a group to nonviolence and to the private sphere. Hence, in questions that concern foreign policy and public violence women are regarded as the outsiders.¹⁴ This cultural understanding of gender obviously affected the immediate reactions to the 9/11 events.

"Not in our name..."

As the war against terrorism, especially the attacks upon Iraq, lacked full international support and on some points also went against the UN Charter, it became important for the Bush administration and its allies to develop other arguments in order to justify the upcoming war against terror. I argue that to make use of gendered discourses was one path chosen in this work. In the war rhetoric preceding the attacks on Afghanistan, President

Bush used the situation of Afghan women under the Taliban regime as a form of war propaganda. In his speech to the Congress on September 20, 2001, he declared: "In Afghanistan we see al Qaeda's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized, many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television."¹⁵

On November 17, 2001, the first lady, Laura Bush, used the President's weekly radio address to urge worldwide condemnation of the Taliban regime's treatment of women. The announcement coincided with a State Department report on the Taliban's war on women.¹⁶

To refer to the women's situation in the rhetoric of war is not unusual. Rape of one's countrywomen, for example, has often been similarly used to raise fighting spirit and spur soldiers to seek revenge. This was done, for example, in the war in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.¹⁷ The construction of women as victims goes well with the traditional gendered image of war, where men defend women against other men.

In the case of the bombings of Afghanistan, pictures of veiled women were made to function as a further means of legitimising the bombings. Wendy Harcourt describes how she noticed a "sudden mainstream focus on Afghan women as victims needing to be rescued by US and allied bombs".¹⁸ Hawthorne and Winter write about the paradox that on the one hand women were not allowed to enter the public arena in order to comment upon the 9/11 events; yet, on the other hand, they were made an alibi for the first step in the war against terror.¹⁹

I argue that this shows how women are seen as politically more interesting when they can be constructed as victims, than when they themselves fight for their rights. As Jindy Pettman has argued, to use women's situation as alibi for violence has occurred in several wars, but just as often women have refused this misuse of cultural understanding of femaleness:

"Now we do have a wealth of feminist revisioning and strategies to work with. /—/ Cynthia Cockburn's refusal of binaries during the NATO bombing of Serbia, declaring 'Not this (the bombing) nor that (ethnic cleansing)', which we can rewrite as 'Not this (the bombing) nor that (terrorism)'. And with Virginia Woolf, and all those women who continue to refuse engagement, who reiterate over and over — 'not in our name'."²⁰

Masculinity and militarism

The rhetoric of the war on terrorism has also been built up around arguments based on cultural understandings of masculinity. Particularly, arguments based on hegemonic masculinity²¹ were used frequently by the Bush administration. In his speech to Congress on September 20, 2001, President Bush turned to some representatives for the US military and said: "I have a message to our military: Be ready. I have called the armed forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud."²²

These words spurred young American men to stream to recruitment offices to enlist as volunteers in the war against Afghanistan. Hilary Charlesworth has argued that the immediate response to the events was "very tough and macho".²³ One example of this was President Bush's 'Wild West comments' about "smoking terrorists out of holes" and that bin Laden was "Wanted — Dead or Alive". The terrorists were described as 'cowards', and non-military options were made impossible in the public debate. Talk of dialogue was dismissed as weak and appeasing — and, thereby, unmanly.

Yet, another example of how the construction of hegemonic masculinity was made a crucial part of the rhetoric surrounding the war against terrorism appeared in February 2005. In a public hearing in the USA, an American officer stated that the killing in war can be both enjoyed and meaningful. The reason he gave for this opinion referred to cultural gender norms: "There are men in Afghanistan who have abused women because



A normal media image of masculine rescuers and protectors. This time round providing control and a sense of security (?) in Haiti. Photo: Peter Williams/WCC.

they don't wear a veil", he said, and continued: "These men have misused their masculinity. You might as well kill them."²⁴ In this quotation lethal violence is explicitly justified with arguments built upon the cultural construction of masculinity. The enemy constructs masculinity in a 'wrong' way. Therefore you both might and ought to punish him.

Gender and terrorism

A gender analysis of the war against terrorism must also consider how gender is constructed in the performance of terrorist acts. This has also been underlined by Michael Kimmel:

"Several commentators have raised gender issues. Some have reminded us that in our haste to lionize the heroes of the World Trade Center collapse, we ignored the many women firefighters, police officers, and rescue workers who also risked their lives. We have been asked to remember the Taliban's vicious policies toward women; indeed even Laura Bush seems to be championing women's emancipation. A few have asked us to consider the other side of the coin: men."²⁵

Just like the American officer quoted above, who justified violence towards certain men because they had 'misused' their masculinity, al Qaeda representatives have used arguments referring to the enemy's way of constructing gender in their violence rhetoric. In an interview with the al-Jazeera television, bin Laden talks about the American military troops, and he declares: "The rulers in that region have been deprived of their manhood."²⁶ As Tickner has stated, these arguments show how "gendered discourses are used on both sides to reinforce mutual hostilities".²⁷

What gender construction lies behind these arguments? It can be argued that it is a question of threatened masculinity on both sides. Concerning the construction of masculinity in relation to terrorism, Kimmel observes a link between globalization, terrorism and gender. Today, lower middle class men, all over the world, experience some sort of emasculation, he argues. Terrorists are young men, holding that "their entitlements [have been] snatched from them, their rightful position in their world [is] suddenly up for grabs".²⁸

Further, they may feel that women, outsiders and other 'others' have stolen "their rightful place at the table".²⁹

Kimmel argues that the class origin, as well as the gender arguing, of al Qaeda terrorists are crucial in order to understand the 9/11 events. The terrorist network consists mostly of rather young (not over 25 years old) and well-educated men. However, they are outside the job market and have not succeeded in getting positions corresponding to their education. All oppose globalization in some way, but also the regimes that, according to them, have supported a development that has taken their entitled positions away from them. This has led to a fusion of anti-globalization politics, convoluted Islamic theology, and virulent misogyny.³⁰

According to this theory, such circumstances have resulted in an effort to 'remasculinize' men and 'refeminize' women, meaning that patriarchal values should regain power over gender politics marked by a strive for equality between men and women. When masculinity is threatened, different kinds of fundamentalism, justifying violent acts, can offer a restoration of masculinity to these men who experience that their entitled role in a patriarchal context has been deprived.

