# Publications for Peace Education

**Five regional seminars in Africa and the Middle East**

*The quotations that are inserted in the seminar reports*
*are taken from the participants' evaluations.*

# Life & Peace Institute

The Life & Peace Institute (LPI) is an international and ecumenical institute for peace research and action. Founded in 1985 by the Swedish Ecumenical Council, LPI aims to further the causes of justice, peace and reconciliation through a combination of research, publications and projects for conflict transformation.

LPI activities currently focus on three broad themes:

- Religion, conflict and peace
- Human rights and economic justice
- Nonviolent conflict transformation

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## Foreword

Interest in peace education is growing all over the world. It attracts many young people with historical knowledge only of the two world wars of the 20th Century, the Cold War bi-polar dynamics and the many violent conflicts caused by the colonial era. Global changes with different kinds of warfare, including numerous intra state conflicts, a growing number of terrorist attacks and the US-led "global war on terror", have resulted in a numerous research projects and literature.

The Swedish based Life & Peace Institute (LPI) has been engaged in peace research and action since the mid 1980s. Numerous publications have been produced as a result of analysis and reflection, as well as hands-on peacebuilding. It is well known that LPI, particularly through its work in Somalia in the 1990s, contributed to peace research theory. Furthermore, thousands of individuals in post-conflict contexts in Somalia, Somaliland, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Congo Kinshasa and Congo Brazzaville have benefited from LPI-led courses and training in conflict transformation.

The Publications for Peace Education project (PPE) was born out of this context. Initially, it was agreed with the donor, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Finland, that LPI would select, update and reprint the best reports for distribution to relevant higher education institutions in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. In the second phase of the PPE 2005–2007, regional seminars were arranged in order to create meeting places and links for reflection. There was an emphasis on a south-south exchange involving peace researchers and faculty, students and civil society. LPI's role was that of a broker and facilitator. In this as well as in many earlier LPI-run projects, the local context was central. Knowledge does not primarily come from outside but from experience gathered and shared between people with different roles and perspectives.

We are very grateful for the opportunity to share this summary report with readers we don't even know. It is our hope that the material, which is primarily from the five regional seminars that took place in the Horn of Africa, Central Africa/Great Lakes, Southern Africa and North Africa/Middle East, will provide food for thought and ideas that contribute to further peace education.

A number of individuals and institutions have contributed to the success of the PPE. We would like to express our gratitude to our funding partner, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Finland, not only for the financial support but also for the great interest in the work itself. The book distribution was a major challenge with more than 20,000 books sent to 100 institutions in 40 countries, and we were greatly assisted by the Lutheran World Federation offices and Norwegian Church Aid.

The main printers at Temdahls, Östervåla, and particularly Bill Wåhlén, did a great job in terms of printing, packing and sending off the cargo. We should also mention the impressive graphic design work by Georg Lulich and Kerstin Öhman.

The five regional seminars were successfully arranged in collaboration with the LPI offices in Nairobi and Brazzaville, as well as our excellent partner organizations, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town and the Swedish Institute in Alexandria.

Last but not least, a number of LPI permanent and temporary staff have carried this project. Actually, most LPI staff members have in one way or another been engaged in the process, but key people throughout were Tore Samuelsson, Kristina Lundqvist, Selin Amirthalingam and Jenny Svensson.

Uppsala in December 2007

*Peter Brune*
Executive Director, LPI

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## Introduction

It all started with a reflection back in 2003 that LPI is sitting on a wealth of material in terms of peace research and analysis, lessons learned from numerous countries and contexts that might be useful to share. All in all some 70 reports had been produced since the Institute started. An assessment and thorough analysis by Dr. Andrew Kirk suggested that a lot of the material was still exceedingly relevant – especially post-9/11.

Most publications had been previously printed and disseminated, but due to financial constraints they did not normally reach far outside of a group of "most concerned". A couple of best sellers were, however, out of stock. We strongly felt that with new forewords/introductions or postscripts by the respective researchers/authors, with a good formatting and print quality, and with a proper process of beneficiary selection, this literature could really prove useful to institutions of higher academic learning.

The project proposal submitted to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Helsinki, Finland, was approved in late 2003. The initial phase of the project, from 2004–2005, enabled LPI to update and re-print 15 publications. The books, in English and French, were distributed to universities in sets of 10 copies of each title. A growing list of institutions reached a hundred relevant faculties in countries like Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Namibia, Swaziland, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon to mention a few.

It took quite some time to finalize the list of beneficiaries. We used all means to reach out and establish relevant contacts. The final list of a hundred partner institutions represented a variety of faculties across Africa and the Middle East, as well as a few in Asia. Most of them reported a severe shortage in publications.

As the project continued in a second phase that took place in 2005–2007, a total of over 20,000 books were distributed. An assessment in Southern Africa and the final external evaluation indicated appreciation of the books. A series of regional seminars was arranged as part of the follow-up process. These seminars brought together a selection of students, faculty, researchers, practitioners and representatives from civil society in each particular region.

The first seminar was arranged in Nairobi in April 2006, for the Horn of Africa region. The focus was on peace agreements and the role of civil society. Basil Nyama, one of the facilitators, reported that "the seminar turned out to be a viable forum for discussions in the quest for pragmatic theories, paradigms and mechanisms for pursuing sustainable peace in this conflict-ridden region of Africa".

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation hosted seminar number two in Southern Africa in November 2006 together with Professor Christo Lombard at the University of Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa. The theme was Building a Culture of Peace in Southern Africa. It was a most rewarding conference that I had an opportunity to co-ordinate. The participants, including some guest students from Rwanda and DRC, were very committed to contributing to the exchange and constructively discussing the ways forward in their respective countries and political contexts.

A third seminar was arranged by LPI in Brazzaville in December 2006, with as many as 55 participants from universities and higher education institutions in the two Congo states, Brazzaville and Kinshasa. Claudette Werleigh from LPI, who facilitated the seminar, was impressed by the motivation of the students. The participants and speakers represented governments, NGOs, students and faculty from theological seminars as well as state universities.

The Swedish Institute hosted the fourth seminar in Alexandria, Egypt. The Institute and LPI jointly sent out invitations. The seminar also included the launching of the Arabic translation of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute yearbook. A variety of participants came from Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Palestine, Egypt and Sweden.

A final seminar was arranged by the LPI (Vie et Paix) programme in Brazzaville in September 2007. This time participants came from seven countries in the region of Central Africa and Great Lakes. The theme was similar to the one in Southern Africa, how to construct a new paradigm of peace in the region.

This report primarily accounts for the five regional seminars. We are grateful for all insights and wisdom shared. Although notes, summaries and background material are different in terms of style and content, we hope you will find the respective reports interesting and useful. It has been our ambition to make a comprehensive report that serves both the purpose of feedback to those involved and a source of inspiration for new students, teachers and people in various civil society functions.

There is of course much more to say from each of the seminars. By providing some relevant contact information at the end of each section, it is our hope that you will be able to successfully search for more material. Feel free to contact us with questions. I am happy to know that individual contacts have been made and networks have been formed as a result of the PPE project. No doubt new ideas related to peace education and peacebuilding have been and will continue to be born. This was also the intention.

The final word of thanks is in Finnish. To honor the generous and engaged donor, the Finnish Foreign Ministry, we say *kiitos*!

Uppsala in December 2007

*Tore Samuelsson*
Communications Director, LPI

# The Horn of Africa: Nairobi

## Peace Agreements and the Role of Civil Society

*Peace Agreements and the Role of Civil Society*

**Facilitated by**  LPI Nairobi and Uppsala offices
**Venue**  Desmond Tutu Conference Centre, Nairobi, Kenya
**Date**  24–26 April, 2006

*Agenda and contributions*

**Presentation 1: The Sudan peace process**
*Lt. Gen Lazarus Sumbeiywo*, Nairobi, Kenya

**Presentation 2: The role of civil society in the Sudanese
peace process**
Ms Suzanne Jambo, Juba, Sudan

**Presentation 3: The Somali peace process**
*Amb. Bethuel Kiplagat*, Nairobi, Kenya

**Presentation 4: The role of civil society in the Somali peace process**
*Zahra Obego*, Mogadishu, Somalia

**Group work**

**University presentations**

**Panel discussion:**
**Linking peace processes with peace education and civil society**
Facilitator: *Florence Oduor*, LPI Nairobi, Kenya

**Discussion on way forward**

Attachment 1: Transforming conflicts through peace research
and education

Attachment 2: The participants

## SUMMARY/HIGHLIGHTS

*By Jenny Svensson, LPI programme officer*

I am very happy to have participated in this *Publications for Peace Education* seminar. About two years ago, the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) initiated a project called Publications for Peace Education (PPE), where we received funds from the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs to reprint some 20 books produced by LPI, and to distribute these books free of charge to about 100 institutions of higher learning, mainly in Africa.

But how do you suddenly find 100 universities with an interest in peace education? Well, this was actually more difficult than we initially thought, and my colleagues and I wrote hundreds of e-mails, letters, and made phone calls inviting universities to participate in this project to receive our publications free of charge. Initially, we didn't get much response at all; I remember we were happy when we had 10 universities. But suddenly, it went up to 97 universities. The process was a kind of a ketchup effect: first came nothing, then nothing, then nothing, and suddenly everything came.

I am very pleased to have some of these institutions here for the seminar, so that I can now connect faces to the universities. The feedback we have gotten from the universities that have received the publications has been very positive, and some of the feedback triggered LPI to continue with a new phase of the project where we invited some of these universities to regional seminars in Africa.

We have now concluded the first of these seminars, the focus of which was on peace processes and the role of civil society.

We were very grateful for the presence and contributions from General Sumbeiywo and Ambassador, or rather as we discovered, Dr Kiplagat, as Special Envoys to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the peace processes in Sudan and Somalia, respectively. Not only did they provide us with an inside knowledge about the peace processes in Sudan and Somalia, but they also gave us a very personal view about the challenges they faced in the negotiations, and their motivations to continue to strive for peace despite the difficulties they faced. For example, from General Sumbeiywo we learnt that "Agreements are not written at the table" and that "Patience and persistence are the golden rules of mediations".  Dr. Kiplagat reminded us that, "If you see a peacemaker with no problems, something is wrong".

We also enjoyed the presentations by Suzanne Jambo and Zahra Obego, who drew our attention to aspects of the peace processes in Sudan and Somalia that might have been missed or neglected by the official tracks, but that were focused on by the civil society. For example, Suzanne Jambo pointed out that while peace talks were going on in Nairobi, children were massacred in Sudan. Zahra Obego shared with us her disappointment about the neglect of the issue of women's participation in the Somali Transitional Government in the negotiations.

Issues brought up in the lectures, such the role of civil society, regional actors, clan/ethnic systems, and gender, all in relation to peace processes and/or peace education, were vividly discussed in our afternoon group sessions. A number of challenges for both action and research were identified, including the significance of the implementation period and the need to sustain the commitment of the IGAD after a peace agreement has been signed.

*"The presentations were wonderful. We had heard the great sons of Africa (General Sumbaywo and Amb Kiplagat) talk of the difficult task they had in restoring peace in Sudan and Somalia."*

It has been very instructive to listen to the presentations made by the universities, where you shared with us what you are doing in the area of peace education. We learned about courses held at your universities, such as hydro politics in the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, or indeed, the role of jihad in peacebuilding. We also learned that some of you are already doing work together with civil society, and that many of your graduates go on to work for civil society organizations.

In the concluding part of the seminar, we listened to an interesting panel discussion on linking peace processes with peace education and civil society. There was also a discussion on what can be done in more pragmatic terms concerning the way forward.

I would like to end where we started this seminar, with the welcome by the LPI's Executive Director Peter Brune, who talked about the Global Partnership on the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) conference and the shift from reaction to

prevention in which peace education is vital. While at this seminar we focused on the Horn of Africa region, it is also important to look out to what is happening at the global level. While we focused on peace processes, the issue of prevention is also of great importance. So to learn more about this, you will be given a copy of the GPPAC report *From reaction to prevention* at the end of this seminar.

## 1. THE SUDAN PEACE PROCESS

*Summary of presentation by Lt. Gen Lazarus Sumbeiywo*

My involvement in the most recent peace process started in 1999, when the Sudanese Government invited the Kenyan Government to participate in the discussions. I was given the task of escorting Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir. However, the meeting did not take place, as the then leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) John Garang did not turn up.

During the first meetings in the peace process we discussed the root causes and identified the issues needed to end the war. This became the famous Declaration of Principles. The SPLA endorsed these principles as they were the solutions. It became very clear, in article 6, that the parties to the conflict would negotiate a peace agreement.

In the beginning of the negotiations there were many actors. One was the Government of Sudan, which later split. On the SPLM side there were two groups, the SPLA mainstream (headed by Garang) and the SPLA United (headed by the current Vice-President of Southern Sudan). There was also IGAD, Norway, Italy, and the Friends of IGAD.

From the end of 1994 to mid-1997 there were no negotiations. Then a sub-committee was formed, which included the protagonists. It agreed to request a negotiating team, headed by Kenya. Kenya appointed a military person, who happened to be me. At the next meeting in July 1998, in Addis Ababa, an agreement was signed that stipulated that the north-south boundary would be the 1956 boundary. In October 2001, former Kenyan President Moi requested that I take up the job to negotiate the peace agreement.

An IGAD meeting took place on 9 and 10 January 2002 in Khartoum. My first paper went to Egypt, who turned it down. I then visited Egypt, the UK and the US. In May 2002, we called a meeting in Nairobi and set a programme to sustain the negotiations. The partners agreed, apart from the issue of language transition/interim period. In June 2002 negotiations continued in Machachos. The following two weeks the parties were shouting at each other. The intention was to have some kind of a breathing period.

*"The issue of civil society made me expect (yearn for) some presentations from civil society representatives."*

On my part, I used the breathing period to craft and draft a single negotiation text. We had envoys from Norway, Italy, and the UK, and invited professors as observers. A first draft was produced, including power and wealth sharing protocols, as well as stipulations concerning human rights. On 19 July, a month later, it was clear that unless these issues were resolved there was no way forward. I asked the two parties to appoint two people to resolve the issues during the night. When they agreed, I asked them to give me a joint paper, which they did, the Machacos protocol. Four people were put in the room but they did not negotiate; they went to their mobile phones to discuss with their leaders. I was informed that President Bashir got involved with the negotiation.

The resumption of the negotiations took place in September. The issue of the Juba Mountains was not included. Now, the SPLA was not willing to continue and the Government delegation withdrew. We tried to agree on clearing conflict areas. Near the end of 2002, I traveled with the president to the US. I also traveled extensively in the conflict areas including the Juba Mountains, and very widely in the South. I wanted to find out what the people on the ground wished.

Then, after extensive consultation, I drafted the Nakoro document. The president was infuriated that I had suggested that he should share power with the SPLA. The next meeting did not yield anything, as the delegates did not have a mandate to make an agreement. Eventually, in September 2003, we met in Naivasha to discuss security, power and wealth sharing issues. In November 2004, the UN Security

Council made an unprecedented move. In December 2004, all protocols were prepared for the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005.

**LESSONS LEARNED**
- It might be very difficult for one who does not have knowledge about the issues and the parties to negotiate; there is a need to understand the background.
- Media can be helpful or destructive. Therefore, one should establish media rules during negotiations.
- Agreements are not written at the table.
- The conflict in South Sudan has affected the security of the region, especially concerning small arms proliferation.
- It takes charismatic leadership.
- Each community has its own methods of conflict resolution
- Patience and persistence are the golden rules of mediations.

## 2. THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE SUDANESE PEACE PROCESS

*Summary of presentation by Suzanne Jambo*

I am very much a Southern Sudanese. I was displaced to the north, which was not easy with the divide. In schools we were forced to speak Arabic, and at home we spoke other languages. Language is an issue of identity, and this made us feel alienated.

The first judiciary conference in Southern Sudan was organized in 1999. It was very important to establish these types of bodies so that they could do civilian administration. This paved the way for implementing laws, etc. In 1997 I met the late John Garang, the leader of the SPLM/A, and in 1999 he appointed me negotiator in the peace talks, to represent women and civil society. An important issue was to bring the voices of the voiceless into the peace process.

It felt very ironic to talk about peace in Kenya, while heavy army activities were taking place in Sudan. But we had to sustain that momentum and keep the strategic focus on the fact that people are suffering.

Some kept taking part in the peace talks but also talking to people on the ground. We had to establish a consensus among the people and inform them. We also made visible the role of foreign companies in the oil industry. The issue of oil is often linked to human rights violations.

Basically, over the last ten years, the Sudanese Government undertook visible ethnic cleansing in a specific area. We saw that as civil society, but often we were outnumbered as civil society. Then we had to go through other levels, for example Garang or ambassadors we knew would sympathize.

What remains an issue is the future projections of the Peace Agreement. Two systems, one country – this is new to all of us. Where do you put the borderline? How is it going to work out with different banking systems? We have the first indigenous bank in Southern Sudan. They have to register with the central bank in Khartoum, which then says it has to be a Muslim bank. With those rigid rules, problems will arise. Now a bank in Juba is operating without registering.

We are still learning today. We could not foresee everything during the negotiations. For example, how do you project Sudan to the international community? As a Muslim state? The issue is more about attitudes. We can make it very impossible, depending on the attitude with which we approach these issues. If we implement the Peace Agreement in a peaceful manner, we can make progress.

Issues of human resources remain a challenge. Where to look? What are the implications? Did the countries in IGAD envisage that their role would be extended? It is in the interest of East Africa that the agreement will be kept.

The Lord's Resistance Army is active from the border of Sudan to Kenya, from Uganda to the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is causing problems in areas that have been very peaceful in Southern Sudan. Who is giving them guns? Is it the government of Sudan? At the time of the signing of the CPA, there were 33 militias in Sudan. Someone is arming them. Is the government of Southern Sudan capable

of providing security? We citizens will start to question that. Without viable institutions, we cannot have a viable government.

The CPA was in fact the beginning of the peace process, but average people want to see schools, hospitals, a normal life. Two to three years on, there will be a referendum. The Government has refused to move their troops from Southern Sudan, and there was a time-frame for that. The tactical strategies of the Government continue to restrain the process. The SPLA is making noises with guns. All of these things are part of the framework that is not being fulfilled.


## 3. THE SOMALI PEACE PROCESS

*Summary of presentation by Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat*

I was asked to share with you my personal experience in the Somali national reconciliation conference. It started in Eldoret, Kenya, and moved on to Nairobi. A decision was originally made at the 9th summit of IGAD that met in Khartoum. The frontline countries were asked to undertake the task with the support of the international community. Observers from other states were invited, such as the EU and Norway. The actual structure of the management of the conference was put up at the IGAD summit. Below that was the summit of the three heads of states from Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. Below that was a ministerial committee of these countries and below them, special envoys. That was where the work was actually carried out. The structure is important, and it can become an obstacle. The first point to note is the architecture of that potential obstacle.

It is important to note that Somalia has been without a government since 1991. The IGAD initiative was the 14th in a series of attempts to bring about peace and establish a central government. In the northern part of the country, the former British Protectorate, a government had already been formed in 1991, unilaterally claiming independence as the Republic of Somaliland. When the government of Somalia collapsed, they could organize their own peace conference. The situation there is still very stable. Secondly, there is Puntland, a regional state in the Northeast formed in 1998 and part of the former Italian Somaliland, and thirdly the southern part that has been most chaotic since 1991. There clans or warlords controlled certain areas.

IGAD had to consider who the stakeholders were. The main objectives of the conference were to:
- Create a federal government
- Bring about reconciliation and peace for Somalia,
  and also between Somalia and its neighbours.
- Undertake a process of intensifying the peace process
  and healing the deeper wounds in Somalia.

The delegation traveled from region to region. But it is better to include the people than the warlords in the peace process. Traditional leaders and religious leaders are important actors. In the original text the peace progress was intended to include women, businessmen, intellectuals and so on. Also, the delegation planned that the total number of delegates would be about 250.

In September a meeting was called in Eldoret, which is a very small town. Delegates began arriving in great numbers – at the peak they were 900. Because of the clans, everyone felt they had to be at this conference. The management of the meeting became extremely difficult. People were taken to the airport and back to Somalia. Having so many delegates became very expensive, and the problem of cost has remained with us.

In January 2003 I was appointed Special Envoy to the peace process. When I arrived, the first meeting was absolutely packed. I went there to manage the process. At the beginning I wondered who was who, but slowly things began to work.

I started to reduce the number of delegates, as well as reduce the costs. We found cheaper places to stay in Nairobi. It was more difficult to reduce the number of delegates. In my committee we had to get to grips with the problem. We set a date, and buses came to the hotel to pick up the Somalis who would check out. They were blocked by transporters in Eldoret, who were not paid. We had to negotiate with

them for hours. At midnight we arrived in Nairobi. Many Somalis had walked to Nairobi and registered as participants, but we had to take them out.

Then began the process of completing the report. The major difficulty was with the Charter, which was supposed to be federal. We had seven different versions and tried to find a solution. After five or six months I called on the top leadership to harmonize the Charter. They started at four o'clock, and at eight they called me and read an agreed text. Finally we got the Charter.

One key stakeholder was the president of the transitional national government (TNG), formed in 2000. We had invited him to come, but he did not do so for days. There was pressure from the Somalis to pass the Charter immediately, so we called on other envoys about what to do. We presented the new Charter, but the tension at the meeting was very strong. That was the beginning of the problem. Then the top leadership left. The international community felt we had mismanaged the issue and wanted to remove me. So we pleaded with the international community, Somalis, and so on. We called a retreat where we brought all the leaders. It was planned that we would meet for ten days, but it took a month. We organized a small meeting of the key persons, which enabled us to draft a new agreement. The president of Somalia then embraced one of his greatest opponents, and after that the atmosphere changed.

We called the leaders one by one to sign, and called Abdel Kasel as a witness. Then the leaders refused to sign, and we had to start all over again. After another month, we came to force the Charter on the Somalis. The Charter declares the territorial sovereignty of Somalia.

*"Recently there have been peace agreements, particularly in Sudan and Somalia. A year or so later comes this theme which helps us to look back at the processes that led to the signing of the agreements."*

The next phase was to deal with the parliament. The number of seats was reduced to 275, which were distributed among the clans. That was the easy part. Each clan then had to meet separately and distribute their seats among the sub clans. To do that, we had to bring in a hundred traditional leaders from Somalia. After the distribution within the sub clans, more than 80 sub clans met to select their respective representatives. This took another three or four months. The rules and procedures were that the selection would be made by political leaders invited to the retreat. One of the leaders, the president of Puntland, said that no, he was the President of Puntland and refused to do the selection of his own. So the others met and made the selection. We used pressure, and finally they came aboard and we had a Parliament of 275.

After that, there were elections of the speakers of parliament and then the election of a president. There were 30 candidates. The election started at ten in the morning and ended at eleven that night. It had to be organized extremely carefully. At the end of the day we had a president. He was brought to a hotel by security.

## WHAT WERE THE CHALLENGES?

- We did not really receive lasting and strong support from the international community. It was there, but it was not strong. One of the biggest challenges we have to face was that although the international community says Africa is a priority, it does not follow through with the appropriate level of commitment. I want to appeal to LPI to put Africa on the map in Europe and support not only statements, but also commitments. I am appealing to you to follow through commitments.
- Because of the skepticism from many sides it was difficult to get financial support for the process. Once we ran out of money and delegates did not have any food for six weeks. I had to persuade the staff at the hotels to remain because we were in debt. I went to the Cabinet in Kenya and put in a plea to deal with this problem. The Cabinet decided to give us five to six million dollars. When the Somalis left, Kenya was left with a debt of six million dollars. Again we approached the Government, and they decided that the debt will be paid by July. The total cost was 26 million dollars.
- Another challenge is the architecture of the national reconciliation conference. Three parties, Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti look at this in different ways. In the meetings, there were the three of us, but in the end, when the decisions seemed to be favoring the Ethiopian side, Djibouti walked out of the meeting. That was a major difficulty.

- We had to move back to Somalia, but there were terrible security problems. The UN was not ready, so IGAD decided to send a force and offered troops, but the international community said no. We then had to force the Government to go in. Within the Government itself, some said that it had to be in Mogadishu, but the President said he couldn't go there because of security. So now the Parliament is in Baidoa, and the president is in Juha. There are still problems with fighting in Mogadishu.
- We lost ten people who were assassinated here, and many people were in jail and in hospitals.

A word to you who will be involved in the peace process: firstly, we must be committed as Africans to bring peace, stability and development to our continent. Secondly, we must take ownership of our own problems. Thirdly, we must cooperate. We need to work together, because the task is enormous and it will take a long time. If it fails we will start again.

## 4. THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE SOMALI PEACE PROCESS

*Summary of presentation by Zarah Obego*

Somalia received independence in 1960. In 1964 the President was killed, and in 1969 the second President was killed. After a coup in 1978 corruption increased, and intense fighting broke out between Somalia and Ethiopia.

The rebels had the aim to overthrow the Government, but did not have a plan to govern. The people of Somalia are homogenous; there is one culture, one language. You do not know where people come from. We have five clans. During the civil war thousands were killed, disabled, and displaced.