Conclusion

So, in the on-going war on terror, is gender relevant? I argue that it is. A gender perspective on the 9/11 events can shed light upon how women are constructed as outsiders in questions that concern global politics and public violence, which can explain why they were marginalized in the debate that followed the attacks and made invisible in the media pictures of the fire fighters and police officers who came to rescue the victims in the World Trade Center collapse.

A gender analysis can also show how, primarily Afghan, women were constructed as victims and thereby made an alibi for the USA bombings of their country. The military answers to the attacks of 9/11 were justified and motivated by references to the construction of

hegemonic masculinity. Cultural constructions of masculinity are also relevant in the analysis of the justification and motivation of the terror attacks. Arguments referring to the other side's gender construction have been used in the war rhetoric by both the US and its allies and by the al Qaeda representatives. This shows how the 9/11 crisis reflects a globalization of gender politics.

Anna T. Höglund

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A common picture of the victimized woman: Arifa, stands over a grave of family members at the Sayeed Asaq cemetery in Kabul, Afghanistan Monday. Her family members were killed in the US-led military operation against the Taliban regime in 2002. Photo: AP/Lynne Sladky/Pressens Bild.

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¹ Booth & Dunne 2002, p. 1

² Alloo 2002, p. 95

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Hoffman 2002, p. 96

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Concerning the term 'terrorism' I define it as a method of political action that uses violence and deliberately produces fear against civilians and civilian infrastructure, cf. Both & Dunne 2002, p. 8. Terrorism, according to this position, is an act, not an ideology, and it can be committed by states as well as private groups.

⁷ Charlesworth 2002, p. 97

⁸ Charlesworth 2002, p. 98

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Hawthorne & Winter 2003, p. 13

¹¹ Moberg 2002, p. 72. My translation. In original: "Och alla dessa herrar som lägger ut texten både i norsk och svensk tv. Det ser nästan talibanskt ut, ju mer akut kris det är i världen, desto färre kvinnor syns i tv."

¹² Gilligan, in Brown 2001

¹³ Tickner 2002, p. 335

¹⁴ See e.g. Höglund 2003a

¹⁵ www.september11news.com/

PresidentBushSpeech.htm

¹⁶ Tickner 2002, p. 340

¹⁷ Höglund 2003b

¹⁸ Harcourt 2002, p. 98

¹⁹ Hawthorne & Winter 2003, p. 14

²⁰ Pettman 2002, p. 113

²¹ Hegemonic masculinity has been defined by Robert Connell as a gender construction marked by the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. Hegemonic masculinity must not have been achieved through violent means, but it reflects and reconstructs the assumption that men uses violence in order to protect women and children. See Connell 1995.

²² www.september11news.com/

PresidentBushSpeech.htm

²³ Charlesworth 2002, p. 98

²⁴ *Rapport*, Swedish broadcasting, February 7, 2005

²⁵ Kimmel 2004, p. 79

²⁶ Quoted in Tickner 2002, p. 333

²⁷ Tickner 2002, p. 336

²⁸ Kimmel 2005, p. 429

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Kimmel 2005, p. 428

World religions cooperate for peace

Religious communities have enormous – and still underutilized – assets to advance peace and development. Since the 1970s, the global organization Religions for Peace has striven to further inter-faith cooperation between religions in the world. Under the motto, “Different faiths, common action”, religious leaders as well as local communities work to transform conflicts, build peace and advance sustainable development.

At a meeting in London in March this year, senior Iraqi Sunni, Shiite and Christian leaders came together to address escalating sectarian tensions and to stand united for social reconstruction and nation building. The

participants condemned the bombing of religious sites and the misuse of religion in fomenting sectarian strife. The religious leaders called for ongoing dialogue amongst various religious and ethnic leaders by holding regular

conferences, carrying out visits, forming peace teams to troubled areas and holding public gatherings that bring together all sects in public events. The London meeting was convened by the global organization Religions for Peace (by some people better known as the World Conference of Religions for Peace, WCRP).

Religions for Peace first convened Iraqi religious leaders in Amman, Jordan, in May 2003. At the meeting, the Iraqi religious leaders called for the formation of an Iraqi Religions for Peace. Since then, the Iraqi religious leaders have met again in Baghdad, Iraq, Amman, Jordan, Kyoto and Tokyo, Japan, and Seoul, Korea. In partnership with Religions for Peace, the Iraqi religious leaders have also engaged in cooperative humanitarian assistance.

In early May of this year religious leaders of Kosovo met in Pec/Peja. Their venue was an old and symbolically important Orthodox monastery. They issued a statement with a call for reconciliation and respect for cultural and spiritual values and infrastructure. At the end of the meeting the participants, Muslims, Christians and a representative of the Jewish community, walked through the streets of Pec to visit churches and mosques. Both the conference and the walk were covered by a great number of media. This event was prepared and hosted by Norwegian Church Aid, with the participation of the European Council of Religious Leaders and Religions for Peace.

The involvements in Iraq and Kosovo are illustrative of how Religions for Peace works. In areas of



Senior religious leaders listening to HRH Prince Hassan at the meeting in London. Photo: World Conference of Religions for Peace.

conflict, Religions for Peace attempts to engage the religious leaders and their communities in conflict transformation. Their approach is not confusing official conflict management or peace negotiation processes, but aims at complementing and strengthening peace efforts through the spiritual and moral assets of religions.

Affiliated national inter-religious councils of Religions for Peace in ten African countries have active programs addressing AIDS, and partnerships are developed to strengthen their capacity to respond. Religious leaders have been supported to raise awareness and combat stigma and strengthen local religious groups to provide care for children and families affected by AIDS. Over the past four years, training has been provided to over 2,000 religious leaders. More than 500 local faith groups have received support, and through them more than 100,000 children's lives have been touched directly or indirectly.

Again, this is an example of how Religions for Peace works to support local inter-religious councils and bodies to jointly fight the perhaps most serious epidemics threatening peace and stability in Africa.

Start and evolution

The World Conference of Religions for Peace was established in 1970 by persons deeply committed to inter-religious dialogue and action. The establishment of WCRP as a global organization created a platform for national and regional chapters of WCRP. During the early years of WCRP the threat of weapons of mass destruction, building a culture of peace through education and awareness raising, and securing the environment for future generations were core concerns.

During the last decade, WCRP has been part of a process that has seen increasingly representative inter-religious bodies be built in several regions of the world. WCRP moved

heavily in the direction of supporting this development, and prioritized building inter-religious councils and networks, and equipping them for joint action to promote peaceful co-existence.

Programmatically there has been a move to strengthen local conflict transformation, peace building and enhancement of sustainable development. Less emphasis has been put on global advocacy actions, while global conflict transformation initiatives have successfully given WCRP credibility.

Comparative advantages

A quick look at the website of the *New York Times* may present an interesting story. The number of international stories in 1988 on religion from its international section, compared with last year, shows an increase of 47 percent. In the weekend review section that summarizes political events the increase was 53 percent. When turning to the section for editorials and opinions the increase was 156 percent in terms of the content of religions in a mainstream secular newspaper. Many of these stories are obviously negative and focus on religion as a problem. The news goes after that kind of reality. The untold stories are the ones when religious communities work together to transform conflicts, build peace and enhance sustainable development.

23 million out of 25 million people in zones of conflict, and 35 million out of 40 million people living with HIV/AIDS, could be reached through their religious communities. The most fundamental issue Religions for Peace is trying to address is: How do we use existing religious communities as building blocks for multi-religious cooperation to transform conflict, promote peace, and advance sustainable development around the world?

It is widely recognized that religious communities and institutions have distinct comparative

advantages in working for peace. They have a clear mission and message, a permanent historic and widely spread presence in society at large and in local communities in particular, and a well-developed infrastructure linking local, national and international offices. Their legitimacy enables them to make clear and courageous statements during crises. They have a traditional orientation towards peace and the promotion of respectful human relations as well as symbols and ceremonies for confession, repentance, forgiveness, grief and communion.

The power of cooperation

Cooperation among the world's religious communities for peace can be more powerful, both symbolically and substantively, than the efforts of individual religious communities acting alone. The symbolic power of cooperation is especially important in situations where religions are implicated or have become entangled in violent conflict. Cooperation in these situations can effectively undercut the exploitation of religion as a source of conflict and bring to the foreground the moral imperatives for justice, reconciliation and the rule of law that can be found in all of the major religions.

But cooperation does more. It also provides a powerful way to engage the enormous – and still underutilized – assets of the religious communities to advance peace and development. In many countries, the religious communities are the most developed and inter-connected social infrastructure present, reaching from the smallest village to the capital and beyond. They are also marked by moral and spiritual traditions that have great power among their adherents, and relevance for peace and human well-being. When mobilized and equipped, these religious communities can be harnessed for needed advocacy and the delivery of important services

related to the challenges of peace and development.

Cooperation is substantively powerful because it can help diverse religious communities to align their unique and often complementary strengths around shared concerns, identify common goals and offer efficiencies in the provision of needed mobilization and equipping. Moreover, cooperation among religious communities establishes a mode of operation that can facilitate the establishment of strategic partnerships with other public institutions and agencies committed to addressing similar changes, without at the same time engaging those public institutions in advancing particular sectarian beliefs.

Religious diversity

Each faith tradition may take important and impressive initiatives to encourage and enhance inter-faith cooperation. One faith cannot, however, become a credible inter-faith platform. This is what Religions for Peace can offer with its diverse membership and wide representation in governing structures. The global governing board, the "World Council", consists of representatives of all major religions in the world, including Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Shintos, Jews, adherents to indigenous beliefs and Zoroasters.

Religions for Peace has as a basic principle to work with existing religious structures. This means that the World Council of Churches, the regional Conferences of Churches (for example All Africa Conference of Churches) and national councils of churches are important partners. This further means that the denominational institutions on global, regional and national levels are key stakeholders for Religions for Peace.

Religious communities should be confident that Religions for Peace is not a competitor or opportunistic outfit that tries to run high on the current interest in religions. A sound

organizational linkage to existing, legitimate and representative institutions of the respective faith traditions is an important ambition both for now and the future.