Why do the attempts to build peace fail? Every time there is a new plan. But in 2000, an attempt was made at Arta, Djibouti, by forming the TNG. In distinction to other peace negotiations, the majority of the delegates were from the civil society. The government of Abdiqasim Salad Hassan did not work. After that, IGAD was appointed to assist Somalia establish a government. As Kiplagat said, this process is very, very difficult. There have been a lot of mistakes in this peace process. One of them concerns the role of women. As the civil wars went on for many years, more power was given to the faction leaders. Whenever a problem arose in the peace process, IGAD dictated what to do.

The civil society should have played a much greater role during those 14 years. As an example, there were a lot of desperate people in Somalia. But in the villages, in remote areas, you can find telephone centres. It is the civil society that has provided this service. If you go back to Puntland and Somaliland, they are at least stable thanks to the civil society. The Somaliland Council of the elders built the government, which has been stable since 1992. It is the same in Puntland. The big problem in Somalia is that the civil society was denied access to the peace process.

Among the 275 parliamentarians, 80 percent are from the faction leaders and their supporters. The civil society is denied access.

I come from Mogadishu, and as you see in the media, there are fights between the warlords and the Sharia courts. The faction leaders said they received support from US, and that they have to fight the Sharia courts because the courts are harbouring Al Qaeda. The civil society, women, children, everybody, made road blocks so that the warlords could not get to the Sharia courts. The warlords failed because of the actions of the civil society. The Americans say they are not funding the warlords, but that Al Qaeda is in Somalia. I am telling you, there is no Al Qaeda in Somalia.

*"Thank you for involving or considering gender or issues of women in the discussions."*

As Kiplagat said, Somalia is of no interest to the international community. Our neighbouring countries do not support us. Unless we establish peace and security, you will never have peace in the Horn of Africa. The Horn area is not safe today because of Somalia.

The issue of civil society is that we want the Government to work, although we are not part of it. We are sick of the insecurity and fighting. The tension is very high in Mogadishu. More than 2,5 million people live in Mogadishu today. Civil society is supporting the work of the Government. Every time there is a new peace agreement, we pave the way to make it work, as we do not want trouble to continue. The head of the Government now understands this. We have to continue our struggle to have peacebuilding, security and reconciliation.

## UNIVERSITY PRESENTATIONS

### JUBA UNIVERSITY, KHARTOUM, SUDAN

The idea to establish Juba University came up in negotiations in 1965, and in the same year the University was officially opened. During the war it was displaced to Khartoum.

The idea of a peace and development centre came up in 1997. It is an interdisciplinary kind of institution. It has established the Journal for Peace and Development Studies. The programme began to operate in 2001 and has now expanded to
- The Department for Peace Studies; and
- The Department for Humanitarian Studies and Human Rights

This is the only university in Sudan that offers a postgraduate education in peace studies. More than 60 students are enrolled in the programme. Peace Education is one of the key courses. General Sumbeiywo was talking about attitudes and mentality. Knowledge, attitudes and skills are very important. The University is linking its peace education with UNESCO and UNICEF.

### ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY, ETHIOPIA

There are about 49 000 students at Addis Ababa University. Peace studies courses are offered in the social science department. We have a course entitled Seminar on Conflict and Peace. This course has been very useful for graduates. We have another course on hydro politics in the Horn of Africa and in the Middle East. As you know, eastern Africa is very much connected by water politics, for example issues surrounding the Nile. Other rivers are also a resource. All of these countries are inextricably linked to each other and are forced to cooperate or engage in conflict. We found this is to be a crucial subject in the conduct of this course.

Tension between the regional and national levels arises because we have low levels of everything on the national level in terms of security, development etc. The problems move from the national to the regional level. If this can be upgraded, we believe that there will be transformation at the national and regional levels, and that this can lead to stronger capacities. Through research and teaching we would like to facilitate the transformation of the low level into higher level.

A new center is being established, the Peace Center of Addis Ababa University. It is a joint endeavour between Addis Ababa, the UN University in Tokyo and some universities in the US.

### UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, KENYA

I will give a summary of the programme we have at the Institute of Diplomacy. Students come from different countries. We have two diploma programmes, International Studies and Strategic Studies, International Relations, Masters programmes, and a PhD programme. We have a course in international conflict management. It has a theory part and a second part that looks into conflict management. The majority of the students do their research in the area of conflicts, so it is an area of great interest for the Institute.

Since 2007 we have had an MA in International Conflict Management. Other ways in which the Institute contributes to peace education include the involvement of many of our staff in research in peace education, and there are a lot of seminars in these areas. We also have a number of publications.

We have collaborative arrangements with other institutions, and have for example benefited from training by the University of Peace. We collaborate with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Kenya and with the National Defence College. Another aspect is that some of the scholars have trained people in conflict prone areas. Quite a lot of research is done on small arms and on the Somali peace talks. Many students go on to work for NGOs dealing with peace education. We realize that we can enhance that role.

## CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND HEKIMA COLLEGE, NAIROBI, KENYA

Hekima College is a constituent college of the Catholic University, which was established in the early 1980s. The Centre for Social Justice and Ethics was founded in 2003. Its outreach activities were offered in different areas. It specializes in peace issues and church leadership, radio programmes and the sensitization of people on the issue of peace. We have an outreach programme in the slums in Kibera, where we carry out some research and educate these people on different areas.

We also have academic programmes, mainly short certificate courses on church leadership and justice and peace. Our academic programme at the Bachelor level is in development. Hekima College offers a Masters course in international relations. Our work is not only to give people the theory, but our emphasis is also on the acquisition of skills.

## ST. PAUL'S UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, LIMURU, KENYA

The college was founded in Mombasa in 1888, where it started with six students with the aim of training ministers for the Anglican Church. In 1930 it moved to Limuru, where it still continues to train church ministers. Until 1999, the college only trained ministers. Since then, it has incorporated other departments and provides other degrees.

Since 1999, the college has had a course on peace. We have had workshops for church leaders on conflict resolution and a course on peacebuilding and conflict transformation. This course explores constructive and nonviolent approaches to peace. The focus of the course is biblical. Some of the components are: indigenous approaches to peace building, interconnectedness between human rights and peace building, and nonviolent conflict transformation. The uniqueness of this programme is that it focuses on individuals.

## KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, NAIROBI, KENYA

At Kenyatta University, we have benefited a lot from the publications from the LPI. It has enhanced some of the courses we are teaching, and the teachers and students have been very happy to receive them. We have courses that we teach that have been enhanced through such publications as, Women and Violence, and Islam and Conflict Resolution. We are introducing a course on the role of Jihad in peacebuildiing. Jihad is not fighting, not war, it is striving for something.

We have a new curriculum with a big component focusing on peace studies. We want a whole section of our curriculum to be on peace studies. All of this will be done within the department of philosophy and religious studies. We will be organising a conference in August on Islam and Peace. We are targeting both Muslims and Christians, and want to engage both Muslim and Christian scholars. This began as a regional conference but has become more continental. In the future we want to have a peace institute, but we are in the first stages. We are looking forward to collaborating with the LPI and to seeing what we can learn from them to improve our curricula.

## DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY, KENYA

Daystar University started in South Africa, and moved to Zimbabwe and then to Nairobi. When I came I was asked to develop the peace studies programme. We now call it Peace and Conflict Transformation. I am convinced that conflict is not resolved, but I like the idea that conflict is transformed. We are under the Bible Department. Our programme is controlled by the Commission of Higher Education.

Our programme is interdisciplinary. Faith is part of it, as well as diplomacy, theory and public speaking. There are political, theological and communications components. A very important issue is the building of a culture of peace. Nowadays we find that culture really matters. The way we define peace in Daystar is that peace is the well-being of the community. We also want to combine faith and reason.

## Attachment 1: Transforming conflicts through peace research and education

*A report from the PPE seminar by Basil Nyama published in the journal New Routes 2/2006*

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 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, especially on the way forward. Noting that some 13 peace processes had initially failed to broker a truce, as with the Mbagathi Peace initiative, 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 homogenous society with a similar predominant racial or ethnic, religious and cultural composition, which is not the case with most African countries.

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?

*Need for more actors*
Most institutions of higher learning hold some of the region's best human and institutional resource bases. 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 peacebuilding 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 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 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 region's diaspora to return the talent that they have for nation building.

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

## Attachment 2: The participants

*Ethiopia:*
Dr. Yacob Arsano, Addis Ababa University
Mr. Demeke Achiso, Addis Ababa University
Ms. Alemtsehay Zargaw, Addis Ababa University

*Eritrea:*
Ms. Mihret Hailemariam Berhe, Eritrean Catholic Church
Mr. Kidanemariam Tseggai, Eritrean Catholic Church

*Somalia:*
Ms. Zahra Obego, Mogadishu

*Sudan:*
Dr/Prof. Samson Wassara, Juba University
Mr. Jacob Maker Mathayo, Juba University
Ms. Suzan Remmy Oller, Juba University

*Kenya:*
Prof. Zablon Nthamburi, Kenyatta University
Ms. Jane Onsongo, Kenyatta University
Mr. Eric Njoroge, Kenyatta University
Mr. Robert Mudida, Nairobi University
Mr. Pius Migue, Nairobi University
Mr. Richard Axum, Nairobi University
Mr. Justin Kimani, Hekima College
Ms. Matimura Masango, Hekima College
Ms. Catherine Ngono, Hekima College
Revd. Prof. Juvenalis Baitu, Catholic University
Mr. Ahmed Haile, Daystar University
Mr. Bertha Nguru, Daystar University
Mr. Clay Morrison, Daystar University
Ms. Belinda Nepesa, Daystar University
Ms. Jambi Maina, Daystar University
Lecturer, UTC
Student, UTC
Student, UTC
Mr. Polycarp Ochilo, LPI Board Member – Africa
Rev. Fred Nyabera, FECCLAHA, Nairobi
AACC Representative, Nairobi
Ms. Olivia Kibui, NCCK Representative, Nairobi
Dr. Yacob Tesfai, LPI Nairobi
Rev. Basil Nyama, LPI Nairobi
Ms. Kirsi Saaristo, LPI Nairobi
Ms. Florence Oduor, LPI Nairobi

*Republic of Congo:*
Ms. Louise Bakala, LPI Brazzaville

*Democratic Republic of Congo:*
Mr. Emmanuel Ziulu, LPI Bukavu

*Sweden:*
Mr. Peter Brune, LPI Uppsala
Ms. Jenny Svensson, LPI Uppsala
Dr. Tarekegn Adebo, LPI Uppsala
Mr. Shane Quinn, LPI Uppsala

*Speakers:*
Lt. Gen Lazarus Sumbeiywo, Special Envoy to IGAD. Nairobi
Dr. Bethuel Kiplagat, Special Envoy to IGAD, Nairobi
Ms. Susan Jambo, NESI Network, Sudan
Ms. Zahra Obego, Somalia

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## Resources/contacts

*The Horn of Africa: Nairobi. Peace Agreements and the Role of Civil Society*
There are additional papers and reports related the Horn of Africa on LPI's website:
www.life-peace.org
You can also follow the developments on a monthly basis in the e-bulletin
Horn of Africa Bulletin. The digital newsletter is free while a subscription fee is charged
mailed hard copies. Sign up by an e-mail to hab.subscriptions@life-peace.org

# Southern Africa: Cape Town

## Building a Culture of Peace in Southern Africa

*Building a Culture of Peace in Southern Africa*

**Hosted by** The University of Western Cape (UWC), Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) and the Life & Peace Institute (LPI)
**Venue** UWC, Cape Town
**Date** 21–23 November, 2006

*Agenda and Contributions*

**Presentation 1: The place of difference in nation-building: Lessons from post-TRC politics in South Africa truth and reconciliation commissions**
*Director Charles Villa-Vicencio*, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), Cape Town, and former national Research Director of the South African TRC

**Presentation 2: No-man's land of time, the politics of memory and forgetting in independent Namibia**
*Dr. Justine Hunter*, Namibia Institute for Democracy (NID), Windhoek

**Presentation 3: Challenges for a culture of peace in Zimbabwe**
*Professor Brian Raftopoulos*, head of the transitional Justice Programme at IJR, Cape Town, South Africa

**Presentation 4: Video from Namibia: Nda Mona**
*Mr. Samson Ndeikwila*, Windhoek, Namibia

**Presentation 5: South Africa's foreign policy in Southern Africa: Conflict management and resolution priorities**
*Mr. Chris Maroleng*, Senior Researcher, Institute for Strategic Studies, Pretoria, South Africa

**Group work**
Facilitator: *Dr. Tarekegn Adebo*, LPI

**University presentations: Peace education**

**Concluding remarks**
*Ms. Karin Alexander*, IJR

Attachment: The participants

## OPENING REMARKS

*Mr. Tore Samuelsson, LPI*

Welcome to those from Zimbabwe, Namibia, Swaziland and three universities within South Africa, from Kwazulu Natal and Western Cape. Let us also notice that we have people with personal experiences from Rwanda, DRC, Ethiopia and Sweden among us.

### About Publications for Peace Education

Let me very briefly account for the background of this seminar and the Publications for Peace Education (PPE) project.
- Main donor, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Finland, discussions and funding late 2003
- Selection of LPI publications, searching for interested partners primarily among African universities
- Successful and appreciated = step two, some more publications, a few more recipients and the regional seminars
- This is the second seminar; the initial one was held in the Horn of Africa region; more will follow in Central Africa and the Great Lakes, North Africa and the Middle East.

### Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) and University of Western Cape (UWC)

We are very happy for the collaboration with IJR here in this region of Southern Africa. IJR is a very experienced partner and it is a great privilege to have you engaged both in terms of content and logistics. Thank, you Karin Alexander, Brian Rafto-poulos, Charles Villa-Vicencio and Theo Kamwimbi! And the setting, UWC – it is wonderful to be here. Thanks to Professor Christo Lombard, Dr Hans Engdahl and colleagues for making this possible.

### About expectations

I am coming back to the different perspectives. It is really our ambition to offer a meeting place for sharing experiences and views on the theme: "Building a culture of peace".
- What do you see in terms of peace culture in your setting? Let us have the analysis and updates from South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It is excellent that Swaziland is also represented. Does it make sense to speak about regional perspectives in Southern Africa? If so, what and how?
- What role does peace education play in various ways and settings, at present and in the future? What kind of training is going on and what are we training for? What will the future look like?
- What connections are there between the academic setting, peace education and practitioners, the so called civil society, the political life, human life? How can we contribute to better communication, bridge-building, networking?

This seminar is just a temporary meeting place, a bit of a bus stop for students, teachers, researchers and practitioners. Let us make the most out of it. I believe this is really a great opportunity to talk and listen, reflect, and bring things back home to share with others.

*The following summary/highlights were compiled by Karin Alexander, IJR, and Tore Samuelsson, LPI*

## 1. THE PLACE OF DIFFERENCE IN NATION-BUILDING: LESSONS FROM POST-TRC POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONS

*Summary of power point supported presentation by Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, IJR*

International Legitimacy of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):
- Evidence of support by majority of citizens
- Accountability of perpetrators
- Reparations for victims
- Not a prerequisite for abrogation of other international laws

Limitations of TRC – Cannot:
- Impose punishment commensurate to the crime
- Ensure remorse from perpetrators
- Ensure victims be reconciled with perpetrators
- Address all aspects of past
- Uncover all of the truth about an atrocity
- Allow all victims to tell their stories
- Ensure that all victims experience closure
- Correct imbalance between benefactors and those exploited
- Ensure those dissatisfied make no further demand for punishment

Realistic Goals – Can:
- Break the silence on the past
- Counter the denial of violations
- Provide a basis for a common memory
- Provide a safe space where victims can engage their feelings
- Bring communities, institutions and systems under moral scrutiny
- Contribute to uncovering the causes, motives and perspectives
- Provide symbolic forms of memorialisation and reparation
- Consider ways of promoting restorative justice and reconstruction

South African TRC, three Committees:
- Amnesty Committee
- Gross Violations of Human Rights Committee
- Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee

## 2.  NO-MAN'S LAND OF TIME, THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AND FORGETTING IN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA

*Summary of power point supported presentation by Dr Justine Hunter, NID*

### BACKGROUND

From 1966 to 1989 Namibians fought a bitter war of independence against the occupational South African regime. Namibia was established as an independent state on 21 March 1990.

### HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES DURING THE ARMED LIBERATION STRUGGLE (1966–1989)

Concentration on narrow conception of human rights that includes salient violations, such as torture, extra-judicial killings, political imprisonment, and disappearances ('life integrity violations'). Exclusion of political, economic, social and cultural rights.

Beginning of Swapo's armed liberation struggle against South Africa's colonial racist regime in Namibia until national independence.

Gross human rights abuses:
- Places: Warfare concentrated mainly in Namibia's northern regions. Human rights abuses also took place within the exile wing of the liberation movement in Angola, Zambia and Tanzania;
- Perpetrators: South African military forces and police units (including collaborators among the local population), liberation movement in exile;
- Victims: Freedom fighters and South African forces/units, civilians, alleged spies and other Swapo detainees;
- In Namibia, collaborators add to the victim (= black Namibians) – perpetrator (= white South Africans) dichotomy of the war.

In conclusion, the roles of victims and offenders alternated, and moral standards were confused.

Key word: 'Namibianisation of the war'. South Africa's dual-track strategy: military engagement and hearts-and-minds campaign aimed at winning the active support of the population. Namibians began to "fight their own battles".
- During the 'bush war', the front lines ran straight through villages, communities and families;
- Thus, in exile Swapo was convinced that enemy agents had joined the ranks of the movement. Yet, various additional factors seem to have contributed to the eruption of violence;
- Anti-intellectualism and generation gaps;
- Power struggles and ethnic rivalries;
- Rivalries between the 'Old Guard' in exile and progressive grassroots-activists from within the country;
- Military defeats and diplomatic impasses;
- Distrust between the liberation army and the political leadership;
- The wheeling and dealings of security agencies in East and West.

Documentation of the responsible party South Africa (SA):
- Accounts by SA war correspondents, retired generals, undercover agents, South African recruits, and other autobiographies;
- International solidarity and anti-apartheid movement;
- Chapter in TRC report on atrocities committed in neighbouring countries;
- Trial against Wouter Basson, former head of SA's biological and chemical warfare programme.

Documentation of the responsible party Swapo:
- Correspondents between church leaders, international human rights organisations, church umbrella bodies, victims, the Parents' Committee etc;
- Victim testimonies (oral = interviews, written = short biographies/publications);
- Private collections: Rev Siegfried Groth and Rev Salatiel Ailonga.

## DECOLONISATION, DEMOCRATISATION AND THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

Features of democratic transition and balance of political forces:
- Simultaneous process of decolonisation and democratisation;
- Controlled change, based on political compromises needed for a peaceful settlement;
- As part of the transition process, UN Resolution 435 (1978) required the withdrawal of SA military forces and the release of political prisoners on both sides. But neither side accounted for human rights abuses and those disappeared.

Legal and constitutional setting and judicial precedents for prosecution:
- Amnesty laws of unconditional nature were passed. In spite of international recommendations, the general amnesty did not meet conditions such as public debate and disclosure preceding the enactment of amnesty laws, nor did the process involve as much reparation and truth-seeking as possible;
- Part and parcel of the policy of national reconciliation;
- The Namibian constitution provided that any person who held office before independence should continue to do so. The policy has been a mixed blessing as it seemed to justify the appointment of shady characters such as the 'Butcher of Lubango', Salomon Hawala, into office. Hawala had been chief of the Namibian defence force until 2006.

Reconciliation, the 'Namibian way':
- The ruling party Swapo rejects all truth-seeking initiatives. To date, the government has refrained from defining the contents of this policy of national reconciliation;
- In defence of letting bygones be bygones Swapo refers to the necessity to focus on 'economic reconciliation' (development, growth, social justice) and concerns that disclosures would lead to a witch-hunt and bloodshed;
- Thereby, the ruling party defines collective memory by blurring the distinction between the party, government and state;
- Public holidays and memorials honour the liberation struggle and glorify Swapo veterans;
- Such selective memory serves to legitimize the claim to political power;
- Therefore, the politics of memory is not all inclusive for it distinguishes between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'.

Investigations by international bodies:
- 1988: A delegation of the Lutheran World Foundation (LWF) visited refugee camps in exile. Invited by Swapo, the LWF initially held that the allegations were part of SA's propaganda campaign;
- 1989: The political transition process required the release of political prisoners. UN Mission on Detainees responded to claims by ex-detainees and investigated whether Namibians were still kept imprisoned. The mission returned empty handed;
- 1993: Commissioned by Parliament (Swapo did not have a two-thirds majority at the time), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) finalised investigations. The ICRC had also not been able to account for the plight of the missing.

Problem:
- Delegation, mission and committee had limited mandates, and thus relied on assistance offered by Swapo and the Angolan government and refrained from consulting the victims (some of them undoubtedly capable of locating mass graves).

## DEALING WITH THE PAST IN NAMIBIA:
## CONFRONTING THE WALL OF SILENCE

- Political elites and the establishment of a record of past human rights abuses;
- Since 1994, Swapo has had a two-thirds majority in parliament. The dominant party state is characterised by a distinct power imbalance between the ruling party and opposition parties;

- Parliamentary debates: Whenever the opposition (especially the United Democratic Front and the Congress of Democrats) tried to address the issue, the ruling party dismissed it as a political football and blackmailing campaign;
- Swapo also deflected criticism back on opposition parties that had participated in South Africa's transitional government prior to independence;
- Those concerned also pleaded ignorance by pinning the blame on the SA colonial forces.

The role of civil society:
- The demand for truth-seeking is complicated by the weakness of victims' groups and the lack of support by major players in civil society, such as the churches;
- Only a handful of civil society activists, mainly representing Swapo-ex-detainees and sympathisers, recall the essential minimum demands of a reconciliation processes: to restore the dignity of the victims, and to build a consensus of what happened and how to move forward;
- With other words: They contest the official version of historical events.

A case of selective memory? History is showing its ugly head:
- 1989: As independence approached, 150 Swapo-detainees were released and returned to Namibia. There they testified about human rights abuses and that many others were simply left behind in the 'dungeons of Lubango'. Approximately 2,000 Namibians remain unaccounted for;
- 1996: Publication of the memoirs of German refugee pastor Siegfried Groth produced a heated debate;
- 2002: Verdict of 'not guilty' for Wouter Basson. Revealed consequences of Namibian amnesty, as wells as 'impunity' for high-ranking SA politicians and military personnel;
- 2004: Discovery of mass graves in northern Namibia. Revived political controversy about the responsibility of the events of 1 April 1989, when Swapo's armed cadres crossed the border after a ceasefire had been declared.


## CONCLUSION
- Since Namibia gained independence, it has battled with a legacy of decades of foreign rule, apartheid and violent conflict. That is why peace is a delicate balancing process and should not be taken for granted;
- Dealing with the past: the question remains whether one can equate human rights violations by perpetrators of apartheid oppression with those who were engaged in a struggle for liberation. This question highlights the problem of giving moral principles absolute value irrespective of the historical context;
- But in claiming the moral high ground, Swapo is effectively downplaying its own human rights abuses by pointing a finger at SA charging that 'they did it too'. However, it has to be kept in mind that the liberation movement violated the very principles for which it has been recognized as a defender;
- Notwithstanding this dilemma, there is still the unresolved question as to whether the human rights abuses in exile were an abnormality brought on by the exceptional circumstances of an armed conflict, or part of the political culture within Swapo. The latter might have serious implications for the ruling party in a democratic state;
- In the final instance, debates on human rights issues centred on the ruling party's record;
- The detainee issue seems to be the greatest obstacle to any truth-seeking initiatives in Namibia as opening a Pandora's box on any issue of the recent past would definitely point sooner or later at Swapo's own record (and thereby embarrass high-ranking officials);
- While SA's brutal heritage in Namibia outweighs Swapo's, it is Swapo that currently has the most to lose.

## PLENARY DISCUSSION NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

1. QUESTION/REMARK "Breaking the Wall of Silence Movement (BWSM)" was born out of the silencing of questions. A book is telling the stories of the atrocities suffered by Namibians in exile. What has happened to BWSM? Is it part of the coalition of civil society it is hoped will work on reconciliation?

ANSWER/COMMENT It developed into a group who brought together their friends and family in order to allow them a space to tell their stories. The atrocities started in 1966 in Tanzania – with the complicity of Tanzanian government. In the 1970s, the same happened in Zambia on the basis of Swapo recommendations. In the 1980s, the Namibians were given the Lubango area in Angola to do with what they would. It was at this time that Namibians started persecuting fellow Namibians. Prior to that, people's stories were being suppressed through fear, by the government, by their families.

*"Would have liked to hear a thematic synthesis of the publications. It is, however, commendable to have this many publications by LPI and distributed to higher institutions in the region."*

BWSM is still in existence, members are even in the Parliament (in the Opposition). There are certain communities who continue to suppress the voices of those who wish to share their experiences of torture under Swapo.

*Christo Lombard*: The current President of Namibia got very angry with BWSM when it first started, but he repeatedly says that there will come a time when everyone will have to sit down and address the issues.