Global network - local actors

Religions for Peace is a network organization with an international secretariat in New York, USA. The agenda of the organization has three main components: to transform conflicts, build peace and advance sustainable development. The global agenda is addressed on different levels, and the "World Council" has three main tasks:

- To be an agent to transform conflict, build peace and enhance sustainable development on issues and in forums of a global nature.
- To facilitate and support the work of affiliated inter-religious councils and bodies on regional and national levels.
- To develop the Religions for Peace Network and build alliances in order to harness its full potential as the arena and instrument for transforming conflict, building peace and enhancing sustainable development.

While the "World Council" supports capacity building and networking, work on local and regional levels is done by the inter-religious councils and other inter-faith bodies. They encourage, equip and facilitate actions by their member faith communities in their own capacity. They also bring together the member faith communities through their respective leaders and institutions to initiate and facilitate joint action.

There are currently some inter-faith structures in about 70 countries and four regions of the world affiliated with Religions for Peace. Some of these structures were originally brought together to tackle a specific challenge or theme, and some are fully constituted as inter-religious councils.

Some are just in the process of being brought together, while others are well-organized and significant actors in their communities. A number of these structures closely identify with Religions for Peace, while others are in a process of developing their identity and loyalty.

The aim is to build their capacity to be a relevant instrument for the religious communities and be prepared for action within fields they choose to give priority. Most of these structures have conflict transformation, peace building and advocacy for vulnerable children as their priorities.

Religions for Peace will return to its place of inauguration when the VIII World Assembly is held in Kyoto, Japan, in August of 2006. More than 500 religious leaders from around the world will represent the major religious communities in their deliberations on the theme of the Assembly, "Confronting Violence and Enhancing Shared Security". The global agenda of conflict transformation, peace building and enhancing sustainable development will be revisited through the lenses of this theme. Observers, special visitors, government representatives, representatives of faith based organizations and other inter-faith initiatives will most probably bring the total number of people at the assembly to around 1,000.

The VIII World Assembly in Kyoto in August will most certainly be an opportunity for Religions for Peace to re-invigorate the organization and provide visions for the next years. Inter-faith cooperation will be crucial for the movement towards peace during the next decade, and Religions for Peace will work hard to be a relevant, legitimate and credible instrument for religions and religious institutions that share its vision: "The world's religious communities cooperate effectively for peace."

Stein Villumstad

Security barrier through the garden

The so-called security barrier between Israel and the West Bank has drastic effects on the everyday lives of families living in its vicinity. Malin Brenk, who spent three months in East Jerusalem with the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel, met several people who risk being deprived of their possibilities for earning a living, getting an education or even living together with their family members.

The wall, or security barrier as the Israeli Government prefers to call it, is almost finalized in East Jerusalem. Only a small connecting piece is still missing and here the Caterpillars are busy digging in between the houses, in peoples' backyards.

While taking photos of the diggings, I meet Hanadi. She invites me into her garden and points to a newly dug hole in the farthest end.

- I woke up in the morning two days ago to the sound of a Caterpillar digging close by. First I did not reflect on it, as the machines have been working close to us all week. The planned route of the wall has been changed several times around here, and three years ago, when we heard it might go through our garden we filed an appeal. The process has been going on ever since; the case is still in court and no decision has been made so far. So imagine my surprise when I decided to get up and double-check through the window, and found the Caterpillar digging in my garden about five meters from the house!

If the wall is built where the Caterpillar has been digging, the house of Hanadi's family will end up on the West Bank side of the wall. The only access through the wall for Palestinians with the 'right/Jerusalem

IDs' will be on the other side of the Mount of Olives, so according to Hanadi it will take her over an hour and a half to bring her children to school - a trip that currently takes about six minutes.

The family would also run the risk of losing their Jerusalem IDs, as they would be living on the 'wrong side' of the wall, making it impossible for Hanadi and her husband to keep their jobs in the city. Hanadi says:

- If the wall is built through our garden, we will be forced to move into Jerusalem.

Her family belongs to the small group of fortunate people who have the financial means and legal possibilities to do so.

Hanadi's story is unfortunately not the only one. During my three months as an Ecumenical Accompanier in East Jerusalem the stories shared with me were many, and together they paint a striking picture of how the wall drastically affects peoples' day-to-day lives.

A wall of security?

When the barrier is finalized it will be a 670 kilometer-long divide that in some places consists of an 8-9 meter high cement wall, (in effect, double

the height of the Berlin wall¹) and in some places a metal fence with a 50-200 meter-wide security zone. This zone comprises electronic movement sensors, surveillance cameras, a four meter deep moat, a two-lane road, stacked rolls of barbed wire, and fine sand to detect footprints of trespassers.

The worst problem with the wall, however, is not its length, height or width, nor the fact that it is estimated to cost Israeli taxpayers and international donors two million dollars per kilometer.² What is far worse, and what the talks with many Palestinians illustrate, is that the wall is currently being built on Palestinian land. It is not only taking land but also separating families and leaving people stranded without the possibility to leave their house or, often, reach their schools, jobs or hospitals.

Israel claims that the wall is being built for security reasons. A legitimate reason, considering that over 70 attacks have taken place in Jerusalem since the second Intifada began. But the current route of the wall challenges the security argument. If the wall is built



Abdul and Nervin showing their different IDs. Photo: Debbie Hill/EAPPI.



Soldiers at 'al bawabe' (means gate in Arabic). This unofficial and temporary checkpoint for pedestrians in East Jerusalem has now been closed. Photo: Malin Brenk/EAPPI.

for security reasons, should it not separate the Israelis from the Palestinians instead of, as now, separating Palestinians from Palestinians as well?

Should it not be built on the green line, the internationally recognized border before the 1967 war, instead of as now with 80 percent on the actual West Bank and in defiance of the International Court of Justice (and the following UN resolution A/RES/ES-10/15)?

Should it not be built so that the Palestinians could have a viable state on the West Bank connected to Gaza, instead of as it is now, cut up into a number of small areas, separating Palestinians from their schools, health facilities, jobs and land, thus depriving thousands of Palestinians of their livelihoods?

Actually, why build a wall at all? If the reason behind it is security concerns, would not both parties be safer with a bilaterally agreed upon peace accord?

Separation and isolation

Abdul and Nervin are a young couple with two sons and one daughter. I met

them at their home close to Abu Dis in East Jerusalem, on the West Bank side of the wall. However, since the wall was built Abdul lives alone in the house, while Nervin and the three children stay in an apartment in Jerusalem and can only visit Abdul in their house during the weekends. Nervin has, contrary to her husband, a Jerusalem ID, which is obligatory to be able to work in the city. If she would decide to stay permanently in their house in Abu Dis, she would lose this ID and thereby her job at Al Quds University in Jerusalem (the family's only income) and the possibility to visit her family and friends in Jerusalem.

The wall also makes it impossible for people to leave their homes. During my first month as an Ecumenical Accompanier I met the Al Kunbar family. I had been asked to meet with them by the Israeli Commission against House Demolitions, one of the main Israeli organizations working for peace in the region. The Al Kunbar family also lives close to Abu Dis in East Jerusalem. Their story is, however, different from Abdul and Nervin's and many other stories that people living

close to the wall share with us. What makes the story of this Palestinian family different is that they have, together with their neighbors, ended up on the 'Israeli side' of the wall without Jerusalem IDs.

Their house is not newly built. In fact, they have lived on the same spot since 1969 and are paying city taxes and bills for garbage collection like all Jerusalemites. Despite this, and even after three court processes, the family has still not received Jerusalem IDs. This means that in practice, the adults in the family cannot leave the house for fear of being caught by the border police.

The reason why the Al Kunbar house has ended up on the 'Israeli side' of the wall is their neighbors. The Al Kunbar family lives next to Israeli settlers who moved in two years ago, and this has meant that the wall was routed the way it currently is. The youngest children of the Al Kunbar family go to school in East Jerusalem, but as they grow older the fear of them being arrested on their way to or from school is increasing.

This happened to the family's oldest

boy of 20. He was, however, released after being forced to sign a document stating that the border police are entitled to put him in jail, should he be caught on this side of the wall again. The wall, with its current route, incorporates hundreds of thousands of Palestinians on the 'Israeli side' of the wall, many of whom lack the right living permits or identification papers.

End of two-state solution

And yet, the wall is only one of many actions undertaken by Israel towards the Palestinians - actions that are all taking place in the open, right before

the world's eyes. The finalizing of the wall together with the expansion of old settlements and setting up of new ones, the attempts to connect the settlement of Ma'ale Adumin more solidly to Jerusalem (through the E1 - a planned built-up urban land bridge), the demolition of Palestinian houses, and the statement by the Israeli government that Israel will set its borders unilaterally if needed by 2010, mean that facts on the ground are drastically changing for the worse.

A new and highly dangerous reality is being built on the West Bank and in Jerusalem, in fact killing any type of

viable two-state solution. This development not only threatens the Palestinians, but is also likely to undermine Israel's security by sowing the seeds for growing radicalization on both sides.

Malin Brenk

¹ *I murens skugga: De ekonomiska, politiska och sociala konsekvenserna av den israeliska muren*, Anders Nilsson, Sveriges Kristna Råd, 3:e upplagan, 2004

² *The Humanitarian Impact of the West Bank Barrier on Palestinian Communities*, Update no. 5, United Nations, March, 2005

Background facts

The Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI) is an initiative of the World Council of Churches. Its mission is to accompany Palestinians and Israelis in their non-violent actions and concerted advocacy efforts to end the occupation. Participants of the programme are monitoring and reporting violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, supporting acts of non-violent resistance alongside local Christian and Muslim Palestinians and Israeli peace activists, and, in general, standing in

solidarity with the churches and all those struggling against the occupation.

The total number of people to have participated in the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme since its inception in 2002 is now 290. Accompaniers have participated from more than 30 churches and ecumenical partners in 14 countries: Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the USA.

Ecumenical accompaniers, who serve a minimum of three months, work in

various capacities with local churches, Palestinian and Israeli NGOs, as well as Palestinian communities, to try to reduce the brutality of the Israeli occupation and improve the daily lives of both peoples.

Since summer 2005 EAPPI publishes the quarterly magazine ChainReaction. Issue no 3 was published in spring 2006 on the theme "Children and the conflict". The two earlier issues had as their themes "The EAPPI confronting violence with presence" and "While the world was watching Gaza", respectively.

World Cup unity in the West Bank

While neither Israel nor Palestine (as the team is designated, even if there is no state of that name) qualified for the World Cup in Germany, interest in the tournament is intense. One of the few issues Israelis and Palestinians can agree upon is that the TV subscription rates to watch the football World Cup are too high. In a region where disagreement is the norm, the game has led to a degree of unity among the fans.

Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza are fervently trying to circumvent charges of up to \$600 and watch matches on pirate TV channels, which are pledging to broadcast the games free of charge.

"It's a lot of money, especially when the situation is so bad", says carpenter Fadi Said, referring to the economic sanctions that have been imposed on the Palestinians following Hamas' election victory in January.