2. QUESTION/REMARK We can look at the rest of the continent and see that Namibia is passing through experiences similar to many other countries on the continent. As academics, therefore, let us focus on trying to define reconciliation. If we go back to Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio – economic justice remains a key issue. Also, the lack of support mentioned in Namibia is a concern, especially the lack of support from churches that represent the majority of the population. In our studies of reconciliation, as Africans we need to address such crucial issues as poverty, conflict, ethnic problems.

ANSWER/COMMENT *Justine Hunter*: Reconciliation, theoretical framework, trauma healing – it is searching for truth, reconciliation as far as possible, prosecutions as far as possible.

Also just noting that the church faces both a heroic past and dark patches – how do they shape a new voice for themselves within the new environment?

*Charles Villa-Vicencio*: A distinction has to be made between personal and religious conceptions of reconciliation (forgiveness) and political reconciliation, which does not necessarily mean we have to forgive or love one another, but we must treat one another with respect and dignity and look for ways to work together.

3. QUESTION/REMARK If not contradictory, the stories of Namibia and South Africa are still very different. In SA, you bought some time and are moving forward. In Namibia it seems you have not even bought time, but you are in the middle of the problems.

ANSWER/COMMENT *Justine Hunter:* It is going to be very important for Namibians to collect oral histories, autobiographies and whatever written material we can find and also try to find the hidden Swapo archives.

*Charles Villa-Vicencio:* There is an anecdote on investigating one of the Namibian cases during the TRC. We were very cordially received by the Ministry of Justice – only one thing, don't involve the Namibians. We have a policy of no truth and reconciliation commission. The policy for SA was, if you don't voluntarily disclose, acknowledge it will eat you from within and will come back to haunt you.

I think that in Namibia we are beginning to see truth that has been suppressed starting to emerge. It is like Spain not wanting to talk about Franco – now the Basque will take you to villages where massacres happened and they are saying we want to know. The truth is going to come out – I hope there is some way this can be handled in a healing rather than a divisive way.

I think there can be formal structures through which you can have story telling. The other model is informal traditional means – story telling circles. The third model – art, poetry, and music – is that a way to tell the stories that we are not allowed to tell, and the stories that we cannot find the words to tell? We've got to listen to the silences. I have one concern with traditional means, I do feel the disclosure and truth-telling has to be public. It's going back to acknowledgement.

4. QUESTION/REMARK There is a problematic issue of history in both presentations – who is going to rewrite history? We have official histories and we have other versions – the question is what we do with writing the correct history? Who should write it? The African Union has agreed to facilitate the correct writing of history – see African development as having failed because we have not been able to adequately understand ourselves – we do not have a correct history.

5. QUESTIONS/REMARK Reconciliation is like the working of a computer – it needs software (culture, morality and values) and hardware (the institutions and structures, political will). In Namibia, we have the culture but lack the political will.
ANSWER/COMMENT *Charles Villa-Vicencio*: I enjoyed the analogy of reconciliation as a computer. President Mbeki recently said that reconciliation is not a scientific thing. There is a material and a relational side, and the way they connect is through art.

6. QUESTION/REMARK Reconciliation is about closing and opening. Opening a new chapter/era in people's lives. What is closed is not forgotten, it is recorded. Of course, everything cannot be done in public and in front of the media. Examples from Africa – sometimes it's a gesture, de Klerk's symbolic statement exposing the ills of the last government. In Namibia now, as a post-conflict society – what is the level of commitment to a culture of human rights?
ANSWER/COMMENT *Samson Ndeikwila:* In Namibia, doing things informally is working. In 2006, leaders of the BWSM went to meet the President (though he was out of the country), but they did meet the Minister of Presidential Affairs who admitted that it is a big issue, though the government does not know how to deal with it.
   *Justine Hunter*: Swapo is not homogenous. The question on how to deal with the issue would be resolved if one could find a way to approach those individuals in Swapo who are open to the idea of discussing the atrocities.
   *Justine Hunter*: You are right to distinguish, but we must look at human rights abuses in exile committed by Swapo – there are atrocities that occurred as part of a political culture that pertained.
   *Charles Villa-Vicencio*: The TRC report includes reference to structural contexts particularly in relation to just war theory – distinguishing between just cause and just means. The report stated that there were violations on both sides in relation to means.

## 3. CHALLENGES FOR A CULTURE OF PEACE IN ZIMBABWE

*By Professor Brian Raftopoulos, head of the Transitional Justice Programme at IJR*

### INTRODUCTION
Zimbabwean politics faces an array of challenges in developing a culture of peace in the country. This ranges from the legacies of colonial rule and the form of liberation struggle developed to confront it, to the mode of rule and domination constructed in the post colonial period. While colonial rule was largely based on structural and political violence, the liberation struggle of the 1960's and 70's, while releasing the energies of anti-colonial nationalism, also developed commandist and militarist forms of leadership and political mobilisation that would provide long-term problems for constructing peaceful, democratic forms of rule in the post-1980 period. Even as the nationalist movement gathered the forces of anti-colonialism under its banners, the demands made on its supporters for particular forms of political discipline and ideological conformity led to a series of lethal internal political struggles and abuses during the liberation struggle. This provided a precedent for settling political disputes during the period of independence.

### LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND THE POLITICS OF THE 1980'S
The Lancaster House agreement of 1979 that brought independence to Zimbabwe was the outcome of a configuration of forces around Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. It combined the efforts of the liberation movement with pressures from regional

states, and international forces such as the governments of the UK and the US, to bring pressure to bear on the Rhodesian state and the liberation forces to find a peaceful settlement to the war in the country. Through its processes of settlement, the Lancaster House agreement was seen as something of a model for post-settler political transitions. However, a key feature of this agreement was a general immunity for all of the warring parties, and a temporary 'burying' of the past. As president Mugabe noted in his inaugural speech in 1980, "Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past?"[1]

In the immediate post-independence period in the 1990's, the new nationalist government headed by Robert Mugabe and Zanu PF opted for a policy of 'reconciliation' with the white community. While the language of 'reconciliation' was used to characterise the political settlement with the white community, the discourse of 'unity' was deployed towards the rival liberation movement PF Zapu and the rest of the black community.

The policy of reconciliation also marked a tacit agreement that while political control of the state and politics would pass into the hands of the majority rule government, the ownership and control of the economy would, for the interim, remain in white hands. The guarantees for private property and a limited period of guaranteed white representation in the legislature confirmed the compromise encapsulated in the politics of reconciliation. Immediate peace in the country was thus secured through the temporary protection of minority interests and assurances to the international community on the protection of property rights.

*"It has been catching and very resourceful. However, I feel that the theme caters for post-conflict situations, hence leaving out the preventive measures that can be taken to transformation."*

For much of the first decade of independence the ruling party thus concentrated on taking control of the various arms of the state, and extending the reach of the state in both rural and urban areas. A slow pace on economic, in particular land transformation, issues, was matched by a rapid Africanisation of state and parastatal structures, with a policy of 'accumulation behind closed doors' for the emerging black elite. The language of unity and reconciliation characterised the official discourses, with issues around race and ethnicity percolating beneath the surface of political exchanges.

However, this political peace was only to last a very short period, as the crisis in Matabeleland emerged in the early 1980's. Based on contentious accusations that the rival nationalist party PF Zapu was attempting to violently overthrow the government, the ruling party launched a vicious campaign of retaliation in Matabeleland that became known as the Gukurahunde massacres. An estimated 20,000 people were killed in this campaign by specially trained government forces, and the language of tribalism was drawn on heavily to characterise the 'enemy' in Matabeleland.

The short peace between the rival nationalist movements was shattered, and the effects of this repression in the South of the country were felt in the broader political domination that the government exerted over the political processes in the country. By the mid 1980's, even as the policy of reconciliation with the white community was still in place, the project of national unity amongst the liberation parties had fallen apart. This division amongst the nationalist parties was only to be mended in the Unity Accord of late 1987, which effectively led to the dissolution of the rival PF Zapu and its surrender to the structures of the ruling party. Thus peace was restored on the basis of the political immobilisation of the rival liberation party, and the reassertion of the hegemony of Zanu PF.

By the late 1980's, while 'unity' had been established between the competing nationalist parties, broader support for the ruling party within civil society began to fracture. Since the mid 1980's a reorganised labour movement had begun to assert its autonomy from the ruling party and to develop more critical responses to the state around issues such as economic policy, corruption within the ruling party, and the attempt to impose a one party state. Moreover, the labour movement reached out to other civic formations, such as students and intellectuals, to develop broader alliances against the state. These new political developments, combined with the

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1   Brian Raftopoulos, "Introduction" in Brian Raftopoulos and Tyrone Savage (Eds), Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation. Weaver Press and IJR, Harare and Cape Town, 2004.

emergence of small opposition political parties and the defection of few prominent individuals from the ruling party, indicated growing cracks in the dominance of Zanu PF.

By the end of the 1980's, Zimbabwean politics was characterised by a rupture in national unity and growing dissension from elements within civil society, that the Unity Accord of 1987 only barely papered over. The policy of reconciliation with the white community, though strained by the traumatic legacies of the settler colonial period, remained in place, although the political guarantees for the white minority at Lancaster House had run their seven year course in 1987.

## LIBERALISATION AND POLITICS IN THE 1990'S

The implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in 1990 and the era of economic liberalisation that it inaugurated was accompanied, in the post Unity Accord period, by an opening up of political spaces in Zimbabwean politics. A plethora of NGOs and civic bodies emerged, dealing with issues ranging from humanitarian, welfarist problems to human rights questions. Political discussions in public debates and the independent media intensified, and a broad national debate ensued with the emergence of the constitutional reform movement in the second half of the 1990's.

In conjunction with pressure from this quarter, the labour movement increased its protests against the state over deteriorating economic conditions for workers by organising national strikes and stay-aways in the late 1990's. Out of these combined processes and their linked campaigns a new, national opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), emerged in 1999, which was to provide the biggest challenge to state power for Zanu PF.

In March 2000 the government called a referendum on a draft constitution against which the civic constitutional movement, the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), campaigned. The result was a loss for the Government and the first indication that there was a rising tide of dissent against the ruling party within the country. The challenge faced within the ruling party itself by war veterans unhappy with their treatment caused further panic within Zanu PF. By the beginning of the new millennium the Zimbabwean state was thus confronted with growing civic and political opposition, and in the 2000 general election the opposition MDC gained nearly 50 percent of the parliamentary vote in a widely contested election result.

## 2000 AND BEYOND: RECONCILIATION AND UNITY UNDER FIRE

The loss on the March 2000 constitutional referendum and the near loss of the June 2000 general election ignited a radical change of strategy by the ruling party. The result was a repudiation of the policy of reconciliation and the imposition of a more authoritarian notion of national unity, in the context of a reconfigured state and ruling party. The threat of losing state power against a broad national alliance, including support from the white community, propelled Zanu PF into a revival of a selective liberation discourse that identified both racial enemies, in the form of the white community, and political enemies encapsulated in the black opposition.

*"It would have been good to have more time to interact with presenters of lead papers."*

Through a restructuring of the civil service, public media, judiciary, electoral framework and citizenship laws, and the introduction of repressive legislation to contain the public dissent of the civic and political opposition, the Zimbabwean state inaugurated a new period of repressive nationalist politics. As the economic and political crisis in the country deepened, the use of force and violence against political opponents became more apparent, as did the increasing presence of the military in various civil arms of the state. This was particularly apparent in the state-led land occupations beginning in 2000 and the various election campaigns between 2000 and 2005. The land occupations carried out under the banner of colonial redress targeted both white farmers and black supporters of the opposition in the rural areas, emphasising the end of the era of reconciliation politics and the imposition of a view of national unity that included only those considered loyal to the ruling party.

This militarization of the state's responses to the crisis became most acutely

apparent in May 2005 when the state carried out the most brutal urban clearance campaign in the country's history, known as Operation Murambatsvina, or 'clean out the filth'. According to the UN Special Envoy Report on the operation, an estimated 700,000 people in the cities lost 'their homes, their sources of livelihood or both', while a further 2.4 million people were indirectly affected. The Report further noted that while the operation ostensibly aimed to target illegal dwellings and structures as well as alleged illegal activities, the operation was carried out in an 'indiscriminate and unjustified manner, with indifference to human suffering' and 'in repeated cases, with disregard to several provisions of national and international legal frameworks'. In effect, Operation Murambatsvina turned out to be a disastrous venture based on a set of colonial-era laws and policies that were used as a tool of segregation and exclusion.

*"An excellent forum for exchange between experts and students. But most, the seminar has enhanced making new friendship between participants."*

By the end of 2005, any hope of rebuilding a politics of peace based on consensus building and renewed national reconciliation seemed remote, especially within the context of a rapidly deteriorating structural economic crisis. The last quarter of this year also witnessed the implosion of the main opposition party, further weakening the prospects for a national dialogue. Against this backdrop of a repressive state, a greatly weakened opposition, and a populace demoralised by the cumulative effects of repressive state politics and structural economic poverty, Zimbabwe ended 2006 on a note of widespread despair. With a ruling party paralysed by an intense succession crisis, and the opposition MDC severely debilitated by a split, Zimbabwe sunk further into the politics of deepening stalemate. In such a context the prognosis for the development of a culture of peace was not hopeful.

## CONCLUSION

As a country that has gone from the politics of reconciliation, through the severities of a neo-liberal economic programme, and on to the authoritarian response to the challenges for state power, Zimbabwe represents an interesting example of the extremes that the crisis of post-liberation politics can take in Southern Africa. As South Africa faces its own triple challenges of succession politics in the ruling party, an enormous legacy of social polarisation and majority impoverishment, and the challenge to ruling party dominance at the Western Cape, it will be instructive to observe the responses of the ANC in these critical years of state power. The Zimbabwe experience does not represent a teleological necessity for post settler societies in the region, but it does point to the enormous dilemmas of political and economic reconstruction in Southern Africa.

## PLENARY DISCUSSION ZIMBABWE

1. QUESTION/REMARK Could you elaborate a bit about the video we are going to see – Nda Mona (Landscape of Memory) – one in the series on the Matabeleland massacres, especially as it was post-liberation? What position has this had in the public memory? Can you discuss frictions within the MDC at present?
ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos:* The research on Matabeleland indicates that there is a real problem in the way people remember – for many who lived through it, there is a perception of why they understood a Rhodesian state would have done it, but they just cannot understand why their own state would do it. It's an issue that requires attention. Breaking the Silence is probably the most important report released in post-independence Zimbabwe because it deals with crises of nation-building and ethnic issues.

MDC – there are severe problems of building an opposition under a repressive state (questions of organisation), the manner in which the political culture of the ruling party was imbibed by the opposition (inherited and internalised). There is a continuing problem of ethnic balance within Zimbabwe politics. How do you balance representation in a party that was formed through civic nationalism and yet is plagued by questions of ethnicity?

2. QUESTION/REMARK What can other countries, like the DRC, learn from what is happening in Zimbabwe? Now that the land is in the hands of the black people it seems agriculture is closed as an option for development in the country – what policies does the government have to fight against poverty?

ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos*: What can DRC learn? Zimbabwe has a complicated history, but one of the important things to learn is to – as quickly as possible – develop a culture of tolerant nation-building. The key problem for the DRC is the collapse of the state. The building of a national army accountable to the state is important. There is also a more general problem of regional cooperation, because all countries in the region are tied to the DRC economy.

Is Zimbabwe dealing with poverty? It's not; the problem is increasing. People leave the country, others live in penury – monthly salaries run out after the first week. There is a real crisis not just in the working class but also the middle class – as a result, the state becomes increasingly important in terms of patronage.

3. QUESTION/REMARK Why is the TRC concept emerging these days – is it the timing of the SA independence? Why did Zimbabwe not decide on one – were we too early?

ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos*: Why have TRCs become an important element of Transitional Justice? After the Balkans and the genocide in Rwanda, the idea that SA was able to create a national dialogue through truth-telling was taken on board as a means to move out of crisis into nation-building. In Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian government did not want it, the liberation movements did not want it, and the international community wanted Zimbabwe off the agenda. In certain countries, the national context just cannot be conducive.

4. QUESTION/REMARK The war of Mugabe against the West, and now him looking East – will it be advantageous or have negative implications?

ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos*: Look East policy – the idea has been to shift the emphasis of both investment and aid to the East. Actually there is very little foreign investment from the region. China has come in to remove resources rather than make direct investment, to get involved in medium enterprises. Also, they have no interest in human rights questions – sovereign states have a right to do what they want. In terms of rebuilding Zimbabwe there are no substantive results.

*Justine Hunter*: When you look at Namibia and Chile, there was no such concern from international communities. And there was also not such a strong civil society.

5. QUESTION/REMARK Our problem in Zimbabwe is that the crisis has been personalised – the President does not feel secure anymore, and so, no matter how much you try to discuss it with him, he won't listen. He's aware of Joseph Kony[2] and Charles Taylor[3].

ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos*: The personalisation of the crisis is correct – it has been constructed as a personal crisis, though I think Mugabe has constructed that himself – through the centralisation of the party and the construction of the party as "Mugabe". I do agree that his insecurity about the future is liable to block any attempts at dialogue.

6. QUESTION/REMARK Is the Zimbabwean government doing anything on poverty? 99 percent of the population is living under the poverty datum line. Inflation is at 1,500 to 2,000 percent.

ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos*: The economic statistics highlight the crisis of social reproduction in Zimbabwe.

7. QUESTION/REMARK On the role of the churches in Zimbabwe and the region, the church leadership in Zimbabwe seems to be as divided as anyone could be, especially in relation to the government and the state. Is the Zimbabwe Council of Churches

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2    Head of the Lord's Resistance Army
3    Former president of Liberia

(ZCC) doing anything? It could have been so different if we had ensured human rights desks in all of the ecumenical bodies in the region.

ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos*: Concerning the role of the churches there are highs and lows. There is the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and Breaking the Silence. ZCC was in the NCA process and then moved out. A new initiative, The Zimbabwe We Want, is an attempt to create a dialogue with the state. Mugabe has indicated support, but he's likely to just play them and never actually follow through on the dialogue.

8. QUESTION/REMARK I have a problem with our black governments. When atrocities are taking place in independent countries the other black governments just keep quiet. If whites were doing it, everyone would be up in arms – how do we stop these black on black atrocities in a continental silence?

ANSWER/COMMENT *Brian Raftopoulos*: As a continent and a region, we are still very much stuck in the language of colonial resistance. One of the most skilful things Mugabe has done is to construct the Zimbabwean problem as an anti-colonial one. So the AU and Southern African Development Community (SADC) see it as a bilateral issue between him and the British. For Mugabe this means internal accountability issues will not be put on the table. The AU and the continent have not come up with structures to deal with independence accountability. One of the most important things intellectuals can do is to develop a critical discourse that is equally focused at empire and at post-liberation national states and nationalist parties. We need to move out of the language of solidarity in the context of a north/south debate.

## 4. POLICY FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN NAMIBIA AND THE VIDEO FROM NAMIBIA: "NDA MONA"

*By Mr Samson Ndeikwila, Windhoek, Forum for the Future*

Influential Namibian communities feel threatened by any mention of a policy for national reconciliation. The only model of such a policy they know of is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa where the victims volunteered to give testimonies and the alleged perpetrators were summoned to testify at the hearing sessions. This all scared the Namibian communities so that they would prefer the status quo.
- The German community is scared of being linked to the atrocities committed during the German colonial wars of genocide (1904–1907);
- The Afrikaner community is scared of being linked to the horrors of the apartheid policy in Namibia (1950–1989);
- The majority of the Herero community is scared of being linked to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance that had collaborated with apartheid South Africa against the struggle for Namibia's independence (1977–1989); and
- The majority of the people in Swapo leadership (mainly Ovambos) are scared of being exposed for the atrocities committed in exile — in Zambia (aftermath of the 1976 so-called Shipanga crisis) in the 1970s and in southern Angola (the Lubango dungeons) in the 1980s.

Efforts to build a culture of peace in Namibia have to take the above dilemma into consideration. However, a new avenue seems to have presented itself. Since his inauguration on 21 March 2005 as second president of Namibia — having declared himself president of all Namibians — Hifikepunye Pohamba has introduced a relaxed political atmosphere in the country. Intimidation by the ruling party, Swapo, of members of opposition political parties and independent civil society organizations, as well as hate speeches targeting minority groups, have come to a sudden end. This positive development in Namibia needs support from a clearly defined unique policy for national reconciliation with the following characteristics:
- None-threatening to any section of the Namibian population;
- Educative, empowering and unifying;
- Based on clearly defined principles; and
- Having truth as its foundation.

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Such a policy has to be initiated by a coalition of Namibian civil society organizations, with the support of regional and international partners. Forum for the Future has done some ground work of popularizing such a policy around the country during the last three years. There is goodwill among Namibians towards such a policy.

*Following the brief input by Mr Samson Ndeikwila, the video "Nda Mona" was shown for the seminar participants. The film looks into the question of reconciliation faced by victims of war crimes committed by members of Swapo.*

## PLENARY DISCUSSION NAMIBIA

QUESTIONS/REMARKS This was a very moving and important film. To what extent has it been disseminated internationally?

Sometimes, reconciliation can be twisted – to see it in the video and misconceive it so that economic reconciliation can be substituted as reconciliation itself. How can economic justice reconcile the need to have bones returned and buried in the land of Namibia? The role of extremely emotional videos – is that in itself helpful?

ANSWERS/COMMENTS *Mr Ndeikwila*: I'm worried that we are thinking about international exposure – the international community is always watching African tragedies on their screens. I wonder if such information wouldn't be more effectively used to convince those who are committing human rights abuses right now in Africa to change their ways.

There is also a question of restorative justice with a sense of compensation; it would be most effective if done through internal discussions in Namibia. A start is to work with those who seem open to reform within Swapo, start with dialogues and informal discussions.

*"Peace agreements are not necessitated by the leaders only but by the larger civil society."*

The film was shot seven years ago and the survivors of the dungeons were very, very angry. As time passed, they calmed down. There is some hope in that the President of Namibia has been open to the idea. However, others who were open to discussions then are less so now.

A good thing about the film is that, although some of the people in the film are no longer alive, we have a record of who they were and what was in their hearts. The government is still scared, but we are slowly opening up – there are kernels where light is. On 4 July every year people come together to remember this day as the date on which people returned from Angola. This includes children, and one day they will demand justice.

The government in Namibia is trying to establish a Ministry for War Veterans. The ministry came about as a result of pressure from ex-combatants for compensation – it's not clear how it will function. The Minister has suggested that it will only cater to those in the military wing of Swapo, not those who were on the side of South Africa. It's thus not clear how it will deal with ex-detainees, but given the constitution, the Minister can be taken to court for excluding people. The Ministry will come into being in March 2007, so we will see how it functions, and some of us are ready to challenge it if it excludes some people.

## 5. SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION PRIORITIES

*Summary of power point supported presentation by Mr Chris Maroleng, Pretoria, Institute for Strategic Studies*

- Foreign policy has been defined as the "activity whereby state actors act, react and interact" or "a set of goals that seek to outline how a particular country will interact with other countries".
- Since 1994, various analysts have commented that South Africa's foreign relations have been characterised by degree of ambiguity and incoherence.
- In order to understand the nature of South African foreign policy in Africa, it can be best construed in terms of historical background.

For example:
- What was the South African foreign policy in Africa prior to 1994?
- What is the country's foreign policy in Africa since the new dispensation?
- Does the country's foreign policy reflect an authentic commitment to promoting peace and security in Africa?

### THE EVOLUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

From 1948 to 1994, South African foreign policy sought to justify and protect its authoritarian apartheid political system. The cost of this strategy was South Africa's branding as "an international pariah" within the African continent and the wider international community, leading to what was referred to as the "diplomacy of isolation".

Hostility best describes the atmosphere that existed between South Africa and its neighbours during the period prior to 1994. Given the hostile atmosphere and tense relations between South Africa and its neighbours, it is no wonder that security concerns dominated South African foreign policy objectives. Policy makers devoted much time to exploring military options to protect the country from antagonistic states that resented the fact that they had to depend on South Africa for a number of essential services. South Africa used its military superiority to pursue its foreign policy objectives, which aimed at, amongst other things, creating instability in the region and preserving white minority rule.

South African people experienced discrimination and repression at home, and the people of other countries in the region fell victims to South Africa's destabilization policies, which left many people dead, displaced even more, and inflicted damage estimated at $65 billion on the economies of neighbouring countries". The destabilisation policies of the apartheid regime contributed to an atmosphere of insecurity in Southern Africa. The formation of the Front Line States was a desperate attempt to further isolate South Africa from countries in the Southern African region. Victory, however, was only achieved with the demise of the apartheid regime in 1994.

Even before becoming President of a post-apartheid South Africa, in 1993 Nelson Mandela indicated that South Africa's future foreign relations would be based on the belief that respect for human rights should be the core concern of its foreign relations:

"[Democracy] … is especially important in Africa, and … [South Africa's] concerns will be fixed upon securing a spirit of tolerance and the ethos of [good] governance throughout the continent. There cannot be one system [of democracy] for Africa and another for the rest of the world. If there is a single lesson to be drawn from Africa's post-colonial history, it is that an accountable government is good government." (Mandela, NR. South Africa's Future Foreign policy. Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72 No 5, November-December, 1993).