Furious Israeli football fans are staging a consumer rebellion that has prompted a parliamentary probe and already led to a reduction in prices. Originally, Israeli fans were going to have to fork out more than \$200 to watch the tournament but that has now fallen to around about \$70. But this has not been enough to placate the angry fans.

"Football is very far from politics", says Khaldoun al-Nadi, manager of the

Olmonds Bar in the West Bank city of Ramallah, explaining the common ground between the fans. "For many people it's more important than politics."

While the football World Cup's official slogan may be "a time to make friends", most Israelis and Palestinians football fans agree that their newfound agreement will not last long - probably until the final whistle of the World Cup.

Martin Patience

The author is the Jerusalem News Correspondent for BBC News. Source: Common Ground News Service, www.commongroundnews.org

LPI News

2,000 police trained in HR

The police officers have a very important role to play in peacebuilding. One of LPI's activities in Congo Brazzaville is to provide an education programme for the National Police Force. The education, which is being provided in collaboration with UNDP and the local NGO NIOSI, has so far reached 2,000 police officers. Subjects included in the week-long training courses are the Penal Code and Human Rights. Role playing is often used as a method of teaching and learning. Each participating police officer is given a handbook and each police station is given a manual on penal procedures.

90 police officers in the northern town of Impfondo in the Likouala Region participated in the latest training. The Catholic Church provided the venue. New seminars are planned for Djambala, Kinkala, Sibiti and Ewo.

The role of media

Some 30 journalists, Swedish-based press and information secretaries have been gathered to discuss the role of journalists and media in relation to religion and conflict. The seminar was arranged by LPI and the Sigtuna Foundation as a follow-up to the international inter-faith conference Tools for Peace arranged in Sweden in 2004. Views from professional journalists, as well as from Jewish, Muslim, Christian and Buddhist participants were shared. It is foreseen that the inter-faith exchange will continue in a project engaging various religious councils and networks in Sweden as well as media and journalist training institutions.

Parliamentarians visited Bukavu

LPI's peacebuilding programme in Bukavu, DRC, has recently been visited by a group from the International Development Committee, a UK Parliamentary Oversight Committee that monitors how the UK conducts in

development business. The visit was part of a review of the UK's response (both bilaterally and as part of the international system) to conflict and peacebuilding in Africa. The visit provided LPI a great opportunity to spell out some of the key peacebuilding issues in DRC, the challenges faced, and to make suggestions on how it could all be done better.

With regard to the upcoming election in July, LPI has organised four trainings in Bukavu, Uvira, Goma and Butembo for 100 persons delegated by partner organisations to be able to assure sensitisation of the population in all the isolated areas of North and South Kivu.

Christian-Muslim dynamics research

At a seminar in Nairobi mid April, opened by the Kenyan Archbishop Gitari, LPI presented four case studies on Christian-Muslim dynamics. The research has been carried out in Sudan, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Nigeria in collaboration with the universities of Ele

Ife, Nigeria, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Juba, Sudan. LPI research director, Dr. Anne Kubai, reports that the main conclusion based on the research is that religion itself is not a problem at the community level, but tends to become involved as part of politics. Nigeria is an exception, as religion itself appears to be an issue and cause of conflict. LPI will publish the four studies as a research report.

Post-conflict perspectives in West Africa

Swedish-based Nordic Africa Institute organised an academic conference on the topic of "Post-conflict Elections in West Africa: Challenges for Democracy and Reconstruction" 15-17 May 2006 in Accra, Ghana. One of the speakers was Dr. Tarekegn Adebo, research coordinator at LPI, who reports from the conference:

«As the post-conflict peacebuilding and democratisation has featured as a phase of some focus in LPI's work, reflecting developments on the ground (Somalia,



Noomi Weinryb, from the European Institute for Jewish Studies, and senior journalist and former Editor in-chief of the daily Dagens Nyheter, Sweden, Anders Mellbourn. Photo: Carl Johan Friman.

Sudan, DRC), to participate in a conference dealing with the same theme was a relevant move. The conference attracted many noted academics and practitioners from the West African scene as well as some facilitators from Sweden.

According to the programme, the conference presentations included keynote addresses by special guests, theoretical and conceptual issues, case studies dealt with in parallel sessions, influences of neighbouring states, local actors, global-external influences, civil society and the state, and lastly a plenary presentation by a panel on “Reconciling winners and losers in the post-election period, the political and policy imperatives”.

Ms Carin Norberg, the Director of the Nordic Africa Institute, made opening remarks, followed by welcome remarks by Cyril Obi, Programme Coordinator of the Institute.

Jibrin Ibrahim, Nigeria Country Director, Global Rights, delivered a keynote speech on the topic “Transforming Elections into Opportunities for Political Choice”.

The formal opening was followed by presentations of conference papers and discussions. All in all 29 papers were presented under the following categories: Theoretical and conceptual issues; Case studies in parallel sections – Sierra Leone; Liberia and Guinea-Bissau; Neighbouring states; Local actors; and Globalisation.

My paper entitled “Post-conflict peacebuilding and prospects for democracy” was under the category Theoretical and conceptual issues. I presented the topic in relation to LPI’s experience and as a phase currently quite salient from the perspective of

developments of African conflicts. This topic has been highlighted by LPI much earlier in various forums.

The papers presented by the rest of the speakers discussed different challenges that democracy is facing in the West African scene, mainly in the countries emerging from protracted violent conflicts. Their findings are mixed, featuring both positive and negative trends in the development of democracy. In all situations one sees some common worries, including weak popular base for the new system and the dominance of the executive wing everywhere tending to perpetuate the old personal autocratic styles of governance based on clientelist interests and ‘Godfatherism’. On the other hand, it is clear that the experience being gained through periodic elections and the development of common institutions of control and democratic exercise is helping the progress of democracy. «

Staff changes



Alexandra Bilak from Paris, France, is replacing Ylse van der Schoot as LPI Resident Representative in the Democratic Republic of Congo, based in Bukavu. Alexandra has a Master’s Degree in International Politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies

at the University of London, and a D.E.A. (advanced research diploma) in African Politics from the Sorbonne University in Paris. She has worked in the Great Lakes region of Africa for five years, including four years with the Dutch NGO Oxfam-Novib where she worked extensively with local civil society in Congo and Rwanda, focusing on issues of conflict transformation, local governance and livelihoods.

Ylse van der Schoot is replacing Johan Svensson as the Resident Representative in the Horn of Africa region, based in Nairobi, Kenya, on July 1.

Johan Svensson will head a new project on methodology and indicators in conflict transformation and peace-building projects.



Gerhard Egerhag, on retirement from earlier positions as finance and administrative director in the Church of Sweden, is since May temporarily replacing **Ann-Louise Fredrikson** who has served LPI as chief accountant for the past four years.

Jenny Svensson, currently engaged in the Publications for Peace Education project, is replacing **Ulla Vinterhav** as Executive Officer during her leave of absence as of August 1.

Reviews

Difficult to heal a nation’s wounds

Paul Richards (ed): No Peace No War. An Anthropology of

Contemporary Armed Conflicts. James Currey Publishers, 2005

The emphasis in *No Peace No War* is less on the triggers of war and more on how people make war and peace.

Therefore, the editor, Paul Richards, dismisses the traditional explanations of the “new war” (intra-state wars): “Malthus with guns” (wars as caused by competition over resources), “new barbarism” (let loose once the Cold

War ended) and “greed, not grievances” (economics and not hatred as the reason).

While these factors may contribute to and prolong armed conflicts, the ethnographic perspective stresses that the “new war” relates to patterns of violence already embedded within society. War and peace should be understood in sociological terms as they represent different points on a social continuum. This reasoning is supported by ten case studies from Asia (Cambodia, Tibet), Africa (Burkina Faso, Somalia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Zimbabwe), Central America (Guatemala) and Europe (Bosnia).

The aim of the book – in line with much of the LPI thinking – is not conflict “resolution” but conflict transformation, re-directing the social energies deployed in war to problem-solving ventures on a cooperative basis. This “answer” may not be wrong, even if it is mirroring the anthropological questions.

**Charles Villa-Vicencio & Erik Doxtader (eds):
Pieces of the Puzzle.
Keywords on Reconciliation
and Transitional Justice.
Institute for Justice and
Reconciliation, 2004**

Pieces of the Puzzle is a book in the spirit of the well-known South African theologian Charles Villa-Vicencio and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In a very concise way it defines the parameters and complexities of political reconciliation and restorative justice, its limits and achievements. The very special African concept *ubuntu* as a basis for overcoming and transforming conflicts is discussed as a factor (in addition to the Christian context) behind the success of the TRC. Concrete advices are given as to how peace processes may be made effective (implementation speed seems to be an important factor), and several authors analyse

different legal aspects, including individual versus communal rights as well as economic compensation and transformation.

In spite of its small size this is a great book to study and reflect upon, elaborating theoretical insights based on practical experience.

**Peacebuilding: A Caritas
Training Manual. (2nd edition),
Caritas Internationalis, 2006**

Prevention of violent conflicts and building peace are goals approaching the forefront of the international political arena. Achieving a sustainable peace after an armed conflict is not an easy task. Healing the wounds after a domestic war is probably even more difficult.

The revised *Training Manual* by Caritas aims to cover all the different stages and to be of practical help and support to trainers in the field. Based on consultations with both scholars and practitioners in the area, it serves as an impressive resource book for Track Two activists.

**Deenabandhu Manchala (ed):
Nurturing Peace. Theological
Reflections on Overcoming
Violence. Risk Book, WCC
Publications, 2005**

Nurturing Peace is an output from the WCC Decade to Overcome Violence 2001-2010, a summary of a series of consultations arranged by the Faith and Order Commission. Sorry to say, too much of the important content on violence and peace is hidden behind theological mumbo-jumbo. However, the chapter on abuse of power and the church’s responsibility is thought-provoking in its discussion regarding empowerment and the complexities, necessities and responsibilities of power. Too often the churches have avoided these issues.

Bernt Jonsson

Analysis of Sudan’s history

**Douglas H. Johnson:
The Root Causes of Sudan’s
Civil Wars. Indiana University
Press, updated second
Impression 2004 (first published 2003)**

This book is a most welcome and valuable contribution to the scarce existing literature on the history of Sudan. Whereas the most popular and widely used history of Sudan up until now (Holt & Daly: *A History of the Sudan. From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*) describes developments only until 1999, Johnson’s analysis covers events until 2004.

This book has grown out of a report, *The Southern Sudan. The Root Causes of a Recurring Civil War*, commissioned by the Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development in 1992. The receivers of the report urged that it be circulated to a wider audience, which has led to this book, an expanded and updated version of the original report. Rather than presenting the conflict in Sudan as the continuation of an age-old confrontation between ‘cultures’ defined by blood-lines (‘Arabs’ vs. ‘Africans’), or as the consequence of an artificial division imposed by colonial powers – which are the most common explanations for the conflicts in Sudan – Johnson examines some of the economic and political patterns that have affected the development and exercise of state power in Sudan since at least the nineteenth century. In doing this, he explains the process and consequences of regional underdevelopment and the conjunction between perceptions of religion and race specific to this part of Africa, which often lead to destructive civil wars.