If we are to take what has been articulated as South Africa's foreign policy as indicating its stance, then the following principles are fundamental to South Africa's foreign policy, specifically as far as the African continent is concerned:

1. Promotion of human rights, democracy, and good governance in Africa
2. Furtherance of the political, economic and social wellbeing of the southern African region
3. Establishment of constructive and mutually beneficial interactions with all African countries
4. Utilisation of multilateral forums like, the UN, AU and the SADC, to address African and international issues

A visionary concept of the 'African renaissance' will guide and inform South Africa's foreign policy in Africa. This forecasts "new leadership, resurgent African economies, more democracy and a significant new role for Africa, on the world political stage". This particular orientation is embodied in former President Mandela's words, referring to South Africa's position in the international community:

"The great challenge of our age ... [is,] given the interdependence of the world, what is it that we can and must do to ensure that democracy, peace and prosperity prevail everywhere?" (Mandela, NR. Address by the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Nelson Mandela, to the United Nations General Assembly, New York. South African Mission to the UN, 1994). This brings South Africa's foreign policy into the international mainstream. It recognises the importance of economics in foreign relations, the peaceful resolution of conflict through collective security, regional co-operation and integration, and human rights.

In line with the Renaissance approach and central to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) programme (a key vehicle of South Africa's foreign policy) is a commitment by African leaders to take joint responsibility for, among others:

"Promoting and protecting democracy and human rights in their respective countries and regions, by developing clear standards of accountability, transparency and participatory governance at the national and sub-national levels."

In fact, NEPAD's own "Democracy and Political Governance Initiative", whose purpose is to contribute to strengthening the political and administrative framework of participating countries, in line with the principles of democracy, transparency, accountability, integrity, respect for human rights and promotion of the rule of law, clearly states that:

"It is now generally acknowledged that development is impossible in the absence of true democracy, respect for human rights, peace and good governance. With the New Partnership for Africa's Development, Africa undertakes to respect the global standards of democracy, which core components include political pluralism, allowing for the existence of several political parties and workers' unions, fair, open, free and democratic elections periodically organised to enable the populace to choose their leaders freely".

While the visionary and enlightened principles in South Africa's foreign policy (the African Renaissance) form a coherent belief system or worldview, there currently seems to be fewer consensuses among key decision-making elites about the substance and goals of South Africa's foreign policy, particularly if we consider this country's foreign policy towards Zimbabwe and Swaziland. The incongruence that exists between articulation and practice in South Africa's foreign policy is seen more clearly in its approach to the multi-faceted crisis within its northern neighbour. This is why it is important for us to consider what factors may account for this seeming incongruence in South Africa's policy.

## THEORETICAL EVALUATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

An understanding of the theory that informs the South African foreign policy machinery is important, as this is where the answers to the questions posed by this study are located. Theory is the lens through which we view and understand the social world. Theory both creates and describes reality.

South Africa's foreign policy is determined by its credentials as both a pluralist and a realist middle power.

- Middle power: located somewhere between the great powers and the low ranking countries that do not have much influence on the international scene.
- Pluralist middle powers are distinguished by: "an ability to stand a certain distance from direct involvement in major conflicts, a sufficient degree of autonomy in relation to major powers, a commitment to orderliness and security in interstate relations and to the facilitation of orderly change in the world system ... and such states are considered 'trustworthy' because they claim a higher moral ground".

Neo Realists define middle powers as those "powers where much power ultimately grows out of capabilities: military strength, demographic size, economic production, resource bases and even geographic position. Realist middle powers are also "often regionally dominant ... even though they are in turn in a weaker position vis-à-vis

states in the core". Included in the middle power category are countries such as India, Brazil, South Africa, Australia, and Sweden.

Alexander Johnston begins to offer a sound theoretical explanation for the inconsistency in South African foreign policy as regards the promotion of democracy, good governance and human rights when he argues that: "principles which are unduly numerous, narrowly drawn or rigidly applied may have to be frequently sacrificed to the effects of unpredictability and re-interpretation". Greg Mills concurs with this view and argues that: "The world does not know how to create democracies and no country … has been able to promote these values (democracy and human rights)".

*"All things are almost perfect except some of us from other countries are interested to see around, if you could please arrange that we will be glad."*

This alludes to the difficulties that are inherent in having a foreign policy that is not geared towards the maximization of the national interest but more to the advancement of democracy, good governance and human rights internationally. The promotion of these principles is "one of the tools that SA employs towards its ultimate goal. This ultimate goal is obviously to make South Africa a success for its own sake. Because of this, questions of human rights tend to be dealt with inside the debate on national interest rather than as matters of principle which transcend it".

It is in this light that the question of South Africa not having a stable and predictable foreign policy should be understood.

The "human security" principles as reflected in the discussion document of the Department of Foreign Affairs are not absolutes that are to be applied at all times regardless of the consequences of doing so. The national interest demands that the foreign policy of South Africa should aim to maximize the welfare of its citizens before those of the international community. The concept of national interest points to what every country ought to do in order to ensure its own survival within the international environment.

To paraphrase the realism of Hans Joachim Morgenthau[4], the statesman can have nothing to say about that which is moral. His main duty is to the people who he represents, and anything else that hinders this cause is to be shied away from. Recognizing the validity of this argument means that the foreign policy of South Africa should first aim to further the rights and needs of those who live in the Republic before it can aim to enhance the human rights of others. This does not mean that the rights of others do not matter. It simply means that any government owes its allegiance to the people who voted it into power and should aim to serve these people as efficiently as possible without jeopardizing the constitutionally guaranteed rights of people either in South Africa or in other countries. To enhance the human rights of its citizens, it is therefore important that South Africa engages in efforts that enhance the socio-economic rights of all South Africans.

Hence in Southern Africa:
- Containing unstable political situations
- Avoid spill over
- Regional contagion
- Collapsed state
- Develop economies
- ID opportunities and threats
- South Africa's foreign policy in the sub region
- Emerging from the ravages of the apartheid era regime, which was characterised by a regime that destabilised the continent – especially Southern Africa – the ANC-led government fully appreciates the caution with which the rest of the continent would treat the country even after its transition to democracy.
- Whilst the new South African government (taking its cue from the Freedom Chapters principle of making friends with neighbours) is genuine about its commitment to Africa, the government is under severe African pressure to go beyond the limits in proving not only its true African character, but also the sincerity of its commitment to the principle of the sovereignty of African states.

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4    German international relations theorist, 1904–1980

## SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SUB REGION

As a result, the South African government has developed the habit of always checking its foreign policy stances against the likely reaction of other African countries that view this country through the prism described above.

## SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY: ZIMBABWE CASE STUDY

South Africa's position on Zimbabwe may be understood more as being informed by the tendency or need of this country to be seen as being politically correct by its other African counterparts. It is indeed possible that President Mbeki's consistent positive political statements about Zimbabwe are a product of the pan African political trap the ANC government finds itself in.

Another important determinant of South Africa's position towards Zimbabwe is the stature that President Mugabe brings to bare, mainly due to his contribution to the liberation of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa in particular, on colonial rule. Mugabe is largely seen (and he is aware of this) as belonging to a generation of African nationalists who liberated the continent, including South Africa. As a result, anyone who is perceived to be against the aging statesman stands the chance of being automatically examined in terms of the role they played in the fight against colonialism.

President Mbeki is largely considered a political newcomer in Africa, and is also aware of the fact that he would be risking his credibility among African leaders by adopting a tough stance against Mugabe. While South Africa's president may not necessarily agree with Zanu-PF's approach to resolving the current crisis, Mbeki fully appreciates the importance of seeming to stick with Mugabe with the understanding that his overt opposition would jeopardise most of his other important political initiatives on the continent, including the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which can be seen as one of the main vehicles that South Africa will use to drive its true foreign policy agenda on the continent (the African renaissance) that has been described earlier on.

## CONCLUSION

- It is clear that South Africa plays a crucial role in the positive development of the continent.
- South Africa needs to carefully use its leadership role in a way that only seeks to promote socio-economic stability, the spirit of cooperation and mutual benefit.
- It would be naïve, however, to expect that South Africa would be able to solve all the problems of the continent.
- It is important that African countries collectively fight against social, political and economic woes. Continental programmes such as NEPAD can play a vital role in this regard.

## GROUP WORK, A CULTURE OF PEACE:
## POINTS OF BASIC VALUES AND A GUIDE FOR GROUP DISCUSSION

*Facilitator: Tarekegn Adebo, LPI*

A 1996 UNESCO publication, *From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace*, made a global call for the 'creation of peaceful, nonviolent behavioural patterns and skills': "The present culture of violence based on distrust, suspicion, intolerance and hatred, on the inability to interact constructively with all those who are different, must be replaced by a new culture based on nonviolence, tolerance, mutual understanding and solidarity, on the ability to solve peacefully disputes and conflicts."

Peace and amicable relations normally follow reconciliation, which is a magical term in many circumstances, but demanding, as it requires serious giving and taking in the model of the Psalmist (85:10): "Truth and mercy have met together, peace and justice have kissed".

"With peace come images of harmony, unity, and well-being. It is the feeling and prevalence of respect and security", says a noted academic. Others see peace reflected in the direct, structural and cultural experiences of people.

The values on which a culture of peace is built are universal with equal relevance and appeal to all humanity; as the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: *the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.*

We are repeatedly reminded that: *the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights, equality between women and men, democracy, development, responsibility, and nonviolent transformation of conflicts form the basis of a culture of peace.*

How are these values experienced in each post-conflict situation in Southern Africa – in thought and action, in patterns and skills? Is there a change of paradigm? How is a culture of peace being reflected in the following instances?

I would propose these key themes for discussion:
• Decreased violence, human safety and security;
• Group relationships (identity, gender, age, class);
• Education – formal and non-formal, training of civil society actors;
• Media and communication;
• Governance – democracy, human rights, accountability, inclusion-exclusion;
• Socio-economic development and equity; and
• Civil society and nonviolent conflict transformation mechanisms
  – current/formal and traditional.

The working groups discussed the topics:
• A culture of peace – governance and human rights
• A culture of peace – identity issues: language, colour, ethnicity, religion
• A culture of peace – economic development and justice.

## UNIVERSITY PRESENTATIONS: PEACE EDUCATION AT OUR INSTITUTION

All institutions represented in the seminar made presentations. We have selected three examples to report.

### SWAZILAND

We will link the state of peace education at the University of Swaziland to some situational analysis. There is no coherent self-contained academic programme or fully fledged courses offered. Peace components are offered or delivered in a fragmented fashion in the faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences. There are both written and unwritten reasons for this state of affairs. Written – historically, in terms of course offerings and curriculum design, there has not been felt a need to include peace studies. Unwritten – the dominant public transcript, ideologically, is that Swaziland is a peaceful country and has been so for as long as it can be remembered, and therefore, there is no need for any to talk about peace education.

*"Group discussions, while relevant to the topics, were a little over-stretched with groups given only 45 minutes to discuss two or three topics."*

There is no realisation yet that peace education would be a relevant field of study. This would be explained by the anachronistic view that peace education is not necessary in a country that is already 'peaceful'. There has been a tendency in the public transcript to rationalise the colonial experience – Swaziland asked for protection from the British to avoid being incorporated in South Africa. A difference is drawn between a protected state and an occupied state – Swaziland therefore avoids being seen as a country that was oppressed because they requested protectorate status. A related claim is that Swaziland maintained its identity in an authentic way during colonial occupation and obtained self-rule through a peaceful negotiated settlement. This claim is maintained in the songs and art of Swaziland – including the anecdote of an army song celebrating the then king for having achieved self-rule through peaceful means and not violence. He stabbed with a pencil.

Even when political agitation for democratisation was increased in the late 1990's (given the fact that political parties have been outlawed since 1973, a law that

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remained in the new constitution even when the constitution left behind by the British was abrogated), there was still denial from the dominant classes that there was any need for democratisation. Mass stay-aways staged by the labour movement were fobbed off with the same platitude – Swaziland is a peaceful country – and as such those agitating were labelled as dangerous and treacherous. Therefore, state policy is one of the reasons no one has thought peace education to be necessary – in fact, it is seen as superfluous. When Mandela wanted to broker more democratisation, his efforts were countered by questions as to what South Africa knew about independence having only just achieved it.

In the Department we believe democratization is necessary, as situations of conflict exist in Swaziland. No country can do without some concern for peace and conflict issues. Let's say Swaziland was peaceful – but because the potential for conflict is always there it is necessary to be prepared for an outbreak or to prevent it. We need to be prepared for conflict in the same way as we are prepared for national disasters. It is even more relevant within the global community – having to interact more often with other states makes it imperative for any country to be prepared for the emergence and resolution of conflict. We are now at a point where we see the possibility of studying peace education through two avenues:

1. curriculum change with the introduction of the unit system – suitable for semesterized teaching and examination; and
2. the mooted establishment of the University of Swaziland Centre for African Studies (promised in two years time and the faculty of humanities has been asked to make proposals on courses to be offered). On the list, we have included Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies with both a taught and a research component.

So, we are in a transitional period in terms of curriculum design with the opportunity to include peace education. The opportunity to learn from other universities that already have such curriculum is extraordinary.

### ZIMBABWE

The presentation was done jointly by Dr. Donald Chimanikire, former head of the Department of Development Studies, Dr. Charity Manyeruke, who just completed her doctorate and is now teaching political science, and Mr. Fortune Gwaze, who just received his Masters Degree and is hoping to join the Department.

The important point of departure for peace education was the 1980 policy for reconciliation. At the time, the terminology of peace education was not popular in the sense that if you talked about peace education it meant you wanted to apply peaceful means of decolonisation. Thus, we never used the term. We have a number of initiatives taken by the state, academic institutions and NGOs. We have approximately 14 universities now, in contrast to only one in 1980. None have formal peace education, but there is a lot of informal peace education in terms of research and publications.

The Department of Development and the Department of Defence Security Studies work very closely, particularly through the joint research and commissioning of papers. Issues are therefore discussed and there have been a lot of publications produced on reconciliation. At a certain point, higher learning institutions and the government did not see eye to eye as we were seen as opposition strongholds – not so now. The Department of Defence and Security Studies is part of a regional network focusing on defence management in the region. It runs yearly courses for senior civil servants, the military and students.

There are theological colleges with a focus on peace in the private universities. The most prominent is the Africa University, which has multinational staff and students who partake in a special Master's programme on Governance and Peace. Donald Chimanikire was part of the team that devised the programme. The focus is on leadership in Africa – leaders can attend/visit/write/interact with students. The Department of Political and Administrative studies focuses a lot on peace and security, especially in publishing. Development Studies has a formal unit called Peace and Government, which started with destabilisation studies around the topic of apartheid.

Zimbabwe, as you know, has been involved in a number of conflicts. It has excelled at peace keeping in various settings, for example the DRC in 2000. It is also very

*"I suggest that LPI and likeminded organisations establish an attachment program for peace students in colleges/universities to integrate the theory with practice in the field."*

involved in the peace and security organ in SADC. Zimbabwe was involved in peace-keeping in Mozambique. We were also at one time chair of the Non-Aligned Movement, and Zimbabwe's foreign policy has always been focused on peace in the region.

A controversial issue that may be of interest is the land reform. It is discussed at all levels. And I think it also falls under peace education – we are all discussing it because there is a food security issue in the country. We need to ask, was this the right move to take given the instability that has been the cause? This is part of the research we are conducting.

Student impressions: how they have benefited from LPI books:

We have gained so much from the publications. The department has courses in international peace and security studies, and international development and change. We are also in the process of starting a course on race and ethnicity.

The books were also beneficial in that the main library is not well equipped; it is more of a museum. Thus the books have helped in terms of relevance. They further aid with a move from the theoretical aspect to a solid understanding of the practical.

Recommendations: to create linkages between these publications and the universities in Zimbabwe, especially in terms of calls for papers from students and professors. Also, it would be useful if there could be an office in Zimbabwe under the banner of the two organisations to facilitate a Zimbabwe focus.

## DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

The merging of two prior higher education institutions was disputed, but we have two new institutions, the Institute of Theology and the School of Religion and Theology. We try to keep the two areas distinct – Maritsburg (theology), Natal (religion).

In terms of religion, we cover all five major religions in South Africa. We have a BA in religion with modules such as religion and conflict, and religion and gender. We have found there is a lack of African research that is actually published. We admire the idea of documenting from an African perspective and by African authors. We try to give students the ability to develop a critical approach and then participate in an undergraduate symposium based on research in the field.

Postgraduate study (honours, masters and postgraduate) is much more specialised. Religion and Social Transformation focus on a strong post-critique and on discourse critique. Religion is used as a mechanism to understand the way discourses function. There is a strong research focus in terms of both subject matter and global coverage. In terms of the religious perspective, it's not about spirituality but the characteristics of individuals and institutions acting from religious understandings.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

*Ms Karin Alexander, IJR*

The past two days brought two quotes to the fore of my mind:

"Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge, Where the knowledge we have lost in information" (T.S. Eliot)

"We were created as tribes and nations so that we might know each other" (quoted from the Holy Koran by our colleague from International Peace University of South Africa)

This conference, to me, has been about coming together in order to increase our understanding of one another and our different cultures and approaches to peace through:

• Sharing experiences;
• Learning from each other; and
• Building a network that will allow us all to capitalise on the knowledge each one of us has in terms of educational options in the realm of peace building.

For me, I have learnt, among other things in the past two days:

• More about Namibia and the trials it has faced on its path to Independence. I first heard about the Herero genocide at the genocide memorial in Rwanda in 2004.

Now I can add to that a deeper understanding of the impact of the liberation struggle and the dungeons in Lubango, Angola. I've also reflected on the fact that perhaps for Namibia there are lessons to be drawn from Rwanda's grassroots approach to questions of reconciliation. And so, the knowledge comes full circle;

- More about Swaziland, particularly the salient lesson that an official discourse of peacefulness can shut down the space for critical political discussions; and
- The stories of two South African universities, born under apartheid but having made something new out of the old and having built institutions with significant peace building capacity.

As we look forward and return to our respective institutions, it seems important to take four lessons with us from the past two days

- Establishing peace can involve compromise – the sort of compromises that result in negotiated settlements;
- Dialogue remains a key tool in the building and engendering of a culture of peace;
- There is no substitute for learning from others; and
- Education should be embraced as a means for change – both personal and national.

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## Attachment: The participants

*Namibia:*
Mr Samson Ndeikwila, Ecumenical Institute for Namibia
Dr Justine Hunter, Namibia Institute for Democracy
Mr Reinhardt Urib, Ecumenical Institute for Namibia

*Swaziland:*
Mr Mbhishobhi Dvuba, Dept of Theological and Religious Studies, UNISWA
Ms Thobile Sihlongonyane, Dept of Theological and Religious Studies, UNISWA
Ms Joyce Vilakati, Dept of Theological and Religious Studies, UNISWA

*Zimbabwe:*
Mr Fortune Gwaze, University of Zimbabwe
Dr Donald Chimanikire, University of Zimbabwe
Ms Charity Manyeruke, University of Zimbabwe

*South Africa:*
Mr Nana Yenga Balthazar, School of Religion and Theology, UKZN
Ms Beverley Vencatsamy, School of Religion and Theology, UKZN
Rev Denzil Chetty, School of Religion and Theology, UKZN
Mr Chris Maroleng, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria
Hon. Falde Solomon, IPSA, Cape Town
Dr Salie Abrahams, IPSA, Cape Town
Dr Hans Engdahl, UWC, Cape Town
Dr Christo Lombard, UWC, Cape Town
Rev Nestor Bompaka, UWC, Cape Town, South Africa/DRC
Rev J. Dusabiyaremye, UWC, Cape Town, SA/Rwanda
Mr Demaine Solomon, UWC, Cape Town
Ms Leonore Pietersen, UWC, Cape Town
Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio, IJR, Cape Town
Ms Karin Alexander, IJR, Cape Town
Dr Brian Raftopoulos, IJR, Cape Town, SA/Zimbabwe
Mr Theodore Kamwimbi, IJR, Cape Town, SA/DRC

*Sweden:*
Dr Tarekegn Adebo, LPI, Uppsala, Sweden/Ethiopia
Mr Tore Samuelsson, LPI, Uppsala

## Resources/contacts

*Southern Africa: Cape Town. Building a Culture of Peace in Southern Africa*
There are additional papers and documents on LPI's website: www.life-peace.org
More general information is also available at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, South Africa, website: www.ijr.org.za

# La région d'Afrique Centrale & les pays des Grand lacs

**Deux PPE séminaires au Brazzaville, République du Congo**

*Séminaire PPE I:*
*La sécurité humaine et le rôle de la société civile dans un contexte de post-conflit*

Du 14 au 16 décembre 2006
à l'hôtel le Phoenix, Brazzaville

*Contributions :*

**Agenda et résumé du séminaire-atelier**

**Rapport synthétique**

**Communications et exposés,**

**Exposé introductif**
par *Samuel Mawete*, modérateur

**Exposé 1 : La promotion de la sécurité humaine au Congo**
par *M. Mbela Hiza Mulanassan*

**Exposé 2 : La fonction actuelle et le rôle de la société civile dans le renforcement de la paix et de la sécurité humaine**
par *M. Rufins Mackita*

**Exposé 3 : L'amélioration de l'apprentissage de la culture de paix**
par *M. André Niambi*

**Atelier 1 : Comment améliorer l'apprentissage de la culture de paix ?**

**Atelier 2 : La promotion de la sécurité humaine au Congo**

**Atelier 3 : La fonction actuelle et le rôle de la société civile dans le renforcement de la paix et de la sécurité humaine.**

**Séance de cloture**

**Conclusion**

Annexe : Les participants

## SÉMINAIRE PPE I: LA SÉCURITÉ HUMAINE
## ET LE RÔLE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE DANS UN CONTEXTE DE POST-CONFLIT

### INTRODUCTION :

La documentation et la publication sont deux domaines essentiels dans le renforcement de l'action d'éducation à la paix. C'est pourquoi la Représentation de l'Institut Vie et Paix (IVP) à Brazzaville a marqué un intérêt particulier sur le projet Publication pour l'Éducation à la Paix (Publications for Peace Education, PPE). A cet effet, outre les ouvrages distribués dans les bibliothèques universitaires, IVP a organisé deux séminaires-ateliers à Brazzaville en décembre 2006 et septembre 2007.

Ces deux séminaires se complètent, le premier ouvrant la porte au second en ce sens que la question de la sécurité humaine (PPE 1) renvoie à une compréhension plus large de la notion de la paix qui elle-même appelle à des modèles opérationnelles contextualisés (PPE2).

Les résultats de ces deux séminaires suggèrent une troisième manche, sous la forme d'une recherche active à partir de certains axes, notamment la gouvernance, le leadership, la culture ainsi que l'éducation à la construction de la participation citoyenne active.

### INTRODUCTION

Documentation and publication are two essential areas for the reinforcement of peace education. Therefore, the LPI field office in Brazzaville has expressed a special interest in the Publications for Peace Education (PPE) project. Besides distributing the publications to university libraries, LPI organised two seminars at Brazzaville in December 2006 and September 2007 within the PPE project.

The workshops complemented each other. The first one opened the doors for the second one in the sense that the question of human security – elaborated in the first PPE workshop – contributed to a better understanding of the notion of peace, which relates to the contextualized operational models (discussed in the second PPE workshop).

The results of these two seminars suggest a third phase in the form of active research in certain areas namely governance, leadership, culture as well as education and the construction of active citizen participation.

## RAPPORT SYNTHÉTIQUE

*par Claudette Werleigh*

Le présent rapport rend compte des travaux du séminaire organisé à Brazzaville par l'Institut Vie et Paix sur le thème : « La sécurité humaine et le rôle de la société civile dans un contexte post-conflit », du 14 au 16 décembre 2006, à l'hôtel le Phoenix.

Les 58 participants (voir liste en annexe) étaient issus des institutions tant nationales qu'internationales de la République du Congo et de la République Démocratique du Congo.

Dans la présentation du séminaire, il sera fait mention de son contexte et de sa justification, des objectifs poursuivis et des résultats attendus.

Dans l'organisation du séminaire, on parlera des travaux en ateliers et des résultats auxquels ils ont abouti. Les perspectives se résument en une liste de recommandations précédant les suggestions.

### PRÉSENTATION DU SÉMINAIRE

C'est dans un contexte politique de calme retrouvé au Congo après les guerres civiles (1993–1999) que ce séminaire a été organisé. Il a permis d'envisager des actions destinées à promouvoir la réconciliation nationale et à consolider la paix. Il s'agit ici d'une paix qui traduit un comportement stable, durable ; elle implique l'instauration d'un nouvel ordre politique, économique et social qui favoriserait le développement de la vie des congolais, leur sécurité et leur protection.

*« La paix semble être encore une réalité lointaine dans notre pays. »*

La sécurité humaine recherchée exige la satisfaction des besoins essentiels de l'homme en tant qu'être social. Ce qui veut dire que la seule stratégie militaire ne suffit pas pour garantir la sécurité humaine des congolais. Une prise de conscience s'impose à tous les niveaux, de l'existence des menaces à la paix, du fait de l'instabilité et du déséquilibre sociopolitique, économique, etc.

Aussi le contexte post-conflit renvoie à la proposition des axes de réflexion et d'intervention des acteurs pour :
* améliorer l'apprentissage de la culture de la paix au Congo ;
* assurer la promotion de la sécurité humaine pour un nouvel ordre politique, économique et social ;
* renforcer le rôle de la société civile dans la consolidation de la paix et de la sécurité humaine.

### OBJET ET OBJECTIF

L'objet du séminaire consistait à définir les rôles de l'Université, des confessions religieuses, des organisations de la société civile, dans un contexte post-conflit, en matière de renforcement de la sécurité humaine.

L'objectif général poursuivi était ainsi d'acquérir les capacités nécessaires pour promouvoir la sécurité humaine et consolider la paix.

Quatre objectifs spécifiques ont découlé de cet objectif général. Il s'agit de :
* définir les nouvelles dimensions de la sécurité humaine ;
* cerner les actions entreprises par chaque catégorie d'acteurs ;
* évaluer les actions et tirer les leçons qui s'imposent ;
* identifier et promouvoir les axes de recherche relatifs au domaine de la sécurité humaine.

### RÉSULTATS ATTENDUS

Les résultats attendus étaient :
* la mise en évidence des actions à entreprendre pour la sécurité humaine, la consolidation de la paix et leur évaluation ;
* la construction de nouvelles valeurs et attitudes à prendre et à apprendre ;
* la proposition des axes de recherche et des stratégies, pour la construction d'un Congo meilleur.

Après le mot de présentation de M. Séraphin Ngouma (Représentant local de l'Institut Vie et Paix), deux allocutions ont été prononcées respectivement par M. Runo Bergström (chef de mission) et Mme Claudette Werleigh (Directrice des programmes de transformation des conflits), qui a procédé à l'ouverture du séminaire.

Une présidium pour conduire les travaux a été mis en place et composé comme suit :
Modérateur, Samuel Mawete
Secrétaires, Philippe Louhemba et Jean-Pierre Missie.

## EXPOSÉ INTRODUCTIF

*par M. Samuel Mawete, modérateur du séminaire*

### SITUATION DU PROBLÈME

La problématique de la sécurité humaine, de la stabilité et de la garantie d'une paix durable, après la guerre, demeure encore aujourd'hui pour la plupart des pays africains et le Congo en particulier, un des principaux défis, un enjeu majeur. La période que l'on est convenu d'appeler « post-conflit » comme celui dans lequel se trouve notre pays, suppose que les domaines tels que la démocratie, la paix, la sécurité humaine et la justice soient des domaines par excellence sur lesquels on doit mobiliser des hommes et des ressources, regrouper des talents pour une réflexion profonde et un travail de recherche, si on ne veut pas basculer de nouveau dans le cycle répétitif de la violence, si on veut éviter demain la résurgence d'autres formes de violence et d'autres guerres internes.

Dans cette période dite de post-conflit, il ne s'agit pas de se complaire dans un optimisme et une assurance béate (croire par exemple qu'il n'y aura plus de guerre) ni dans un pessimisme sombre.

Il s'agit au contraire de prendre conscience, à tous les niveaux, de l'existence des menaces (qui ne sont pas toujours militaires) à la paix et qui prennent leur source dans l'instabilité et les déséquilibres propres à l'ordre étatique interne dans les domaines économique, social, démographique, écologique, etc. et qui peuvent favoriser de nouveau l'émergence des anciens démons.

*« Le séminaire a été apprécié dans notre ONG comme un lieu d'échange de connaissance avec les responsables d'autres Etats. »*

D'ailleurs, il est connu que dans quelque pays que ce soit, la sécurité humaine et la paix ne sont véritablement consolidées et garanties que lorsque les racines profondes de la violence et de la guerre que sont la pauvreté, l'exclusion, les injustices sociales, la dégradation de l'environnement, l'ignorance, etc. sont éliminées.

En d'autres termes, dans un contexte de post-conflit, la paix ne doit plus être considérée comme un vain mot, ni une incantation, ni encore moins une utopie. Elle doit être conçue plutôt comme le fondement de la solidarité active, morale et intellectuelle entre les membres de la société. Elle doit traduire un comportement durable des dirigeants et de l'ensemble des acteurs et impliquer, dans ce contexte de post-conflit, l'instauration d'un nouvel ordre politique, économique, social, culturel, stable, plus juste et plus apte à favoriser le développement de la vie des Congolais, leur sécurité et leur protection contre la pauvreté, l'ignorance, la discrimination, l'exclusion, la violation des droits de l'homme, etc.

Le contexte post-conflit devrait être mis à profit pour mener une réflexion approfondie sur la problématique et les priorités de la sécurité humaine et la garantie de la stabilité et de la paix. Or, aujourd'hui, on est loin de ces réalités qui viennent d'être décrites.

### QUE FAIRE ?

Il s'agit, grâce à ce séminaire atelier : de réfléchir aux conditions qui permettraient à notre société :
- de se reproduire de manière paisible et durable ;
- de garantir la sécurité et la protection des Congolais et des générations à venir contre la pauvreté, l'ignorance, la discrimination, l'exclusion, la violation des droits de l'homme, etc. qui sont les prémices et les racines de la violence ;

- de dégager par une démarche prospective de recherche, des approches, des méthodes et des stratégies novatrices susceptibles de promouvoir et de consolider la paix dans notre pays et de favoriser la sécurité et la protection des Congolais et des générations à venir contre la pauvreté, l'ignorance, la discrimination, l'exclusion, la violation des droits de l'homme, etc. en vue d'un développement durable de notre pays ;
- de désarmer la main et l'esprit de façon définitive pour que la bêtise d'hier ne reproduise plus, ni aujourd'hui ni demain.

### PISTES D'ACTION

La sécurité dans un contexte post-conflit, n'est plus perçue comme relevant uniquement de la stratégie militaire. La sécurité humaine est aujourd'hui considérée comme un entrelacement inextricable d'éléments politiques, économiques, sociaux, scientifiques, culturels, environnementaux, sanitaires, militaires et mêmes spirituels.

Il nous faut, dans cette optique, jeter un regard critique sur ce qui a été fait, ce qui se fait et ce qui ne se fait pas, tout en en tirant les leçons, dans les domaines suivants :
- Apprentissage et acquisition de nouvelles valeurs et de nouvelles attitudes pendant cette période de post-conflit ;
- La sécurité humaine en tant que protection et investissement pour la stabilité et l'instauration d'un ordre politique, économique, social, culturel, etc. ;

Le rôle des sociétés civiles dans la promotion des droits de l'homme, la consolidation des processus démocratiques, l'encouragement du dialogue entre les cultures, la contribution à la prévention des conflits et à la consolidation de la paix dans le contexte post-conflit.

### PROPOSITIONS DE STRATÉGIES

- Mettre l'accent sur le rôle de l'éducation en tant que moyen de réhabilitation et de généralisation de l'instruction civique et morale ;
- Établir un contrat social avec les sociétés civiles sur la base duquel ces dernières seraient associées à la conception, la formulation et la mise en œuvre des politiques nationales en matière de sécurité humaine et de consolidation de la paix ;
- Donner la priorité à la mise en valeur des ressources humaines et aux techniques des médias ;
- Donner à la population des moyens d'exprimer ses idées et ses opinions sur les problèmes importants liés au développement de sa vie et de sa participation au processus de transition démocratique et de règlement des conflits au sein de la société ;
- Opter pour une réactualisation du NEPAD qui vise à restaurer la paix, la sécurité et la stabilité, à promouvoir une bonne gouvernance et un leadership efficace, à trouver la voie d'une croissance vigoureuse et d'un développement durable, à réduire la pauvreté et les inégalités, à réhabiliter et à reconstruire les infrastructures indispensables au bien-être de l'Afrique.

### LES APPROCHES POSSIBLES

Il s'agit dans ce contexte de post-conflit d'opter pour :
- Une démarche globale et évaluative des pratiques de différents acteurs en matière de sécurité humaine et de la consolidation de la paix au Congo, du point de vue de la santé, de l'éducation, de la culture, de l'économie, de la politique, de l'environnement, en un mot, sur toutes les sphères de la vie humaine, en vue de conjurer cet état de crise et faire face à l'avenir.
- L'évaluation étant comprise ici comme « une recherche objective et systématique d'informations sur un programme, un projet, une réalisation, une pratique politique ou éducative en vue de l'améliorer ».

## CONCLUSION

Les enjeux de ce séminaire-atelier

Je voudrais conclure mon exposé introductif sur cette question qui peut nous aider à comprendre les enjeux de ce séminaire atelier :

- « Pouvons-nous affirmer que le Congo est aujourd'hui à l'abri d'une résurgence d'autres formes de violence et d'autres guerres internes ? »
- Pouvons-nous affirmer qu'aujourd'hui nous sommes tous en sécurité non pas contre le nucléaire mais contre la précarité de la vie, la pauvreté, etc. ?
- Si nous devons répondre par la négative, il nous faut alors nous orienter vers la recherche de solutions susceptibles de sécuriser et de pacifier durablement notre société.
- C'est ce qui a fait dire au pape Paul VI : qu'en ce monde, on ne peut jouir tranquillement de la paix, mais on doit plutôt la faire jaillir, la conquérir et la défendre sans cesse.

## 1. LA PROMOTION DE LA SÉCURITÉ HUMAINE AU CONGO

*par M. Mbela Hiza Mulanassan*

### INTRODUCTION

Après une longue période de dictature caractérisée par le monopole de la pensée unique et l'absence de débat démocratique, les élites congolaises sont incapables de comprendre les contraintes que soulève la réforme dans des services de sécurité, dans un État démocratique respectueux des droits de l'homme.

### OBJECTIFS

Deux objectifs majeurs doivent être atteints :

- créer un environnement de paix, de stabilité et de sécurité humaine sur les plans nationaux et internationaux ;
- instaurer la pratique de la bonne gouvernance dans les secteurs politique et socio-économiques.

Pour atteindre ces deux objectifs, il faut inventorier les pesanteurs politiques, sociales, économiques, etc., qui peuvent hypothéquer le développement intégral et durable de la République. Et il faut adopter la démarche qui repose sur des principes acceptés par tous et qui transcendent les intérêts partisans.

Comment créer l'osmose nécessaire entre le secteur sécuritaire et la quête de la démocratie ? Il faut répondre à une double interrogation.

### PREMIÈRE INTERROGATION

La sécurité sociale intéresse les questions politiques, stratégiques, économiques, sociales, culturelles, environnementales et sanitaires qui conditionnent la qualité de la vie des citoyens.

Il faut définir le fonctionnement et les missions de l'appareil sécuritaire, et c'est au Parlement qu'est dévolue cette mission : il vote le budget alloué au secteur sécuritaire ; il identifie les besoins et les contraintes sécuritaires du pays et définir des méthodes d'action de différents organes du secteur ; il évalue les moyens utilisés.

Les animateurs ne doivent pas être parties prenantes dans les circuits et intérêts économiques du pays. Aussi les principes de la bonne gouvernance doivent aller de pair avec les exigences de la transparence.

### DEUXIÈME INTERROGATION

La bonne gouvernance et la transparence doivent être en harmonie. Mais comment cultiver cette vertu citoyenne avec des animateurs incompétents, recrutés sur des bases ethno-régionales, sans bonne moralité ?

C'est une longue et délicate démarche que de faire du secteur sécuritaire un outil de la démocratie et du développement durable. Les ONG, les médias, les mouvements sociaux et associatifs gagneront en crédibilité en vulgarisant les droits de l'homme, en les défendant contre l'arbitraire et les abus des services de sécurité.

## CONCLUSION

Étant donné sa configuration géopolitique, il va de soi que le Congo, en matière de politique sécuritaire, sera tributaire de celle des autres pays de la région qui ont décidé de lier leur destin au sien et qui recherchent la stabilité et le développement de la région.

## 2. LA FONCTION ACTUELLE ET LE RÔLE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE DANS LE RENFORCEMENT DE LA PAIX ET DE LA SÉCURITÉ HUMAINE

*par M. Rufins Mackita*

La société civile regroupe des associations non gouvernementales à but non lucratif, travaillant dans tous les domaines de la vie des populations, en vue d'améliorer la qualité de la vie, de défendre la paix, la démocratie et les droits de l'homme, dans un environnement plus sain.

### SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE, UNE ENTITÉ AUX CONTOURS FLOUS

La société civile est formée des ONG, les associations d'enseignants, les communautés religieuses, les réseaux de recherche, les associations des parents d'élèves, les

*« C'est une bonne initiative mais il faut un dosage entre les acteurs qui font la théorie et ceux qui sont des opérateurs sur le terrain »*

organismes professionnels, les associations des étudiants et divers mouvements sociaux. Certains définissent la société civile comme des syndicats ou associations subventionnées. Or, ces organismes ne sont pas les vrais représentants de la société civile, souvent tapis dans l'ombre.

La société civile est une force qui pourtant présente de nombreuses faiblesses qui amenuisent la portée réelle de ses actions. Les femmes constituent une frange importante de la société civile qui se démarque du lot ; le bilan de leurs activités donne à espérer un meilleur devenir de la femme et de la société congolaise.

### LES VÉRITABLES MISSIONS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE

La société civile a deux missions :
* La première est celle d'être catalyseur des aspirations démocratiques des individus en contrôlant l'État.
* La deuxième mission lui demande d'être un « producteur » de services de soins, d'assurances, d'éducation, de culture, etc.

La société civile a la volonté démocratique de faire connaître la voix des « sans voix ». Elle « fait marcher » la démocratie, exerce une forte influence sur le monde politique. Elle englobe l'État, le corps politique ; elle encourage la création des richesses et contrôle les dépenses publiques.

On a constaté au Congo la dissolution de la société civile dans les sphères étatiques. Le secteur associatif phagocyté par l'État et ses administrations, des syndicats politisés et subventionnés.

### CONCLUSION

En somme, les organisations de la société civile se sont montrées dynamiques. Le travail qu'elles ont abattu présente des signes d'espoir pour un changement sociopolitique, mais il y a aussi des sujets d'inquiétude dans leur mode de fonctionnement.

## 3. L'AMÉLIORATION DE L'APPRENTISSAGE DE LA CULTURE DE PAIX

*par M. André Niambi*

### INTRODUCTION

Cet exposé se propose de rappeler le contexte de la création du Haut commissariat à l'instruction civique et à l'éducation morale (HCICEM), de rappeler ses objectifs et axes stratégiques. Il a été circonscrit aux stratégies et aux réalisations de ce département rattaché à la présidence de la République.

### CONTEXTE DE CRÉATION ET OBJECTIFS

Le contexte de création du HCICEM est une situation de crise économique qui a pour conséquence le développement des maladies endémiques. L'âme et le corps de la nation sont malades et le HCICEM vient remédier à la situation par la transformation des mentalités, en vue de l'amélioration des conditions matérielles. L'objectif général est la formation de citoyens congolais équilibrés au sein d'une société ouverte sur le monde.

Les objectifs spécifiques correspondent aux différents domaines d'intervention du HCICEM. Il s'agit de :

- assainir le cadre spirituel et moral national ;
- élever le niveau de la conscience collective congolaise ;
- améliorer la connaissance et la qualité de la vie ;
- renforcer l'unité nationale ;
- consolider la sécurité morale des citoyens.

### MISSIONS

La mission fondamentale du HCICEM est la moralisation de notre société par la vulgarisation des valeurs civiques et morales à toutes les couches sociales congolaises.

Les missions spécifiques sont :

- élaborer une politique de formation civique et d'éducation morale ;
- contrôler l'exécution des programmes d'instruction civique et d'éducation morale ;
- travailler à la naissance du patriotisme, du droit humain ;
- lutter contre les maladies sexuellement transmissibles, la culture et la consommation de la drogue.

### STRATÉGIES ET RÉALISATIONS

Elles se résument par la mise au point des méthodes et techniques propres à chaque activité. Elles visent une politique de communication et de formation des populations cibles. Les outils et supports didactiques à utiliser, les animateurs compétents sont comptés parmi les stratégies. Les stratégies de vulgarisation des valeurs civiques et morales sont nombreuses.

Les réalisations sont remarquables dans les écoles primaires et secondaires, dans la force publique, dans l'administration, dans les structures publiques, etc.

### CONCLUSION

Le HCICEM joue un rôle primordial d'éducation pour la restauration des valeurs civiques et morales, et de l'éthique au sein de la société congolaise.

## TRAVAUX EN ATELIERS

Après quelques questions d'éclaircissement posées par les participants aux exposants, trois ateliers ont été mis en place. Composition des ateliers :

### Atelier 1 : Comment améliorer l'apprentissage de la culture de paix ?
Modérateur, *Kani Martial Matthieu*, rapporteur, *Tombet Françoise*.
Pour répondre à cette question, il a été proposé de redéfinir la paix comme un état résultant de l'association de trois actions à la fois : le désarmement, la résolution des conflits et la justice. La paix selon l'UNESCO est le respect de la vie, l'adhésion au principe de liberté, de justice, d'égalité et de solidarité entre les humains.

Quant à la culture de paix, elle est un ensemble de valeurs, d'attitudes et de comportements qui expriment le respect de la vie, de la personne humaine, dans ses droits et dans sa dignité. Et pour intérioriser la culture de la paix, il faut recourir aux acteurs principaux qui sont : l'école, les médias, les Églises, la famille, la force publique et les organisations de la société civile.

### Atelier 2 : La promotion de la sécurité humaine au Congo
Modérateur, *Kihoulou Florent*, rapporteur, *Ngouma Jeanne*.
S'agissant de « la promotion de la sécurité humaine », il a été procédé à la définition de ce concept avant de préciser les objectifs à atteindre, identifier les acteurs et proposer des stratégies.

Le vocable « sécurité » qui dépasse désormais le cadre militaire, englobe tous les aspects de la vie humaine : militaire, politique économique, environnemental, sanitaire, éducatif, alimentaire, etc.

La sécurité humaine est un processus de mise en œuvre des stratégies tendant à assurer à l'individu en situation de groupe, son plein développement. Elle revêt cinq aspects : militaire, géopolitique, économique, socioculturel, environnemental.

Les acteurs de la sécurité humaine sont : l'État, les organisations de la société civile, le secteur privé, les partenaires étrangers et les partis politiques. Ils peuvent faire usage de stratégies institutionnelles et non institutionnelles.

### Atelier 3 : La fonction actuelle et le rôle de la société civile dans le renforcement de la paix et de la sécurité humaine
Modérateur, *Meme Dingadie*, rapporteur, *Kaky Nathalie*.
Pour traiter cette question, il a été fait état des lieux de la société civile congolaise, avant de s'exprimer sur les activités déjà réalisées dans le renforcement de la paix et de la sécurité humaine. Il a été fait mention des faiblesses constatées.

Une médiation nationale a été mise en place pendant la guerre (1997–1998) ; les Églises ont exercé une pression sur les gouvernants, ce qui a abouti notamment à la rétrocession des écoles. Les réfugiés, les sinistrés et les personnes vulnérables, ont été pris en charge ainsi que les pygmées (peuple autochtone), et des textes juridiques ont été vulgarisés.

La participation active de la société civile, son implication dans le domaine de la santé, dans l'éducation pour la paix et les droits humains, ont été encouragés. Mais on a déploré l'absence d'autonomie d'actions et la récupération des acteurs de la société civile par les politiques.

La mauvaise conception de l'apolitisme de l'Église ne lui a pas permis d'accomplir pleinement sa mission prophétique. La société civile est parfois ignorante de ses véritables missions.

## TRAVAUX EN PLÉNIER

A l'issue des travaux en ateliers dont les résultats ont été présentés et débattus en plénières, les participants ont adopté les recommandations et fait les quelques suggestions ci-après :

### Recommandations
- Instituer une école des parents ;
- S'inspirer de ce qui se fait dans d'autres pays, sur la culture de la paix ;
- Institutionnaliser une journée nationale de la culture de la paix ;
- Ouvrir à l'Université Marien Ngouabi (ENS) une filière de formation à la culture de la paix;
- Vulgariser la culture de la paix par tous les moyens (médias, banderoles, affiches, dépliants, activités socioculturelles et sportives) ;
- Former d'urgence la Force publique en matière de culture de la paix ;
- Susciter la collaboration entre les différents acteurs ;
- Ouvrir une radio citoyenne ;
- Rééquilibrer le budget de l'État en faveur des domaines relevant de la sécurité humaine, notamment l'éducation, la santé, les infrastructures de base ;
- Renforcer les prérogatives du Ministère des Droits humains et des Institutions d'appui à la démocratie ;
- Donner les compétences réelles au Ministère des Droits humains dans l'exercice de ses fonctions ;
- Créer et renforcer les compétences des Institutions d'appui à la démocratie, singulièrement de lutte contre la corruption et la fraude, d'observation des droits humains, de conscientisation à la citoyenneté, et de régulation des médias ;
- Organiser de manière consensuelle les scrutins électoraux ;
- Favoriser les regroupements régionaux et sous-régionaux de défense et de sécurité, y compris les mécanismes d'évaluation par les pairs ;
- Accélérer le programme DDR en privilégiant les volets Éducation et Réinsertion ;
- Mettre en application les politiques de l'équité du genre, dans tous les domaines de la vie nationale ;
- Intégrer dans tous le cursus scolaire (primaire, secondaire, et supérieur) l'enseignement de l'éducation à la citoyenneté et à la culture de la paix ;
- Prendre en compte les organisations de la société civile dans la définition et la mise en pratique des politiques de sécurité et de défense ;
- Établir un contrat social entre le gouvernement et la société civile ;
- Être un acteur de premier ordre pour se donner les moyens de son fonctionnement et éviter son inféodation à l'État (il s'agit de la société civile) ;
- Être en tête du combat démocratique en véhiculant la culture de la paix ;
- Se prononcer sur les sujets politiques tout en étant apolitique (il s'agit de la société civile) ;
- Encourager l'émergence des radios communautaires ;
- Concentrer les stratégies sur la construction des communautés locales ;
- S'investir activement dans la formulation, la mise en œuvre et le suivi des stratégies de développement national ;
- Fournir des services alternatifs là où l'action de l'État est insuffisante ou inexistante ;
- Prendre en charge les programmes d'éducation non formelle grâce à l'écoute des besoins et à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des populations défavorisées ;
- Accroître l'intervention de la population civile dans les domaines tels que la participation communautaire, l'autonomisation, l'alphabétisation, l'éducation de la petite enfance ;
- Susciter une participation plus active des groupes et association de femmes pour qu'elles jouent un rôle plus important dans la société civile.

*« Au regard de la constance des troubles socio politiques en Afrique Centrale et dans les régions des Grands Lacs, le thème du séminaire est de grande importance et d'actualité. »*

*Suggestions*

Il a été suggéré ce qui suit, à savoir que :

- à l'avenir le gouvernement, le parlement et la force publique soient représentés dans ce genre de séminaire ;
- la participation des partenaires d'autres pays soit encouragée ;
- que toutes les organisations impliquées dans la question débattue examinent les recommandations pour les traduire en actions ;
- il faudra responsabiliser les femmes dans les actions à mener.

## SÉANCE DE CLÔTURE

La séance de clôture s'est tenue juste après les suggestions faites en plénière. A cette séance, sont intervenus tour à tour, M. Séraphin Ngouma (représentant local de IVP), M. Samuel Mawete (modérateur du séminaire), M. Runo Bergström (chef de mission) et Mme Claudette Werleigh (Directrice des programmes de transformation des conflits) qui a procédé à la clôture du séminaire.

## CONCLUSION

Les travaux du séminaire sur « la sécurité humaine et le rôle de la société civile dans un contexte post-conflit » ont été dirigés par une modération capable de bien juger les choses. Les ateliers étaient animés par des personnes et ressources compétentes et les participants étaient à la hauteur de leur tâche. Le contenu des débats était solide dans un climat de sérénité et de critique constructive.

Les objectifs poursuivis ont été atteints dans l'ensemble, aussi les attentes des organisations ont été satisfaites de manière générale.

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## Annexe : **Les participants**

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Bassouamina Jean Pierre, Etudiant, F. T. P. B/Mansimou
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Kitsoukou Joseph, Thourrin
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Toungouka Jean Marie C., Réseau Monod Vice Président Ifim Derrière Le Garage
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Ockoua Mbembet, Conseiller
Bissoumounou Jean Paul, Inrap Enseignant Chercheur 18, Rue Massangui-Diata
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Dzaka Kikouta Théophile, Unmg Economiste
Mackita Jean Ruffins, Conadec
Werleigh Claudette, Directrice de Life & Peace, Uppsala
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Ngouma Séraphin, Représentant Local Vie et Paix Brazzaville
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## Resources/contacts

*La région d'Afrique Centrale et les pays des Grand lacs*
*Séminaire PPE I: La sécurité humaine et le rôle de la société civile dans un contexte*
*de post-conflit*
www.life-peace.org
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# La région d'Afrique Centrale
# & les pays des Grand lacs

**Deux PPE séminaires au Brazzaville, République du Congo**

*Séminaire PPE II:*
*Construire un nouveau paradigme de paix dans la sous région*
*d'Afrique centrale et dans les pays des Grands lacs*

Du 13 au 15 Septembre 2007
au Centre d'Information
des Nations Unies

*Contributions :*

**Rapport synthétique**
par *Séraphin Ngouma*

**Communiqué finale**

**Organisation du seminaire**

**Résultats des travaux en ateliers**

**Recommandations**

Annexe : Les Participants

## SÉMINAIRE PPE II: CONSTRUIRE UN NOUVEAU PARADIGME DE PAIX DANS LA SOUS RÉGION D'AFRIQUE CENTRALE ET DANS LES PAYS DES GRANDS LACS

### RAPPORT SYNTHÉTIQUE
*par Séraphin Ngouma*

Il a été organisé par l'Institut Vie et Paix (IVP) un séminaire international sur le thème : « Construire un nouveau paradigme de paix dans la sous-région d'Afrique Centrale et dans les pays des Grands lacs », du 13 au 15 septembre 2007 au Centre d'Information des Nations Unies.