The analysis of the history of Sudan is presented in chronological order. The first chapter deals with the historical structure of North-South relations, starting as early as 652 A.D.

up until the British conquest of the country in 1899. The second chapter deals with the period of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium that ruled Sudan from 1899 until independence in 1946. The First Sudanese Civil War and the events that led to its outbreak in 1953 are described in chapter three. The Addis Ababa Agreement (AAA) that ended this war but failed to bring lasting peace is discussed in detail in chapter four. The apparent failure of the AAA led to the Second Sudanese Civil War, of which the early years (1983–1985) are described in chapter five.

Before moving on to describe and discuss the last two decades of war in Sudan in the remaining six chapters, the author includes an interlude in which he describes some of the patterns that emerge from the first half of his study and that persist through his description of the Second Civil War. The work concludes with a chapter on ideas of peace and war in Sudan. Although the peace agreement was signed in January 2005, this chapter is most valuable because it deals with ideas of war and peace not only within Sudan, but also about Sudan, attempts at peacemaking between Sudanese, and the interventions of outsiders, which makes it interesting for people involved in peacemaking in Africa from all over the world.

Hanna Jagtenberg

Transatlantic relations Exposed to violence

Friends again? EU-US relations after the crisis. Ed: Marcin Zaborowski. European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2006

As the title indicates, this book deals with the question of whether the EU-US relationship has survived the rocky period during George W. Bush's first presidency. The overall

argument is that although transatlantic relations have returned to a more harmonious state, many questions remain regarding the depth, scope and solidity of this new EU-US partnership.

The book is divided into six sections, each of which consists of a number of articles written by experts from both sides of the Atlantic and from different shades of the political spectrum, both in the French and English languages. The authors explore the issue from various angles, including the alleged rise of anti-Americanism in Europe, America's involvement in the Middle East, EU and US relations with Russia, and the importance of transatlantic economic bonds. The final section assesses the extent to which EU-US relations have recovered since the crisis of 2003 and considers the prospects for the future of the transatlantic relationship.

Marcin Zaborowski is a Research Fellow at the EU Institute for Security Studies, where he deals with the transatlantic programme and enlargement-related issues. The EU Institute for Security Studies became an autonomous Paris-based agency of the EU in January 2002. The Institute's core mission is to provide analyses and recommendations that can be of use and relevance to the formulation of European security and defence policy.

Hanna Jagtenberg

Broken bodies, broken dreams. Violence against women exposed. United Nations office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs/IRIN, 2005

"Elisabeth and her four year old daughter were brutally raped and beaten by six militiamen near their home in Masisi, Democratic Republic

of Congo. ... 'As they were beating me, I fell to the ground with my baby still on my back. It was then that they took off my skirt and began raping me, with my baby on my back throughout.'"

This is but one of many women's stories described in the book *broken bodies, broken dreams*. The book deals with all kinds of violence throughout the cycle of women's lives from birth (even pre-birth) until old age. It includes issues of son preference, sexual abuse of children, child prostitution and pornography, female genital mutilation, child marriage, violence against girls in schools, sex trafficking of women and girls, dowry crimes and bride-price abuse, intimate-partner abuse, crimes of "honour", sexual assault and harassment, abuse of older women and sexual violence in times of war. The book is illustrated with expressive black and white photographs.

The violence against women and girls transcends the bounds of geography, race, culture, class and religion. Not surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of violence is committed by men.

While theorists argue whether the causes are "nature" or "nurture" or lie somewhere in between these two poles, psychological research has strong evidence that violence is a learned behaviour that may be passed down the generations.

However, this finding also offers hope, and perhaps that is a good enough reason to read the book, to help oneself retain hope that *non-violent* behaviour can in fact be learnt. And this book, with its realistic stories, texts and not least the photos, should provoke anyone who reads it to take a stand against all kind of violence and discrimination against women and girls.

Ulla Vinterhav

Peaceful Valamo monastery ideal setting for LPI planning

During a week-long conference, split in two parts, LPI Board of Directors and staff from across the world met to evaluate and plan peace research and action for the coming years. The Orthodox Valamo monastery in eastern Finland provided space for reflection as well as discussions.

In summary, it can be noted that LPI plans for expansion in the coming years. Encouraged by fruitful contributions in

research and conflict transformation over the past 20 years, LPI stands ready for new challenges in Africa, as well as in Asia and Latin America. In addition to planned peacebuilding 2006–2008 with local partners in the Horn of Africa, and in the Democratic Republic of Congo, new commitments include projects in Timor Leste (East Timor) and in Latin America.

The week of meetings included an official dinner and a seminar with representatives from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs,

FinnChurchAid, the Finnish Ecumenical Council and the Orthodox Church of Finland. In a separate reception, LPI board members met with the director of the monastery, Archimandrite Sergei.

The staff conference was focused on mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in the LPI peacebuilding contexts, as well as reviews of action plans for 2006 and 2007.

Tore Samuelsson



Valamo meetings in pictures, above: LPI global Board of Directors, representing 12 countries, together with Archimandrite Sergei in front of the monastery church. Right, from top: Executive Director Peter Brune, Uppsala, and Deputy Representative Seraphin Ngouma, Brazzaville, visiting the monastery's cemetery.

Staff members on board m/s Sergei at the locks of Taivallahti canal. Programme officers Basil Nyama, Nairobi, and Tharcisse Kayira, Bukavu, with board member Elsi Takala, Helsinki. Photos: Tore Samuelsson/LPI.



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