Les 70 participants à ce séminaire (voir liste en annexes) provenaient de différents pays de la sous-région : Burundi, Cameroun, Comores, Congo, République Centrafricaine, République Démocratique du Congo, Rwanda et Tchad. C'était des universitaires et chercheurs, des responsables des ONG et organisations de confessions religieuses sur la paix œuvrant dans les domaines de la justice, des droits de l'homme et de la paix, des organismes internationaux et institutions étatiques.

Les principales articulations de ce rapport sont la présentation du séminaire où il sera fait mention du contexte et de la justification, des objectifs poursuivis et des résultats attendus. Dans l'organisation du séminaire, on parlera du culte d'ouverture, des communications et exposés, des travaux en ateliers, en plénière et de la séance de clôture.

### CONTEXTE ET JUSTIFICATION

En Afrique centrale, le paysage politique avait changé à partir de 1990, avec la montée du mouvement mondial de l'éducation pour la paix. Une vague de démocratisation venait balayer les régimes à partis uniques en faveur du multipartisme dont les transitions commencent aujourd'hui à s'éroder.

Les élections deviennent non compétitives, les dirigeants rusés, élus au nom de la démocratie, ne sont en réalité que des dictateurs. Cette triste situation de la sous-région d'Afrique Centrale ne permet pas aux citoyens de développer leur personnalité et de répondre à leurs besoins individuels et collectifs, dans tous les domaines.

La conséquence de cette situation malheureuse est la répétition ou le prolongement des guerres intermittentes qui traversent l'Afrique centrale de part en part. Elles ont pour causes essentielles la pauvreté, la misère, l'injustice, le chômage des jeunes, le mauvais choix des politiques sociales, économiques, etc.

Que de défis à relever ! Des enjeux qui ne peuvent être gagnés que par la mise en place de nouveaux mécanismes pour construire la paix en Afrique centrale.

Malgré l'éducation pour la paix, la littérature abondante en la matière, la richesse des systèmes traditionnels et modernes pour la résolution pacifique des conflits, la sous-région d'Afrique Centrale ne connaît pas encore de stabilité. La déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme est toujours violée, l'équité des genres est encore utopique.

*« Les participants à ce séminaire étaient d'origine diverse. Nous connaissons l'effort des organisateurs d'avoir un mélange aussi hétérogène que possible. »*

Les alliances politiques ne peuvent pas garantir l'unité nationale puisque les partis politiques n'éduquent pas leurs militants en matière de culture de paix qui reste limitée au stade des signatures des accords, et la conscience citoyenne reste passive. C'est un tableau désolant d'une société en crise. C'est alors qu'on s'interroge :

Pourquoi construire une paix et un développement durable dans la sous-région ?

Pourquoi les travaux précédents n'ont-ils pas pu transformer la mentalité des Africains ?

Ces faiblesses du passé s'expliqueraient-elles par le mauvais choix des moyens humains, matériels et culturels ?

Le manque de prise de conscience des populations elles-mêmes, du leadership des dirigeants ne serait-il pas une cause non négligeable ?

La réponse à toutes ces questions est qu'il faut construire un nouveau paradigme de paix. Mais sur quelles bases et avec quels acteurs ?

## OBJET ET OBJECTIFS

L'objet de ce séminaire était de prolonger celui que l'Institut Vie et Paix avait organisé à Brazzaville, du 19 au 21 décembre 2006, sur « La sécurité humaine et le rôle des sociétés civiles dans un contexte post conflit ».

Ce dernier séminaire se proposait d'étudier les conditions de la construction d'un nouveau paradigme de paix dans la sous-région d'Afrique Centrale. Les atouts et les faiblesses de l'ancien paradigme ont été évoqués.

Le nouveau paradigme à construire est un modèle dynamique et pluridimensionnel qui appelle une mutation des valeurs, des convictions et des comportements fondée sur la tolérance, la démocratie et la citoyenneté active.

L'objectif général poursuivi était d'« étudier les conditions de construction et de faisabilité d'un nouveau paradigme de paix qui tienne compte des acteurs et des faiblesses du passé. »

## TROIS OBJECTIFS OPÉRATIONNELS ONT DÉCOULÉ DE CET OBJECTIF GÉNÉRAL :

- identifier les atouts et les faiblesses de l'ancien paradigme dans sa contribution à la stabilité et à la durabilité dans la sous-région.
- définir un nouveau paradigme de paix ayant des implications dans les conflits et les autres aspects de la vie sociale pour la bonne gouvernance, la construction de l'État et le développement économique ;
- explorer les pistes d'action et les conditions de la faisabilité d'un nouveau paradigme de paix.

## RÉSULTATS ATTENDUS

Les résultats attendus au terme de ce séminaire étaient :
- l'identification des atouts et des faiblesses de l'ancien paradigme dans sa contribution à la stabilité et à la durabilité de la paix dans la sous-région d'Afrique centrale ;
- Une réflexion écrite et des propositions de pistes d'action du nouveau paradigme dans les domaines ciblés.

## COMMUNIQUÉ FINAL

Le séminaire international qui s'achève a été organisé par l'Institut Vie et Paix (IVP) à Brazzaville, du 13 au 15 septembre 2007 sous le thème : « Construire un nouveau paradigme de paix dans la sous-région d'Afrique centrale et dans les pays des Grands lacs. »

Il a connu la participation des universitaires et chercheurs, des responsables des ONG et organisations des confessions religieuses sur la paix œuvrant dans les domaines de la justice et des droits de l'homme, des organismes internationaux et institutions étatiques venus des différents pays de la sous-région à savoir : le Burundi, le République Démocratique du Congo, le Rwanda et le Tchad, soit environ soixante-dix participants.

## ORGANISATION DU SÉMINAIRE

Le séminaire s'est ouvert sur le mot de présentation de monsieur Séraphin Ngouma (Représentant Local de l'Institut Vie et Paix) auquel ont succédé les allocutions du Pasteur Albert Mpoungui, représentant du Conseil Œcuménique des Églises Chrétiennes au Congo et de monsieur Emmanuel Douma, Directeur de cabinet du Ministre chargé de l'Intégration sous-régionale et du NEPAD.

L'exposé introductif de monsieur Samuel Mawete, modérateur général du séminaire, a précédé ceux des délégations des différents pays sur le rôle de la société civile et des Églises dans la construction de la paix. Six communications de vingt minutes chacune ont succédé à ces premiers exposés ; elles ont été faites respectivement par :

1. M. Cyril Musila du Rwanda sur « l'état actuel de la construction de la paix en Afrique central et dans les pays des Grands lacs » ;
2. M. Pierre Titi Nwel du Cameroun sur « l'état actuel de la construction de la paix dans les domaines de la démocratie et de la gestion des conflits, en Afrique centrale » ;
3. M. Raoul Ngoyendzi de la République du Congo sur « le rôle des ethnies dans la construction ou la déconstruction de la paix » ;
4. M. Mungala Emérite A.S. de la République démocratique du Congo sur « l'éducation en tant que vecteur de l'éveil de la conscience citoyenne : ses problèmes et ses défis » ;
5. M. Ahamed Saïd Abass (Comores)) sur « La promotion internationale de la paix » ;
6. M. Célestin Ngoma - Foutou de la République du Congo sur « les fondements pour une véritable culture de la paix ».

## TRAVAUX EN ATELIERS

Après quelques questions d'éclaircissement posées par les participants aux exposants qui y ont répondu, quatre ateliers ont été mis en place.

*Atelier 1 : Construction de la paix, environnement socio économique et bonne gouvernance. Propositions des pistes d'actions pour la construction d'un nouveau paradigme de paix*
Modérateur : *Dzaka Kikouta Théophile*, Congo, rapporteur : *Dupleix Kuendzob P.*, Cameroun
La réponse à cette question comprend l'explication des concepts clés de l'intitulé du sujet. Les atouts et les faiblesses de l'ancien paradigme ont été stigmatisés avant de proposer le recours aux valeurs culturelles positives, l'éducation à la citoyenneté et au leadership.

*Atelier 2 : Construction de la paix, démocratie et gestion des conflits. Propositions des pistes d'actions pour la construction d'un nouveau paradigme de paix dans les domaines cités*
Modérateur : *André Niambi*, Congo, rapporteur : *Violette Nyirarukundo M.*, Rwanda
Pour traiter cette question, il a été proposé :
- La mise en place d'une stratégie différentielle, partenariale et participative qui suppose l'implication de l'État dans l'éducation à la démocratie et à la gestion des conflits, ce qui garantit la sécurité ;
- Il faut combattre les préjugés raciaux et ethniques et solliciter les médias dans la vulgarisation de la démocratie et de la paix. Les Ressources humaines capables de prendre en charge les relais de l'éducation à la citoyenneté, doivent être développées. Il faut aussi encourager les espaces de dialogue et favoriser le brassage culturel.

*« IVP doit faire de son mieux pour envoyer toutes les communications et les différents thèmes débattus dans les ateliers au cours de ce séminaire à tous les participants. »*

*Atelier 3 : Ethnies : Construction et déconstruction de la paix*
Modérateur : *Pasteur Meme Dingadie*, RDC, rapporteur : *Louzolo Armand*, Congo
S'agissant du rôle des ethnies dans la construction de la paix, il a été proposé comme pistes d'actions, des recherches anthropologiques, l'enseignement des valeurs communes et différentes depuis l'école primaire.
Ensuite, il faudra combattre et vaincre l'instrumentalisation des ethnies, développer la conscience nationale au détriment de la conscience ethnique, encourager les mariages interethniques et développer la culture, de manière générale.

*Atelier 4 : Construction de la paix, éducation à l'éveil de la conscience citoyenne et collective. Propositions des pistes d'actions pour la construction d'un nouveau paradigme de paix dans les domaines concernés*
Modérateur : *Kani Mathieu Martial*, Congo, rapporteur : *Ngouma Jeanne Yombere*, Congo
Pour répondre à cette question, il a été proposé de repenser la culture de paix de recourir aux valeurs positives de la culture traditionnelles, de les intégrer dans les programmes d'enseignement d'un système éducatif performant. Pour ce faire, une prise de conscience collective s'impose pour changer les mentalités et promouvoir l'éveil de la conscience citoyenne.

## RECOMMANDATIONS

- Création des espaces plus larges de dialogue et d'échange d'expérience en matière de paix dans la sous région ;
- Intégrer dans les programmes d'enseignement les valeurs traditionnelles positives ;
- Impliquer tous les acteurs (familles, écoles, confessions religieuses, le milieu professionnel, médias) dans la promotion de l'éducation à la citoyenneté active ;
- Favoriser la coopération politique, économique, culturelle dans la sous région ;
- Encourager la bonne gouvernance administrative, économique et politique en luttant contre les détournements, la corruption.

Comme pistes de construction d'un nouveau paradigme de paix, les participants se sont engagés, dans le cadre de la continuation du présent séminaire sous forme de recherche active, à travailler sur les trois axes suivants :

- le leadership et le développement durable ;
- le recours aux fondements culturels pour la construction du nouveau paradigme de paix en Afrique centrale ;
- l'éducation à la citoyenneté active.

La procédure de la mise en place de l'équipe de chercheurs est laissée à la compétence de l'Observatoire Œcuménique pour la paix, avec l'appui de l'Institut Vie et Paix.

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## Annexe/Attachement : Les Participants

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David Amelberg Ikiti, Département de l'Enseignement Protestant
Sika Raoul, Conseil Episcopal de l'Éducation catholique
Professeur Meme Dingadie, Univers. protestant de Kinshasa
Professeur A.S. Mungala, Chaire UNESCO Kinshasa
Ahamat Moussa Hassan, Comité de Suivi de l'appel à la paix et à la réconciliation Tchad
Professeur Mashanda Murhega, Réseau d'Innovation Organisationnelle (RIO) Bukavu/RDC
Isaac Zokoue, Republique Centrafricaine
Said Abass Ahamed, Centre de Recherche et d'Etude sur les Conflits dans la région des Grands Lacs (Université Catholique de Bukavu)
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Violette Nyararukundo M, Eglises Presbytériennes au Rwanda
Cyrille Musila, Eglises Presbytériennes au Rwanda
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Dupleix Kuenzob Pedeme, Service Oecuménique pour la paix, Cameroun
Tore Samuelson, LPI Bureau principal

*Congolaise:*

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Roger Bouka Ewoko, OCDH
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Victor Moussoki, AEP
Toungouka Jean Marie, Réseau MONOD
Merveilleux Sita Dubois, Non Violence Congo
Kevin Eudes Moukoukou, CCAD
Sogni Zaou Nathalie, Haut Commissariat à l'Éducation civique et Morale
Mouvioyi J. Claude, Haut Commissariat à l'Éducation civique et Morale
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Eden Voussia IVP
Guy Noël Ndossi IVP
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## Resources/contacts

*La région d'Afrique Centrale et les pays des Grand lacs*
*Séminaire PPE II: Construire un nouveau paradigme de paix dans la sous région d'Afrique*
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# North Africa and the Middle East: Alexandria

## Peace Studies in the Middle East: Contextualizing and Globalizing

**Arranged jointly by** the Swedish Institute in Alexandria
and the Life & Peace Institute
**Venue** The Swedish Institute in Alexandria, Egypt
**Date** April 22–25, 2007

*Agenda and contributions*

**Summary highlights**

**Globalizing peace research in the Arab context**:
*Ambassador Ali Maher*, Centre for Peace Studies, Alexandria
*Dr. Hasan Nafaa*, Muntada al-Fikr al-'Arabiy, Amman

**Understanding the Middle East process**
*Ambassador Ahmed Maher*, former Foreign Minister of Egypt

**Reflections on experience of work on the Arabic SIPRI Yearbook**
*Dr Samir Karam*, Centre for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut

**Panel Discussion: Methodologies of reconciliation**
*Dir Marie Loller*, Mar Elias Peace Centre, Ibillin
*Dr Zoughbi Zoughbi*, Palestinian Conflict Resolution Centre, Bethlehem

**Disarmament, conflicts and arms trade
– Introducing SIPRI Yearbook 2006**
*Dr Daniel Nord*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

**The role of religion in situations of armed conflict**
*Dr Anne Kubai*, Life & Peace Institute, Uppsala

**Conflicts in other regions seen from an Arab perspective**
*Director Abdel Mun'im Sa'eed*, Al-Ahram Centre, Cairo

**Muslim Peace Agents – a new program in Sweden**
*Usama Hammad* and *Othman Al-Tawalbeh*, Ibn Rushd, Sweden

**Integrating peace studies in liberal education**
*Dr Iman Al-Kaffass*, American University in Cairo

**Panel discussion: Experiences and reflections from Lebanon**

Attachment 1: Globalizing peace research in the Arab context

Attachment 2: The participants

## SUMMARY/HIGHLIGHTS

The seminar opened with a brief welcome message from Jan Henningsson, Director of the Swedish Institute, which, together with the Life & Peace Institute (LPI), co-hosted the conference. All participants gave a short presentation of themselves and the organization or institute they represented, after which the seminar promptly began.

*The following summary/highlights were compiled by Teemar Kidane, LPI.*

## GLOBALIZING PEACE RESEARCH IN THE ARAB CONTEXT

*Ambassador Ali Maher, Centre for Peace Studies, Alexandria*
*Dr. Hasan Nafaa, Muntada al-Fikr al-'Arabiy, Amman*

Ambassador *Ali Maher* began his presentation by providing some insight into the historical development of peace studies. He marked the beginning of the 21st Century as an important period for the advancement of peace research, pointing to the failure to prevent World War I and then World War II as a catalyst for the surge of interest in peace studies. This latter event in particular induced a new global attitude, and a desire to 'create a new world order' through peace and security for all humankind.

Ambassador Ali Maher continued by pointing out that whilst there is certainly a need for global solidarity in terms of promoting a more peaceful ideology, such universal values cannot replace those values specific to each cultural setting. Historical, psychological and cultural differences are sure to distinguish approaches to this paradoxical global ideology. He went on to explain that unlike the rest of the world, the concept of 'peace' is still marginalized in Arab settings, and as such it is still unusual to find a peace centre in this region.

Yet Arab countries have been, and continue to be, affected by conflict (in his reference to Arab countries, the Ambassador was also alluding to those countries not located in the Middle East, including Sudan and Somalia). There is therefore a clear need to bring peace research to the forefront throughout the Arab world. In doing so, however, a regionally specific perspective should be applied: 'the medicine must fit the disease'. After all, conflicts are invariably a reflection of the local context, politically, culturally, traditionally, religiously, and economically. The Ambassador went on to suggest that UNESCO, therefore, potentially has a very important role to play in bridging cultural cleavages and contextualizing the field of peace studies. Peace centres in the Middle East, due to their greater understanding of local contexts, will also facilitate the application of a regionally specific model when resolving conflict.

(Ambassador Maher's paper is attached to the report, see p. 72)

The second speaker of the day was *Dr. Hasan Nafaa*, who began by questioning whether the Arab-Israeli conflict could be considered a local one, and whether peace centres in the Middle East focused their attention too narrowly on this particular conflict. Dr. Nafaa answered his own question by pointing out that the Arab/Israeli conflict could hardly be considered local when its origins were clearly international. It was after all the League of Nations, an international body, whose mandate included the insertion of an Israeli State into Palestine. Dr. Nafaa went on to discredit the concept of a 'local' conflict in this day and age, using the Arab/Israeli conflict as an example of a conflict that had affected the security of the entire region.

According to Dr. Nafaa, peace centers in the Middle East were justified in their focus on the Arab/Israeli conflict since it is only natural that issues of interest for the public, or the state, be addressed first. Public opinion in the Arab region would hardly be stirred by the conflict in Colombia, for instance. Furthermore, Dr. Nafaa rationalized the tendency to focus on local conflicts by explaining that the organizational objectives of peace centers are almost certainly a reflection of their specific history. To exemplify this, Dr. Nafaa offered the case of the Al-Ahram Centre for

Strategic Studies in Cairo, whose foundation followed the Arab war against Israel in 1967 and whose focus of attention was consequently restricted to studies of Israel and Zionism.

A noteworthy debate followed Dr. Nafaa's presentation regarding the question of specificity versus universality in the context of peace studies. Dr Jacques Kabbanji, Professor at the Advanced Studies Centre in Lebanon, maintained that peace ought to be considered a universal value, since restricting concepts of peace to culturally specific settings could risk isolating the Middle East rather than unifying the region with the rest of the world. Dr. Nafaa responded by acknowledging the existence of universal guidelines for peace but rejected the notion that there can only be one model for peace. He maintained that peace ultimately comes down to individual human beings, who are specific, rather than universal. Only when an individual is secure in his or her own identity, cultural or otherwise, can he or she address peace and security on a universal level.

## UNDERSTANDING THE MIDDLE EAST PROCESS

*Ambassador Ahmed Maher, former Foreign Minister of Egypt*

The second presentation of the day was given by Ambassador *Ahmed Maher*, who directed his attention to discussing the peace process in the Middle East today and implications for the future. Incorporated into the Ambassador's speech was a rather passionate assessment of the political standoff between Israel and Palestine, both historically and currently.

Ambassador Maher began by criticizing Israel's refusal to recognize Palestine, in spite of the fact that all Arab states recognize Israel. He contended that the Arab world was in fact unanimous not only in their recognition of Israel, but also in their desire for a collective peace treaty. The Ambassador went on to argue that responsibility for the multitude of failed negotiations lay predominantly with Israel, whose most recent rejection of the latest peace initiative[5] (implied in the subsequent attack on Palestine) by the Arab League was incomprehensible. Also deemed illogical by the Ambassador are Israeli demands that certain conditions be fulfilled prior to negotiations. He pointed out that if an agreement has already been reached, and Palestine fulfills Israeli demands, what would be the purpose of negotiations?

Ambassador Maher went on to rebuke the political stance of the US, expressing wonder at its persistence in taking actions that favour Israel and yet are clearly contrary to the interests of the US. He pointed out that this mysterious alliance could be traced back to the beginning of the conflict in the late 1940's and has remained intact ever since. According to Ambassador Maher, the US is destined for failure in the so called war on terror, since its tactics lack cultural sensitivity and do not address the root causes of violence.

*"I have no explanatory equivalent word to express my happiness to be part of these presentations."*

Several questions and comments followed the Ambassador's speech. Of particular interest was a comment made by Father Dr. Youssef Mouanness, Director of the Catholic Information Centre at the Kaslik University in Lebanon. Father Mouanness explained that he had recently come across a book that essentially defined the Jewish identity. He thereafter became conscious of the fact that there is no unified ideology regarding the Arab identity, a reality that should be remedied without delay. Mr. Ahmed Moustafa, a representative of an Egyptian NGO, also suggested that the image of the Arab world ought to be better promoted through the Arab media, adding that it is crucial that the multitude of negative stereotypes often portrayed by the West be countered.

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5   This recent peace initiative referred to by Ambassador Maher rested on the condition that Israel return to the 1967 borders, and that an acceptable solution be made regarding Palestinian refugees.

## REFLECTIONS ON EXPERIENCE OF WORK ON THE ARABIC SIPRI YEARBOOK

*Dr Samir Karam, Centre for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut*

The Arabic translation of the 2006 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Yearbook was certainly one of the highlights of the seminar. In the third session of the day, Dr. *Samir Karam* recounted his experiences in supervising the translation work carried out by the Centre for Arab Unity Studies (CAUS) in Lebanon since 2003. Dr. Karam began by expressing his high regard for the Yearbook, which in his view is an embodiment of a new kind of 'orientalism'. He praised Sweden for its unique ability to detach itself from Western prejudices and fallacies whilst providing readers with meticulous and precise coverage of the politics of the day. Dr. Karam also expressed admiration at SIPRI's diversity of subject coverage, which is continuously updated in accordance with contemporary issues.

Dr. Karam explained that in the Middle East, whilst books dedicated to the subject of peace are a scarcity, there is conversely a wide plethora of books covering war and war strategies. As such, the SIPRI Yearbook, which seeks to promote global peace and security, could play an important role in the Arab world.

Finally, Dr. Karam spoke more generally about the art of translation as a facilitator of peace. In a situation of conflict between parties who do not speak the same language translation is a precondition for dialogue, and thereby peace.

A great deal of praise and approbation followed Dr. Karam's speech. Students in particular were highly appreciative, and declared that the book was in fact on the reading list for peace and international studies courses at several universities throughout the Middle East. Dr. Karam was humble in his acceptance of the compliments and insisted that much of the work should not be accredited to him alone, but also to the team of three translators at CAUS whom he had supervised.

The Deputy Director of SIPRI, Dr. Daniel Nord, proceeded to give a few words of thanks both for the praise heaped on the SIPRI Yearbook, and for the tremendous achievement by Dr. Samir Karam and his team in translating the text.

## PANEL DISCUSSION: METHODOLOGIES OF RECONCILIATION

*Dir Marie Loller, Director of Mar Elias Peace Centre, Ibillin*
*Dr Zoughbi Zoughbi, Palestinian Conflict Resolution Centre, Bethlehem*

Director *Marie Loller* started off the panel discussion with a brief outline of the Mar Elias Peace Centre, an educational institute in a predominantly Arab part of Israel. The students at the Peace Centre are a mix of Christians and Muslims. There are currently no Jewish students enrolled at the Centre.

Director Loller continued by contending that formulating methodologies of conflict resolution alone will not resolve conflict. What is needed instead is a thorough analysis of the problems faced by the people on the ground. Moreover, whatever initiatives that have been taken cannot be pushed aside as soon as they have been realized. To ensure success, follow up research is crucial. Marie Loller's experience in Galilee taught her that any attempt to impose reconciliation without first considering the existence of the people on the ground was bound for failure. She stressed the importance of addressing conflicts at the grass roots level, and the need for those coming from the West to work together with the people to solve the problem rather than becoming part of the problem itself. Director Loller iterated that the Mar Elias Centre does not, however, push Western methodologies away; rather, it takes from these methods that which is useful for the Palestinian context.

In Director Loller's opinion, mere tolerance is not enough to attain perfect peace. Tolerance simply refers to an ability to endure each other, until a more preferable solution can be found. What is needed instead is to encourage people to accept and respect one another, a principle upheld in the teachings at the Mar Elias Centre.

Dr *Zoughbi Zoughbi* continued the panel discussion by summing up his institute's approach to peace studies by eloquently quoting: 'Instead of cursing darkness, we have decided to light candles'. Essentially, he argued that whilst Palestinians and Israelis may never truly respect one another, a healthy, peaceful culture cannot possibly be created if the two sides refuse to meet. He argued passionately that war

strategies have always been effective and it is now time to have the same effective strategies designed for peace.

Director Zoughbi suggested that fear was a major hindrance to the peace process in Palestine; that is, fear of the unknown and fear of change. He argued that for this reason it is crucial that peace studies are contextualized. Experiences should be learnt from, for instance, how has collective responsibility worked in the past? He suggested that much can be learnt from the West, and that these lessons can be adapted to fit the Arab context.

## DISARMAMENT, CONFLICTS AND ARMS TRADE – INTRODUCING THE SIPRI YEARBOOK 2006

*Dr Daniel Nord, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)*

Dr. Daniel Nord, Deputy Director of SIPRI, opened the second day of the seminar with a presentation of the SIPRI Yearbook 2006, as well as of the organization itself. Dr. Nord began by giving a succinct outline of the history of SIPRI, and subsequently turned his attention to its organizational objectives, values, and working principles.

The principal motivation behind the SIPRI Yearbook is first and foremost to impart information to a fairly wide audience, and in doing so provide weaker states with greater access to information in order to create a more level playing ground at negotiations.

At the time of SIPRI's foundation in 1966, there was a similar institute based in Oslo, Norway, whose research reflected the thinking of Johan Galtung and was rooted in sociology and anthropology. Unlike this institute, SIPRI immediately became concerned with the so-called 'hardcore' security issues, namely military expenditure, chemical warfare, weapons technology, all of which are quantifiable with empirical research.

It is hardly surprising that SIPRI's choice of subjects are centered on arms, since the time of SIPRI's launching occurred simultaneously with the height of the Cold War and the mass race for arms and weapons. Issues such as repressive dictatorships and the welfare of the adversary were, therefore, somewhat diminished in importance. While much has changed since 1966, and SIPRI's mandate has been widened considerably to include conflict research, it does not contend with the more philosophical conflict theories.

Dr. Nord asserted that peace is not in any way limited to the absence of conflict. Thus, the beauty of peace research is its diversity and the variety of perspectives from which peace research can be approached, including the sociological, anthropological and psychological. A common feature of all peace research institutes, according to Dr. Nord, is that transparency is a greatly respected value, since the alternative would be to risk losing access to information. On the other hand, absolute impartiality is not viable, since this would imply that an organization has no morals or principles, which is not the case with SIPRI.

In concluding his presentation, Dr. Nord emphasized the fact that this past decade has seen a transformation of the security agenda. Forms of violence have changed, the dividing lines between internal and external security have been blurred. Arms and weapons are now controlled by legal means, i.e. multilateral treaties, supplemented by other agreements of a lesser scale. Moreover, several new items have been added to the security agenda, such as poverty, national disasters, health epidemics, and global warming. Such changes, several of which are unrelated to military issues, may very well induce SIPRI to further extend its mandate in order to address these concerns of the day.

Numerous constructive comments and questions were put forward upon Dr. Nord's concluding remarks. One such question inquired about the implications of a superpower in this day and age, in response to which Dr. Nord quoted: 'It is hard to be a team player when you're omnipotent'. He further noted that US involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan underlines the constraints of using coercive powers, which in turn undermine the value of a democracy by cutting off local ownership.

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## THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN SITUATIONS OF ARMED CONFLICT

*Dr Anne Kubai, Life & Peace Institute, Uppsala*

Dr Anne Kubai continued the second day of the seminar with an interesting lecture on the role of religion in armed conflict. She began by giving a short presentation of the LPI, its objectives and research methods, which she described as being based on Christian values but not constrained or limited by a Christian perspective in its work, neither in research, nor in practice.

Emile Durkheim's definition of religion was offered as a starting point, which states that religion is a system of shared meanings and values by which an individual may represent him/herself to society and to others. Dr. Kubai stressed that religion empowers humans and gives them a commitment by which they might act accordingly. Religion, in Dr. Kubai's view, goes even further, and can be the key to successful nation-building since it can shape national visions and ideals, giving a national identity a religious quality. Thus, the speaker argued that religion is not removed from an individual's consciousness. On the contrary, if conflict is to be truly understood, particularly in a society where religion plays an important role, religion *must* be researched, analyzed and acknowledged.

Dr. Kubai went on to present the various positive and negative impacts that religion can have on a conflict, maintaining that religion is a reality, and reality is a duality - both good and bad. On the positive side, religion, by creating a sense of solidarity, can act as a catalyst for nation-building after a conflict. It can create a civil space whereby communities may stand together, bound by common interests, and question the state of their rights and interests. Religion encourages a peaceful coexistence, teaching love, tolerance and understanding, and facilitating peacebuilding activities.

*"Dr. Zoughbi Zoughbi and Ms. Marie Loller submitted a perfect session concerning "Methodologies of Reconciliation" through their unique experience in both Palestine and Germany. They demonstrated how it is possible to achieve progress in both developing the culture of peace and conflict resolution."*

Yet in the same way that religion can create a sense of belonging, it can create barriers. Dr. Kubai explained that it is precisely through this feeling of belonging that religion is able to promote intolerance and prejudice, excluding other groups and encouraging feelings of superiority. She elaborated by saying that where religious boundaries are coextensive with other cleavages, religion can further divide a society. Dr. Kubai accepted that whilst conflict itself might not be religious, religion can be drafted in such a way as to influence the conflict, for instance through using scriptures to justify the conflict. Influential leaders make public, authoritative statements in fighting for the loyalty of citizens. Thus religion, according to Dr. Kubai, is no longer relegated to the private sphere but can be a major component of shaping political landscapes.

Responses to Dr. Kubai's presentation were animated and dynamic. Ambassador Ali Maher in particular fervently denied the idea that any religion could propagate the killing of others, arguing instead that conflicts may appear to be religious, but in fact they never are.

Father Mouanness also declared his concern over the tendency to view religion as either a problem or a solution, believing that addressing it as one or the other results in extremism. Dr Kubai agreed with Ambassador Maher that whilst conflicts can indeed be disguised with religious rationalizations, this does not negate the fact that violence is not absent in religion. On the contrary, every religion carries within it the germ of destruction.


## CONFLICTS IN OTHER REGIONS SEEN FROM AN ARAB PERSPECTIVE

*Director Abdel Mun'im Sa'eed, Al-Ahram Centre, Cairo*

A highly regarded political scientist from Egypt, Director Abdel Mun'im Sa'eed, joined the seminar on the second day to speak about the Arab perspective on conflicts in other parts of the world. Director Sa'eed lightheartedly expressed his cynicism regarding such a perspective, since Arabs are generally not concerned with conflicts outside their homelands or regions. Furthermore, conflicts previously considered not to be Middle Eastern in fact are Middle Eastern if one goes by the Arab culture, or even by

Islam, which constitutes a major part of the Arab culture. Thus, countries such as Somalia, Sudan, Chad, Nigeria, Indonesia, India/Kashmir, Afghanistan, Iraq, and many more can be included in the Middle East. According to this line of reasoning, therefore, it is difficult to consider conflicts to be outside of the Middle East when over half of the conflicts today are located within the Middle East!

Director Sa'eed reasoned that the world today could be divided into two categories: peaceful and non-peaceful. There is thus the Arc of Peace (from parts of South America, to North America, Greenland, Europe, and Russia stretching to the Far East) versus the Arc of Conflict (comprising Africa, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia). In dividing the world into this dichotomy, the Director argued that it was easy to see how one half of the world was able to enjoy a peaceful existence, and not the other. Countries belonging to the so-called Arc of Peace have created linkages to one another, using trade and globalization as a means of economic interweaving. Severance of these links would be costly and detrimental to all, and thus all parties become stakeholders in peace. Examples of these links include the stockmarket, trade, and EU expansion, none of which exist in the Arc of Conflict. According to Director Sa'eed, therefore, the common denominator for peace is not in fact democracy as many would believe, but free trade and industrialization.

*"A network among all the participants, the centers and the institutes who shared this amazing conference should be formed, in order to co-share our ideas, hearts and minds to setup some sort of reasonable solutions or reconciliations between the parties of any conflict in the Middle East in particular and in South states in general."*

While the Director found the keystone for peace rather self explanatory, he found conflict to be far more complex. Traditional factors of conflict such as strategic power and weapons are far less applicable than less tangible factors such as religion, culture and identity. A cultural crisis appears to be on the rise, with globalization creating a multitude of stereotypes which have had the effect of deriding, or at least reducing, the humanity of others.

Post 9/11 has seen a growing American offensive, the response to which has been a growing counter-offensive. Moreover, propaganda today is as effective a weapon as any, and people have built cultural walls to keep 'us' separated from 'them'. Yet Director Sa'eed pointed out that 'they' are not in fact outside our walls, offering London as an example where nearly two million Muslims reside. The solution, in the Director's opinion, lies in 'winning the hearts and minds' of people through education, tolerance and understanding.

Director Sa'eed's presentation provoked numerous thoughts and queries. One such query referred to the ongoing 'propaganda war' between the West and the Middle East, and the apparent failure of Arab intelligence to counter Western attacks on the Arab world. The Director responded by accepting that propaganda certainly influences mentalities, but that this is not sufficient to advance peace. What is needed instead is a reshuffling of economic interests throughout the Arab world.

## MUSLIM PEACE AGENTS – A NEW PROGRAM IN SWEDEN

*Usama Hammad and Othman Al-Tawalbeh, Ibn Rushd, Sweden*

Usama Hammad and Othman Al-Tawalbeh gave a short introduction to a new project based in Sweden, entitled the Muslim Peace Agents. The project is aimed at Muslims between the ages of 16 and 25. It strives to enlighten youths about Islam as a peaceable, loving ideology, encourage them to be active in their faith and secure in their identities as Muslims. Another of the ambitions of the project is to enhance Muslim integration throughout Sweden by promoting respect and mutual understanding. The overall objective is to provide members with the knowledge and tools that will enable them to teach and inform other youths on the same topic: Islam as a peaceful religion. There are currently 25 Peace Agents, but Mr. Hammad and Mr. Al-Tawalbeh expressed their aspiration to increase this number to 100.

While the pair were praised for their efforts, several participants remained skeptical about the programme. Dr. Kubai questioned whether they themselves were able to give a credible description of what a Muslim identity in Sweden entails. Professor Kabbanji also questioned the attempt of the project to advance integration in Sweden through a focus on religion in a country that is not particularly religious itself.

## INTEGRATING PEACE STUDIES IN LIBERAL EDUCATION

*Dr Iman Al-Kaffass, American University in Cairo*

The penultimate lecture of the day was given by Dr. Iman Al-Kaffass, Manager of the Egyptian Youth Council, whose role is to develop policies on education, training and job searching for youth in Egypt. Dr. Al-Kaffass' lecture revolved around a project she recently designed that is aimed at providing underprivileged, talented youth the opportunity to undertake higher education at the American University of Cairo (AUC).

Each year two students, one male and one female, are selected from each of the 27 Egyptian Governorates. The selection procedure is highly regulated, one of the principal criteria being that candidates must come from an underprivileged background. This ensures that only those who would otherwise not have such an opportunity are selected. The 54 candidates are then trained in the programme according to five areas of focus: physical wellbeing, intellectual wellbeing, emotional wellbeing, spiritual wellbeing, and professional wellbeing.

Privileges bestowed on candidates include payment of their tuition fees as well as payment of their living expenses in Cairo, all of which will ultimately gain nominees an undergraduate degree from AUC. Academic engagement is not the only requirement, however. Extracurricular activities, especially team sports, are also obligatory, the reason being that students learn to work in teams with people they do not know.

The students participate in a training session once a week and in seminars twice a month, the focus of which may be any contemporary issue such as democracy or conflict resolution. Students are also required to give a presentation once a year, ensuring that their public speaking skills are improved and refined. A visit to each of the 27 Egyptian governorates is another requisite for students, as well as an internship or a place on an exchange programme abroad, allowing them not only to gain experience within their homeland, but also gain an insight into the world outside of Egypt.

Students are also required to provide some kind of service to the community, which is a part of their emotional development. In addition, every student is required to fine tune a talent, which Dr. Al-Kaffass explained can be quite an emotional task for students as many initially insist that they have no talents. In such situations, pupils are assigned guidance counselors whose mission is to help them find their talent through encouragement and confidence building.

The programme has thus far been highly successful, and Dr. Al-Kaffass informed us of a recent decision to expand the programme to allow students from four neighbouring Arab countries to participate. Responses to Dr. Al-Kaffass' presentation were entirely positive and several participants praised her efforts at providing disadvantaged youths with such wonderful opportunities.


## PANEL DISCUSSION: EXPERIENCES AND REFLECTIONS FROM LEBANON

The final session of the conference was unfortunately rather short due to time constraints. However, Professor Helou provided the group with some very interesting remarks concerning the inaccuracy of referring to the Arab/Israeli conflict as a conflict between Muslims and Jews, the consequence of which is the alienation of Arab Christians such as those in Lebanon. Professor Helou also pointed out that the Arab/Israeli conflict is not the only ongoing conflict in the region and that more attention needs to be paid to other conflicts of the Middle East, or indeed of the Arab world. She went on to disagree with previous comments made by some of the participants regarding the dismissal of religion as a factor of conflict in the Middle East, insisting that if we are truly to deal with conflict, then religion must also be faced as both a reality of life and a major influence in conflicts around the globe.

## Attachment 1: Globalizing Peace Research in the Arab World

*by Ambassador Ali Maher, former Foreign Minster of Egypt*

The need for Peace Research and Peace Studies remains controversial, although it should be more and more obvious at a time when violence and confrontation are not confined to one part of the world but spread throughout the continents and various nations.

At the beginning of the 21st Century we can look back to the efforts and serious work done to establish peace education as part of the necessary branches of knowledge and as a field of scientific research. Associations, societies and movements played an important part in giving credit to the idea that real efforts were essential to give peace a chance. But the failure of these efforts to prevent World War I was one of the incentives that induced a number of researchers to work for the creation in academia of courses, studies, researches and special institutions that specialize in peace studies. They advocated that it was essential to understand why the efforts to stop the war had failed. World War II, the Cold War and the spreading of different forms of violence helped convince many of the importance of peace studies as an academic field. The questions and challenges were and still are:
- How to replace a military culture with a culture of peace?
- How to induce people to behave peacefully?
- How to develop peace strategies?

*For our purpose it is necessary to define peace studies*

Ian Harris defines Peace Studies as "a way to create a new world order based on mutual respect, nonviolence, justice and environmental sustainability". So what peace research and peace education aim at is certainly to create a better society that is more humane, and more concerned with rights and justice.

Apart from this general definition, one can see different approaches and various opinions that put the emphasis on various aspects of peace research. The different approaches are related to the fact that peace education has emerged in several parts of the world often independently of what was done in other countries, but there seems to be general agreement that the world needs a new civilization based on solidarity ethics, values and principles.

But although the aims and purposes might be global, the approaches and issues are different, affected by cultural, economic, and socio-political concerns, by historic circumstances and by psychological experiences. In a world where national economics tend to merge into a global economy, where national cultures have to struggle to retain their specificity and their identity, it is interesting to note that peace research is an example of the importance of taking into consideration the values, principles and ideals that are upheld in different cultures. They are certainly universal values, but they do not erase or replace the ones that are specific to each and every culture or civilization.

In the Arab world peace research is a fairly new field, and remains marginal to a certain extent. In fact, the Institute for Peace Studies which I have the honor to represent today in this seminar is the first of its kind in the Arab world and we are at the very beginning of a long journey to ensure public acceptance of the very concept of peace studies and peace research.

We certainly feel that we are part of a global movement that, as Betty Reardon writes, aims to "transmit knowledge about, requirements of, the obstacles to, and the possibilities for achieving and maintaining peace, training in skills for interpreting the knowledge and the development of reflective and participatory capacities, for applying the knowledge to overcome problems, and achieve possibilities". To say it in other words, peace research aims to understand the causes of wars and violence and to put forward proposals to install conditions to overcome the contradictions, the divergent interests and the inequalities between individuals, groups or nations.

This being said, we need to apply this approach to the Arab world to take into account several factors, among which are:
*1. The historical background*, as the entire region has lived and indeed is still living under the impact of the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, of the five or six wars that have opposed Arabs and Israelis, of the continued bloody and almost daily confrontations between Palestinians and Israelis, and of the continuous denial of fundamental rights to Palestinians. As peace education in the US has been influenced by the Vietnam War, and in Europe by two World Wars, we cannot in the Arab world ignore the impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict on models of peace education and research trends. And although Egypt

has signed a peace treaty with Israel, the trauma felt by Egyptians like other Arabs continues, and will continue, as long as a just global peace is not attained.

*2. A second factor is the concept of national security*, which is often the argument used to justify wars and violence. Although one can argue that national security can best be achieved through peace, there is a long way to go in the minds of men and women in our part of the world – as in many others – to ensure the acceptance of this theory.

*3. Another factor is the cultural background.* As an example, I would say that the practice of nonviolence finds a fertile ground in a Buddhist culture and that a cultural tendency towards vendetta, revenge, or an eye for an eye policy must be taken into account when setting up a curriculum of peace studies.

Islam, which is often presented as a faith that glorifies war and violence, has its own paradigm for peace, its own values of tolerance and accepting the other.

*4. Furthermore, the level of the learner* must be at the centre of any research to establish a peace education program and to ensure an effective pedagogy.

As a newly established Institute for Peace Studies, we certainly strive to be in the mainstream of peace research, but we also realize that the theory of globalization is often different from its practice. Of course we need in our part of the world, like in all parts, to address fears, to develop international knowledge and understanding, and to promote a concept of peace based on justice and security. But our fears, and our idea of justice and security, do not necessarily coincide with others. More than in other parts of the world we need an approach that helps to heal some of the historical wounds. The medicine has to be related to the disease. We also need to challenge stereotypes related to a long history of humiliation and victimization.

The Institute for Peace Studies took into account all of these factors when we set our priority areas and, in a preliminary phase, we will have a program that focuses on three areas:

– Teaching, including courses on Law, Ethics and Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Post-conflict areas, the Culture of Peace, Negotiation and Mediation and Gender and Peace-building;

– A Research Program and the application of scientific knowledge to case studies; and

– Publication of a quarterly bulletin and a number of research papers and books.

We specifically intend to be an international institute with Egyptian and Arab roots, which means that we shall strive to foster academic cooperation with other institutions around the world that address peace studies and peace research, but we shall also give special attention to the worries and concerns of Egyptians and other Arabs, their needs and our public opinions. For this purpose, we plan to build up the Institute as a centre of excellence in peace studies and research, with special emphasis on countries of the region with case studies related to regional experience.

In this regard, I strongly believe that UNESCO has an important role to play in building cultural bridges in the field of peace research. UNESCO, with the Yamoussa Kro Declaration on peace in the minds of men, with its invaluable contributions to peace education, has given a legitimization and additional focus to peace research. UNESCO's efforts will help to convince decision-makers to support peace education and peace research, and to provide resources for it.

I do not know if any conclusion can be drawn from the remarks I have made, but what I strongly suggest is that the complexity of reality must be respected and that it is not possible to treat peace studies as an abstract theoretical system. Both global aspects and local situations must be taken into account. There is a need for flexibility, relativity and adaptability. There are general guidelines but not a unique model.

In the age of globalization and in the era of the communication revolution we cannot be isolated from the rest of the world in the field of peace research or any other field. We do not in any case want to be isolated, but we want and we must retain our specificity and our identity.

## Attachment 2: The participants

*Egypt:*
Ambassador Ali Maher, director of Peace Studies Center at The Bibliotheca Alexandrina
Ambassador Ahmed Maher, former Foreign Minister of Egypt
Dr. Iman El Kaffass, American University, Cairo
Dr. Laila Morsey, Political Science Department, Alexandria University
Dr. Abdel Fattah Mady, Political Science Department, Alexandria University
Dr. Abdel Mun'im Sa'eed, Director, al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies
Dr. Hassan Nafaa, Muntada al-Fikr al-Araby
Dr. Samir Karam, Center for Arab Unity Studies
Dr. Jan Henningsson, Swedish Institute

*Representatives of Egyptian NGOs:*
Mr. Ahmed Moustafa
Ms. Mai El Sheikh
Mr. Mohammed Khaled El Tunsy, Swedish Institute

*Israel/Palestine:*
Ms. Marie Loller, Director Mar Elias Peace Center, Ibillin
Ms. Kimberly Berglind, Mar Elias Peace Center, Ibillin
Mr Zoughbi Zoughbi, Director Wi'am Palestinian Conflict Resolutions Centre,
    Bethlehem
Ms. Sawsan Mina Nakhleh Tweme, Wi´am Palestinian Conflict Resolutions Centre,
    Bethlehem
Mr. Elias Abou Akleh, Arab Educational Institute
Ms. Dima Wahhab, Arab Educational Institute

*Jordan:*
Ms Duha Mohamed, media student, Yarmouk University, Irbid

*Lebanon:*
Dr Youssef Mouanness, Director, Catholic Information Center, the Holy Ghost
    University
Dr. Camille Habib, Doyen of the Business Administration Faculty, Lebanese University
Professor Marguerite Helou, Political Science, advanced studies of International
    Security, Lebanese University
Dr. Jaques Kabbanji, Professor Advanced Studies Center, Institute of Social Sciences

*Sweden:*
Mr. Osama Hamad, PhD Student, Swedish Muslim Peace Agends/Ibn Rushd Centre
Mr. Othman al Tawalbeh, Swedish Muslim Peace Agends/Ibn Rushd Centre
Mr. Daniel Nord, SIPRI, Sweden
Dr. Anne Kubai, Research Director, LPI Uppsala
Ms. Teemar Kidane, student, intern, LPI, Uppsala

*Press and media:*
Mr. Ali El Baroudy, Press Officer
Mr. Mohammed El Sayed Saleh, Al Massry Al Youm Newspaper
Mr. Emad Hegab, Al Ahram Newspaper
Ms. Mona Taha, Al Qahera Newspaper
Mr. Mohammed Arafa, Al Akhbar Newspaper
Mr. Hossam Abdel Kadr, October Magazine

**Resources/contacts**

# Appendices

## APPENDIX 1: EXTERNAL EVALUATION OF THE PPE PROJECT

The purpose of the external evaluation carried out in October-November 2007 was:
- part of learning process for LPI and MFA Helsinki
- to be a useful tool for possible follow-up/new project
- enable relevant feedback to partners/beneficiaries
- to fulfill an agreement, feedback to the donor MFA Helsinki

This study was commissioned by the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) and carried out by Amazonas relationship management AB. The evaluation focused on the relevance and impact of the project, and asks three main questions: What was planned? What was implemented? What are the reasons for the end result?

### BACKGROUND

LPI has over a period of 20 years carried out peace research. Furthermore, LPI has since the late 1980s been directly involved in local and nonviolent conflict transformation programs, particularly in the Horn of Africa. A major evaluation in 2002 on the research work carried out by LPI indicated that a great deal of the 65 publications produced would have continued proved relevance in today's peace and reconciliation work. In order to increase the usefulness of these materials in academic institutions, LPI approached the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Finland to fund a project for the re-printing and distribution of selected titles to up to 100 universities in the South, particularly Africa. The project was planned and initiated late 2003 and implemented in a first phase 2004 and 2005 and in a second phase 2006 and 2007.

The project has consisted of two elements; the production and distribution of special editions of relevant publications for peace education and the organization of seminars with a South-South and civil society perspective on peace building and reconciliation.

In total the qualitative part of the evaluation is based on 25 interviews and 41 questionnaires with beneficiaries and 10 interviews with persons involved in the implementation of the project. As it was very difficult to get in contact with respondents representing receivers of books, the qualitative evaluation results for the part of the project that dealt with book distribution are based on seven interviews. Attention should be paid to the fact that the data in the qualitative analysis of the book distribution within the project is not statistically representative for the total amount of beneficiaries. Rather, the information given by the respondents indicates what different receivers might think of the project.

### FINDINGS

The average cost per published and distributed book was 16 Euro. The average cost for every seminar participant was 509 Euro.

PPE shows good production and distribution results with high cost efficiency in the part of the project that concerned book distribution. We can with satisfaction note that many books have been delivered to a wide range of universities in several countries where postal services many times are known to be unreliable. An absolute majority of the respondents express that the books are relevant and include good case studies from different situations, societies and regions. The books appear as very useful teaching and reference material to the universities.

The basic idea of the project is both its strength and its weakness. The project was initiated and implemented as a development of LPI's long-term production of publications within the field of peace building and reconciliation. Over a period of 20 years research literature had been produced and published that could be re-printed and distributed in big quantities. The fact that the books have been printed and distributed is the project's strength.

At the same time, the basic idea of the project is also its weakness, because the project has been initiated by an idea of production rather than by a needs based analysis among the beneficiaries with over all effect goals. Projects that are based on ideas of method rather then overall project goals tends to be trapped by a donor

driven approach. However, even if the project was not preceded by a systematic beneficiary-driven needs analysis, it was still preceded by an analysis estimating the relevance of the project done by the project management. Consequently, the literature has been appreciated as relevant by many of the receivers.

In general, the seminars were perceived as relevant, raised important issues in the different regions and were well implemented. The answers given by the respondents clearly indicate that the seminars have responded well to the project objective. But the seminars within the PPE have their weak points as well the planning and follow up phases. It might be possible to say that the long term effect of the seminars will be weak, because the seminars are isolated phenomena without strategic follow up, although every single seminar has been very successful. It would have been more cost efficient – from a sustainability point of view – if the seminars had been planned as part of a developed and strategic system.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The general recommendation is to find enabling circumstances for a development – and continuation of this peace strengthening initiative. PPE has been an important contribution to strengthened opportunities for sustainable peace; to not continue would be a waste of invested resources, established relations and gained experiences.

But in a continuation of the project, LPI could strengthen the planning and monitoring perspective of a project. It is important to develop clear effect goals for the project. It is also important to invite partners from cooperation countries to discuss the direction of the project. The effect goals have to be developed on basis of a needs analysis done by LPI together with cooperation partners. The system for follow up and evaluation has to be planned in conjunction with indicators and concrete goals.

Another recommendation is that LPI in a similar project should plan goals for output, outcome and impact, with indicators used to measure impact at the outcome level. The planning process should also include more detailed plans for a monitoring system that can deliver relevant monitoring information throughout the entire project.

## APPENDIX 2: PUBLICATIONS FOR PEACE EDUCATION

### PUBLICATIONS PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED
### IN THE FIRST PHASE 2004–2005

*New editions, published (English):*
Carroll, J.: Forgiving or forgetting? (2005)
Ferris, E.: Women, war and peace (2004)
Gnanadason, A., Kanyoro, M., McSpadden, L.A., eds.:Women, violence and
   non-violent change (2005)
Nordström, C.: Girls and warzones (2004)
Nordström, C.: Imagining the next 100 years of war (2004)
Prendergast, J.: Post-conflict programming (2004)
Villa-Vicencio, C.: The art of reconciliation (2004)
Villumstad, S.: Interfaith action in times of conflict (2004)
Warsame, A.: Queens without crowns (2004)
Wheaton, Ph.: Hope in the midst of chaos (2005)
Wink, W.: Healing a nation's wounds (2005)

*New publications:*
Adebo, T.: Post-conflict peacebuilding and prospects for democracy with reference to
   Africa (2005)
Kubai, A.: Being church in post-genocide Rwanda (2005)
Morvan, H.: Reinventer le Quotidien (2005) (also in English summary, see below)
Sendabo, T.: Child soldiers (2004)

*French translations:*
Ferris, E.: Femmes, guerre & paix (2005)
Nordström, C.: Filles et zones de guerre (2005)
Nordström, C.: Les 100 prochaines années de guerre (2005)
Warsame, A.: Des reines sans couronne (2005)
Wink, W.: Guérir les blessures d'une nation (2005)

*Spanish translations:*
Ferris, E.: Mujeres, guerra y paz (finalised, not printed)
Nordström, C.: Las niñas y las zonas de guerra (finalised, not printed)
Wink, W.: Sanando las heridas de una nación (finalised, not printed)

### PUBLICATIONS PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED
### IN THE SECOND PHASE, 2005–2007

*New editions, published (English):*
Heinrich, W.: Building the peace (2006)
McSpadden, L.M., ed.: Reaching reconciliation (2006)
Paffenholz, T.: Community-based bottom-up peacebuilding (2006)

*New publications:*
Morvan, H: Reshaping the Everyday (English summary of Reinventer le quotidien)
   (2006)
Schirch, L.: Civilian peacekeeping (2005)

*French translations:*
Paffenholz, T.: Construire la paix à partir d'une communauté (2007)
Schirch, L.: Intervention civile (2007)

*Spanish translations:*
Wheaton, Ph.: Hope in the midst of chaos (to be published 2008)

## APPENDIX 3: LIST OF PARTNERS AND INSTITUTIONS ENGAGED IN THE PPE PROJECT

### COLLABORATION IN RELATION TO THE SEMINARS

The *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation* (IJR), *Cape Town*, South Africa, was launched in May 2000 and is self-consciously located in post-TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) South Africa. The Institute is committed to using the insights generated through its work in South Africa to engage in dialogue with other African countries.

The *Swedish Institute in Alexandria* is an autonomous part of Sweden's Foreign Service. The Institute is dedicated to the dialogue of civilizations and its main task is to promote broad contacts between Europe and the Middle East and North Africa region.

*Life & Peace Institute, Nairobi*, is coordinating the peacebuilding work in Somalia and regional collaboration with ecumenical partners. LPI started its research and conflict transformation work in the Horn of Africa in the early 1990s.

*L´institut Vie et Paix* (Life & Peace Institute), *Brazzaville*, is working with different peacebuilding projects since 2001. As of 2007, the program is run by a Congolese executive committee and a national director. Among the projects are support to training of journalists and the institution of Observatoire Congolaises Media and human rights training.

### CONTRIBUTORS IN LOCAL DISTRIBUTION OF PPE BOOKS

Life & Peace Institute, Bukavu, Democratic Republic of Congo
Life & Peace Institute, Brazzaville, Congo Brazzaville
Lutheran World Federation, Asmara, Eritrea
Lutheran World Federation, Lilongwe, Malawi
Lutheran World Federation, Freetown, Sierra Leone
Lutheran World Federation, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
TCRS, Dar es Salaam
LDS Harare, Zimbabwe
Lutheran World Federation Lusaka, Zambia
Norwegian Church Aid, Bamako, Mali
Lutheran Development Service, Mbabane Swaziland
Lutheran World Federation /ACT Guinea
Dr. Johan Gärde, Beirut, Lebanon

### CONSULTANTS AND EVALUATORS

Mr. Admasu Simeso, Harare, Zimbabwe
Mr. Klas Palm, Amazon, Uppsala, Sweden
Ms. Kristina Lundborg, Uppsala, Sweden

## APPENDIX 4: ABOUT THE LIFE & PEACE INSTITUTE

The need for an ecumenical and international peace research institute was brought up in the final declaration of a major international church leaders' conference held in Uppsala, Sweden, in 1983. The institute was established as a foundation, based in Sweden, but with an international board of directors. The work, focusing peace and justice issues, started in 1985.

LPI wants to further a process which heals and restores human beings and societies. The work of the LPI is global and the Institute works with local partners regardless of their ethnic, political or religious background.

The Institute's headquarters is located in Uppsala, Sweden. There are currently (2007) programme and coordination offices for conflict transformation, including research and training, in Nairobi (Kenya), Baidoa (Somalia), Bukavu (Democratic Republic of Congo) and Brazzaville (Republic of Congo). Preparations are made for representation and extended peacebuilding work in Ethiopia and Sudan.

## APPENDIX 5: LPI PUBLICATIONS (SELECTED)

To ask for information or order any of the publications listed below, contact:

Communications, LPI
Sysslomansgatan 7, SE-753 11 Uppsala, Sweden
phone: + 46 (0)18 16 97 71, fax: + 46 (0)18 69 30 59
e-mail: info@life-peace.org

or visit our home page: www.life-peace.org for a full list of publications, samples and information.

### PERIODICALS

*New Routes* is the quarterly in-house journal of LPI, offering analysis and commentary on issues of peace, justice and development. With a special emphasis on current LPI research and programme issues, New Routes also provides information on current publications and activities.

*Horn of Africa Bulletin* is a monthly newsletter with primarily digital distribution, covering the countries of the Horn. It contains analyses, news, information and links to useful resources with emphasis on issues of conflict resolution, peace and reconciliation.

### RESEARCH REPORTS

#### NGOs and Refugee Repatriation Series

*Negotiating Return*, Lucia Ann McSpadden, 2000. One of the longest standing armed conflicts in Africa, the Eritrean war for independence from Ethiopia, produced hundreds of thousands of refugees. The book is a critical analysis of the negotiations allowing Eritrean refugees to return home from Sudan. 180 pp.

*Risking Return: NGOs in the Guatemalan refugee repatriation*, Liam Mahony, 1999. The story of El Retorno (The Return) and the role played by non-governmental organisations. 100 pp.

*Displaced Promises: Forced migration, refuge and return in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Paul Stubbs, 1999. Discerning common trends from case studies of NGOs, the author highlights the role played by non-governmental organisations. 74 pp.

#### Reconciliation and the Churches in the Transition to Democracy Series

*Healing a Nation's Wounds*, Walter Wink, (1997) 2005. Churches are major social actors in many countries where democratic transition is taking place. Regardless of their position in the previous political system, they are called to define anew their role in the transition and reconciliation process. 69 pp.

*Hope in the Midst of Chaos: Contradiction for Peace & Reconciliation in Nicaragua*, Philip E. Wheaton, (2002) 2005. The author attempts to highlight the struggle and the devastation that the Nicaraguan people have faced. In the midst of chaos breeds hope that civil society can re-build their communities and attain some semblance of peace. 138 pp.

*Forgiving or Forgetting? Churches and the transition to democracy in the Philippines*, John J. Carroll, S.J. and Bernadeth Y. Pasco, (1999) 2005. A historical account of the unfinished Philippine revolution and the role of the church. Reports about the struggle and the risks churches take in order to be agents of change and reconciliation. 74 pp.

*Reaching Reconciliation: Churches in the transitions to democracy in Eastern and Central Europe*, Lucia Ann McSpadden (ed.), (2000) 2006. The book includes three separate manuscripts: East German churches in the aftermath of unification by Hans Baer, Reconciliation in the shadow of the Soviet past by Joan Löfgren, and The Polish church in the reconciliation process by Halina Grzymala-Moszczynska. 244 pp.

*Iglesias Evangélicas y Derechos Humanos en la Argentina*, Pablo R. Andiñach and
  Daniel A. Bruno, 2001. Study and analysis of the role played by the Evangelical
  churches in Argentina 1976–1988 in the painful but necessary march towards
  peace and reconciliation. 160 pp.
*Recovering Memory: Guatemalan Churches and the Challenge of Peacemaking,*
Paul Jeffrey, 1998. Examines the role of religious non-state actors in transforming
  conflict in Guatemala. 106 pp.

### Women and Nonviolence Series

*Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions*, Carolyn Nordstrom, (1997) 2004. Asks why
  it is so difficult to gather information about the specific experiences of girls in
  war and peace. 50 pp.
*Linking Arms: Women and War in Post-Yugoslav states*, Maja Korac, 1998. Examines
  how the women of the former Yugoslavia protested against war and violence.
  A fresh look into the role of women's movements before, during and after the
  armed conflicts among the post-Yugoslav states. 90 pp.
*Patriarchy and Purdah: Structural and Systemic Violence against Women in Bangladesh*,
  Habiba Zaman, 1998. Explores the legal, religious and familial vulnerability of
  women to violence in Bangladeshi society. 46 pp.
*Mothers, Widows and Guerrilleras: Anonymous Conversations with Survivors of State Ter-*
  *ror*, Victoria Sanford, 1998. Here the stories of Josefina, Juana, Maria and others
  are retold in gripping narrative, illustrating the horrors of Guatemala's civil war,
  but also the challenges to reconciliation. 48 pp.
*Women, Violence and Nonviolent Change*, ed A. Gnanadason, M. Kanyoro and L.A.
  McSpadden, (1996) 2005. Essays and case studies examining the specific contri-
  butions of women to conflict resolution. 146 pp.
*Women, War and Peace,* Elizabeth Ferris, (1993) 2004. Overview of perspectives and
  controversies which surround issues relating to the theme of women, war and
  peace. 49 pp.

### Horn of Africa Series

*Community-based Bottom-up Peacebuilding*. The development of the Life & Peace
  Institute's approach to peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia
  experience (1990–2000), Thania Paffenholz, (2003) 2006. 90 pp.
*Queens Without Crowns. Somaliland's women's changing roles and peace building*,
  Amina Mohamoud Warsame, (2002) 2004. A study that identifies and analyses
  the changing role of women in the rebuilding of the Republic of Somaliland after
  the civil war. 96 pp.
*Ready And Willing ... But Still Waiting: Eritrean refugees in Sudan and the dilemmas of*
  *return*. Gaim Kibreab, 1996. Examines the dilemmas facing the nearly 400,000
  Eritrean refugees living in Sudan. 222 pp.
*Trading Places, alternative models of economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa*, ed.
  Lucia Ann McSpadden, 1996. Published in cooperation with Pastoral Environmen-
  tal Network in the Horn of Africa. A compilation of essays, putting forward practi-
  cal and progressive proposals for enhancing cooperation within the Horn. 142 pp.
*Building the Peace: Experiences and reflections of collaborative peacebuilding. The case*
  *of Somalia,* Wolfgang Heinrich, (1997) 2006. The story of LPI's Horn of Africa
  Programme in Somalia 1993–1996 evaluates the programme supporting grass-
  roots peacebuilding initiatives in Somali communities and offers insights for the
  future of both peacebuilding and a lasting peace in the Horn. 251 pp.
*Creating Humanitarian Space. Christian Refugee Work in Sudan in the 1970s and*
  *1980s.* Damas Deng A. Ruay, ed. Sture Normark and Peter Brune, 2006. A study
  of the root causes and effects of the conflicts on the Horn of Africa and the refu-
  gee influxes into Sudan.

### Other Research Reports

*Reinventer le Quotidien. La cohabitation des populations civiles et des combattants maï-*
  *maï au Kivu*, Hélène Morvan, 2005. 169 pp.
*Reshaping the Everyday. The Cohabitation of Civilians and Mayi-Mayi Militias in Kivu*,
  Hélène Morvan. English summary of Reinventer le Quotidien, 2006. 32 pp.

*Child Soldiers. Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration in Liberia,* Teferi Sendabo, 2004. Seeks to answer the questions why children participate in war and what methods can be used in the rehabilitation and social integration process. 140 pp.

*Post-conflict peacebuilding and prospects for democracy with reference to Africa,* Tarekegn Adebo, 2005. The paper argues that good representative institutions offer a good chance to usher in a workable system where future violent conflicts can be averted. 40 pp.

*Being church in post-genocide Rwanda. The challenges of forgiveness and reconciliation,* Anne Kubai, 2005. The Church of Rwanda, which was overwhelmed by the message of hatred and death during the genocide, today faces the enormous challenge of fostering forgiveness and reconciliation. 34 pp.

*Post-Conflict Reconciliation Programming,* John Prendergast, (1997) 2004. There are numerous terms describing post-war conditions and objectives. In this paper the concepts psycho-social, peacebuilding and reconciliation are specially addressed. 83 pp.

*Civilian Peacekeeping. Preventing Violence and Making Space for Democracy.* Lisa Schirch, 2006. Examines the activities of civilian peace teams as a contribution to the theory and practice of civilian conflict interventions. 115 pp. (Replaces *Keeping the Peace. Exploring Civilian Alternatives in Conflict Prevention* by L Schirch, 1995.)

*After the Revolutions: Democracy in East Central Europe,* ed. Mark Salter, 1996. This collection of papers examines numerous issues raised by political transformations in progress in the region since 1989. 104 pp.

*The Redemptive Value of Truth Telling,* Fr. Michael Lapsley, S.S.S., 1999, 10 pp.

*Forgiveness and Justice in Northern Ireland after the Peace Agreement,* Duncan Morrow, 1999. 10 pp.

A series of six reports has been published within the research project *Militarisation, economic penetration and human rights in the Pacific,* (1998) 2002.

**APPENDIX 6: LPI PUBLICATIONS (SÉLECTIONNÉES)**

Pour demander des informations ou commander une des publications se trouvant dans la liste ci-dessous, veuillez contacter :

Communications, LPI,
Sysslomansgatan 7, SE-753 11 Uppsala, Sweden,
tel. +46 (0)18-16 97 71, fax +46 (0)18-69 30 59
e-mail: info@life-peace.org

Ou visitez notre site: www.life-peace.org pour obtenir une liste complète de publications, des exemplaires, et des informations.

### REVUES DE PRESSE

*New Routes* est la publication trimestrielle de LPI, et propose des analyses et des commentaires sur des questions de paix, de justice et de développement. En mettant particulièrement en évidence les questions liées à la recherche actuelle et aux programmes, New Routes procure également des informations sur des publications et des activités récentes de LPI.

*Horn of Africa Bulletin* est un bulletin électronique couvrant les pays africains suivants : Djibouti, Érythrée, Éthiopie, Somalie, Somaliland et Soudan. Ce bulletin mensuel présente des enquêtes importantes sur les développements actuels dans la Corne de l'Afrique, et s'intéresse tout particulièrement aux questions de paix, de développement et de transformation de conflit à partir d'une perspective populaire.

### RAPPORTS DE RECHERCHE

#### *NGOs and Refugee Repatriation Series*

*Negotiating Return,* Lucia Ann McSpadden, 2000. La guerre d'indépendance érythréenne, qui fut l'un des conflits armés les plus longs en Afrique, fut responsable de centaines de milliers de réfugiés. Le livre est une analyse critique des négociations ayant permis aux réfugiés érythréens de quitter le Soudan pour rentrer chez eux. 180 pp.

*Risking Return: NGOs in the Guatemalan Refugee Repatriation,* Liam Mahony, 1999. Le récit d'El Retorno (Le Retour) et le rôle joué par des organisations non-gouvernementales. 100 pp.

*Displaced Promises: Forced migration, refuge and return in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina,* Paul Stubbs, 1999. En distinguant certaines tendances communes à partir d'enquêtes d'ONG, l'auteur met en évidence à la fois « les leçons apprises » et des domaines à débattre. 74 pp.

#### *Reconciliation and Churches in the Transition to Democracy Series*

*Healing a Nation's Wounds,* Walter Wink, (1997) 2005. Les églises sont un acteur social essentiel dans de nombreux pays où une transition démocratique prend place. Quelle qu'ait été leur position dans le système politique précédent, elles doivent redéfinir leur rôle dans le processus de transition et de réconciliation. 69 pp.

*Hope in the Midst of Chaos. Contradictions for Peace & Reconciliation in Nicaragua.* Philip E. Wheaton, (2002) 2005. L'auteur essaye de mettre en lumière la lutte et la dévastation auxquelles le peuple nicaraguayen dut faire face. Toutefois, au milieu de ce chaos, il y a l'espoir que la société civile puisse reconstruire ses communautés et obtenir un semblant de paix. 138 pp.

*Forgiving or Forgetting? Churches and the transition to democracy in the Philippines,* John J. Carroll S.J.and Bernadeth Y. Paso, (1999) 2005, est un compte rendu historique de la révolution philippine non achevée et du rôle de l'église. Il s'agit d'un rapport sur le combat de l'église et les risques qu'elle prend en tant qu'agent du changement et de la réconciliation. 74 pp.

*Reaching Reconciliation. Churches and the transition to democracy in Eastern and Central Europe,* ed. Lucia Ann McSpadden, 2000. Le livre inclut trois manuscrits

distincts : East German Churches in the aftermath of unification by Hans Baer, Reconcilitation in the shadow of the Soviet past by Joan Löfgren, and The Polish Church in the reconciliation process by Halina Grzymala-Moszczynska. 244 pp.

*Iglesias Evangélicas y derechos humanos en la Argentina,* Pablo R. Andiñach/Daniel Bruno, 2001 (seulement disponible en espagnol). Le livre couvre la période 1976–1998. 160 pp.

*Recovering Memory: Guatemalan Churches and the Challenge of Peacemaking,* Paul Jeffrey, 1998. Examine le rôle des acteurs religieux n'appartenant pas à l'état dans la transformation du conflit au Guatemala. 106 pp.

### Women and Nonviolence Series

*Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions,* Carolyn Nordstrom, (1997) 2004. Demande pourquoi il est si difficile de rassembler des informations sur les expériences spécifiques des filles en temps de guerre comme de paix. 50 pp.

*Linking Arms: Women and war in post-Yugoslav states,* Maja Korac, 1998. Examine comment les femmes en ex-Yougoslavie se sont opposées à la guerre et à la violence. Un nouveau regard sur le rôle des mouvements féminins, avant, pendant et après les conflits armés entre les États de l'ex-Yougoslavie. 90 pp.

*Patriarchy and Purdah: Structural and Systemic Violence against Women in Bangladesh,* Habiba Zaman, 1998. Étudie la vulnérabilité légale, religieuse et familiale des femmes par rapport à la violence dans la société du Bengladesh. 46 pp.

*Mothers, Widows and Guerrilleras: Anonymous Conversations with Survivors of State Terror,* Victoria Sanford, 1998. Dans ce livre, les histoires de Josefina, Juana, Maria et d'autres sont racontées dans une narration émouvante, illustrant les horreurs de la guerre civile guatémaltèque, mais également les défis de la réconciliation. 48 pp.

*Women, Violence and Nonviolent Change,* ed A. Gnanadason, M. Kanyoro and L.A. McSpadden, (1996) 2005. Essais et enquêtes examinant les contributions spécifiques des femmes à la résolution de conflit. 146 pp.

*Women, War and Peace,* Elizabeth Ferris, (1993) 2004. Survol des perspectives et des polémiques qui entourent les questions relatives au thème des femmes, de la guerre et de la paix. 49 pp.

### Horn of Africa Series

*Community-based Bottom-up Peacebuilding. Le développement du travail de l'institut Life & Peace pour l'établissement de la paix et les leçons tirées de l'expérience en Somalie (1990–2000),* Thania Paffenholz, 2003. 90 pp.

*Queens Without Crowns. Somaliland's women's changing roles and peace building,* Amina Mohamoud Warsame, (2002) 2004. Une étude qui identifie et analyse le nouveau rôle des femmes dans la reconstruction de la république du Somaliland après la guerre civile. 96 pp.

*Ready and Willing ... but still waiting, Eritrean refugees in Sudan and the dilemmas of return.* Gaim Kibreab, 1996. Examine les dilemmes auxquels sont confrontés les quelque 400.000 réfugiés érythréens vivant au Soudan. 222 pp.

*Trading Places, Alternative models of economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa.* Ed. Lucia Ann McSpadden, 1996. Publié in coopération avec Pastoral Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa (PENHA). Une série d'essais, mettant en avant des propositions pratiques et progressistes pour accroître la coopération dans la corne de l'Afrique. 142 pp.

*Building the Peace: Experiences of Collaborative Peacebuilding in Somalia 1993–1995,* Wolfgang Heinrich, (1997) 2006. L'histoire du programme de LPI dans la Corne de l'Afrique évalue le programme de soutien d'initiatives d'établissement de la paix au niveau des simples citoyens dans des communautés somali et offre un aperçu pour le futur, à la fois de l'établissement de la paix et d'une paix durable dans la Corne de l'Afrique. 251 pp.

### Autres rapports de recherche

*Reinventer le Quotidien. La cohabitation des populations civiles et des combattants maï-maï au Kivu,* Hélène Morvan, 2005. 169 pp.

*Reshaping the Everyday. The Cohabitation of Civilians and Mayi-Mayi Militias in Kivu,* Hélène Morvan. English summary of *Reinventer le Quotidien,* 2006. 32 pp.

*Child Soldiers. Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration in Liberia.* Teferi Sendabo, 2004. Cherche à savoir pourquoi des enfants participent à des guerres et quelles méthodes on peut utiliser dans le processus de réhabilitation et d'intégration sociale. 140 pp.

*Post-conflict peacebuilding and prospects for democracy with reference to Africa,* Tarekegn Adebo, 2005. Cet essai défend l'idée que de bonnes institutions représentatives offrent une bonne possibilité d'introduire un système réalisable pour éviter des conflits violents dans l'avenir. 40 pp.

*Being church in post-genocide Rwanda. The challenges of forgiveness and reconciliation,* Anne Kubai, 2005. L'église du Ruanda, qui fut submergée par le message de haine et de mort durant le génocide, doit aujourd'hui affronter l'immense défi de nourrir et d'entretenir le pardon et la réconciliation. 34 pp.

*Post-Conflict Reconciliation Programming,* John Prendergast, (1997) 2004. Il y a de nombreuses façons de décrire les conditions et les objectifs faisant suite à une guerre. Dans cet essai, l'accent est mis sur les concepts psychosociaux, l'établissement de la paix et la réconciliation. 83 pp.

*Civilian Peacekeeping. Preventing Violence and Making Space for Democracy,* Lisa Schirch, 2006. Examine les activités des équipes civiles de paix telles que la contribution à la théorie et à la pratique des interventions civiles. 114 pp. (Remplace Keeping the Peace. Exploring Civilian Alternatives in Conflict Prevention by L Schirch, 1995.)

*After the Revolutions: Democracy in East Central Europe,* ed. Mark Salter, 1996. Cette collection d'articles examine les nombreuses questions soulevées par le progrès des transformations politiques dans la région depuis 1989. 104 pp.

*The Redemptive Value of Truth Telling* by Fr. Michael Lapsley, S.S.S., 1999.

*Forgiveness and Justice in Northern Ireland after the peace agreement* by Duncan Morrow, 1999. 10 pp.

Une série de six rapports a été publiée dans le cadre du projet de recherche : *Militarisation, economic penetration and human rights in the Pacific,* (1998) 2002.